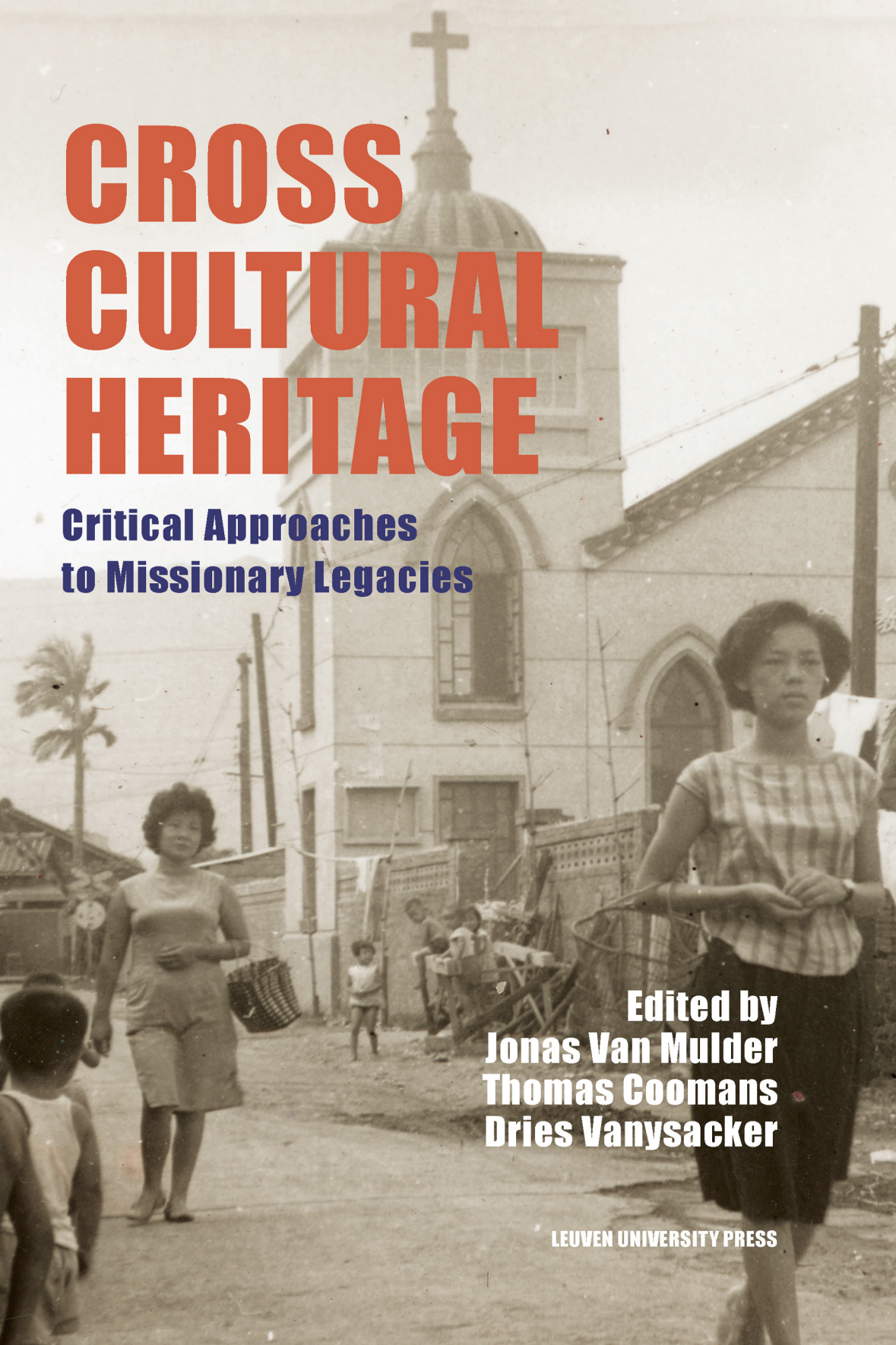


CROSS CULTURAL HERITAGE

Critical Approaches to Missionary Legacies

Edited by
Jonas Van Mulder
Thomas Coomans
Dries Vanysacker

LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cross-Cultural Heritage

CROSS CULTURAL HERITAGE

Critical Approaches to Missionary Legacies

Edited by
Jonas Van Mulder
Thomas Coomans
Dries Vanysacker

LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

This book appears in the peer-reviewed series
Leuven Studies in Mission and Modernity

SERIES BOARD
Kim Christiaens, KADOC-KU Leuven
Carine Dujardin, KADOC-KU Leuven
Idesbald Goddeeris, KU Leuven, Faculty of Arts
Jonas Van Mulder, KADOC-KU Leuven
Dries Vanysacker, KU Leuven, Theology and Religious Studies
Pieter Verstraete, KU Leuven, Psychology and Educational Sciences

The publication of this book was supported by KU Leuven Fund for Fair Open Access.

Published in 2025 by Leuven University Press / Presses Universitaires de Louvain / Universitaire Pers Leuven. Minderbroedersstraat 4, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).
Selection and editorial matter © 2025, Jonas Van Mulder, Thomas Coomans, and Dries Vanysacker
Individual chapters © 2025, the respective authors
All TDM rights (Text and Data Mining) are reserved.

This book is published under a Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial Non-Derivative 4.0 License. For more information, please visit https://creativecommons.org/share-your-work/cclicenses/cclicenses/

Attribution should include the following information:
Jonas Van Mulder, Thomas Coomans, and Dries Vanysacker (eds.), *Cross Cultural Heritage: Critical Approaches to Missionary Legacies*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2025. (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

All images are reproduced with the permission of the rights-holders acknowledged in captions. The images are expressly excluded from the CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license covering the rest of this publication. Permission for reuse should be sought from the rights-holders.

ISBN 978 94 6270 443 5
eISBN 978 94 6166 602 4 (ePDF)
eISBN 978 94 6166 603 1 (ePub)
https://doi.org/10.11116/9789461666024
D/2025/1869/18
NUR: 704

Cover: Street scenery in Taiwan, 1960s.
[KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans - Flemish province: 2535]

Table of contents

Missionary Heritage: Legacies of Religious Imperialism, Inculturation, and Appropriation 7
Jonas Van Mulder, Thomas Coomans, and Dries Vanysacker

ENCOUNTERS AND INTERPLAYS 23

Bolivian Missionary Musical Repertoire, Heritagization, and Contemporary Roles 25
Paola Granado

Belgian CICM Missionaries, Territorial Heritage, and the Chico River Dam Resistance in the Philippines 47
Leah Abayao

Challenges to Catholic Identity in Southern Togo. Ewe Christianity and the Marshall Order 69
Kwami Edem Afoutou

Co-Mission. The Material Dimension of Missionary Work in the Pacific 93
Karen Jacobs

PLACE AND MEMORY 117

Identity and Memory of Christian Missions among the Maguzawa in Nigeria, 1940–2017 119
Naziru Yahaya Shuaibu

From Mainland to Island. The Architectural Legacy of Belgian Franciscan Missionaries in Early Postwar Taipei 137
Leon Bouwmeester

Dreams, Nostalgia, and Commercialization. Telling Stories about Missionary Schools for Girls in Modern China 161
Jennifer Bond

REPRESENTATION AND MEMORIALIZATION 191

Text and Mission in Transition. 193
The Indigenization of the Ranchi Jesuit Province, 1956–2000
Rinald D'Souza

Ethnographic Objects and Provenance from Missionary Contexts. 219
The Chile Missions of the Bavarian Capuchins and their Museum
in Altötting, 1896–1932
Markus A. Scholz

'Benefactors of Humanity'? 253
Monuments for Missionaries in the Belgian Public Space
Idesbald Goddeeris

Missionary Heritage

Legacies of Religious Imperialism, Inculturation, and Appropriation

Jonas Van Mulder, Thomas Coomans, and Dries Vanysacker

Christian missions played a central and increasingly studied role in the history of Western imperial and colonial expansion in early modern and modern times. In support of the evangelization of local societies, missions occupied key positions in society such as education, health care, technology and science. They commissioned the construction and management of mission stations, churches, schools, hospitals, agricultural estates and transport infrastructure, and consequently effected profound material, cultural and spiritual transformations of the evangelized societies. Missionary propaganda and knowledge production contributed significantly to cultural imperial imaginations and colonial knowledge regimes, and fueled notions of white supremacy, paternalist Eurocentrism and racism. Nonetheless the relationship between mission and colonialism was complex and multifarious, varying from close cooperation to publicly expressed criticism. Because of the complex historical connection between mission and colonization, missionary heritage is implicated in one way or another in the analysis of persistent legacies of imperialism in both former colonized and colonizing societies today. It can offer unique glimpses into the complexity of (post)colonial contexts due to the missions' mediating position between colonial regimes, industrial actors, supralocal religious structures and Indigenous communities.

As Catholic and Protestant missions were imbricated so intimately into various cultural histories, they seem inextricable from the fabric of the grand historical narratives. Yet, over the last decades, a growing body of studies has explored the distinctiveness of missionary heritage, and engaged with the questions this heri-

tage poses for societies past and present.[1] The impact of missions on Indigenous peoples and local communities has been described in terms of broad religious, cultural and societal transformations, as well as in terms of more circumstantial phenomena such as alphabetization, standardization of language, changes in medical practices, construction techniques and spatial manifestations, and arts and crafts. Because missions and missionaries operated in various areas of society and each in very different ways, the scholarship that deals with their legacy is, by definition, multidisciplinary. Consequently, 'missionary heritage' does not constitute a settled concept nor a neatly delineated discipline, but proliferates across and among various fields in the cultural sciences. The tangible and intangible relics, memories and legacies of the missionary past are of relevance to as varied a field as the history of conservation and environmentalism,[2] archaeology and heritage legislation,[3] colonial botany,[4] or changing ideas about femininity and womanhood.[5] A fundamental question that underlies much, if not all, research into missionary heritage is the extent to which mission had the ability to fundamentally redefine cultures and societies, and how this influence is manifested in and can be traced through surviving patrimony or historical legacies of mission today. Given this, scholars have interpreted heritage of mission either as demonstrations of the pervasive cultural effect of evangelization and conversion on missionized cultures, or as demonstrations of the capacities of these communities to retain their singular identity and worldviews – beneath the surface of appearances and rituals, or by merging elements of local beliefs and Christianity to create original, hybrid cultural expressions.

The ambiguous position of missions vis-à-vis local communities and colonial authorities is perhaps embodied most distinctly in missionary education. Mission schools and their programs displayed the converging agendas that colonial administrations and missions had for the native communities, namely to maintain a homogeneous social and ethnical character, while encouraging a Western religious, Christian or Catholic identity.[6] On the other hand, mission schools have been called both the salvation and damnation of the political emancipation of lo-

1 The historiography of Christian mission as a whole is vast and reaches far beyond this introduction. A recent, comprehensive introduction is the four-volume anthology by Frederiks and Nagy, eds., *Critical Readings in the History of Christian Mission*. The general introduction (1–36) provides an excellent summary of the various schools and strands in mission studies.

2 Grove, 'Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourses and the Origins of Conservation Thinking in Southern Africa, 1820–1900'; Griffin, 'Critical Heritage and Biodiversity Conservation in the Northern Philippines'.

3 Vilhena de Moraes and Abreu Funari, 'Jesuit-Guarani Missions'.

4 Bravo, 'Mission Gardens'.

5 Swanson, 'A New Generation'; Prieto, 'Bibles, Baseball and Butterfly Sleeves'; Coomans, 'Gendered Spaces'.

6 Christiaens, Goddeeris and Verstraete, eds., *Missionary Education*; Tounsel, *Chosen Peoples: Christianity and Political Imagination in South Sudan*, 23–43.

cal communities. In this sense, Africanist Barry Schutz has stated that in African colonial settings, missionary education helped foster modern political elites that would guide their countries into an independent future, while at the same time being fundamentally colonial and paternalistic.[7] Connected to education as to evangelization in itself, the missionaries' attention to language and linguistics had an equally significant impact on communities in the mission areas. Linguistic skills were a prerequisite for establishing contacts with the local population, conveying the gospel message and expanding missionary activities. Hence, virtually every missionary setting has spawned its own 'linguistic missionary heritage', including works in the fields of lexicography, topography and ethnolinguistics.[8]

To a certain degree, approaches to missionary heritage differ depending on the discipline and the subject of study. Patrimony that is intimately connected to more direct aspects of missionary work (e.g. evangelization, conversion, campaigns against local cultural practices), or that highlights the relationship between mission and colonization, is more likely to inform imperialist and hegemonic readings. This is arguably most clearly the case with traces of the material and spatial developments of Catholic and Protestant missions: the establishment of churches, schools, hospitals and other constructions that functioned as central localities for the transmission of Western cultural values, and by which mission left an enduring imprint on the material and social organization of space.[9] Recent scholarship has expanded our knowledge of missionary landscapes and urban design, and how local environments have been appropriated and mobilized in the constitution of new social relationships and social inequalities. Missions transformed landscapes, whether by physically altering the environment, introducing Western constructions and removing local ones, or transforming mental schemes for understanding space or adding new layers of meaning to particular places. Studies demonstrated how in this respect mission/missionaries operated in close accord with colonial polities. Research into the Catholic CICM missionaries in the Kasai region of then Congo Free State and Belgian Congo, for example, uncovered their intense involvement in the spatial reconfiguration of this area.[10] While having little significance in explaining the contemporary organization of the Kasai landscape, their spatial discourse is highly illustrative for the ways mission could contribute to the destructive projection of a governmental order on a foreign landscape and its subsequent colonial territorialization. Similarly, anthropologist Elizabeth Kryder-Reid has investigated the role of the Californian mission land-

7 Schutz, 'The Colonial Heritage of Strife'.

8 Wienberg, 'Linguistic missionary heritage'.

9 Coomans, ed., *Missionary Spaces*; Vasquez, *La cartographie missionnaire en Afrique*; Comaroff and Comaroff, 'Mansions of the Lord Architecture, Interiority, Domesticity'; Thomas, 'Chiefdoms, Cantons, and Contentious Land'.

10 Cleys, 'Catholic Missionaries and the Production of Kasai as a Colonial Landscape, 1890–1960'.

scapes in the Spanish colonization of Alta California in the eighteenth century and their ongoing transformation to heritage sites throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[11] Her study convincingly demonstrates the role of landscape design in establishing hegemonic ways of seeing and understanding the land and its connection to culture and society, and that the heritagization of missionary courtyards in California today has created ideological spaces that perpetually naturalize settler-colonial narratives.

The present-day appropriation and mobilization of such 'mission landscapes' for the benefit of civic, commercial and religious interests echoes historical missionary operations that were aimed at suppressing Indigenous societies and their connection to the natural environment. Especially in cases where historical mission settlements function in a commemorative or touristic context, they are likely to trigger conflicts between differing missionary, colonial and Indigenous narratives in past and present.[12] Inclinations towards the preservation of tangible cultural heritage has in the past resulted in favoring missionary heritage to the exclusion of Indigenous intangible heritage. Such was the case for the memorial site dedicated to the missionary adventurer David Livingstone in Botswana, first established in 1916 and declared a historical monument in 1952. The naming, identification and preservation of the site was skewed towards missionary heritage, while the intangible Indigenous Bakwena cultural legacy that likewise resides in the landscape was long left unacknowledged and rendered invisible, and as a result was suppressed yet again.[13] A specific challenge is posed by monuments dedicated to missionaries in former colonies and metropoles around the world: remnants of religious triumphalism that sit uneasy with increasing calls for redressing the colonial past and decolonizing material evocations of colonial and missionary legacies in the public space.[14]

Yet it should also be pointed out that missionary heritage can bear witness to more complex cultural negotiations, making it a stepping stone or a space for a more inclusive and critical representation of Indigeneity. Scholarship has come to acknowledge the agency of evangelized societies in adopting and appropriating Christianity as an Indigenous religion, often in ways unforeseen by the missionaries themselves.[15] The Gambian missiologist Lamin Sanneh has argued that missionaries have to submit themselves (and their language, theology and culture) to the society in which they were working. The 'reciprocity' of the relationship

11 Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*.
12 Legget and Histen, 'Visiting with a Mission(ary)'; Goezler Meira and Durán, 'Reflections on Tourism in Jesuitic-Guarani Missions'; Ryan and Stokes-Rees, 'A Tale of Two Missions'.
13 Osireditse Keitumetse, *African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management*.
14 Hin Tana and Choy, 'Re-interpreting heritage'.
15 Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries*; Masondo, 'Indigenous Conceptions of Conversion among African Christians in South Africa'.

between missionaries and their environment, according to Sanneh, goes beyond assumptions that the evangelized are merely 'victims of missionary oppression either because they were forcibly converted or because missionary contact proved fatal to Indigenous originality.'[16] Mission fostered the acquisition of local culture by the dominant culture, and vice versa, and sometimes the boundaries between who appropriates whom become blurred.

The recent turn to missionary heritage as a source of bilateral cultural interactions echoes a more general shift in critical mission studies from a mission-centered approach to the reception of Christianity, with special attention for local agency and local manifestations of Christianity. Earlier postcolonial and anthropological approaches to mission history, deeply influenced by Jean and John Comaroff's seminal work *Of Revelation and Revolution* (1991) and strongly focussed on mission's complicity in the colonial project, have recently received criticism for projecting overly monolithic conceptualizations of mission and colonialism and for the lack of agency accorded to the Indigenous population.[17] Backed by a growing academic interest in cultural movement and symbioses – including Stephen Greenblatt's concept of 'cultural mobility', Mary Louise Pratt's 'contact zones' and Gloria Anzaldúa's 'borderlands' – scholars have begun to use the lenses of cultural exchange and transculturation to describe processes of mutual appropriation in missionary contexts.[18] Also in the fields of theology and missiology this change is noticeable. In her acclaimed *Rethinking Mission in the Postcolony* (2011), missiologist Marion Grau draws upon postcolonial theologian Joerg Rieger's contention that mission ought to be thought of 'in terms of building relationships' to call attention to the multilayered 'productive friction' and 'intercultural mimesis' that can arise as incarnations of such 'relationship[s] of mutuality' between missionaries and missionized.[19] According to anthropologist Lisbeth Haas, missions, despite incontestably being sites of fundamental cultural disruption, could simultaneously and paradoxically also be places in which native translators, artisans, and traditional and new leaders could '[use] Indigenous forms of authority, knowledge, and power to seek redress and to sustain the community'.[20]

In step with the ever-advancing understanding of the complex position of missions, the last two decades have seen a pronounced shift in scholarly attention from written materials to material culture as a source of research, ranging from photographs, illustrations and Indigenous artifacts, to plant specimens. Perhaps the most prominent feature of this 'material turn' in mission studies has been

16 Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, 173.

17 Comaroff and Comaroff, eds., *Of Revelation and Revolution*.

18 Greenblatt, ed., *Cultural mobility*; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Anzaldua, *Borderlands/La Frontera*.

19 Rieger, 'Theology and Mission between Neocolonialism and Postcolonialism'; Grau, *Rethinking Mission in the Postcolony*, 25.

20 Haas, *Saints and citizens*, 7.

the growing interest in missionary photography and cultural objects. Both fields have brought forth studies that have convincingly demonstrated how missionary visual and material cultures were the outcomes of cultural suppression as well as complex processes of negotiation and cooperation. While often being the reflections of staged, imperial representations of 'the other', critical approaches to missionary photography can likewise offer an otherwise unique window into the complexities and relationality of the missionary endeavor not available through other source types.[21]

The same counts for material culture. From small-scale mission exhibitions in local parish halls to lush installations in spaces as grandiose as the Vatican, ethnographers, anthropologists and museologists have taken an interest in missionary collecting practices and the role of mission in the establishment and exhibition of non-Western cultural artifacts.[22] An important milestone in the development of this field was Karen Jacobs, Chantal Knowles and Chris Wingfield's *Trophies, Relics and Curios* (2015), a volume of essays on various artifacts that survived from the British Protestant missionary movement in Africa and the Pacific during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[23] These contributions successfully reveal how material missionary heritage was the product of an encounter between multiple parties, and is prone to assume multiple significances and to receive differing (mis)interpretations over the course of its 'life history'. Objects are convincingly approached as results from these encounters; materializations and testimonies of complex cultural negotiations. While not disavowing the contexts of inequality and often violence from which these cultural artifacts emerged, these contributors observed that missionary encounters also provided opportunities for local agency and cultural creativity, thus adding further nuances to the conception of the missionary enterprise as one involving the unilateral suppression of local cultural practices. The central innovative aspect of such an approach to missionary heritage is that it allows us to identify both the severe and often destructive impact of missions, as well as the agency of Indigenous peoples to object to or appropriate elements of imposed Christianity.

21 Thompson, *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*; Clarck, ed., *Missionary Photography in Korea*; Geary, 'Missionary Photography'; Reichgelt, 'Children as Protagonists in Colonial History'.

22 Wingfield, 'Missionary Museums'.

23 Jacobs, Knowles and Wingfield, 'Introduction'.

Encounters and transformations

The present book brings together ten case studies from diverse geographical and cultural contexts, and aims at contributing to a better knowledge of the specific nature and role of missionary heritage in processes of inculturation and cross-cultural impact, memories and remembrance, and the production of historical knowledge. With few exceptions the contributions cover the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and they are clustered into three thematic sections, which do not detract from the fact that the contributions show strong interlinkages. The contributions in this volume are as much about particular mission histories as about how specific forms of heritage have been appropriated and transformed, and have become instrumental in constructing highly particular representations of the missionary past today.

By definition, 'mission' implies new encounters between different cultures. In various instances, these encounters fostered forms of cultural osmosis between local practices and Christian elements introduced by the mission, often as part of deliberate strategies of inculturation that led to the creation of new, hybrid expressions. While introduced and maintained as controlled avenues for the eventual evangelization of the communities in question, these creative processes were rarely one-way streets, but rather reciprocal cultural transactions in which local communities themselves also took on a significant measure of agency. This negotiation could take many forms, and should be understood within a broad spectrum of many different case-specific dynamics and relationships between missionaries and local communities, ranging from resistance to cooperation.

Music constituted an important cultural dimension of colonialism and has received due attention by scholars of mission. Analyses of musical practices that were introduced in mission fields in Central and East Africa and the Americas have demonstrated the multiple ways music has been deployed in the realms of evangelization, education and recreation.[24] The premise of Paola Granado's chapter is that the introduction of musical catechesis could equally transform into bi-directional intercultural dialogue between missionaries and native communities. The Jesuit province of Peru, founded in 1572, constitutes a particularly interesting example of a living legacy. Throughout their South American provinces, Jesuit missionaries managed to enforce 'reductional pacts' in order to limit Spanish intervention in their evangelization activities, assure exemption of slave labor in their parish communities, and maintain a certain degree of autonomy. These missionary settlements or *reducciones* became important centers of economic, so-

24 Spindler, 'Apprendre à chanter, apprendre à croire'; Cornet, 'Musique et univers sonores dans le champ missionnaire des Grands Lacs'; W'Itunga, 'Une analyse de la "messe katangaise" de Joseph Kiwele'; Barz, *Performing Religion*; Dubois, *De l'oreille au cœur*.

cial and spiritual life. In these artificial societies, Jesuit missionaries not only positioned themselves as mediators between Indigenous communities and colonial structures, but also acted as cultural negotiators, fashioning a blend of European compositions and local instrumentation and implementing it as a form of musical catechesis. After the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767, other missionary societies continued to operate until the nineteenth century but subsequently underwent a gradual process of increasing instability and decline. In many ways, former missionary communities in Bolivia changed just like many other societies did, but the heritage coming from the reductions, and their musical legacy in particular, remains strongly attached to their cultural identity to this day. Granado considers this entangled heritage in the particular context of the Bolivian mission of San Ignacio de Moxos, outlining the development of Moxos missionary musical repertoire as it became an intrinsic part of the local cultural identity.

In various ways and to varying degrees, depending on the particular context, the relationship between foreign missions and local communities was determined by the way they came to position themselves towards each other in the face of significant local political and societal developments. A particularly instructive case is provided in Leah Abayao's contribution, in which she sets out to chart the imprints marked by missionaries of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM or 'Scheut') in northern Luzon in the Philippines. While the CICM already demarcated this 'Mountain Province' as a mission province in the early 1900s, had established dioceses and parishes, and built chapels, churches and schools, Abayao focusses on a more recent episode in the history of their presence: the involvement of Belgian CICM missionaries in the 1968–1978 resistance movement against the Chico River Dam Project, a huge development project initiated by the Philippine national government. Abayao navigates the workings of the Belgian fathers as they defended their diocese from the growing tensions caused by the project and eventually became caught in a conflict between the local Kalinga people and the government authorities. The CICM working in this area as well as the people of the old Mountain Province themselves enjoyed a degree of independence from the Insular Government, sparking a more profound mutual relationship that transcended the duality of evangelizers and proselytes. The fathers and the local communities mutually benefitted from their respective engagements, which resulted in a deep-seated shared articulation of resistance against state policies and projects that presented threats to Indigenous societies and cultural heritage.

The forced conversion of Indigenous peoples to Christianity not infrequently implied a profound transformation not only of their religion, but of their entire worldview and their cultural individuality. In his contribution, Kwami Eden Afoutou broaches this issue by taking an in-depth look at the Order of the Knights and Ladies of Marshall (KLM), a Catholic male and female fraternal association that has its most important center located in Lomé, Togo's capital city. The local

Ewe culture had been deeply affected by European Protestant missionary activities. Pietist missionaries of the North German Missionary Society debarked in Togo in 1847 and promoted inner life and conservative Western values as the core of the Christian life among the Ewe folk, who eventually adapted the missionaries' characteristic dualistic understanding of Christianity as a central feature of their own Ewe Protestant identity. Fieldwork among the KLM in the same region today has revealed that language has been a conduit of the legacy of local Ewe culture into KLM's practices in Lomé, and that several of its most notable features, including the dualistic insistence on the dichotomy between God and the Devil, bear clear marks of both Protestant Ewe Christianity, rituals and practices, and traditional Ewe cosmology.

'Mission history does not simply have two sides, whereby an Indigenous view can be juxtaposed with a mission perspective', but is to be considered as an 'ongoing sequence of complex encounters characterized by a variety of cultural exchanges', Karen Jacobs writes in the introduction to her chapter on the legacy of missionary encounters in the Pacific. Introducing the concept of 'co-mission' to highlight the role of missionaries in transforming artistic production in the Pacific, implying both disjunction and conjunction, Jacobs emphasizes the notion of interaction, and argues for a more complex understanding of the role of both missionaries and local people when considering the mission's impact. As evidence of missionary engagement with Pacific Islanders, Jacobs turns to the material legacy of mission activity, which she explores through cases in Papua and the Fiji islands. First focussing on clothing and the body in relation to the ideas and practices introduced by Protestant Methodist missionaries, and secondly on the Catholic Mission's commissioning of woodcarvings, this contribution pays particular attention to Indigenous responses to these foreign cultural interventions. Jacobs' dual objective is to bring out the role of individuals, intercultural interpretations and Indigenous agency on the one hand, and on the other to establish a more nuanced understanding of processes of conversion: one that highlights aspects of transformation, translation, appropriation and indigenization.

Place and memory

The interference of Catholic and Protestant missions was often accompanied by an emphatic material and spatial manifestation in order to create a new 'place', or to appropriate an existing location within the Indigenous environment. On the one hand, structures and infrastructure were primarily designed to enable the organization and expansion of the missionary apostolate. On the other, they also, often very consciously, embodied proselytism itself as their outward formal language combined with the mission's evangelizing discourse: mission stations,

schools, hospitals, orphanages, chapels, churches and bell towers became new landmarks, new anchor points for local communities. Architecture represented renewal and modernization along Western lines, but was also embedded in a local cultural and natural topography. Constructions and spatial planning could disrupt, alter or push away communities, or generate new ones. Contemporary (infra) structures and today's worldviews can therefore teach us a lot about the cultural and social impact of Christian missions in the past, and vice versa: mission history can sometimes provide surprising insights about current societies. Several contributions in this volume relate to these material, spatial expressions of missions, but simultaneously transcend them by linking this dimension to how individuals and communities in past and present relate to this heritage and the histories they tell.

Naziru Yahaya Shuaibu's chapter offers a reconstruction of the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) activities among Maguzawa communities of Tudun Wada in northern Nigeria, and provides a clear overview of the missionaries' goals. An important element in the SIM's campaign, indeed, was to assign active roles to converts for further proselytizing work and the practice of 'converting' their personal homesteads into de facto mission posts. These places played a pivotal role as physical and symbolical anchorage points within Maguzawa communities, and provided stepping stones to further Christian expansion. As a consequence, these places became closely tied to the history of the spread of the SIM and Christianity in Nigeria. Moreover, in the absence of written documentation, the personal memories of community members associated with these locations are vital resources for historical research.

Missions did not operate in a vacuum; the local political, ideological and social circumstances had a decisive influence on the development of ideas introduced by missionaries. Leon Bouwmeester's contribution on the Belgian Franciscan mission in Taiwan demonstrates how a complex combination of political dynamics, future visions and climatic conditions influenced the spatial location and architectural form of church buildings. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, about one million Nationalist Chinese fled into exile to Taiwan, where the Kuomintang established its power. Among the foreign missionaries expelled from mainland China, a dozen Belgian Franciscans friars were assigned to the archdiocese of Taipei. In line with their earlier activities in China, and true to the missiological guideline of indigenization, they invested heavily in evangelization, the establishment of Catholic parishes, and the construction of churches and kindergartens. However, as their stay in Taiwan was expected to be limited in time due to the belief that the Kuomintang would soon reconquer China, the first infrastructure was considered temporary. After the dream of reconquest eventually vanished, most first-generation churches were replaced by larger and better equipped buildings to root the Catholic Church in Taiwan, often favoring modern reinforced concrete structures that were able to resist typhoons. The result of

this unforeseen development of events is a distinctly incomplete preservation of architectural and archival remnants of the Belgian Franciscan friars in Taiwan, complicating both the study and the heritagization of these sites.

Based on a survey of three Protestant girls' schools in Shanghai and Ningbo in East China, Jennifer Bond's chapter explores how views of missionary education in China shifted over the course of time: from an emancipatory portrayal of mission schools by the missionaries themselves, to being considered a tool of cultural imperialism and brainwashing during the Maoist era, to today's more nuanced, nostalgic and commercial appreciation. Bond explores this history of changing signification and appropriation by critically engaging with the memories and experiences of several alumnae of these schools, and confronting these testimonies with missionary writings and political printed media. By presenting the ways the interviewees navigate between overlapping multiple religious, political and gendered identities, Bond contributes to debunking well-known and often static narratives of modernity, Christianity and politics. She does so by probing how the alumnae's personal experience relates to other readings of missionary schools by other instances from their respective educational, political, commercial or esthetical vantage points. 'Place' and 'space' – the schools' physical layout – feature prominently in their recollections, and visits to school buildings proved to be important catalysts for site-specific memories.

Despite the fact that the contributions by Shuaibu, Bouwmeester and Bond consider very different cases, they have in common a strong reliance on oral history: personal witnesses and recollections function as the backbones of these histories, and are not just included to accommodate archival source material. Memories are anything but impartial sources of knowledge; their research value lies precisely in their subjectivity. The situation of the Belgian Franciscan missionaries in Taiwan is specific due to their vow of poverty that limits personal belongings, including archives. To fill this major gap, oral memories about the Belgian missionaries – in the meantime all deceased – were collected. Shuaibu's case, clearly devoid of any heritagization process, contrasts with the current condition of missionary school buildings in East China, which reveals forms of musealization and includes active international networks of alumni.

Representation and memorialization

Missions were often accompanied by an insistent and often skillfully orchestrated production of visual and discursive representations to increase support for and perpetuate the influence of missionary activities. Today, these publications, museum presentations and monuments are important sources for missionaries' self-perception and their status in society in general. But equally, one can find

traces of how evangelized societies appropriated traditional forms of missionary self-representation to express their own vision of history. And historical expressions of Eurocentric boasting of local missionary champions in the form of statues and memorials are slowly but surely becoming the subject of postcolonial critiques and catalysts of debate about the exclusive nature of public space.

In 1956, the Belgian Jesuit Mission among the Adivasis in former Chota Nagpur, India, transitioned into the present-day Ranchi Jesuit province in Jharkhand, as part of a general policy launched by the Holy See in 1926, to replace foreign missionary structures with localized churches. Mainly looking at their enduring legacy in terms of architecture, literature, education, developmental works and the practice of Christian faith, Rinald D'Souza proposes a re-examination of Ranchi's missionary heritage through a 'reading of indigenization', a process that developed in India after the independence of 1947, in which emerging Christian identities sought to articulate and negotiate their religious and social spheres within public life. The indigenization of the Ranchi Jesuit province – the articulation of Adivasi Jesuit identities within the broader Jesuit province – is scrutinized by focusing on how Adivasi texts present the Ranchi mission's history and simultaneously encourages the exploration and uncovering of Jesuit Adivasi identities. D'Souza demonstrates that native actors exhibit their agency to interpret and express their sociocultural norms and behaviors, while also possessing the ability and agency to adapt non-native cultural norms and behaviors.

Markus Scholz discusses the missionary practice and ideas of the Bavarian Capuchins among the Mapuche in Araucanía in the south of Chile from 1895–1896 onwards. Distinguishing themselves as defenders of Indigenous land rights and as linguistic experts on the Mapuche language, they also assembled a rich collection of ethnographic artifacts and natural specimens which were exhibited in the mission museum of their monastery in Altötting, near Munich, until it closed in 1987. Through in-depth analysis, Scholz not only provides insights into the specificity of this particular collection, but also contributes to the understanding of missionary museums in general by elucidating their relation to contemporary ethnographic practices, as well as linking this history to the current debate on the provenance, handling and presentation of ethnographic collections from colonial times kept in European museums. By exploring the Bavarian Capuchins' collecting activities in Chile and how the artifacts were exhibited in Altötting, Scholz aims at reconstructing the biography of this particular set of artifacts, and establishing a more transparent curation as to the origins of the objects. In this way, Scholz addresses the issue of the 'treasures' that missionaries brought back and that are still kept in monasteries, missionary houses and public museums, which generally tend to be excluded from debates regarding the decolonization of museum collections.

A specific form of memorialization is the remembrance of missionaries and missionary work manifested in public monuments erected in the hometowns and

villages of the missionaries in question. Idesbald Goddeeris studies this phenomenon in Flanders, Belgium, a region that produced large numbers of Catholic missionaries to work in various mission areas around the globe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Statues and other monuments erected in their memory and honor reflect the complex intertwining of colonial, political and religious narratives in local and global perspectives. Goddeeris' research reveals that missionaries appear to have been widely celebrated in the Belgian public space, with almost half of the Flemish cities and municipalities having street names, statues, commemoration plaques and other markers that make reference to them. Remarkably, this fascination for acclamation of missionaries has not fully dissolved today, as new memorials and streets have emerged over the past twenty years. In contrast to their one-dimensionally and uniformly positive representation of missionaries – be it as adventurous trailblazers, humble individuals who left their comfort zone, committed social workers who committed to introducing education and health care, or unselfish martyrs who gave their life for a higher purpose – the missionary movement has been regularly criticized in the course of the twentieth century for its involvement in colonialism and imperialism. In the Belgian context, this was for instance the case during the first decades of the colonization of Congo, or at the time of the publication in Flanders of the first critical historical studies of the Congo Free State in the 1980s. Yet the presence of missionary memorials or references in public spaces rarely feature in public debates about colonial heritage in Belgian public spaces. In an attempt to interpret this phenomenon, Goddeeris points to various factors, most of which revolve around the ambivalence of missionaries as historical figures, embodying a puzzling blend of colonialism, paternalism and racism on the one hand, and faith, social engagement and criticism of secular colonial power on the other hand.

REFERENCES

Anzaldua, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Press, 1987.

Barz, Gregory F. *Performing Religion: Negotiating Past and Present in Kwaya Music of Tanzania*. Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2003.

Bravo, Michael T. 'Mission Gardens: Natural History and Global Expansion, 1720–1820'. In: Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, eds. *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005, 49–65.

Christiaens, Kim, Idesbald Goddeeris, and Pieter Verstraete, eds. *Missionary Education. Historical Approaches and Global Perspectives*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021.

Clarck, Donald N., ed. *Missionary Photography in Korea: Encountering the West through Christianity*. New York: The Korea Society, 2009.

Cleys, Bram. 'Catholic Missionaries and the Production of Kasai as a Colonial Landscape, 1890–1960'. In: Vincent Viaene, Bram Cleys and Jan De Maeyer, eds. *Religion, Colonization and Decolonization in Congo, 1885–1960*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020, 115–137.

Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff. 'Mansions of the Lord Architecture, Interiority, Domesticity'. In: Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, eds. *Of Revelation and Revolution. Vol. 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997, 274–322.

Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff, eds. *Of Revelation and Revolution. Vol. 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Coomans, Thomas. 'Gendered Spaces in Catholic Compounds in Late Qing China'. In Thomas Coomans, ed. *Missionary Spaces. Imagining, Building, Contesting Christianities in Africa and China, 1830s-1960s*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2024, 106-145.

Coomans, Thomas, ed. *Missionary Spaces. Imagining, Building, Contesting Christianities in Africa and China, 1840–1960*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2024.

Cornet, Anne. 'Musique et univers sonores dans le champ missionnaire des Grands Lacs. Perception, emprunts et transferts au Kivu, Rwanda et Burundi, 1908–1940'. In: Vincent Viaene, Bram Cleys and Jan De Maeyer, eds. *Religion, Colonization and Decolonization in Congo, 1885–1960*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020, 143–168

Dubois, Paul-André. *De l'oreille au cœur. Naissance du chant religieux en langues amérindiennes dans les missions de Nouvelles-France, 1600–1650*. Sillery: Septentrion, 1997.

Frederiks, Martha, and Dorottya Nagy, eds. *Critical Readings in the History of Christian Mission*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2021.

Geary, Christraud M. 'Missionary Photography: Private and Public Readings'. *African Arts* 24 (1991) 4, 48–59.

Goezler Meira, Ana Lúcia, and Luisa Durán. 'Reflections on Tourism in Jesuitic-Guarani Missions'. In: Rodrigo Christofoletti and Marcos Olender, eds. *World Heritage Patinas. Actions, Alerts and Risks*. Cham: Springer, 2021, 139–154.

Grau, Marion. *Rethinking Mission in the Postcolony: Salvation, Society and Subversion*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2011.

Gray, Richard. *Black Christians and White Missionaries*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1990.

Greenblatt, Stephen, ed. *Cultural mobility. A manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Griffin, Marcus B. 'Critical Heritage and Biodiversity Conservation in the Northern Philippines: A Case Study'. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 35 (2007) 1–2, 5–23.

Grove, Richard. 'Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourses and the Origins of Conservation Thinking in Southern Africa, 1820–1900'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15 (1989) 2, 163–187.

Haas, Lisbeth. *Saints and citizens: Indigenous histories of colonial missions and Mexican California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.

Hin, Tana, Keith Kay, and Chun Wei Choy, 'Re-interpreting heritage: viewing the Malay Peninsula's colonial-era missionary monuments as public art'. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 15 (2020) 2, 164–179.

Jacobs, Karen, Chantal Knowles, and Chris Wingfield. 'Introduction'. In: Karen Jacobs, Chantal Knowles, and Chris Wingfield, eds. *Trophies, Relics and Curios? Missionary Heritage from Africa and the* Pacific. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015, 9–10.

Kryder-Reid, Elizabeth. *California Mission Landscapes. Race, Memory and the Politics of Heritage*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.

Legget, Jane, and Suzanne Histen. 'Visiting with a Mission(ary). Engaging with Stakeholders at New Zealand Heritage Sites'. In: Ruth Dowson, Jabar Yaqub and Razaq Raj, eds. *Spiritual and Religious Tourism. Motivations and Management*. Oxfordshire-Boston: CABI, 2019, 122–134.

Masondo, Sibusiso. 'Indigenous Conceptions of Conversion among African Christians in South Africa'. *Journal for the Study of Religion*, 28 (2015) 2, 87–112.

Osireditse Keitumetse, Susan. *African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management. Theory and Practice from Southern Africa*. Cham: Springer, 2016, 119–123.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Prieto, Laura R. 'Bibles, Baseball and Butterfly Sleeves: Filipina Women and American Protestant Missions, 1900–1930'. In: Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly, eds. *Divine Domesticities: Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2014, 367–396.

Reichgelt, M.G.W. 'Children as Protagonists in Colonial History. Watching Missionary Photography'. *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 135 (2020), 80–105.

Rieger, Joerg. 'Theology and Mission between Neocolonialism and Postcolonialism'. *Mission Studies*, 2 (2004), 201–227.

Ryan, Debora, and Emily Stokes-Rees. 'A Tale of Two Missions: Common Pasts/Divergent Futures at Transnational Historic Sites'. *The Public Historian*, 39 (2017) 3, 10–39.

Sanneh, Lamin. *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*. Maryknoll: Orbis, 1989.

Schutz, Barry M. 'The Colonial Heritage of Strife: Sources of Cleavage in the Zimbabwe Liberation Movement'. *Africa Today*, 25 (1978) 1, 7–27.

Spindler, Marc. 'Apprendre à chanter, apprendre à croire. Un aspect de la pédagogie missionnaire à Madagascar au XIX^{e} siècle'. In: Hughes Didier and Madalena Larcher, eds. *Pédagogies missionnaires: traduire, transmettre, transculturer*. Paris: Karthala, 2012, 245–257.

Swanson, Herbert R. 'A New Generation: Missionary Education and Changes in Women's Roles in Traditional Northern Thai Society'. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 3 (1988) 2, 187–206.

Thomas, Guy. 'Chiefdoms, Cantons, and Contentious Land: Mapping out a Mission Field in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cameroon'. In: Toyin Falola, ed. *Christianity and Social Change in Africa. Essays in Honour of J.D.Y. Peel*. Durham: Carolina University Press, 2005, 513–543.

Thompson, T. Jack. *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2012.

Tounsel, Christopher. *Chosen Peoples: Christianity and Political Imagination in South Sudan*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2021, 23–43.

Vasquez, Jean-Michel. *La cartographie missionnaire en Afrique: science, religion et conquête (1870–1930)*. Paris: Karthala, 2011.

Vilhena de Moraes, Tobias, and Pedro Paulo Abreu Funari. 'Jesuit-Guarani Missions: UNESCO World Heritage Site in Brazil'. In: Fabiana Lopes da Cunha and Jorge Rabassa, eds. *Festivals and Heritage in Latin America*. Cham: Springer, 2021, 239–257.

Wienberg, Marina. 'Linguistic missionary heritage. Capuchin missionary Father Laurentius and his unpublished German-Chuukese dictionary'. In: Brigitte Weber, ed. *The Linguistic Heritage of Colonial Practice*. Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2019, 93–114.

Wingfield, Chris. 'Missionary Museums'. In: Gretchen Buggeln, Crispin Paine and S. Brent Plate, eds. *Religion in Museums. Global and Multidisciplinary* Perspectives. London-New York: Bloomsbury, 2017, 231–238.

W'Itunga, Kishilo. 'Une analyse de la "messe katangaise" de Joseph Kiwele'. *Journal of International Library of African Music*, 6 (1987) 4, 108–125.

Encounters and Interplays

Bolivian Missionary Musical Repertoire, Heritagization, and Contemporary Roles

Paola Granado

Since colonial times, different Catholic orders, such as Franciscans, Augustans, and Dominicans, have established missions in Latin America. In 1572, the Society of Jesus founded their province of Peru in South America, which included Charcas, today in Bolivia. The main Jesuit provinces were in Peru and Mexico, and later in the Philippines, New Granada and Quito. The Jesuits founded several missions in what are now Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Paraguay. These missionary settlements or 'reductions'[1] became centers of economic, social and spiritual life, and evangelized Indian societies with vernacular music and catechesis.[2]

It was in Europe, however, that the Jesuits developed their educational apostolate and their usage of music in the liturgy. Although at first music was not permitted, the Order established centers for the development of sacred music and many of their missionaries were also active as musicians before they were sent to foreign missions. Jesuit colleges played an important role in music education, including Collegium Germanicum in Rome (1552), Collegium Gregorianum in Munich (1572), Collegium Ferdinandeum in Graz (1574) and other colleges in Vienna, Prague, Cologne, Mainz, Augsburg and Dillingen.[3] As a constitutive part of the curriculum, music was integrated in the quadrivium along with arithmetic, astronomy and geometry. This resulted in musical pieces composed by or for Jesuits (among them are Tomás Luis de Victoria, Giacomo Carissimi, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Marc-Antoine Charpentier, etc.) and musical treatises, such as the *Musurgia universalis sive ars magna consoni et dissoni* (1650), written by the German

1 A reduction was a Christian missionary settlement established in South America from the seventeenth until the eighteenth century in order to evangelize native people.

2 Lema-Garret, 'Misioneros: mediadores entre indígenas amazónicos y el Estado (siglos XVIII–XX)', 21.

3 Culley, 'The German College in Rome', 112.

Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680).[4] As music was considered an important tool to involve people in church life and played a key role in the liturgy, founding music schools in South American missions became one of the Jesuits' principal objectives. 'Missionary musicians' – such as Father Luis Berger in 1616, Father Anton Sepp in 1712 and Father Domenico Zipoli in 1717 in Panama, Father Julian Paucke in Argentina, or Father Julian Knogler and Father Martin Schmid in Bolivia – were assigned prominent roles in their respective missionary regions.[5]

Artistic and creative expressions facilitated the complex intercultural dialogue between missionaries and natives. European iconography that appealed to the native Americans was transformed in conformity with their cultural tradition.[6] From this perspective, missionaries could be considered 'mediators' between native and colonial societies. Yet scholarship puts particular emphasis on the opportunism that prompted the Jesuits' protective attitude towards natives: their primary interest was to avoid Spanish intervention, which they saw as a threat to their evangelization activities. They managed to enforce the so-called 'reductional pact', which assured that natives were protected from slavery, had access to work tools and livestock and were granted 'autonomy' with regard to the Spanish civil and ecclesiastic administration. Missionary societies continued to operate after the expulsion of the Jesuit order in 1767 until the nineteenth century but subsequently underwent a gradual process of increasing instability and decline.[7] In many ways, former missionary communities in Bolivia changed just like many other societies did, but their heritage, especially in terms of their musical legacy, remains attached to their cultural identity in a special way. This chapter will focus on one Bolivian mission in particular, that of San Ignacio de Moxos. It will first describe the Bolivian missionary musical repertoire, secondly analyze their heritagization process, and thirdly discuss contemporary roles of missionary engagement in music preservation.

4 Irving, 'Music in Global Jesuit Missions, 1540–1773', 599.

5 Nawrot, 'Teaching of Music and the Celebration of Liturgical Events in the Jesuit Reductions', 74–76, 80–81.

6 Saito, 'Art and Christian Conversion in the Jesuit Missions on the Spanish South American Frontier', 185.

7 Lema-Garret, 'Misioneros: mediadores entre indígenas amazónicos y el Estado (siglos XVIII–XX)', 15, 24.

The musical archives of the former Jesuit missions in Bolivia

The province of Moxos (or Mojos) is located in the department of Beni in the Amazon region of Bolivia. The *Mojeños* are descendants of the Arawaks, a nomad group of the Greater Antilles and northern Lesser Antilles in the Caribbean and northern and western South America, all of whom spoke Arawakan-related languages.[8] Before the advent of Catholic evangelization in South America, religious concepts such as 'god' and 'devil' did not exist in native spiritual beliefs. Amazonian communities had a diversity of deities in whose honor they organized rituals. These deities had different purposes and powers over water and fish, clouds and lightning, harvest, war and jaguars. Religious festivals were the cornerstones of daily life. Native joy and beliefs were expressed through dance and music played with local instruments such as whistles and other sound-producing objects made of pumpkins, flutes made of reeds, drums and sometimes *sinobes* (big trumpets made of cylindrical pieces of bark which produce low notes). Pre-Hispanic dances served as tributes to nature, agriculture, and celestial bodies.[9]

The earliest contacts between Bolivian natives and Spanish colonizers took place around 1580, before the settlement of the first official mission. Former communities were subjected to visits by European explorers, enslavers, missionaries and commercial expeditions.[10] About a hundred years later, between 1696 and 1760, several expeditions involving a large number of Jesuits were undertaken in order to establish missions in the region of Chiquitos and Moxos in Bolivia. In 1682, the Jesuits Pedro Marban and Juan Rivadeneira founded the first mission of Moxos called Nuestra Señora de Loreto. Subsequently, Cipriano Barace and Francisco Javier Granados founded the Mission of Santísima Trinidad (1687), after which Antonio de Orellana, Juan del Espejo and Alvaro de Mendoza founded San Ignacio de Loyola (1689).[11] As a result of this process, the ethnic groups were divided into the Trinitarios, Ignacianos, Loretanos, Javerianos and Baures, names taken from the respective missions.

8 The era preceding the arrival of colonizers and missionaries in the late seventeenth century is generally divided into four periods. The first was one of different indigenous ethnic groups, such as the Itonama, Cayuvava, Canichana, Tacanam and Movima, who were mostly hunters and trappers. The following period of Arawakan immigration is tentatively dated to around 1500 BC. This immigration movement was crucial for the transition to the third phase. The so-called period of State Culture was characterized by a significant population increase and strict hierarchical social structures. Fourthly, the period of 'village confederations' is situated around 1200 AD. The society's social organization evolved into a tribal system with local *caciques* (chieftains). See Querejazu Lewis, *Trayectoria histórica y cultural de los Trinitarios*, 24–25.

9 *Ibid*., 93.

10 *Ibid*., 26.

11 Claro, *La música de las misiones jesuitas de Moxos*, 9–10.

As different communities were dispersed across these regions, 'the missionaries' task was to convince or coax the aborigines to abandon their isolated dwellings and gather ("reducirse") in villages, each numbering between one and three thousand people under the tutelage of two fathers'.[12] Such missionary 'reductions' involved a complex process of cultural homogenization and imposed a new social structure and economy on its inhabitants. It also implied negotiations between missionaries and natives in order to retain their loyalty. Although the inhabitants were forced to convert to Christianity, independent missionary settlements could also provide some sort of protection against Spanish and Portuguese invasion and exploitation. In order to convince natives to stay at the reductions, missionaries guaranteed them that working on missionary lands would also be remunerated. Jesuits sold fabrics, wax, cocoa, sugar and other items produced in their missions to Spanish and mestizo people in Peru. Natives received symbolic retributions in the form of iron, fabrics, knives and machetes.[13]

To proceed with the evangelization process, Jesuits followed a similar strategy as they did in Europe and in their Asian missions. Comparable to what happened in European Jesuit colleges, where music had a privileged role as a tool for religious teaching and as a sensory practice during public mass celebrations, musical methods were likewise applied in the spiritual colonialization of the 'New World'. Teaching through music, as a sacred art, had both a devotional and instructional purpose. This is evident from contemporary catechetical publications. For example, the *Modo per insegnar la dottrina Cristiana* ('Method of Teaching Christian Doctrine') published in 1573 by the Jesuit Giacomo Ledesma promoted an approach to catechism as a combination of reading, asking questions, making exhortations, repeating and singing.[14] Ledesma emphasized the use of musical arrangements because they would make catechism more enjoyable and support students in memorizing the religious texts, thus simultaneously developing their spiritual and musical sensibilities.[15]

While missionary testimonials have come down to us in the form of reports, there is a lack of direct evidence of the original native perception of European music and aesthetics. Jesuits frequently mentioned that natives expressed an interest in foreign arts, a penchant that possibly contributed to their transmission. It is unclear how their experience of this new and different kind of music related to or interfered with regular native spiritual practices. Common aspects shared between Western and indigenous music musical systems facilitated teaching and reduced cultural barriers. Proto-musical behavior is part of human cognitive development,

12 Waisman, *The Singing Demons of San Ignacio*, 2.
13 Lopes de Carvalho, *Cruzando fronteiras e negociando lealdades*, 3–5.
14 Filippi, 'A sound doctrine', 9.
15 Clines, 'By virtue of the senses', 51.

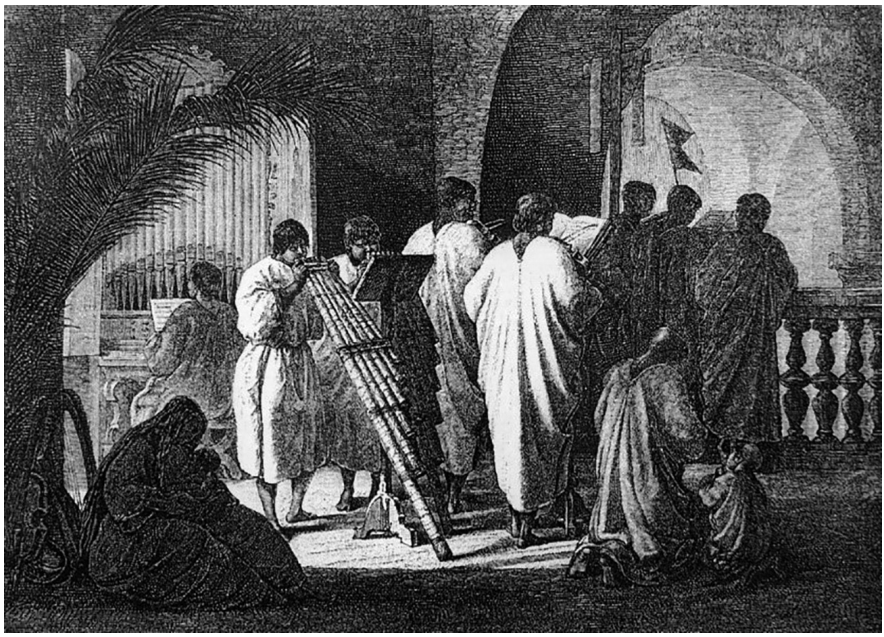
and is said to ease social interaction.[16] Furthermore, learning words or music simultaneously stimulates memorization.[17] With regard to this aspect, in our view, the music brought by Jesuits during the missionary era and its use during evangelization heavily impacted the way natives acquired foreign knowledge and reacted to it emotionally. Natives learned and memorized the catechism through songs, and music also served as an important cognitive and social interaction tool. The existence of musical scores copied, arranged and performed by local musicians provides further evidence of this.

Some ethnic groups retained their identity and language, while others were absorbed in the reductions. The role of language was crucial, and the linguistic unification during this period was also encouraged by marriages between partners from different ethnic groups, a practice which corresponded to the aim of 'reducing' the native people to one unique group. Despite the loss of minority languages, some widely spoken languages were transformed into a 'lingua franca'.[18] Missionaries themselves started learning native languages in order to catechize. They also prepared grammar manuals, dictionaries and religious pamphlets in different languages and applied European aesthetics to local architecture, music and theatrical performances. Through polyphonic music and songs in native languages, communities were encouraged to participate actively in religious ceremonies set up by the missionaries.

Missionaries began by teaching simple songs, to be repeated over and over and sung in unison during the mass, but gradually the musical level became more complex.[19] Musicians, instrument-makers and choirmasters were considered to be an intellectual elite called *la Familia* ('the Family'). In the lives of community members who worked on the land or for other reasons did not participate fully in artistic activities, music was nevertheless present through performances outdoor and while working.[20] Talented inhabitants however received formal instruction in music, whilst at the same time preserving their traditional music and even adding native instruments to the Western compositions introduced by the Jesuits, thus creating a new fusion and a new aesthetic. They also became instrument makers, building violins, organs and drums, and in some places, such as Moxos, they replaced the bassoon with a *bajón*, a big aerophone similar to a pan flute, about two meters in length.[21]

Since the advent of the missions in the seventeenth century, indigenous peoples had developed a written culture, which in many cases survived the gradual col-

16 Cross, 'Music, mind and evolution', 5–6.
17 Chaffin, Topher, Logan and Begosh, 'Performing from memory', 354.
18 Block, *Mission Culture on the Upper Amazon*, 19.
19 Interview with Piotr Nawrot on 18 September 2018.
20 Waisman, 'Urban Music in the Wilderness', 216.
21 Interview with Piotr Nawrot on 18 September 2018.



1. Musicians playing *Bajones*.
(Keller Leuzinger, 1874)

lapse of the centralized system of archive administration. After the expulsion of the missionaries in 1767, individualized handwritten pamphlets and notebooks were passed on to successive generations. Historical missionary documentary collections are composed of musical manuscripts, catechisms, prayers, hymns, sermons and manuals of sacraments in native languages, Latin and Spanish, as well as their respective language grammars and dictionaries. There are also catalogues drawn up by missionaries and native copyists.[22] Today, institutes including the Archivo de San Calixto in La Paz preserve collections composed of a wide range of documents, including songs, catechism and sacramental manuals. They are written in native languages such as Mojeño, Baure, Canichana, Movima and Tacana. It is possible that the Jesuit Simeon Garcia collected them in 1909 from different native owners in Mojos (Beni). A large proportion of the manuscripts were written after the Jesuits' expulsion in 1767.[23]

About 7,000 musical manuscripts are preserved in the Archivo de Moxos and about 5,000 in the Archivo de Chiquitos. Some pieces have been kept in old churches, whilst others come from private collections of local musicians. As in the case of religious documents in general, many musical pieces continued to be cop-

22 Saito, 'Las misiones y la administración del documento', 27–28.
23 *Ibid*., 33–34.

ied by copyists, who were already admired at the time of the reductions because of their essential role in producing handwritten musical copies that circulated in local and other reductions.[24] There were three kinds of copyists: professional copyists; devotional copyists; and copyist-interpreters.[25] Thanks to the archival preservation of manuscripts, the devotion of local communities and individual copyists, this historical music continues to be performed in celebrations and other cultural practices to this day, and hence plays a fundamental role in the forging of traditional cultural identities.[26] As such, this musical legacy is an essential part of the larger body of cultural traditions – consisting of customs, celebrations, architecture, instrument-making, etc. – that characterize former reduction settlements in Bolivia. In 1990, UNESCO declared six of the former missionary towns of Chiquitos and the Ichapekene Piesta of Moxos to be World Heritage Sites.[27]

The first musicological studies of this Bolivian musical tradition were conducted in the 1970s, while, at the same time, collections of music were transcribed and edited. The Polish musicologist Father Piotr Nawrot SVD (1955–) edited different pieces and published them through the Fondo Editorial of the Asociación Pro Arte y Cultura (APAC) and Verbo Divino. In 1996, APAC established the International Festival of American Renaissance and Baroque Music in former missionary towns in the provinces of Santa Cruz and Beni, with the aim of preserving and disseminating musical cultural heritage. Each festival is accompanied by the International Symposium of Musicology, during which topics relevant to early Bolivian music are discussed.[28] Nawrot is considered an important conservator and scholar of former Latin American missionary music. Not only is his work crucial for the study of early missionary musical culture in Bolivia, but it is also relevant to take into account Father Nawrot himself as a 'transmitter' of this heritage to the present day and his motivations and approaches in doing so. Throughout this contribution, references will be made to an interview with Nawrot conducted by the author in 2018.

24 Nawrot, *Misiones de Moxos: Catalogos*, 19

25 Nawrot, 'Musical Sources in the Moxos Missions', 21.

26 Waisman, *The Singing Demons of San Ignacio*, 15.

27 UNESCO World Heritage List, *Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos*, 1990, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/529.

28 Festival Internacional de musica renacentista y barroca americana 'Misiones de Chiquitos', http://www.festivalmisionesdechiquitos.com/el-festival/

Music compositions and their usage

Although missionary music was adapted to the different regions of evangelization, many of them shared a musical pedagogy and had musical pieces in common. The role of indigenous musicians was essential in the construction of new musical aesthetics and performance.[29] The input of both the missionaries and the evangelized in the creation process has confronted scholars with the problem of approaching and labeling this musical culture. The variety of classifications that have been used to refer this music illustrates its ambiguous nature: 'colonial music', 'Latin American baroque', 'Bolivian Baroque' or 'missionary music'.[30] And even the terminology is in itself ambiguous and can be interpreted from multiple angles. In the case of 'Baroque', a qualification of exuberant ornamentation, one could say that colonization indeed brought European Baroque aesthetics to Latin America, but 'Baroque' can also be used to describe the local contrasts, exuberance and the syncretism that characterized their native cultures.[31]

Looking at the musical archives, we can observe that the first approach to music-making that involved both missionaries and natives was through simple songs sung in unison in order to teach catechism and promote community participation during the masses. When officiating at the Mass, priests were assisted by local musicians who had an advanced musical knowledge. Once a mission was stable, the level of music performed became more elaborate and the Baroque music style became predominant in music teaching at the musical chapel (*capilla musical*).[32] Taking elements from both European and indigenous musical traditions, one can imagine that the so-called Baroque music was transmitted following European methods, but at the same time was also adapted to missionary religious and pedagogical purposes and hence took elements from indigenous musical culture as well. Baroque ornamented melodies, continuous rhythmic drive and polyphonic textures were enriched with a palette of sounds and musical practices taken from

29 Wilde, 'Entre la duplicidad y el mestizaje', 105–107.

30 "'Latin American Baroque" has gained currency; for example, it is used by the French journalist Alain Pacquier, who created the record label K617 Le Chemins du Baroque (K617 The Pathways of Baroque), which specializes in this repertoire. This term has also been used by scholars such as Geoff Baker (2008) and David Irving (2011) and by ensembles like Florilegium, which has recorded three volumes of this repertoire with the title "Bolivian Baroque". For some Latin American scholars such as Carlos Páramo (2009) the term Latin American Baroque can be "more precise (and less ideologically conditioned)" (2009 paragraph 7) than the term Música Colonial. However, other scholars have contested the term; Prudencio (2002) says in Latin America there was no Renaissance and Baroque, just colonization. Waisman (2004) argues that it is almost impossible to distinguish "Latin American Baroque" from Spanish Baroque except in how it was performed at the time': Villamizar, *Indigenous Modernities and the Performance of the Music of Bolivian Mission Archives by the Ensamble Moxos*, 7.

31 Waisman, *La americanidad del barroco americano*, 3.

32 Nawrot, *Misiones de Moxos: Catalogos*, 11.

2. 'Taye Jueves Santo', Lament in Mojeño Trinitario language.
[Edited by Piotr Nawrot in *Misiones de Moxos*]

3. 'Folias', first movement Allegro. Moxos Archive.
[Edited by Piotr Nawrot in *Misiones de Moxos*]

native cultures. As such, formal musical instruction by the missionaries in a way allowed native musicians to further develop their own traditional musical skills, which were up to that point mostly transmitted orally, and to transcribe native melodies into European musical notation.[33]

Unlike local spiritual practices such as rituals and celebrations, considered pagan by missionaries, native musical practices were not suppressed entirely, but were in their turn adapted to the missionary repertoire. This led to the creation of a specific local style that was intended to serve the needs of musical pedagogy. Not only were local musical traditions integrated in this musical pedagogy by the Jesuit missionaries, but native musicians themselves were also essential partners as music teachers and music preservers. Initially, music teaching was supervised by a missionary and assisted by native musicians, some of them brought from other missions. But in a later period, whenever and wherever a new mission was established, native musicians were made responsible for music teaching, making instruments, copying musical scores, and arranging, improvising or ornamenting different pieces, and they participated in daily masses by singing and playing.[34]

Few manuscripts mention with precision which teaching methods were employed and how Baroque music was performed in the missionary era in Bolivia. Most probably, music was taught at different levels of difficulty. The basic level included simple songs in native languages for catechism, the intermediate level included polyphonic pieces for liturgy and short instrumental pieces, and the advanced level required professionalism and virtuoso performances for a complex repertoire.[35] Illustrations 2 and 3 show examples from the national music archives, which consist of pieces in native languages, Latin and Spanish used during and after the expulsion of the Jesuits, may illustrate this. They are taken from Father Nawrot's editions published by APAC.[36] In some cases, copies of the same piece are preserved in the collections of both Moxos and Chiquitos because of the regular musical exchange between the two missions.

At the beginning of the evangelization, missionaries looked for direct ways to facilitate the memorization and assimilation of catechism. Hence, a first group consisted of songs that could be easily learned by heart and required no prior musical training. Songs of this type were composed using simple and repetitive melodies with several refrains. Some words that were too difficult to translate or that referred to notions that did not exist in the native conception of the world were written in Spanish. Interestingly, not only were these native melodies transcribed

33 Granado, *L'enseignement de la musique des missions jésuites de Moxos.*

34 Dessalines d'Orbigny, *Fragment d'un voyage au centre de l'Amérique méridionale, contenant des considérations sur la navigation de l'Amazonie et de La Plata, et sur les anciennes missions des provinces de Chiquitos et de Moxos (Bolivie),* 28.

35 Interview with Piotr Nawrot, 11 September 2018.

36 Published with kind permission by Piotr Nawrot.

in Western musical notation for the first time, using Latin script, but some of these songs represent the first ever written transcriptions of local languages. Songs such as *Taye Jueves Santo* [Lamentation of Holy Thursday], a song by an anonymous composer in Trinitario (a Moxo language) from the Moxos archive, can be situated at the beginner level and were undoubtedly used to teach the bases of musical theory.

Repetition played a central role in Jesuit pedagogy, hence it is no surprise that missionaries gave a mnemonic function to these basic songs in local languages and adapted them to the European musical system.[37] Simple native melodies transcribed into musical notation facilitated their reproduction and interpretation. Repetition helped natives to become more independent in performing Christian practices, whether or not accompanied by a local catechist. It helped them to memorize large amounts of new material in a short time. With this incorporation of mechanical aspects of learning, missionaries were also following the recommendations of Saint Ignatius: 'first, that they memorize; second, that they understand, by giving them some appropriate interpretations; third, if possible, that a priest or another suitable person undertake this duty in the future'.[38]

Multiple 'memories' take part in this kind of cognitive processes. Psychological studies have confirmed that people with or without musical training have the ability to 'hear' melodies .[39] This 'auditory memory' can be accompanied by 'motor memories' in playing instruments, dance or remembering other actions like performing in religious processions. 'Visual memory' is also stimulated by written systems such as musical notes and lyrics. Emotions were part of the daily spiritual experiences before and during the mission, so 'emotional memory' is also important in musical activities, as emotional events are less likely to be forgotten. At this basic level, there are music pieces such as litanies, hymns or masses for one voice and simple minuets for instruments. Particularly for native music, there are pieces composed for Western instruments such as violins and cellos, and at the same time they include local instruments like the *bajón*, as, for example, in Mojeño pieces like the *Macheteros* dance (Figure 2).[40] A dance melody (*Macheteros*) was adapted to a Christmas celebration (*Navidad*). For novices in musical instruction, compositions like these were helpful to start to understand Western musical notation for both Baroque and native pieces.

37 Filippi, 'Songs in Early Modern Catholic Missions', 51–52.

38 Translated by Filippi (*ibid.*, 55)

39 Chaffin, Topher and Begosh, 'Performing from memory', 354–356.

40 The *Chiperono* was a pre-Hispanic dance adapted to Christian celebrations. In this dance, dancers moved a kind of wooden stick. This was subsequently replaced when they discovered metal and the Spanish word 'machete' was adopted. The dancers were referred to as *Macheteros* and the dance remains one of the most representative dances of Moxos to this day (Querejazu Lewis, *Trayectoria histórica y cultural de los Trinitarios*, 133).

Moving further into the educational process, one is able to distinguish an intermediate level that mainly consisted of polyphonic pieces for three voices (sometimes with a soloist) and that were regularly accompanied by one or two instruments.[41] Such compositions were used for the liturgy and were either composed in native languages or (contrary to basic-level compositions) Latin or Spanish. Within this group there is a wide range of compositions intended for masses, vespers, psalms, hymns or the Magnificat, which require a more advanced knowledge, albeit still not necessarily professional. Polyphonic music required more experienced performers as well as a better knowledge of the Baroque music style. As the level becomes gradually more demanding, some polyphonic pieces include a double choir, or are longer and divided into several parts. Interestingly, not only does the musical level become more advanced, but also more detailed religious knowledge is required to be able to distinguish between suitable pieces for masses and other celebrations.

The gradual evolution of music teaching can be further traced by considering an example of instrumental music. Here, music theory, advanced instrumental techniques and Baroque style are essential for performers. For example, there are different pieces for chamber orchestra, trio or duos, such as 'folias' with three movements. Such pieces, composed by European composers, were brought to the missions and also performed and rearranged by local musicians. Finally, a particular development of virtuoso performances demonstrates that music teaching achieved a high level of European Baroque-influenced compositions. The archives of Moxos and Chiquitos contain compositions from Domenico Zipoli (1688–1726), Giovanni Battista Bassani (1657–1716), Johann Joseph Ignaz Brentner (1689–1720), Juan de Araujo (1646–1712) and Tomás Torrejón y Velasco (1644–1728). None of these composers ever went to the missions, but their music became part of the regular repertoire.

In Europe at this time, Baroque performances were characterized by the German so-called *stylus phantasticus*, its name referring to the required virtuosity and improvisational skills. Instrumental and vocal agility and speed demanded instrumental perfection.[42] This style clearly influenced the music that was performed in the missionary reductions in colonial Bolivia, and, in the context of the pedagogical methods applied, it also impacted on the evangelizing program of the missionaries. Not only were pieces becoming more complex in a musical sense, their complexity also represented a spiritual growth process whereby natives dedicated their musical virtuosity to God. This virtuosity implied modesty: unlike in Europe, where virtuous artists were highly acclaimed, native musicians who took active roles in the missions remained anonymous because their musical practice

41 Interview with Piotr Nawrot, 11 September 2018.

42 Cantagrel, *Passion Baroque*, 37.

was essentially devoted to serving the church and to the transmission of Christian faith. The high level of virtuosity attained by local musicians is evident from the pieces they arranged, which show they were able to improvise, adapt, create 'local versions' of European pieces and add their own traditional music. They worked both in their native languages and in Latin and Spanish.

Arias such as 'Quis me a te sponse separabit', an anonymous composition in the Moxos archive, can serve as an example.[43] On the one hand, pieces of this kind were expected to be performed displaying virtuous vocal and instrumental skills originating from a specific European context. On the other hand, they also show the adaptation of Baroque pieces to local artistic expectations and spiritual mindsets. The archives contain several arrangements by composers such as Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741), Johann Valentin Rathgeber (1682–1750), Bartolomé Massa (1721–1796) and Martin Schmid (1694–1772). The aria 'Quis me a te sponse separabit' was adapted from the aria 'Priva del caro bene' from the opera *Dalisa* (1730) composed by Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783).[44] The Italian text was adapted to a religious text in Latin to be performed by professional musicians as part of the liturgical repertoire. This aria illustrates the success of the gradual process of teaching and learning music during the missionary era.

It has been argued, by missionaries such as Father Eder and Father Sepp, amongst others, that natives were not sufficiently independent or inventive to compose.[45] Governor Lazaro de Rivera attributed this to the lack of stimulus to compose and the fact that communities did not know any environment other than the missions.[46] After the expulsion of Jesuits, the missions lost their main providers of compositions and copies, and, generally, their structure for musical education and performance. Chapel masters took over the role of the missionaries and initiated a more intense interaction with colonial society. As a result of this new position, post-Jesuit music came to take elements from Spanish, creole and other forms of music, while preserving their own unique features.[47]

Contemporary missionary roles: a missionary and musicologist

Father Piotr Nawrot joined the Divine Word Missionaries in 1974 and was ordained in 1981. His doctorate in musicology brought him to the Bolivian musical archives. In 1991, native people revealed to him several manuscripts from Chiquitos (Santa Cruz) and Moxos (Beni), containing chants, masses and hymns with

43 Nawrot, 'Musical Sources in the Moxos Missions', 16.
44 *Ibid*., 17–18.
45 Waisman, *La americanidad en el barroco americano*, 15-16.
46 Ibid., 17.
47 Ibid., 16-17.

texts in Indian languages such as Mojeño, Guarani and Canichana, as well as in Spanish and Latin. According to him, '[t]his music has been performed all over the world, so it is absolutely universal music, and a significant contribution to "Baroque" music [...] It has the power to convert the people, to praise God, to build a Christian community and to make us feel good and at peace'.[48] This music took Bolivian ensembles to Europe, where it has also been performed by other groups constituted of both foreign and Latin American musicians. More people became interested in recording and studying it. Nawrot mentions that at the beginning of his meetings with local people, he needed to be a 'person they could trust', so his profile as a missionary certainly worked to his advantage as he was regarded as someone who could be 'trusted' as a religious guide, but who was at the same time a scholar who represented scientific quality and integrity.

Before Nawrot started his research on these musical archives, some people had taken musical scores and disappeared with them. In other cases, pieces were preserved by families or in churches and performed locally without formal preservation in terms of cataloguing or restoration. In the 1950s, the Chilean musicologist Samuel Claro wrote about the musical scores in Moxos, encouraging others to discover hidden gems as well. In the 1970s, during the restoration of the churches of Chiquitos (San Rafael, Concepción, San Javier, San Miguel, Santa Ana, San José), the Swiss architect and Jesuit Father Hans Roth (1934–1999) – who played a key role in the World Heritage nomination of the Jesuit mission site in Concepción – encountered around 5,000 pages of manuscripts and fragments of old music instruments. In 1990, UNESCO declared six of the churches of Chiquitos World Heritage sites. The archives have attracted the attention of a range of musicologists, such as Samuel Claro, Carlos Seoane, Bernardo Illari, Piotr Nawrot and Leonardo Waisman.[49] Together with other expert volunteers, Father Nawrot started to restore and catalogue the manuscripts. Eventually he would edit and publish several volumes based on the Moxos and Chiquitos archives. 'Before the tribal leaders would reveal their treasure—which they revered as much as other Catholics do the Blessed Sacrament—they wanted to know who this guy was. This was about faith and you have to be a person they could trust,' he said.[50]

Bolivia's religious situation evolved after independence. Today, Catholicism is practiced in a mostly syncretic way, meaning that there often is a juxtaposition of indigenous beliefs with Christianity. The Roman Catholic Church lost its official status as the principal religion in 2009. That year, a new National Constitution stated that freedom of religion and spiritual beliefs according to the individual

48 *Life Changing: Mission Baroque Music of the Bolivian Jungle*, https://www.svdvocations.org/meet-our-missionaries/archives/fr-piotr-nawrot-svd.

49 Pacquier, *Les chemins du baroque dans le Nouveau Monde*, 147.

50 *Life Changing: Mission Baroque Music of the Bolivian Jungle*, https://www.svdvocations.org/meet-our-missionaries/archives/fr-piotr-nawrot-svd.

worldviews of each citizen was to be respected and guaranteed. This separation between Church and State had a considerable influence on religious musical practices as well. In all former missionary towns, people now organize religious festivals and perform music to celebrate their individual beliefs. Here, music has lost its 'evangelizing' function, but instead it perpetuates and reinforces local beliefs and identities. The same applies to musical instruction: while students can attend local music schools, they are not expected to pursue a musical career or to become chapel masters or *Taitas* (male indigenous musician elders in Moxos).[51]

In this context, Father Nawrot does not believe it is his role to 'impose' a religious message in his musical and missionary activities, and maintains a position of constant respect for people's personal beliefs in what is now a secular country. When asked about his motivation to study and preserve this musical tradition – as a musicologist and as a missionary – he does consider himself 'a missionary before everything'.[52] However, this is more than a matter of doctrine: missionary activities not only aim at the religious evangelization of peoples and communities, they also affect deeper layers of their culture. He beliefs he can do both things. 'Preaching the Gospel can and should be supplemented by such fruitful activities as literature, music, architecture, theater, dance, etc.' 'As music was essential in the daily life of the missions, people did not learn only texts, but they learnt musicalized texts. Not all music was permitted, only academic, spiritual, celestial, divine music. When they listened to this music, they experienced a form of ectasis at the church. This was inseparable from worship: without music it was improper to praise God'.[53]

Father Nawrot stresses that the Bolivian musical archives preserve a sort of 'universal religious music' that embraces a wide range of historical eras, cultures and regions. For him, this means that this music moves souls, hearts and people's minds when they meet to preach, as well as when they meet to give or listen to a concert. This is the true meaning of 'singing the Catholic faith'. As a missionary, 'when instead of reading the liturgy, I listen to the music, considering it a preaching, that music evangelizes me,' he says. 'The construction of the music is a religious action, it is a sermon in itself, an encounter between God and people's believers. To stop studying and reconstructing musical pieces would be like stopping preaching.'[54] Whenever Father Nawrot works with artists, he says

> we feel more unity, kindness, brotherhood, and holiness, and all of that comes from God. To take part in music-making, even if the music is created by humans,

51 Villamizar, *Indigenous Modernities and the Performance of the Music of Bolivian Mission Archives by the Ensamble Moxos*, 60.

52 Interview with Piotr Nawrot, 7 August 2020.

53 *Ibid.*

54 *Ibid.*

> means to participate in the world's creativity. In music from the missions there is theology, philosophy, art, aesthetics, joy and messages which edify, satisfy and guide us and glorify God. All the things that we do with music cannot be reduced only to a solely academic dimension: it means far more than that.[55]

Clearly, for missionaries like Father Nawrot, who are engaged in ensuring the transmission of a religion, music is a timeless tool to facilitate spiritual and emotional experiences to convey religious messages. Religious music is a religious inspiration to him, and a tool to evangelize others. Research is deemed necessary to keep this tool vital and to ensure its continuing evangelizing capacity.

A large percentage of Bolivia is Catholic, but ancestral native beliefs continue to thrive. This is part of the national diversity where thirty-six nations and languages co-exist. Today, not only do missionaries continue to seek ways to carry out their religious work, local people also often play crucial roles in transmitting this heritage, and sometimes in evangelizing through music. Fieldwork in the town of Moxos indicated that especially senior musicians, called *Taitas*, are very religious and engaged in keeping their heritage alive through daily performances at the churches.[56] This is rather different with younger generations, who do not limit their playing to the church building, but perform on public stages, go on the road for tours, do courses of various sorts, record albums and arrange new songs. They are inspired and taught by senior musicians, but also use modern musical pedagogy and styles of performance without necessarily aiming for historical accuracy. These compositions and performances thus do not always align with the music's religious origins and practice, but are mostly up to and vary according to the preferences of the individual musical ensembles.[57]

Modern musical practices and ethnicity

Today, inhabitants of historical missionary towns perform traditional pieces and music from former missions especially during religious celebrations. The town of Moxos celebrates the *Ichapekene Piesta Vijarenu'u*, inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and described by UNESCO in 2012 as:

55 *Ibid.*

56 This fieldwork forms the basis for Granado, *L´enseignement de la musique des missions jésuites de Moxos.*

57 Villamizar, *Indigenous Modernities and the Performance of the Music of Bolivian Mission Archives by the Ensamble Moxos*, 99.

> a syncretic festival that reinterprets the Moxeño founder myth of the Jesuit victory of Ignacio de Loyola and melds it with indigenous beliefs and traditions. The festivities begin in May with firework displays, singing and praises, and continue in July with daily and nightly celebrations of masses, funeral wakes, alms-giving and feasts. The main representation of the victory of Saint Ignatius involves twelve sun warriors, wearing spectacular feathers, who battle with the guardians of the holy flag – the original 'owners' of the forest and water before converting them finally to Christianity. These rites are an act of faith and constant rebirth, allowing the Moxeños to be reborn into the Christian tradition in the presence of the spirits of their ancestors. The main procession involves 48 groups of participants disguised as masked ancestors and animals, reinforcing the importance of respect for nature. They play tricks and dance to the accompaniment of the Baroque-era music of the Jesuit missions, then around midnight fireworks pop from the top of their wide-brimmed hats, symbolizing the gift of light and vision to live respectfully.[58]

As mentioned in the nomination form (File N°00627) for the UNESCO list and as observed during fieldwork in Moxos in 2013, people take up different roles and responsibilities during the celebration and organization of this event.[59] Nowadays, the *Cabildo Indigenal* (Indigenous Council) is composed of men and women, who are assigned different roles. For instance, there is strong female participation in the group by the senior ladies, called *Abadesas*, in charge of the church maintenance and decoration. Other people are also part of the groups of musicians and/or dancers, and other members participate in logistical and administrative tasks. In general, during the organization of this event, all participants relearn to live in a community based on interculturality and multiethnicity. Senior musicians called *Taitas* and senior ladies called *Abadesas*, as noted above, transmit their knowledge and skills to younger members of the community. People also get involved in dance groups and play native musical instruments, using techniques handed down from generation to generation. Regional identity is strengthened by the transmission of values, including the value of environmental defense and cultural heritage. Since 1996, youngsters of Moxos have been able to study and perform traditional and Baroque music repertoire at the San Ignacio de Moxos Music School and with its main ensemble, the Ensemble Moxos. Their music education reflects influences of European models and *El Sistema*, but it follows a model that has been adapted

58 UNCESCO, Intangible cultural heritage, 'Ichapekene Piesta, the biggest festival of San Ignacio de Moxos', https://webarchive.unesco.org/web/20190831142759/https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/ichapekene-piesta-the-biggest-festival-of-san-ignacio-de-moxos-00627

59 Granado, *L'enseignement de la musique des missions jésuites de Moxos*.

to their musical and social reality.[60] Their modern performances redefine their traditions while still celebrating their indigenous heritage:

> The musical training at the San Ignacio de Moxos music school is divided into different subject areas. The youngest children have instruction in playing the recorder, singing in choir and performing in the orchestra, and later they start learning music theory, music history and harmony. The school offers training in orchestral instruments as well as in piano, organ, harpsichord, and basso continuo. All the students learn how to play native instruments such as the bajón, Indigenous flutes such as the flauta de bato and flauta de tacuara, and percussive instruments. Also, all the students are required to learn how to play the recorder, to sing and to dance.[61]

These instructions are not aimed at performing accurate historical interpretations of this Baroque music. While they do work with pieces by universally acknowledged composers as well as local Baroque music from their Jesuit and post-Jesuit musical manuscripts, they also play new arrangements of unknown religious and traditional music provided by the *Taitas*. The program's objective is to educate multi-instrumental musicians get them acquainted with a variety of musical styles. On the one hand, the music school in Moxos has become a model of social inclusion, considering that mestizo and indigenous students perform traditional and Western music to create closer relationships as a community and preserve their identity following modern practices that suit their beliefs. On the other hand, musical training and particularly the inclusion of women in local choirs and orchestras became very significant in terms of gender empowerment. During the Jesuit era, men and women participated in community songs but formal music training was mostly practiced by men in order to become chapel masters or high-level musicians. Today, the *Taitas*, who are a respected group of senior male musicians, play old missionary music most of the time by heart. Their role is foremost spiritual and religious. Young orchestras and music teachers are mixed

60 'El Sistema is an extraordinary cultural, educational, and social program that pursues the goals of social engagement and youth empowerment through ensemble music education. Founded in Venezuela in 1975 by the visionary musician and economist José Antonio Abreu, El Sistema has been growing for decades in the form of "núcleos," or music learning centers, where children living in impoverished or otherwise challenged circumstances gather daily to play and sing together in orchestral and choral ensembles. Unlike other youth music programs, El Sistema's mission is fundamentally social in nature: at its core is Abreu's conviction that the experience of immersive, ambitious and joyful music-making together can help young people develop not only musical mastery but also self-esteem, mutual respect and cooperative skills, qualities that can change their lives and the lives of their families and communities.' https://sistemaglobal.org/about/el-sistema-venezuela/

61 Villamizar, *Indigenous Modernities and the Performance of the Music of Bolivian Mission Archives by the Ensamble Moxos*, 65–66.

4. The Ensemble Moxos performing during the *Ichapekene Piesta* in 2013. [Paola Granado]

groups where gender equality and social inclusion characterize all artistic activities.[62] Since music teaching no longer aims to teach only religious music and to train chapel masters, as at the time of the Jesuit mission when the directors were all men, several modern musical training projects were initiated by women. The San Ignacio Music School, for example, was created in 1996 at the initiative of the Spanish (Basque) professional musician María Jesús Echarri, a sister from the Congregation of the Ursulines. The director of the music school and conductor of the Ensemble Moxos is a woman, Raquel Maldonado. The music school and main ensemble participate in religious celebrations, but they do so independently of the local church.

Moxos and other former reductions like Chiquitos (Santa Cruz Department) boast a range of music schools and ensembles that participate actively in music festivals in Bolivia and beyond. Each town has a music school and local choirs and orchestras, such as Ensemble Padre Martin Schmid (Concepción), Coro Urubichá, Coro y Orquesta Municipal San Ignacio de Velasco, Coro y Orquesta Misional Santiago de Chiquitos, Orquesta de cuerdas Santa Ana de Velasco, Coro y Orquesta Misional de San Xavier, Coro y Orquesta Municipal de Concepción, Orquesta de cuerdas San Rafael de Velasco, Orquesta Municipal de San José de Chiquitos, etc. People perform this musical legacy on many occasions, but one of the best attended events is the International Festival of American Renaissance and Baroque Music 'Missions of Chiquitos'. Organizers describe their activities as follows:

62 *Ibid*., 64.

> APAC established the International Festival of American Renaissance and Baroque Music in these towns in 1996 to preserve and diffuse this cultural heritage. The festival does not take place only in these areas, however: there are also concerts in other missionary towns in the provinces of Santa Cruz and Beni, spanning a distance of more than 3,000 kilometers in total. The majority of the concerts are free and the festivals create significant work opportunities where they occur.[63]

In 1990, UNESCO designated six of the towns as World Heritage Sites: San Xavier, Concepción, Santa Ana, San Rafael, San Miguel and San José de Chiquitos. During the festival, local and international music ensembles play Bolivian pieces from the archives and other pieces by Baroque composers. Sometimes local and foreign musicians collaborate together, creating a unique experience. Apart from government support, many of these activities are also supported by international foundations and institutions, NGOs, embassies, etc. Musical ensembles also record albums in order to cover part of their travel expenses and they also want to continue to enjoy free access to music education.[64]

Conclusion

Musical pieces from Bolivian archives display the legacy of a local music training tradition that was based on Western methods, originally as a function of missionary activities but adapted to local cultural practices already at an early stage. These documents can be used not only for performances or musicological studies, but also as valuable sources of information for language studies or to understand music teaching and learning processes. At the same time, the fact that this legacy has been maintained up to the present day shows how much importance people have attached to preserving them as identity symbols.

The local interest in preserving heritage has also inspired modern missionaries, such as Father Nawrot and Sister Echarri. In the former's case, as a missionary and musicologist, he had an important and influential role in preserving this legacy while combining the areas of both evangelization and culture. As a modern missionary, he adapted his role to the context of today's secular Bolivia. For him, keeping this music alive is an important factor in building a peaceful Christian community. But local people also play an active role in the transmission of this musical tradition as their heritage, both through continuing the work of evangelization and through original musical contributions. Senior and young musicians

63 International Festival of American Renaissance and Baroque Music 'Missions of Chiquitos', https://www.festivalesapac.com/en_gb/musica.htm.

64 Villamizar, *Indigenous Modernities and the Performance of the Music of Bolivian Mission Archives by the Ensamble Moxos*, 59.

show different attitudes towards the religious origins and evangelizing purposes of the music. In any case, however, it is through this musical missionary heritage that communities celebrate and reinforce their particular identity, whether or not diverging from the religious message and genesis. The Baroque style is said to reflect the multiplicity of the world. As such, it can therefore be considered universal in itself and be attributed the potential to unify people.

Today, music kept in national archives is performed in music schools. Modern practices are not aimed only at preserving the musical legacy. New generations of orchestras and choirs from former missions are 'recreating' pieces according to modern and syncretic musical expressions and sociocultural changes. Local music schools perform repertoires that include works by international composers, local Baroque music, traditional music and other genres. Modern music education preserves cultural heritage and also promotes social inclusion, cultural and gender empowerment, and new models of music teaching. This chapter has aspired to contribute to an improved historical understanding of missionary music education in Bolivia, and in doing so elucidate and appraise the individuality and unique features of current musical practices.

REFERENCES

Block, David. *Mission culture in the upper Amazon. Native Tradition, Jesuit Enterprise & Secular Policy in Moxos, 1660-1880*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

Cantagrel, Gilles. *Passion Baroque. Cent cinquante ans de musique en Europe*. Paris: Fayard/Mirare, 2015.

Chaffin, Roger, Logan Topher, and Kristen Begosh. 'Performing from memory'. In: Susan Hallam, Michael Thaut and Ian Cross, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 354–356.

Claro, Samuel. 'Indios compositores'. Santiago: Letras de música. Suplemento Literario, Artístico y Científico, IV. *El Mercurio newspaper*, Monday 14 August 1977.

Claro, Samuel. *La música en ellas misiones jesuitas de Moxos*. Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile, 1969.

Clines, Robert John. *By virtue of the senses: Ignatian aestheticism and the origins of sense application in the first decades of the Gesu in Rome*. MA dissertation, Miami University, 2009.

Cross, Ian. 'Music, mind and evolution'. *Psychology of Music*, 29 (2001) 1, 95–102.

Culley, Thomas, SJ. 'The German College in Rome: A center for Baroque music'. In: Rudolph Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe, eds. *Baroque art: The Jesuit contribution*. New York: Fordham Press, 1972, 111–123.

Dessalines d'Orbigny, Alcide. *Fragment d'un voyage au centre de l'Amérique méridionale, contenant des considérations sur la navigation de l'Amazonie et de La Plata, et sur les anciennes missions des provinces de Chiquitos et de Moxos (Bolivia)*. Paris: P. Bertrand, 1845.

Filippi, Daniele. 'A sound doctrine: Early modern Jesuits and the singing of the catechism'. *Early Music History*, 34 (2015), 1–43.

Filippi, Daniele. 'Songs in Early Modern Catholic Missions: Between Europe, the Indies, and the "Indies of Europe"'. In: Klaus Pietschmann, ed. *Vokalpolyphonie zwischen Alter und Neuer Welt: Musikalische Austauschprozesse zwischen Europa und Lateinamerika im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Troja – Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 14. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2018, 39–67.

Francismar Alex Lopes de Carvalho. 'Cruzando fronteiras e negociando lealdades: índios missioneiros entre os domínios ibéricos de Mojos, Chiquitos e Mato Grosso (c. 1767-1800)'. *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos* [Online], 2012.

Granado, Paola, *L´enseignement de la musique des missions jésuites de Moxos: de l´évangélisation à une nouvelle construction identitaire*. Doctoral thesis, Lyon, 2022.

International Festival of American Renaissance and Baroque Music 'Missions of Chiquitos', https://www.festivalesapac.com/en_gb/musica.htm

Irving, David. 'Music in Global Jesuit Missions, 1540–1773'. In: Ines G. Županov, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, 598–634.

Keller-Leuzinger, Franz. *The Amazon and Madeira Rivers. Sketches and descriptions from the note-book of an explorer*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1874.

Nawrot, Piotr. *Archivo Musical de Moxos. Antología*. Vol. 2. Santa Cruz: Fondo Editorial APAC/ Editorial Verbo Divino, 2004.

Nawrot, Piotr. *Archivo Musical de Moxos. Antología*. Vol. 3. Santa Cruz: Fondo Editorial APAC/ Editorial Verbo Divino, 2004.

Nawrot, Piotr. 'Teaching of Music and the Celebration of Liturgical Events in the Jesuit Reductions'. *Anthropos*, 99 (2004) 1, 73–84.

Nawrot, Piotr. *Misiones de Moxos: Catálogos*. Vol. 1. Santa Cruz: Fondo Editorial APAC, 2011.

Nawrot, Piotr. 'Indian music to celebrate Christmas in Moxo Jesuit reductions, Bolivia'. *Poznańskie Studia Teologiczne*, 30 (2016), 121–140.

Nawrot, Piotr. 'Musical Sources in Moxos Missions'. *Teologia Praktyczna*, 17 (2016), 7–24.

Nawrot, Piotr. 'Música para rezos y liturgias de la Semana Santa de los archivos misionales en Bolivia'. *Annales Missiologici Posnanienses*, 23 (2018), 147–163.

Lema-Garret, Ana María. 'Misioneros: mediadores entre indígenas amazónicos y el Estado (siglos XVIII-XX)'. In: Ángel Eduardo Román-López Dollinger and María Beatriz Castro Mojica, eds. *Amazonia Boliviana. Visibilizando la diversidad de los pueblos de tierras bajas*. La Paz: ISEAT and UNICOR, 2016, 5–57.

Pacquier, Alain. *Les chemins du baroque dans le Nouveau Monde. De la Terre de Feu à l'embouchure du Saint-Laurent*, Paris: Fayard, 1996.

Querejazu Lewis, Roy. *Trayectoria histórica y cultural de los Trinitarios*. Cochabamba: Poligraf, 2008.

Saito, Akira. 'Las misiones y la administración del documento: El caso de Mojos, siglos XVIII–XX'. In: Clara López Beltrán and Akira Saito, eds. *Usos del documento y cambios sociales en la historia de Bolivia*. Senri Ethnological Studies 68. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2005, 27–72.

Saito, Akira. 'Art and Christian Conversion in the Jesuit Missions on the Spanish South American Frontier'. In: Yoshio Sugimoto, ed. *Antropological Studies of Christianity and Civilization*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2006, 171–201.

UNESCO Patrimonio cultural inmaterial. *Ichapekene Piesta, the biggest Festival of San Ignacio de Moxos*. 2012. https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/ichapekene-piesta-the-biggest-festival-of-san-ignacio-de-moxos-00627.

UNESCO World Heritage List. *Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos*. 1990. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/529.

Villamizar, Melba. *Indigenous Modernities and the Performance of the Music of Bolivian Mission Archives by the Ensamble Moxos*. MA dissertation, Carleton University, 2014. https://curve.carleton.ca/37064847-e6a1-4458-9274-22468f77f413.

Waisman, Leonardo J. *La contribución indígena a la música misional en Mojos (Bolivia)*. Memoria Americana: Cuadernos de etnohistoria 12. Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2004.

Waisman, Leonardo J. 'Urban Music in the Wilderness. Ideology and power in the Jesuit reducciones, 1609–1767'. In: Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton, eds. *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*. Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 208–323.

Waisman, Leonardo J. *La americanidad del barroco americano: quimeras, pretensiones y perspectivas, o la invención del barroco musical americano*, lecture delivered at the Premier Congreso-Festival Internacional 'Musica Barroca Iberamericana', Lima, 2012. https://www.academia.edu/3814886/LA_AMERICANIDAD_DEL_BARROCO_AMERICANO_QUIMERAS_PRETENSIONES_Y_PERSPECTIVAS.

Waisman, Leonardo J. *The Singing Demons of San Ignacio: Musical Interfaces between Jesuits and Indians*, lecture delivered at Columbia University, New York, March 2013. https://www.academia.edu/3815396/The_Singing_Demons_of_San_Ignacio_Musical_Interfaces_between_Jesuits_and_Indians.

Wilde, Guillermo. 'Entre la duplicidad y el mestizaje: prácticas sonoras en las misiones jesuíticas de Sudamérica'. In: Albert Recasens Barberà, ed. *A tres bandas: mestizaje, sincretismo e hibridación en el espacio sonoro iberoamericano*. Museo de Antioquía, 2010.

Belgian CICM Missionaries, Territorial Heritage, and the Chico River Dam Resistance in the Philippines

Leah Abayao

The work of the missionaries of the Congregation of the Immaculate of Mary (CICM), commonly called the 'Belgian fathers', had a profound impact on the resistance movement against the Chico River Dam Project (1968–1978), a huge development project initiated by the Philippine national government. The Belgian fathers were caught in a conflict between the Kalinga people and the government authorities. This chapter will navigate the workings of the fathers as they defended their diocese from the tensions brought by the project and analyze the dynamics of mission work that left imprints in the history of Kalinga resistance. Desires and interests of Belgian fathers and Kalinga people coalesced to oppose the establishment of the dam project, deploying various forms of opposition and negotiation. The Belgian fathers and the local communities mutually benefited from a series of engagements and created in the locals a deep-seated articulation of resistance against state homogenizing projects that threatened cultural heritage. The dam project threatened the heritage of Kalinga people, whose resistance can be seen as a reflection of a measure of value of their territorial heritage as connected with the very survival of their culture.

The CICM was among the religious congregations that included the Philippines as one of its mission posts from the early twentieth century, following a call for missionaries to its headquarters in Scheut-Brussels issued by Bishop Dennis Joseph Dougherty (1865–1951) in 1906.[1] The initial interest of the Congregation

1 The American Dennis Joseph Dougherty was appointed by Pope Leo XIII as Bishop of Nueva Segovia (Vigan), Philippines on 10 June 1903. Later on, he became Archbishop of Philadelphia and was created Cardinal: (http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bdoudj.html).

in the early 1900s was to Christianize the Diocese of Nueva Segovia.[2] Sending the first missionaries in 1907, the CICM established its mission site at Cervantes, Ilocos Sur, which was to become its jumping-off point for all future missions in northern Luzon. Among the assignments was the Mountain Province territory, dubbed the 'home of pagan head-hunters'.[3] This province was possibly chosen because of its predominantly non-Christian population, a different situation compared to the lowland areas. From then on, the Belgian fathers established dioceses and parishes, built chapels, churches and schools, seminaries, and religious educational centers.[4]

The old Mountain Province was governed separately from the American Insular Government. Because of its dominant 'pagan' population, the American authorities saw fit to have these communities be administered directly by American governors.[5] The CICM missions were perceived to complement the efforts of the American governors, especially in terms of the focus on suppressing the head-taking tradition and in civilizing efforts. For this reason, the CICM missionaries working in this area in the early twentieth century enjoyed a degree of independence from the Insular Government. Indirectly, the people of the old Mountain Province shared this relative freedom because their interactions with the Belgian fathers were much negotiated. The missionaries had to learn the customary and ritual life of the locals, wrote about them, and showed appreciation for their culture. They built museums such as the Bontoc Museum in Mountain Province, a small museum housed at what is now called Saint Louis University in Baguio City. By the 1960s, with over forty years of experience in missionary work, the Belgian fathers saw the persistence of traditions. The missionaries initially tried to suppress traditional practices that go against the Catholic tradition, but later allowed certain rituals, and even rationalized their integration into the practice of Catholic sacraments. In 1961, father Hubert Lambrecht (1895–1978) remarked:

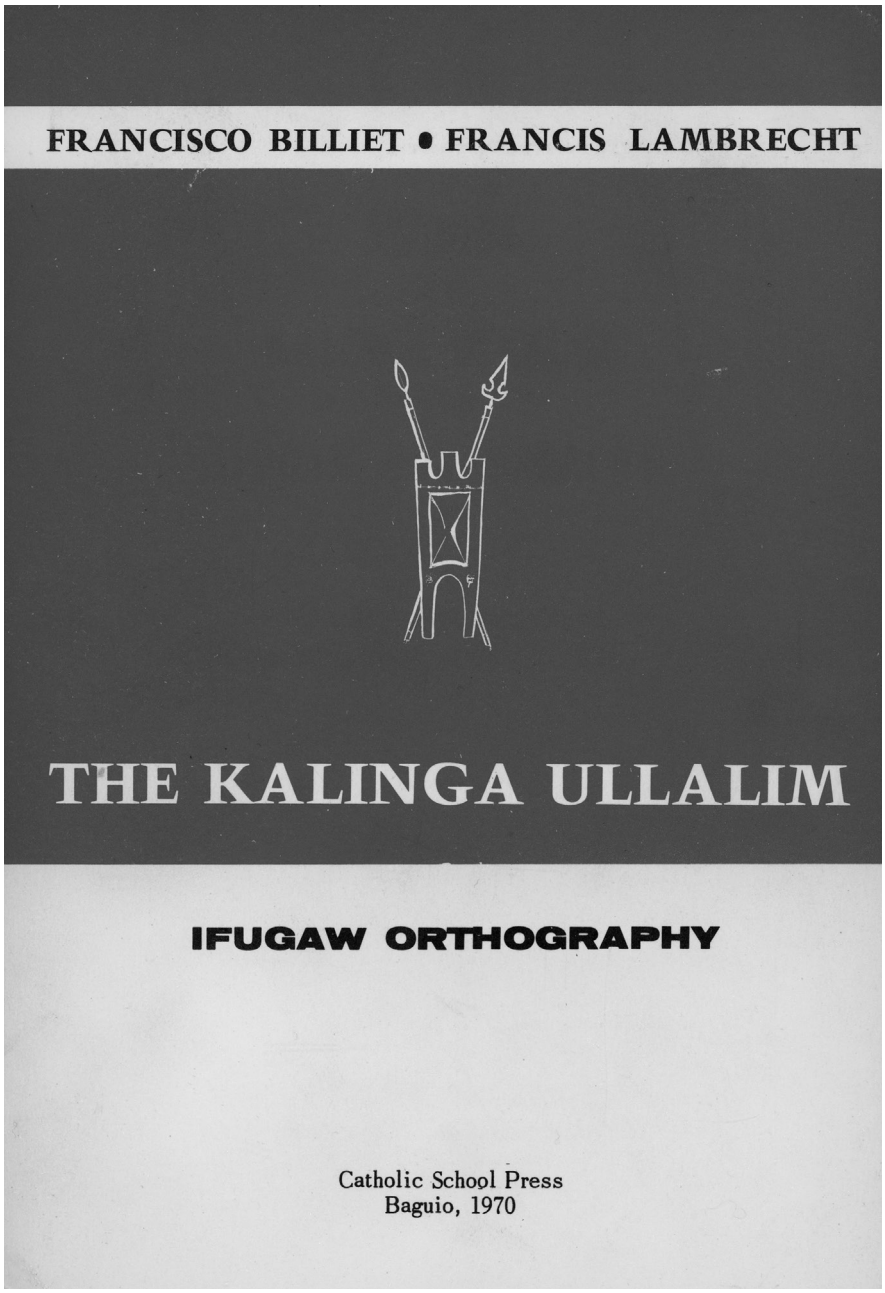
> [T]hat the precepts of the natural moral law come from God is most certain, but for the Ifugaos they come through the intermediary of their ancestors, no one can deny this. [...] Consequently, missionaries should not endeavour to abolish their basic principle of morality, but rather divest it to its supernatural garment and in-

2 Vanysacker, 'C.I.C.M. in the Philippines', especially 214–216.

3 KADOC-KU Leuven, The Archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM-Scheut), 1862–1967, Z.I.D.4, the Philippines.

4 KADOC-KU Leuven, The Archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM-Scheut), 1862–1967, Z.I.D.4, 'Missien van Scheut in China, Congo en de Filippijnen', Z.VI.f.3; Z.IV.g.4.; M.III.C.6.2 (Memorandum on the Mission Schools of the Vicariate of the Mountain Province, 28 June 1965).

5 Act. No. 1876 passed on 18 August establishing the Mountain Province that comprised of seven subprovinces administered by American Lieutenant-governor.



1. Studies on Kalinga *ullálim* and Ifugaw orthography by Frans Billiet and Francis Lambrecht. [KADOC, Heritage library]

> sist that, ultimately, it is God who wrote the obligations of the law in the hearts of their ancestors.[6]

It was during the postcolonial period that the imprints of the CICM mission became most visible, especially when Cordillera Mountain peoples who were active in the dioceses were at the forefront of asserting their position and influence over national political structures and processes that were seen as unfit to the cultural heritage in the region.

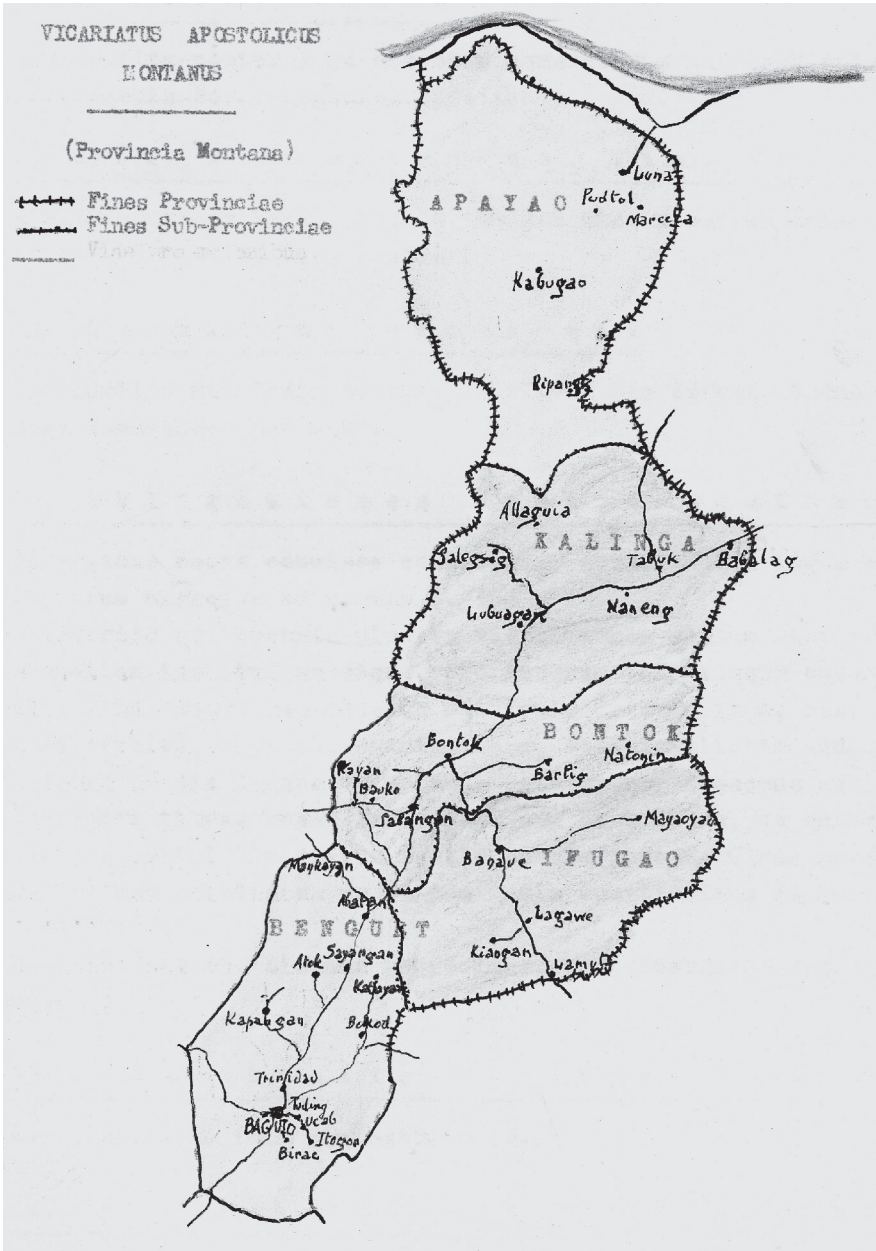
It is from real-life experiences that the missionaries built the foundation of their work in the northern Philippines. They embarked on ethnographic and linguistic studies of dialogue and in support of their evangelization work. Several Belgian fathers published works on the major groups of the Cordillera region at a time when little was written about them. Their studies appeared in CICM periodicals, international journals, or were issued by Catholic printing houses in Baguio. Francisco Billet published on Kalinga epic songs ('Ullalim'), and George Gelade and Henry Geeroms devoted studies to the Ilokano people, the latter also specializing in the cultures of the Ibaoi and Kankanaey. Alfonso Claerhoudt and Jerome Moerman published works on the Igorot and the Ifugao respectively. Godrey Lambrecht devoted a dissertation about the religious customs of the Gaddang people. Constance Jurgens studied the Ilokanos and Isinays people. Fathers Vanoverberg and Francis Lambrecht in particular are an exceptional breed of missionaries who conducted in-depth studies and published extensively about the groups they evangelized. Morice Vanoverberg wrote about the Lepanto-Igorot (Bauko) and Negritos, while Father Lambrecht published more than seventy original papers on the Ifugao and Mayawyaw (dictionary, rituals, tales, customs, traditional institutions, worldviews, etc.) in prominent journals in the Philippines as well as with the American Catholic Press. Many of his field notes and manuscripts are housed at Saint Louis University, a school founded the CICM which to date remains the biggest in the Cordillera region.[7]

The Belgian fathers were devoted to their mission and empathized with the local people. In a speech he delivered in 1976 after receiving an honorary degree in Humane Sciences from Ateneo de Manila University, father Lambrecht expressed:

> I came to the Philippines [in 1924] to work among the people of the Mountain Provinces, not to impart a Western culture, but essentially to liberate the people as

6 Father Francis Lambrecht, 'The Ifugao Law of Custom in the Light of the Natural Moral Law and Primitive Revelation', *The Sower,* III, Second Quarter, Makati: Quarterly Publication of San Carlos Seminary, 1961, 99–112.

7 The School's Main Library has an Archival Repository, https://www.slu.edu.ph/university-libraries-unl-services/.



2. Map of the Vicariate of the Mountain Province, in *Relatio Quinquennalis Vicariatus Apostolicus Montanus*, 1961-1965.
[KADOC, Archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, nr. 1304]

> well as I could from all that I saw to be harmful or detrimental to their well-being in their culture. If during the past fifty-two years, I have achieved something valuable and scientific concerning the culture, language, and literature of the people with whom I have lived – and that not without assiduous and prolonged study – I cannot but put in evidence that I have tried to do it all, primarily because I am a Missionary.

The CICM in the Chico River Dam Project resistance movement

The construction of hydroelectric dams in the Philippine Cordillera began in the 1950s with the Ambuklao and Binga dams in the province of Benguet. The construction of these two dams led to the destruction of the community's resources in Benguet province, where fields were submerged.[8] Interest in another hydroelectric dam in the province of Kalinga began in 1965. External firms conducted feasibility studies and plans were drawn up in 1973 when the Lahmeyer International GmbH, in collaboration with the Engineering and Development Corporation of the Philippines, carried out a pre-feasibility study for a hydroelectric development in the Chico River.[9] Lahmeyer proposed the construction of four dams along the Chico River – Chico I in Bontoc; Chico II in the municipality of Gadangat; Chico III in Basao, Kalinga; and Chico IV in Tomiangan – with a total affected area of 3,419 square kilometers and 500 families to be displaced.[10] Site surveys were carried out from 1974 to 1982. The site however was the catchment area of the Chico River, the longest river in the region, which is a source of irrigation for the farms and households of several communities, especially for the Kalinga and Bontoc people. For this reason, many local communities expressed their opposition to the hydroelectric dam from the beginning.[11] At the time the Chico River Dam Project was going to be implemented, the CICM had already gained a foothold for its mission in Kalinga with the establishment of a church and a school. At that time, Belgian Scheut father William Brasseur (1903–1993)[12] was Bishop of the Montañosa, an Apostolic Prefecture created on 15 July 1932 and elevated as an Apostolic Vicari-

8 Remains of village habitation sites and rice fields can still be seen along the Ambuklao Road.
9 Carino, 'The Chico River basin development project: a case study in national development policy (an update)', 1–5.
10 Guyguyon, 'History of Chico River Project', 1.
11 *Ibid*.
12 See https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dbagu.html.

ate on 10 June 1948.[13] A leader and a skilled diplomat, he actively participated in the debates about the dam. He communicated with the Philippine government officials about his observations of rising tensions in the community and led the writing of statements and reports about the dam.

Sustained oppositions from Bontoc and Kalinga people

The people's resistance against the Chico River Dam Project unfolded over a span of years. Starting with the Survey Phase in 1974, the National Power Corporation (NPC), together with the Local Government Units, and the Philippine Constabulary sought to survey and prepare the Chico River for the dam project. Bontoc women drove off NPC survey teams, while men armed with spears and bolos stood ready to protect them.[14] Kalinga people resisted the NPC survey teams, and by 1975, the NPC had to resort to aerial survey by helicopter because they were unable to do surveys on land.[15] When Bontoc and Kalinga people attempted to raise their opposition to then President Marcos, he first dismissed their concerns as sentimental. But later, in May 22, 1975, his Executive Secretary Alejandro Melchor issued a suspension order of the NPC's operations including the withdrawal of personnel and equipment from the project area.[16]

By October 1975, a new office, the PANAMIN (the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities) was assigned by President Marcos to look into the Chico River Dam project. This office, with Manuel Elizalde as Secretary, visited Kalinga and made promises of assistance, but the people remained skeptical and the majority of Kalinga people refused any involvement.[17] In December 1975, this office forced a delegation of 150 Kalinga people to be sent to Manila, where they were promised to speak to President Marcos about the opposition to the dam, but ended up pressured to sign a consent statement to the dam project.[18] President Marcos then issued the Presidential Decree No. 848, declaring the Chico area as the Kalinga Special Development Region (KSDR), which was to be under the sole authority of PANAMIN.[19] The Kalinga people refused to cooperate with any activities including meeting and job offers by the PANAMIN. In January 1976, the Presidential

13 Fluent in several local languages, he also founded several schools, dispensaries, hospitals, seminaries and mission stations, see https://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post_name=/1993/02/08/belgian-bishop-leaves-legacy-of-faith-to-indigenous-people&post_id=42770#. Details about him as a missionary, see https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bbrasseur.html.

14 Guyguyon, 'History of Chico River Project', 110.

15 *Ibid*., 111.

16 *Ibid*., 111.

17 *Ibid*., 112.

18 *Ibid*., 112.

19 *Ibid*., 113.

Letter of Instruction (LOI) No. 359 was issued ordering the arrest of dam meddlers including foreigners and Filipinos.[20] Thus, despite fierce moves to receive the consent and cooperation of Kalinga and Bontoc people, the later sustained their opposition to the proposed construction of the Chico River Dam. The LOI was a threat to the CICM Missionaries and Filipino activists who supported the local people in resisting the dam project.

CICM skirmishes with the PANAMIN and NPC

On 23 February 1976, five days after a statement on the frictions in Kalinga was released, Brasseur contacted one of the project officials to report on the latest developments in Kalinga with regard to Chico IV.[21] His report emphasized the distressing activities of the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN)[22] within the Chico IV area. Thereafter, Brasseur sought the attention of the highest-ranking authority of the state, the President of the Philippines. He discussed the same concerns to then President Ferdinand Marcos (1917–1989) during his attendance of the graduation ceremonies at the Philippine Military Academy, a premier military school of the Philippines. This meeting with the President resulted in the creation of a fact-finding commission by the Philippine government.[23] Bishop Brasseur's opinions and advice appeared to matter to the government. He was invited to participate in a 'conference with Undersecretary Barbero' in Camp Aguinaldo on 27 February 1976. At the conference, Undersecretary Carmelo Barbero (1917–1983) acknowledged the presence of Bishop Brasseur and admitted the mistakes made by government troops: 'Now, with the Chico projects, the government admits that it has committed a mistake, and according to the President,

20 Letter of Instruction 359 accessed October 15, 2024. https://chanrobles.com/letterofinstructions/letterofinstructionsno359.html

21 Cordillera/Northern Luzon Historical Archives, University of the Philippines Baguio Library, Cordillera Mass Movement Collection, The Chico River Project (F1), Box 7, Title 12: 'The Chico River Basin Development Project: A Case study on Development by Montañosa Social Action Center', 36.

22 PANAMIN or the PANAMIN Foundation was created by Mr. Manuel Elizalde, Jr. to engage in activities aimed at the 'amelioration of National Minorities' and was authorized by the President of the Philippine in Presidential Proclamation 517 series of 1969 to conduct national education and fund drive. See https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1969/02/11/proclamation-no-517-s-1969/. In June 1978, PANAMIN was authorized to fully function as an official unit in charge of dealing with National Minorities under the Office of the President of the Philippines. See Presidential Decree 1414 Series of 1978. See https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1978/06/09/presidential-decree-no-1414-s-1978/. On 8 January 1976, a Letter of Instruction No. 359 was issued by the President of the Philippines saying that only PANAMIN was authorized to operate in the Chico IV area. See https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1978/06/09/presidential-decree-no-1414-s-1978/.

23 *Ibid.*

it was said that there is bloodshed in Kalinga.'[24] Brasseur responded by detailing the tensions and the congregation's regard for social justice for the local communities that would be affected by the dam project. First, he explained why the people were suspicious and distrustful:

> the PANAMIN created division among the people by giving all kinds of financial help and jobs. And then, the Kalinga leaders have been deceived by their own place and later on were brought to Manila where they had to stay for 3 days or more in different hotels and were forced to sign agreements prepared by the PANAMIN; some even had to sign blank papers with tears, like those from Tanglag at the residence of Sec. Elizalde, the White Plains. Most of these leaders are not the true leaders of the affected area.[25]

Second, Brasseur articulated the CICM's desire for people's welfare, noting:

> we have never, never said that we are against the dam. We said that we are 100% for the dam and 200% for the people. We are really concerned for justice and for the rights of the people who are to be affected by the dam project. And that, as long as the government can prepare good relocation sites for all these people affected, and just compensation for their properties to be damaged, instead of talking and promising the people this and that, that the government does something seriously to show to the people for them to choose.[26]

Aside from conveying the grievances of the people in some instances, the missionaries provided up-to-date information about the situation in Kalinga. At the conference, Barbero remarked that the then President Marcos had every intention of continuing the Chico Dam Project and that, as far as PANAMIN authorities knew, 'it seems that all the barrios of the affected area are willing to go for relocation, except one barrio, Cagaluan.'[27] Father David Ganggangan, a local priest who was with Bishop Brasseur, spoke to clarify the matter and conveyed the resistance of the local communities: 'It is true that Cagaluan has, from the very beginning, been opposed to the construction of the dam, and now, against the relocation. For Tanglag, Mabongtot and Ableg, there are only a few, a minority who joined the

24 Cordillera/Northern Luzon Historical Archives, Cordillera Mass Movement Collection, Box 6, Title 24: Chico Documents (F13), Transcript of Conference with Undersecretary Barbero, Camp Aguinaldo, 27 February 1976, 1.

25 *Ibid*.

26 *Ibid*.

27 *Ibid*., 2.

PANAMIN, who went to see the proposed relocation sites. So, the majority of these people do not want relocation, even.'[28]

On 1 September 1976, the president of the National Power Corporation (NPC), Gabriel Itchon, asked to meet Bishop Brasseur to discuss the Chico Project. Itchon alleged that Bishop Brasseur was kind enough to agree for the clergy 'to contact the people's spokesman and to facilitate the dialogue depending on the people's acceptance of this proposal.'[29] Bishop Brasseur responded with dismay and made corrections to clarify that he was not an agent of Mr. Itchon, and that the reason why Mr. Itchon sought a meeting with the priests was because the priests knew who the true *pangat* leaders were.[30]

Furthermore, Bishop Brasseur presented Itchon with the clergy's proposed three conditions for the building of the dam and for the success of the meeting with the leaders.[31] First was the imposition of a moratorium on government activities in the Chico IV area for fifteen years due to the rising tensions and accounts of harassment and killings carried out by the implementers of the project. Itchon rejected this and remarked that the project had a target completion date set by the President of the Philippines. The second proposed condition was that the military officers (the army and the police constabulary) and PANAMIN would leave the Kalinga project site because people feared them and because 'leaders will never talk openly, as they are afraid of reprisals from the military'.[32] The third condition was that politicians would not be allowed to attend meetings as, apparently, 'the politicians already have their own ideas about how they will try to enrich themselves at the expense of the ordinary people'.[33] Bishop Brasseur recounted his experience with the initial surveys of the NPC and his communication with President Marcos and Undersecretary Barbero. He claimed that the people had been exploited and

28 *Ibid*., 108.

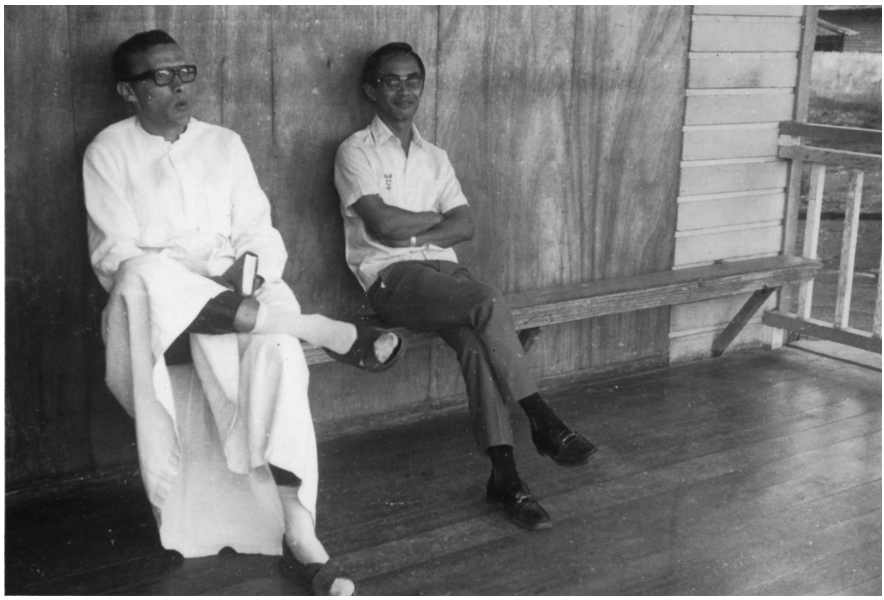
29 Itchon, 'The Case for the Multi-Purpose Chico 4 Project', 33.

30 '[Bishop Brasseur] said he [Itchon] gives the impression that I am one of his agents. Well, to clarify that matter objectively, allow me to present the matter exactly as it happened. One day I was asked if I could receive the President of the National Power Corporation. I consented as I did not see any reason why I should not. For the meeting, I invited Fr. Patricio Guyguyon and the Assistant Director of Social Action to be present and to listen to what Mr. Itchon had to say. [He] explained the same things he mentioned this morning ["The Case for the Multi-Purpose Chico 4 Project," 1979], and he added that he would like very much to have an opportunity for a dialogue with the true leaders of the barrios affected. As the priests in these places knew best who the true leaders are, the true *pangats* [local leaders], and not those who are sometimes elected by the officials and are politicians, he would want to have a dialogue with the fathers of Kalinga so they could help him arrange a meeting with the leaders'. Bishop William Brasseur, 'Comments', 108.

31 *Ibid*.

32 *Ibid*., 108–109.

33 *Ibid*., 109.



3. Bisshop Willem Brasseur and Father Patricio Guyguyon.
[Personal collection Louis Mellebeek CICM]

deceived by PANAMIN. Seemingly, Barbero listened but no action was taken to address the matter.[34]

Another CICM bishop, Emiliano Kulhi Madangeng (1927–1997) – a native of Ifugao province and since 1971 auxiliary bishop of the vicariate apostolic of the Mountain Province with his residence in Bontoc, Mountain Province – was actively supporting the local people in their resistance to the dam project.[35] Together with Sister Basil,[36] he attended three meetings on Chico I and II which were organized by the NPC from June 1973 to March 1974.[37] Thereafter, Bishop Madangeng called the attention of the local government officials at various levels –mayors, council members and Barangay officials – and warned them of the government's plan to continue with the dam project even with possible social and economic consequences. While the bishop acknowledged the intentions of the government to

34 *Ibid*., 109.

35 See https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmadan.html; http://icstalumnibishop.blogspot.com/2007/03/most-reverend-emiliano-madangeng-d.html.

36 Transcript of Conference with Undersecretary Barbero, Camp Aguinaldo, 27 February 1976, 10. Sister Basil is an ICM Missionary among the Bontocs for over forty years.

37 *Ibid*., 9: 'Two meetings were held in the capitol of Bontoc and attended by the governor, the mayor of Bontoc and Sadanga, barrio captains, council members and Col. Acmor of the PC. The third meeting was held in Bituagan near the construction site of Chico II. Different MPC teams led the meetings.'

construct the dam for national development, he campaigned to ensure the local people would not suffer, citing the previous impact of a dam project implemented by the Philippine government where many families had been displaced. Accordingly, Madangeng was asked to assist the NPC in convincing the local people who were affected to give their consent to the construction of Chico I and II. The bishop refused and requested that the government 'show its credibility with regard to the relocation issue, pointing out that people should not be the victims, as was the case of Ambuklao and Binga'.[38]

The then parish priest of Lubuagan, Kalinga, father Remi Demaeght (1919–2003),[39] informed the chairman of the NPC that the people affected were 'crying for their rights to share in the decisions which shape their destiny, [...] that the poor people, the voiceless and the powerless are crying out for justice'.[40] To solve this problem and allow the people to become part of the decision-making process, father Demaeght appealed for the creation of a multisectoral council.[41]

Statements and confrontations in defense of cultural heritage

A collective stand to record and make known the stance of the clergy was made when Bishop Brasseur called a meeting on 29–30 September 1975. During this assembly, the clergy of the Vicariate of the Mountain Province recognized the potential benefits that the Chico Dam Project would bring to the people and stated that, in principle, they were open to the government's idea of the Chico and Agno River Basins Development Projects. However, they spoke publicly against government actions and took the side of the local people, saying:

> We strongly protest the manner in which the Government has so far tried to push through with these projects with almost total disregard for the people's rights. For right from the start and in all phases of the projects up to the present, the Government has ignored the people's right to representation and participation in the decision-making process. To our knowledge, there has never been a serious consultation with the people on definite relocation and rehabilitation plans.[42]

38 Carino, 'The Chico River basin development project: a case study in national development policy (an update)', 9–10.
39 *Ibid*., 11.
40 'Father Remi Demaeght to NPC Chairman 1/18/75'. Cordillera / Northern Luzon Historical Archives, Cordillera Mass Movement Collection. University of the Philippines Baguio.
41 Carino, 'The Chico River basin development project: a case study in national development policy (an update)', 11.
42 *Ibid*., 23.

Additionally, the clergy expressed their disappointment on what they considered to be insincerity of the government in addressing the anticipated displacement of families and its plan for resettlement and rehabilitation of the affected locals. This was a serious concern of the people. The clergy stated: 'We consider the lack of a serious dialogue between the Government and the people of the Chico and Agno River Basins, compounded by the lack of credibility on the part of the Government, as one of the reasons, if not the main one, of the people's opposition to the projects.'[43] They further stated that 'The vicar apostolic, the vicar delegate and the clergy of the Vicariate, therefore, stand behind our people's opposition to the dam projects unless and until the Government shall have relocated the people concerned in such a way that the relocation means progress for the people.'[44]

In his account of the events that took place on the Chico River Dam Project from 29 October 1975 to 30 June 1978, father Patricio Guyguyon (†2014),[45] then head of the Montañsa Social Action Center (MSAC), remarked that the years were 'a show of force by the government side and a show of opposition from the people's side which got more and more violent.'[46] He underscored the roles and the deceitful acts of PANAMIN, the office created by the President of the Philippines in 1968 that lead the operations of the dam project. He wrote about covert surveys of areas in Kalinga for the dam project in which the true intentions of PANAMIN were not stated. He recounted people's experiences of harassment experiences, such as the acts of PANAMIN's head, Secretary Manuel Elizalde, who deceived and forced delegates from Kalinga and Bontoc to sign their consent to the dam project. He also wrote about incidences where local people, the Kalingas (students, politicians, government officials) had accepted monetary and other forms of bribes, such as job promotions, which further discouraged the other locals from supporting the dam project.[47] As the Kalinga people continued to oppose the dam project, President Marcos signed and issued a Letter of Instruction No. 359 on 8 January 1976 to reiterate that only PANAMIN was authorized in the dam project areas, and that 'any individual who takes any action within the area or in relation to it under the pretence of having authority from me' should be arrested.[48] This policy was interpreted by the clergy as 'ordering the arrest of dam meddlers that included foreign missionaries or other visitors who might want to agitate the people'.[49]

43 *Ibid*., 24.
44 *Ibid*., 24.
45 See http://yeastako.blogspot.com/2007/06/yeastako-vol4-no1-jan-jun-2007.html.
46 Guyguyon, 'History of the Chico River Project', 112.
47 *Ibid*., 112-113
48 'Letter of Instruction No. 359', *Philippines Official Gazette*, 8 January 1976.
49 Guyguyon, 'History of the Chico River Project', 113.

The situation between the people of Kalinga and the government deteriorated, leading Bishop Brasseur to issue a statement on 18 February 1976 to appeal to the parties involved to employ peaceful acts and observe mutual respect:

> We, the clergy of the Mountain Provinces, express our concern over the tense atmosphere obtained among our people of Kalinga. We appeal to all parties involved in the most recent activities in the area to employ only peaceful means in all dealings with one another. We pray to God for all the mutual respect, justice and peace may reign once more in Kalinga.[50]

The following years saw more offensive acts of the Philippine government agencies and subsequent responses from the missionaries. In an article in the national newspaper *Bulletin Today* from 14 June 1979, the then Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile accused religious groups of 'helping the cause of the communist movement in the country'[51] and 'exploit[ing] tribal conflicts and dislocations caused by the construction of the Chico dam to rally the rural folk against the government.'[52] This caused resentment on the part of the clergy. Bishop Brasseur published a fiercely worded statement against the minister's allegations in the *Baguio Midland Courier*, a regional newspaper in Northern Philippines. The key point in his statement is as follows:

> Since you yourself admit that corrupt, abusive civil and military officials have been the occasion of anti-government propaganda, please admit also the fact that during the past three years, the people of Kalinga, facing the loss of their ancestral properties – to which they are very strongly attached – for the construction of a dam[,] have suffered, have been molested, harassed, maltreated and some of them innocently killed on a mere suspicion that they are NPAs[.]
>
> Honorable Minister, is it wrong that we, as members of the Catholic Church, denounce abuses, corruption and injustices committed by those whose duty it is to protect and defend the people? Is it not natural that people who are victims of all kinds of abuses, oppression and injustices look for support and help to the religious sector, because there is no one else to listen to their grievances? But does that mean that we exploit tribal conflicts? How can you prove that the religious sector has been rallying the rural people against the government, while on the contrary we tried to pacify the people ready as we were to intercede for their welfare? [...]

50 The Chico River Basin Development Project, 36.

51 Northern Luzon Archives, Cordillera Mass Movement Collection, Box 7 'The Chico River Basin Development Project: The Case of the Chico River Basin Development Project, Philippines, 1979', *Bulletin Today*, 14 June 1979.

52 *Ibid*., 9.

> Our priests and Religious leaders made their stand some two years ago: we are 100% in favour of the dam, but we are 200% for the defense and protection of the rights of the people. The decision, therefore, for allowing the construction of the dam is not ours, but that of the people involved.[53]

Two other documented cases experienced by the CICM clergy are as follows. Father Gavino Madriaga, a CICM parish priest of Tabuk, Kalinga, was confronted by soldiers of the 60th Philippine Constabulary (PC), the Philippine military group assigned to the province of Kalinga during the construction of the Chico River Dam. Apparently, he was hit twice on the head by a certain Lt. Clodualdo Tusi while he was going to the Goodwill Hospital to administer confession. He pleaded for his life when the military officer threatened to shoot him. Local people, including several students, witnessed this incident.[54] This incident prompted an inter-faith group, with seventeen signatories, to write to President Marcos and request the total withdrawal of the battalion from Chico IV.[55] In a letter he wrote to father Patricio Guyguyon, he expressed his fear not only for his life but 'the threat to life of everybody' and told how the local people gathered in front of the barracks of the battalion and held a silent protest against the abuses of the military.[56]

Threats to territorial heritage

In the second incident, in 1975, the Catholic Missions of Lubuagan and Bontoc asked the research unit of the Montañosa Social Action Center (MSAC) to assist them in a socioeconomic survey of the affected communities along the Chico River where the dam project would be implemented.[57] Father David Ganggangan, an assistant parish priest of Lubuagan, in charge of Pasil and Tanudan, and one of the Kalinga priests who was outspoken on the Chico Dam issue, collected affida-

53 'Rejoinder: Bishop Brasseur replies to charges against church', 1. NPA refers to New People's Army, an armed group of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

54 Cordillera / Northern Luzon Archives, Cordillera Mass Movement, The Chico River Basin Development Project: The Case of the Chico River Basin Development Project, Box 3, Letter of Inter-Faith and Church Clergymen to President Marcos, 6 November 1978.

55 *Ibid.*

56 Cordillera / Northern Luzon Archives. Cordillera Mass Movement, The Chico River Basin Development Project: The Case of the Chico River Basin Development Project, Box 3, Letter of Fr. Gavino Madriaga to Fr. Patricio Guyguyon, 6 November 1978.

57 Cordillera / Northern Luzon Archives. Cordillera Mass Movement, The Chico River Basin Development Project: The Case of the Chico River Basin Development Project, Box 3, Correspondence, Fr. Ganggangan to Fr. Guyguyon, 10 May 1975.

4. Rice Terraces, Balbalasang, Kalinga.
[Cordillera/ Northern Luzon Historical Archives, Cordillera Mass Movement Collection, University of the Philippines Baguio, Saboy Photo Collection]

vits, interviews and facts related to the project.[58] The MSAC recorded information showing an appalling situation in the community such as abuses of soldiers and threatening acts of government authorities (see Table 1). They were punitive and fearful. Abuses of all sorts, from maltreatment to damage of property to killings, had been carried out by NPC officers and military escorts. Damage to people's property was not compensated and complaints were officially reported using affidavits or sworn statements with assistance of the Priests.[59] The Kalinga people returned money given to them by PANAMIN. The table below sets out various acts of abuse and responses of local people such as returning bribery money to the Executive Secretary's Office and refusal of free medicines in November 1975. The documented complaints (see Table 1) show a significant threat to human lives and to cultural properties such as rice crops and fruit trees, domesticated animals, and homes.

58 The exact year or date of Fr. Ganggangan's involvement was not explicitly mentioned, but the part of the narrative that mentions him references NPC's meetings of 1974. See Montañosa Social Action Center, 'The Chico River Basin Development Project', 10.

59 Cordillera / Northern Luzon Archives. Cordillera Mass Movement, The Chico River Basin Development Project: The Case of the Chico River Basin Development Project, Box 3, Correspondence, Fr. Ganggangan to Fr. Guyguyon, 10 May 1975.

Table 1. Complaints on the Chico River Dam Project, 1974–1978

Type of complaint	Date	Nature of complaint and/or extent of damage reported
Damage to plants/ crops	25/05/1974	Cutting down of coffee, avocado and mango trees, and damaging of rice crop ready for harvest.
Maltreatment/ manhandling/ abusive behavior	05/1974	Local people dismantled an NPC camp and were arrested and detained. One native leader of Maswa was punished severely.
	01/06/974	Three innocent boys were maltreated. Boys were asked to balance coconut husks on their heads, while the soldiers took shots at the coconuts as target practice.
	26/12/1976	A man was brutally manhandled by two PC enlisted men while attending a Christmas party in Cagaluan.
	10/01/1977	Two boys were punched three times in their abdomen by a soldier.
	26/02/1977	A woman was pushed around by a soldier.
	18/05/1977	Four men were beat up with the butt of a gun by a drunken soldier, who also fired his gun around the barrio indiscriminately.
	09/1977	A patrol unit shot a man in his thigh because he requested to eat first before doing the task he was asked to do: to carry the body of a soldier.
	03/04/1978	A blind singer was mauled by drunken men of the 60th PC.
Bribery/ coercion	05/11/1975	Secretary Elizalde convinced some people to sign a prepared resolution to the effect that the people of the barrio supported the dam project. He distributed goods and led the Tanglag people to believe that the water level of the dam would not affect Tanglag.
	12/11/1975	Elizalde tried to convince the people of Cagaluan to sign a resolution prepared by PANAMIN, attracting trying to win them over by offering them medicines, which the people refused.
	13/11/1975	Barrio captains and councilors from Cabaluan and Ableg received PhP 500.00 each from PANAMIN. The recipients returned the money and strongly urged others to do the same to preserve the unity of the Kalinga people.
	11/1975	Elizalde gave money to each of the families in the barrio of Pasil. Sensing the money could be a trap, the people resolved to collect the money to be sent back to Executive Secretary Melchor's office.
	12/1975	150 Kalingas were brought by PANAMIN to Manila and were pressured into signing a resolution on giving their support to the Chico Dam Project.
Forced exchange	11/11/1975	Elizalde called a meeting of the barrio, using a villager's house without the owner's knowledge. He threatened those who wanted to speak up by holding on to their guns.
	17/12/1975	Captain Jeopano summoned several villagers and forcibly bought their property from them. The amounts paid varied from PhP 5,000 to PhP 80,000.
Forced demolition	01/1976	A prewar school building in Basao owned by the Catholic Mission was demolished by PANAMIN, against the wishes of the people. The demolition of the school disrupted the scheduled classes when students were tasked with carrying materials for the building. About 63 Civilian Homes Defense Forces soldiers helped in the demolition. 70 families were affected as they lost a school.

Arrests	12/11/1875	Three visiting religious social workers were detained and questioned by Secretary Elizalde, who accused them of being radicals and of teaching the people to fight.
	11/1976-12/1976	A total of 41 people were arrested by the PC for the alleged reason that people were disrupting the work of NPC personnel on the dam.
	01/1977	13 Kalingas from Dugnag and Tanglag were arrested when the people grabbed survey instruments from NPC personnel and prevented them from carrying out a waterline survey.
	01/06/1977	6 men arrested suspected of an ambush were detained and subjected to maltreatment.
Killing	13/08/1977	A 25-year-old man was on his way to his field when a PC soldier searched his basket and found his lunch and, according to them, some bullets. The soldiers shot him immediately and riddled his body with bullets.
	05/1978	A man was kidnapped by soldiers. His dead body was found three days after with tell-tale marks of torture having taken place before he was shot and killed.
Burning of houses	25/10/1977	2 houses were burned down by soldiers of the 55th battalion. The losses of Benito Sumangon were estimated at PhP 32, PhP392.50, and 5 Spanish coins.
	23/11/1977	More than 10 houses were razed to the ground in a series of fires started by the military. The soldiers broke pots and stole saws and other tools which they later sold.
Missing domesticated animals	11/1978	40 cows of a 62-year-old elder residing in Dupag, Tabuk, Kalinga were reported missing.

Table 2. Chico River Dam Project location and projected effects

Location	Estimated effects
Chico II (Gadangat near Anabel and Kadwagan)	Displacement of 500 families.
Chico IV (Tomiangan)	Displacement of 672 families directly, and an additional 300 families indirectly.
Chico II and IV	Damage to ricelands worth PhP 60,750. (people's estimate in 1979).
Chico I to IV	Damage to properties with a total aggregate of PhP400,000,000.00 (people's estimate in 1979) with 10,000 people affected.[60]

As to the responses of the Kalinga people to the dam project, father Patricio Guyguyon reports that people dismantled the camps of the NPC and the Peoples' Constabulary (PC) at the dam sites of Chico IV and disrupted the survey operations of the NPC by taking the survey instruments that they were using, all of which resulted in 180 Kalinga people being detained in Camp Olivas and in the Bulanao PC stockade.[61] Father Guyguyon also estimated the number of families that would be affected should the dam project in Kalinga continue. Table 2 sets out the projected effects of the prospective dams on the Kalinga and Bontoc people in 1979.[62]

60 Brady-De Raedt, 'To Know the Meaning of the Chico Project', 116.
61 Guyguyon, 'History of the Chico River Project', 114.
62 *Ibid*., 109-110.

Conclusion

The CICM mission in the Montañosa Vicariate has evolved in their work with the Kalinga people. The Belgian fathers thrived and were sharp-witted in building the Catholic clergy's collective action against the Chico River Dam Project. Because they were deeply familiar with the languages, culture and traditions of the peoples of the Montañosa, they understood the needs and sentiments of the local people, which ran contrary to national development aspirations in the 1970s. They fully support the communities in defense of their cultural heritage against the threats of the dam project.. The wit and diplomatic skills of the Belgian fathers was useful in negotiating with government authorities. The need for a skill that makes people win the battle with less or no sacrifices proved crucial at that time. The local people demonstrated their spiritual relationship to their lands and that separation from their lands would mean separation from their ancestors and essentially the destruction of their culture. The incidents that led the locals to defend their territories allowed them to renew their relationship with their ancestors and affirm the intermediary position of the missionaries, who they expected to take their side. This relationship had already been built over the years.

The presence of the Belgian fathers was well timed and was strategically positioned between the Kalinga people and the government authorities. The local people needed the fathers to communicate with PANAMIN and the President in a manner that the latter could comprehend. The 1970s was a period in the Philippines where majority of Filipino officials (if not the population) exhibited a superiority complex over 'tribal groups' such as the people of the Cordilleras. The creation of a PANAMIN agency speaks of a 'national integration' drive, a policy that the government had been implementing since 1950s. Presidential Decree 719 Series of 1975 has it that the implementation of the government's policies is 'directed towards the care and upliftment of the nation's cultural minorities'.[63]

The Belgian fathers have earned the trust of the Kalinga people over years of community church building. Their legacy extends to strengthening community life by promoting self-reliant communities and in maintaining cultural sovereignty against national development interests. The Chico River Dam experience may have left an 'alliance imprint' on the local people. The Kalinga people valued the alliances that were built for social justice causes. The alliance between the Belgian fathers and Kalinga people was about the protection of customary lands and cultural heritage. The events and incidents that built the alliance involved defensive acts against an offensive development project. The Belgian fathers were responsive to the aspirations of the locals. Protecting customary lands is an embod-

63 Presidential Decree 719 Series of 1975, https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1975/05/30/presidential-decree-no-719-s-1975/.

iment of ancestral heritage that is unique to indigenous communities in the Philippines. This alliance has also broadened the influence and control of the Kalinga people because the opposition to the dam was beyond regional concerns. The series of opposition activities successfully stopped the construction of the dam.

The building of local churches by the Belgian fathers to foster the creation of dioceses also served as a catalyst for community cultural development, with locals effectively owning and using the church to serve their cultural interests. The church was seen as important at a time when external threats hit the communities. The Kalinga people witnessed the bravery and skill of the Belgian fathers in negotiating, the sacrifices and risks that they endured, and the determination that they shared to stop the dam project.

The Second Vatican Council pronouncements were opportune during the Chico River Dam Project. Inculturation of faith as the intimate transformation of authentic cultural values through their integration in Christianity in the various human cultures, and the promotion of that culture in church activities.[64] The pronouncements are in sync with the CICM activities during that time. The Belgian fathers allowed their mission to evolve as the realities were changing.[65] They were also successful in establishing a local clergy from the local communities (four priests joined the CICM clergy in the 1970s), which may have strengthened their cause for social justice. The CICM schools continued to operate in communities where customary institutions were still practiced. This may have morphed into platforms for engagement with the Philippines state structures, a missionary imprint that facilitated the deeply rooted ethnic identity formation in the Philippine Cordilleras. This is illustrated by the case of the Chico River Dam Project, where people fought for their lands, territories, and resources against government development programs.

64 Faith and Inculturation, 1988. https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/rc_cti_1988_fede-inculturazione_en.html.

65 Vanysacker, 'A Specialized Mission Institute, the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM), and its Answer(s) on the Changing Concepts and Realities of Mission between 1965 and 1988'.

REFERENCES

Archival sources

KADOC-KU Leuven, Archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, 1862–1967. Z.I.D.4. The Philippines; Z.I.D.4. Missiën van Scheut in China, Congo en de Filippijnen. Z.VI.f.3; Z.IV.g.4.; M.III.C.6.2 (Memorandum on the Mission Schools of the Vicariate of the Mountain Province, 28 June 1965).

Cordillera/Northern Luzon Historical Archives, University of the Philippines Baguio, Baguio City, Philippines, Cordillera Mass Movement Collection.

- The Chico River Basin Development Project: The Case of the Chico River Basin Development Project, Box 3, Letter of Fr. Gavino Madriaga to Fr. Patricio Guyguyon, 6 November 1978.
- The Chico River Basin Development Project: The Case of the Chico River Basin Development Project, Box 3, correspondence from Fr. Ganggangan to Fr.Guyguyon, 10 May 1975.
- The Chico River Basin Development Project: The Case of the Chico River Basin Development Project, Letter of the 'Inter-Faith and Church Clergymen' to President Marcos, 6 November 6, 1978. Box 3.
- Correspondence from Bishop Francisco Claver to Ferdinand Marcos, 25 April 1975. Box 22, Folder 3.
- Montañosa Social Action Center. 'The Chico River Basin Development Project: A Case Study on Development by the Montañosa Social Action Center'. Box 7, Title 12: The Chico River Project (F1).
- Transcript of Conference with Undersecretary Barbero, Camp Aguinaldo, Feb. 27, 1976. Box 6, Title 24: Chico Documents (F13).

Secondary literature

Baguio Midland Courier, 22 (23), 1979, June 17, 27–36.

Brady-De Raedt, Carol H.M. 'To Know the Meaning of the Chico Project'. *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 9, (1979), 114–130.

Brasseur, Bishop William. 'Comments'. *Aghamtao* 2 (1979), 108–109.

Bulletin Today, June 14, 1979. 'The Case of the Chico River Basin Development Project, Philippines, 1979'. Box 7, Title 12: The Chico River Basin Development Project. Cordillera Mass Movement Collection, Northern Luzon Archives, University of the Philippines Baguio Library, UP Baguio, Baguio City, Philippines, 9.

Carino, Joanna. 'The Chico River basin development project: a case study in national development policy (an update)'. *Ugnayang Pang Agham-Tao*, 3 (1980) 1, 1–25.

Carino, Joanna, Jessica Carino, and Geoffrey Nettleton. 'The Chico River-Basis Development Project: A Situation Report'. *Aghamtao*, 2 (1979), 37–103. https://pssc.org.ph/wp-content/pssc-archives/Aghamtao/1979/09_The%20Chico%20River-Basin%20Development%20Project%20A%20Situation%20Report.pdf

Guyguyon, Patricio. 'History of the Chico River Project'. *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 9, (1979), 109–114.

Itchon, Gabriel Y. 'The Case for the Multi-Purpose Chico 4 Project'. *Aghamtao* 2 (1979), 27–36.

Vanysacker, Dries. 'C.I.C.M. in the Philippines'. In: Daniel Verhelst and Nestor Pycke, eds. *C.I.C.M. Missionaries, Past and Present 1862–1987*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995, 214–230.

Vanysacker, Dries. 'A Specialized Mission Institute, the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM), and its Answer(s) on Changing Concepts and Realities of Mission between 1965 and 1988'. In: Frans Wijsen and Wojciech Kluj, eds. *Europe: A Mission Continent?* European Mission Studies 2. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Kardinala Stefana Wyszynskiego, 2020, 15–32.

Challenges to Catholic Identity in Southern Togo

Ewe Christianity and the Marshall Order

Kwami Edem Afoutou

In general, Christians in South Togo, whatever the variant of Christianity to which they belong, show a great interest in the dialectic of God/Devil. This interest is remarkable both in practice and in the way Christian doctrine is interpreted through everyday experiences. To place a great emphasis on the Devil, in an equal way to the focus on God, is rooted in the continuity of the Ewe traditional identity in Christianity. New elements are integrated into local cosmology, reconfiguring it and influencing the way adherents deploy it to navigate through reality. In the southern part of Togo, it often happens that in everyday conversations, one might link an unfortunate situation to a diabolic attack. It is common to hear advertisements on Christian local media that promote sessions of deliverance prayer, exorcisms and rituals of protection against the Devil. Such sessions aim at annihilating the Devil's action in the lives of Christians and attract the faithful of all kinds, regardless of the Christian denomination to which they are attached. Why are the Christian faithful so receptive to such promises of deliverance? What exactly are they possessed by and what can explain their worries and fear of the Devil?

In this contribution, I will problematize these questions by taking a close look at the Ewe people living in southern Togo, particularly members of the Catholic Fraternal Order of the Knights and Ladies of Marshall (KLM).[1] They are also called Marshallans, a reference to Sir James Marshall, who will be discussed later on. The KLM is a transnational fraternal association that is mostly present in West African countries, including Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Togo. The KLM was also established in London by Ghanaian emigrant populations. Estimated at around 1,500 members in Togo alone, they are exclusively ac-

1 In 2017 and 2018, I did two ethnographic study stays within the basic units of the Order in the city of Lomé, for six and two months respectively.

tive in urban areas. Lomé, the capital city of Togo, is the center of a predominantly Ewe-speaking area. Hence, all the ritual sessions held by the KLM take place using the Ewe language. Consequently, using that language, the protagonists of this movement carry with them the heritage and the framework of their Ewe cultural world while practicing the rituals of their Order. We then start from the fact that any cultural heritage, far from being circumscribed as such in advance is subject to a dynamic that seeks to legitimize itself in the present. Imagination, language, discourse, song, dress and even worldview are the elements of the practices of heritage that are discussed here about the Ewe.

Along with nine other ethnic groups in Togo, the Ewe form a fairly homogeneous whole, inhabiting the Ajatado cultural area.[2] The latter is bounded to the west by the Volta River (Ghana) and to the east by the Oueme River (Benin); the northern latitude varies between 150 and 200 kilometers from the Coast within Ghana, Togo and Benin and opens to the south onto the Atlantic Ocean. The Ajatado community is composed of the Aja, the Ewe, the Fon, the Ayizo, the Sahwe, the Xwedas, the Guin, the Xwla and the Gun.[3] Their homogeneity stems from a shared set of cultural assets, which include the Gbe language, ideas and practices regarding birth, marriage, death and cosmological features.[4]

The mission of evangelization among the Ewe folk started in 1847 with the arrival of Pietist missionaries of the North German Missionary Society (Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft, NMG).[5] The eighteenth-century modernization of the German economy had sacrificed those who worked in traditional sectors like crafts, breeding and agriculture. This economic change had thus created a very vulnerable class of individuals who were struggling to find their place in the new Germany. The associations of the Pietist missionaries founded in Hamburg in 1839 used to recruit their missionaries from among these ruined workers who had developed a feeling of mistrust of modernity, promoting inner life and conservative values as the core of the Christian life.[6] They committed themselves to imprinting into the Ewe reality a dualistic understanding of Christianity that stemmed from their own specific context in northern Germany. Once introduced, the missionaries themselves 'were startled by the success of their own arguments,'[7] which quickly became the central point of Ewe Protestant identity. The God/Devil dichotomy

2 The prefix 'Aja' is read 'Adza' or 'Adja'. The suffix 'tado' refers to the capital of the historical kingdom in which the peoples lived together with the Aja-Ewe in the sixteenth century.

3 Pazzi, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'aire culturelle ajatado*; Gayibor, *l'aire culturelle ajatado*,

4 The term cosmology refers to the compositions and the organizations of the world, based on the worldviews cultural groups develop. See Le Quellec and Sergent, *Dictionnaire critique de mythologie*.

5 https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pietism.

6 Meyer, *Translating the Devil*.

7 *Ibid*., 101.

among Christians in southern Togo relates to the problem of conversion and the nature of the changes it produces at the level of Ewe worldviews. However, this issue goes far beyond the Ewe case. Vilaça echoes the same phenomenon among the Wari people who converted to Christianity in Amazonia. She wrote: 'The relation of the Wari' to God is conceived in opposition to their relation with the Devil, just as kinship within the local group is inconceivable without the dialogue with animal subjectivities.'[8]

The duality God/Devil is very much present along with the theme of conversion in the way African Christianity has been analyzed by social scientists. There are two major opposing theories when it comes to dealing with the matter of religious conversion. On the one hand, the so-called 'intellectualist' theory characterizes the cultural identity by continuity when facing new challenges, as was allegedly the case with African Christianity. Robin Horton, an English anthropologist and social philosopher, and John David Yeadon Peel from SOAS University of London, both conducting studies on the African continent in the 1970s, were the advocates of the idea that people choose or reject the proposals of the world religions depending on the nature and content of their traditional cosmologies.[9] On the other hand, other Africanists, amongst whom Fisher Humphrey,[10] rejected this 'intellectualist' theory and advocated what Fenella Cannell has conceptualized as the 'radical discontinuity' between Christianity and local cultures in her epochal edited work on the vexed relationship between anthropology and Christianity.[11] Many anthropologists have agreed with this theory, which has become a common trend of the contemporary anthropology of Christianity. Among them, the anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff, working among the Twana in South Africa, have defended the idea that the Christian doctrine brings about a worldview that is radically new.[12] In the same vein, the French anthropologist André Mary has argued that the conversion of indigenous peoples to Christianity implies a transformation of their world, of their patterns for the interpretation of evil, hence necessarily entailing a mutation of the categories of the self.[13] The conception of conversion resonates heavily in the studies of the Dutch anthropologist Birgit Meyer, who conducted research among the Pentecostal Ewe people living in southern Ghana and insists on the fact that the Ewe people's conversion

8 Vilaça, 'Dividuality in Amazonia', 253.
9 Horton, 'The Rationality of Conversion', Part I and Part II. See also Horton and Peel, 'Conversion and Confusion'.
10 Fisher, Conversion in Black Africa
11 Cannell, *Anthropology of Christianity*, 14.
12 Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution. Vol. 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* and *Vol. 2: The Dialectic of Modernity on a South African Frontier*.
13 Mary, 'Retour sur la « conversion africaine »'.

has produced a profound transformation of their imagination.[14] This chapter is an argument against the vision of a complete change and rupture postulated by earlier scholarship, which seems not to sufficiently take into account the Ewe agency. I will elaborate more on this matter later in the chapter.

In my own fieldwork among the Catholics of the KLM, I came across this very same pattern of the divine and satanic dichotomy, even though they were not directly evangelized by the NMG Pietists. My hypothesis is that the insistence on the dichotomy between God and the Devil, one of the central traits of Ewe Christianity, rituals and practices, can be explained by two major reasons: firstly, this particular feature is marked by a continuity of some fundamental aspects of the local cosmology; and secondly, it rests on some of the specific actions of the NMG missionaries. Arguably, the specific nature of their mission played a major role in the shaping of what today can be defined as Ewe Christianity. My argumentation will be developed in two steps. First, I will describe the specific historical context of the encounter between the Christian narrative and the Ajatado cosmology of the Ewe people, clarifying the points of resistance or possible convergence between the two belief systems. The aim of this chapter is not simply to describe a mechanism of encounter and transmission, as if the Ewe did not have agency. Secondly, I will elaborate on the legacies left by this encounter in the way Christianity is lived out today by the Catholic members of the KLM in southern Togo. It should be noted that this legacy cannot be conceived as unidirectional, since what can be singled out as cultural heritage is the result of a relational dynamic that brings together several normative systems.

The historical encounter between the Ewe and Christianity

The Ajatado traditional spirituality

The traditional Ajatado spirituality includes two aspects through which the individual apprehends reality and his position in the world. The first aspect has to do with personhood or subjectivity and the second relates to the interpretation of evil. Both are directly linked to issues of Christian conversion. With regard to the conception of subjectivity, it should be noted that the Ewe, like their neighbors, conceive the person in a dualistic and dialectical way.[15] In 1906, the German NMG missionary Jakob Spieth (1856–1914) conducted the first-ever written ethnography among the Ewe.[16] Most of Spieth's findings regarding the dualistic pattern of

14 Meyer, *Translating the Devil*.

15 Here, subjectivity is used as the complex of the diverse forms through which an individual becomes the subject of a social group or social structure.

16 Spieth, *Les communautés éwé (Die Ewe-Stämme)*.

Ewe culture were confirmed by the second generation of ethnologists.[17] The Ewe people hold that each individual had once lived in a mythic world, *amedzope*, the origin of humanity. Before a person enters into *kodzogbe*, the visible world, he has to choose his *kpoli*, that is, the fate that will shape his life on earth. This choice is made in the presence of *Mawu*, the supreme being and creator. As the person spends his life in the visible world, he periodically must turn to the geomantic divinity called *Afa*, so that the content of the mythical choice, his *kpoli*, will be gradually revealed to him in the course of his lifetime. People always seek and adapt themselves to the fate they had chosen before stepping into the world. At different phases in a person's lifetime, a consultation with *Afa* is required to clarify, redefine and specify what the next turn will be. Living in this world, the individual is constantly connected to the invisible world through his imagination, referring to the way his body and the social life are shaped according to the requirements of the *Afa* deity. Judy Rosenthal, an American anthropologist from the University of Michigan who conducted an ethnography among the Ewe, insists on the place of *Afa* divination in the process of becoming a subject among the Ewe whose life is based on a predefined text.[18] This cultural dynamic attests to the existence of a traditional and primary dualism that characterizes Ewe culture. It brings forth the importance of the invisible dimension of life; the invisible world is the dwelling of all archetypal figures, which are universal by nature.[19] These figures are designed to be reproduced in the visible world. The notion of the invisible world is a major and determinant principle that plays out when it comes to how Ewe Christians experience their daily life.

The dialectical way of conceiving life is another point related to Ewe subjectivity that is worth mentioning. In his research paper about Christianity and culture, Jacob Agossou, a Fon native and a theologian who has studied Ajatado cosmology, points to a saying among the Fon people: 'The day somebody is born is the day he dies'.[20] Through this saying, the Fon people express the correlation between life and death. Why is the very day of birth also a day of death? 'The answer is simple; it is because on that very day the placenta that carried the child during the first days of his life is buried.'[21] If the day of the individual's birth is also the day they die, it should be noted that this dialectic plays out during their entire life. One day, the day of the individual's death will also become the day of his birth in the ancestors' world.

17 de Surgy, 'Le système Religieux des Ehve' or Nukunya, 'Kinship and Marriage among the Anlo-Ewe'.

18 Rosenthal, *Possession, Ecstasy, and Law in Ewe Voodoo*, 157.

19 Bastide and Dieterlen, *La notion de personne en Afrique noire*.

20 Agossou, *Gbetó et Gbedótó, l'homme et le Dieu créateur selon les Sud-Dahoméens*, 108.

21 *Ibid*.

Father Bruno Gilli, an Italian Catholic priest and anthropologist who spent more than forty years studying the Ouatchi, the Eastern Ewe, believes that the Ewe dialectic worldview also applies to the way the cosmos is understood.[22] It is conceived as a balance between two forces that are eternally fighting each other. The very nature of these opposite forces is to operate in tension, and it is only through that tension that reality is conceived. In Ewe mythology, at the appearance of the world, a set of twins were present. One gave birth to *adze*, or witchcraft, and the other one to the Ewe *Vodu*. These two opposing powers participate in the unknowable. In the Ewe imagination, the balance of life lies in the interplay between positive and negative potentialities. The Ewe seek truth through analogism and by association.[23] This set of realities are the fundamental elements of the cosmological framework in which Christianity would unfold among the Ewe. Now let us look at how the missionaries' actions played out, before describing how the Ewe agency positioned itself.

The North German Missionary Society and its impact

From 1847 onward, the European presence on coastal West Africa shifted from the traffic of enslaved people and of raw materials to another type of relationship. The slave trade left this area – the 'Slave Coast' – with a major population decline and other devastating impacts. The new generation of Europeans arriving in the middle of the nineteenth century was driven by other ideological interests. Some like the NMG missionaries even fought the previous local structures that were active during the slave trade.[24] It aimed at contributing to the mission of evangelization, at the very moment when Protestantism was spreading all over the various German principalities. Recruited from rural areas, from among farmers and craftsmen, they focussed on promoting Christian values such as inner life and asceticism, shunning all kinds of mundanities, which they considered a threat induced by rapid urbanization. The missionaries who arrived among the Ewe upheld 'a dualistic worldview based on the contrast between God and Satan. The Devil was responsible for the badness of this world [...] Their writings reveal that to them the Devil was the mainspring of heathenism.'[25] As at home, the missionaries considered popular religion and modernity to be satanic work. They also identified the Ewe religion as a satanic endeavor that needed to be uprooted, converted

22 Gilli, *Un culte du vodu Hebiesso*, 392.

23 Analogism is to be understood here in the sense Philippe Descola defines it in his ontological grid. The world is made up of different and fragmented entities related to one another through correspondance and association. See Descola, *Par-delà nature et culture.*

24 Beside Meyer's book, *Translating the Devil*, another article by the author is valuable in this regard: see 'Christianity and the Ewe Nation'.

25 Meyer, 'If You Are a Devil, You Are a Witch and, If You Are a Witch, You Are a Devil', 103.

and brought to civilization. The impact of this congregation was decisive among the different Ewe tribes because of the significant work the missionaries did on recording the Anlo dialect, one of the variants of the Ewe language. Standardized by the NMG, this specific dialect not only became the vehicle of the Christian mission, but also the primary instrument of the transformation of the Ewe imagination. I address here three major actions performed by the NMG missionaries that have interplayed with the local worldview in shaping the collective social memory and in doing so, built up some foundational elements of Ewe Christian identity.

The first action is based on the NMG's worldview. Trained in the thoughts of Johann Gottfried Herder's romantic nationalism, they held both the affirmation of universalism and the singularity of each individual.[26] Herder's central principle was that the 'individuals were part of the nation into which they were born and could therefore only realize themselves within their own nationality.'[27] It was this principle that guided the missionaries in standardizing the Ewe language, writing down their myths of origin in order to bring about the Ewe nation, united in the mission Church. These writings that contributed to shaping the Ewe imagination have become the official stories passed on to new generations through teaching. Eric Hobsbawm, the British historian, and Terence Osborn Ranger, an Africanist who had worked in Zimbabwe, have documented the process through which traditions held as being always there are invented at a certain point of history.[28]

The second action concerns the very issue of Satan. The NMG missionary Dietrich Westermann (1875–1956) compiled the first bilingual Ewe-German and German-Ewe dictionary, published in 1905–1906.[29] This work was designed to help the new missionaries that joined the mission quickly get used to the Ewe language, but also to be used by Ewe students in German and in their own language, so that they could learn the new concepts and realities that were created. In this dictionary, realities unknown to the Ewe people appeared for the first time. For 'to write', Westermann used the Ewe term *nlō nu*, which means to plow or to cultivate.[30] To name Satan, he borrowed the word *Abosam* from the Akan mythological account in which the word was used to designate, among other things, a bush monster.[31] This new word used in street preaching, as well as in regular sermons during services came to be identified with the Ewe category of *adze*, or witchcraft.

26 Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) was a German philosopher and theologian. In 1772, he published *The Treatise on the Origin of Language*. See: Bernard Suphan and al.

27 Meyer, 'Christianity and the Ewe Nation', 172.

28 Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

29 See https://www.bu.edu/missiology/missionary-biography/w-x-y-z/westermann-diedrich-hermann-1875-1956/.

30 Degbe, *De la naissance à la renaissance de la mission catholique au Togo* (1886–1921), 183.

31 A neighboring brilliant civilization living at the west of the Ewe. See Meyer, 'If You Are a Devil, You Are a Witch and, If You Are a Witch, You Are a Devil', 104.

This move was not so new, since a classical theory of Christianity on the topic has always linked witchcraft and diabology. On this particular issue, Meyer wrote:

> The iconography of the Devil was enriched by the idea that he was the lord of 'pagan' gods and ghosts, who thereby became integrated into the Christian religions as the domain of Satan justified the often-cruel persecution of people not professing Christianity.[32]

The missionaries and also Ewe converts came to designate non-converts as *abosamtõwo*, meaning those who belong to *Abosam*, as opposed to themselves, who adhered to the newly introduced Christian God. Thus, a new dichotomy was established as a result of the encounter between the Ewe and the missionaries. The Ewe understood the Christian God as a power destined to defeat hostile gods and spirits that they saw as the source of evil. This new narrative comes to replace, or at least cohabite with, the traditional narrative of the opposing twin forces.

The third action is linked to Ewe imagination, which the Pietists stoked with abundant use of biblical allegories and metaphors 'as the only suitable medium for relating daily life to the divine'.[33] One example of the Pietists' dualistic methods was to use the image of the 'Broad and Narrow Path' as a guide o interpret the Word of God. The image is taken from chapter 7:13–14 of the Gospel of Matthew, which states: 'Enter through the narrow gate. For wide is the gate and broad is the road that leads to destruction, and many enter through it. But small is the gate and narrow the road that leads to life, and only a few find it.' This metaphor of God providing two ways, one good and one evil, was used to help the converts properly respond to God's grace, making difficult decisions that will definitely free them from *Abosam*.

Using allegories and metaphors brought new elements to the Ewe imagination. As a reminder, it should be noted that the French ethnologist Albert de Surgy (1934–) worked on the dynamics of imagination among the Ewe. He wrote that the Ewe conceive of themselves as having a spouse in the world of the origin. Even when Ewe marry, they remain bound to their mythical spouse throughout their life, seeking to please them and managing not to offend them.[34] The domain of imagination deals with images, ideas, judgments, reasoning and intentions, and they belong to the ideal realities. As long as they are confined in the minds of individuals, they remain unknown. Usually it is through the process of symbolism that these ideal realities are embodied both in material realities and in practices.[35] It is above all on this particular terrain that the practices of power as expressed in

32 Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 41.
33 *Ibid*., 39.
34 De Surgy, 'La relation au conjoint idéal et le statut de l'imaginaire chez les Evhé'.
35 Godelier, *Au fondement des sociétés humaines, ce que nous apprend l'anthropologie*.

missionary actions are deployed, on the one hand, but also the way in which heritage operates, understood as the choice of populations to decide what is important to them and what they want to let go.[36] In choosing to operate at the level of the imagination, understood here as 'the process of turning words into images',[37] the Pietists provided the Ewe with new patterns that still configure and orient Ewe Christianity today.

The Catholic missionaries among the Ewe

The first attempts by the Catholic Church to evangelize Togo were made by the Society of African Missions of Lyon (*Société des missions africaines*), which settled in Dahomey (Benin) in 1861.[38] When German colonization started in Togo in 1884, the colonial power preferred the German missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) to formally begin mission work in Togo. This missionary society was founded by Father Arnold Janssen (1837–1909, canonized in 2003). At that time, Bismarck's anticlerical Prussia was in the midst of the *Kulturkampf*, a conflict against the worldly powers of the Roman Catholic Church, promoting the separation of Church and State, and the control of educational and ecclesiastical appointments. In this context, Catholics were not well regarded because of the pope's possible influence through them. This is one of the reasons why Father Janssen set up the headquarters of his new congregation in Steyl, across the border in the south of the Netherlands. There, he also founded female missionary congregations, including the Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit (*Steyler Missionsschwestern*, SSpS). In August 1892, the first SVD missionaries landed on the Togolese coast and started their mission with the natives at places where there were no Protestant missions. To avoid competition, the colonial power divided the territory into mission areas for Catholics and Protestants in the south and reserved a Muslim area in the north. The consequence of this decision can still be seen today in the space occupied by these denominations. Regarding the influence of Catholics, in the following I underline three major aspects of their mission work. The first is how, from the beginning, Catholic missionaries used the sacrament of baptism to fight the spirits of the dead. The second aspect concerns how these missionaries, through their pastoral actions, tried to establish a new sociality, cutting new converts off from their traditional ties. Thirdly, I will discuss how the politics of language initiated by the Protestants was continued by the Catholic missionaries.

36 Harrison, "What Is Heritage?"

37 Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 153.

38 Founded in December 1856 under the name of Séminaire de Lyon, in France, they became Society of African Mission and started their first mission in Sierra Leone in 1859. They took over the German Catholic missionaries of the SVD mission in 1921 in Togo.

The work of Emmanuel Degbe, a Togolese historian who consulted the archives of several congregations involved in the Christianization of Togo, provides us with valuable information regarding the mission work at the end of the nineteenth century.[39] Amongst others, he reported a witness from Father Janssen, the founder himself. According to the latter, the missionaries landed in Lomé in August 1892 for the simple reason that it was the most salubrious beach area. Between December and January 1893, forty Ewe children were baptized. Father Janssen added: 'In fact, these are baptisms given to children threatened by ghostly diseases, linked to the "appearances of the dead", specific to the black people.'[40] It clearly appears here that, from the beginning, Catholic rituals, especially the sacrament of baptism, have been put at the service of exorcism against the spirits of the dead that caused 'ghostly diseases' in the children. This is one of the differences between Protestantism and Catholicism in the field of diabology. While the former relies on the power of God's Word to fight evil spirits, the latter uses rituals as preferred means to fight them.[41] The consequence of such a situation is the starting point of an alteration process in the Ewe subjectivity. Indeed, in describing the traditional Ewe person, Judy Rosenthal came up with the idea of the Ewe conceiving themselves as a 'cavity', a hole in which are assembled various elements such as their ancestors, deities, legends and even plants and animals.[42] As shown in the baptism of the first Ewe children, Christianity demanded from the Ewe to cut ties with these multiple alterities, in order to convert to a more autonomous version of themselves.[43] In declaring the Ewe ancient world satanic, the missionaries disqualified the traditional subjectivity of the Ewe, the way they were connected to their environment. The human person, indeed, has always lived in interaction with the different components of the self, especially those connected to their ancestors. In relation to this, Fenella Cannell argues:

> The demand that a human being cultivates an internal barometer [...] that he creates his own view of himself in terms of his relation to a form of conscience separable from social rules and obligation, foreshadowed the development of a subjectivity that has usually been presented as distinctively Christian.[44]

The objective of guiding the Ewe people to reconfigure their inner life has been the common preoccupation of all the missionaries who worked in their land. Cut-

39 Degbe, *De la naissance à la renaissance de la mission catholique au Togo (1886-1921)*.
40 *Ibid*., 138. Translated by the author.
41 The importance of rituals will be further elaborated when discussing the case of the Knights and Ladies of Marshall.
42 Rosenthal, *Possession, Ecstasy, and Law in Ewe Voodoo*, 174.
43 Cf. Bastide and Dieterlen, *La notion de personne en Afrique noire*.
44 Cannell, *Anthropology of Christianity*, 13.

ting the individual off from the components that have always been part of him, especially the ancestors, was not the only purpose of the new religion. On a social and historical level, the neophyte was also to be cut off from the community of the living, in the sense of establishing new social ties for the neophytes. New converts were forbidden from participating in festivities organized by family members or by their former companions who had not converted to the new faith. The missionaries encouraged the nuclear understanding of the family, instead of an expanded one that included village people, friends and relatives.[45] This particular rule, as well as others, like monogamic marriage, aimed at creating new relationalities different from the traditional ones. To achieve that objective, the Catholic strategies of conversion primarily focussed on children. They were baptized and enrolled in school programs where they could be educated in this new worldview. Beside the schools, the mission's health centers, one of the many apostolates administered by the SSpS sisters, served this purpose.[46]

The Catholic missionaries embraced and reinforced the work of their predecessors regarding the Ewe language. Inheriting such a language has at least two consequences. Firstly, the language became to a certain extent a channel of communication for the ideology of *Abosam* infused into the language by their predecessors, without ignoring the fact that the Catholic version of diabology was not that much different. Secondly, even though the Catholic missionaries were not concerned with the project of building a nation among the Ewe, their adoption of the Ewe language and their desire to communicate and to teach in that language contributed in many ways to consolidating the Ewe identity. Benjamin Lawrance, an American legal historian who works on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Africa, wrote about the influence of the Ewe language during the German colonization:

> Ewe books and newspapers were commonplace in Lomé from 1910. Many non-Ewe people spoke Ewe fluently. Ewe speakers, not just Ewe people, became the dominant group of African residents in Togo; they largely controlled the native auxiliaries of the government, intellectual occupations, merchant class and churches. By championing Ewe unity these Togolese 'nationals' opposed the post-war division of their small country by Britain and France. Thus, in the face of colonial domination, Togolese were later to turn to their experience under German rule as a defining moment of their national awakening.[47]

45 Degbe, De la naissance à la renaissance de la mission catholique au Togo (1886–1921).

46 Agbobly-Atayi and Gbedemah, 'Les missions chrétiennes'.

47 Lawrance, 'Most Obedient Servants', 490. On the same subject and from the same author, see also *Locality, Mobility, and "Nation"*, 121–122.

After World War I, when the English and French took over Togo from the Germans, it was based on the Ewe identity that the first nationalist demands were conceived. In this sense, Christianity played an important indirect role in the nationalist struggles that eventually led to Togo's independence in 1960.

The Ewe agency facing the Christian mission

Thus far, I have mostly addressed Protestant and the Catholic endeavors to convert the Ewe to Christianity, but it would be incorrect not to underline the agency and resilience of the Ewe themselves. Some of them confronted the missionaries directly and dramatically, putting poison in their drinking water, while others welcomed the new faith because it was a sure-fire way to position themselves profitably in the colonial society.[48] Whatever the motivations, the converts experienced their faith within the framework of their cosmology:

> Holidays allowed Ewe to exercise cultural traditions in a colonial milieu. By doing so, the drums and boisterous behaviour impeded upon the Germans' ability to piously and quietly enjoy Christmas in their residences. The imbibing of alcohol served to remind missionaries that their temperance teachings had little impact on behaviour. During holidays, Ewe controlled the outdoors, the streets, and external spaces, in joyous celebration, whereas Germans and other Europeans chose to quietly observe Christ's birth indoors.[49]

This quote from John Garratt points to the fact that, from the beginning of Christian evangelization of Togo, the Ewe incorporated Christianity into their cosmological framework. They expressed the joy of Jesus' birth through drumming and dancing, in the same way they used to celebrate in the context of their traditional *Vodu* religion.[50] This reception and adaptation of Christ's message carried out by the Ewe population has been referred to as 'Africanization from below' versus 'Africanization from above', the latter being an attempt advocated by African theologians.[51] As guarantors of understanding Christ's message, some theologians would seek local idioms they could use to translate Christ's message into African culture. This translation model holds as non-negotiable the universality of the Christian message called to fit into indigenous cultures.[52] It is promoted by the Catholic

48 Degbe, De la naissance à la renaissance de la mission catholique au Togo (1886–1921), 147.
49 Garratt, 'Kulturkampf in Lomé', 26.
50 The spelling of the term 'vodu' varies according to the authors and even the places. 'Vodu' corresponds much more to the pronunciation of the Ewe people.
51 Meyer, 'If You Are a Devil, You Are a Witch and, If You Are a Witch, You Are a Devil', 119.
52 Neckebrouck, *Paradoxes de l'inculturation, les nouveaux habits des Yanomami*.

Church through what is called 'inculturation', after the model of the mystery of incarnation, through which, according to Christian belief, the Eternal Truth entered into humanity. According to Fenella Cannell, this theory 'presents quite a sophisticated attitude to local culture, claiming that local forms of approaching God may all be acceptable, and even necessary, as long as the presence of a transcendent deity presiding over all is acknowledged.'[53] On the contrary, the process of Africanization from below promotes popular practices as a source of truth: the revelation God made of Himself is not necessarily a strength that comes from outside to be inserted into a culture, but God's truth is considered immanent to each culture. From that perspective, the missionary work will only be oriented with the objective of manifesting God's light present in each culture.[54]

In 2017, during my fieldwork among the Ewe, I was personally challenged by the way in which one particular family has endogenized the Catholic faith. Among the Ewe, the presence of ancestors is symbolized by the so-called '*Togbui-zikpui*', or ancestral seat. Even if the evangelizing actions, from the beginning up until today, consider this ancestral practice incompatible with the Christian faith, the converts have in their own freedom created a new meaning for this ancestral seat, whose primary role is to ensure unity and reconciliation in the community. They in fact installed a cross above the seat to signify that Christ is their greatest ancestor. It is these different practices that give meaning to the reality of cultural heritage, and in which emerges the idea of a double appurtenance and this ability to live in different worlds.

The historical, doctrinal and societal issues that have been discussed so far are still noticeable in the way Catholicism is experienced in southern Togo today. To illustrate this, I will further focus on the Knights and Ladies of Marshall. Analyzing their religious and spiritual practices will allow me to assess how Catholicism is experienced today with the different criteria stated above.

Dual spirituality in contemporary Catholicism

Order of the Knights and Ladies of Marshall

In 1926, a circle of friends from Saint Paul's Catholic Church in Sekondi, Ghana, decided to create a Catholic society, which they chose to name the 'Noble Order of Marshall'. By giving Marshall's name to their society, the founders wanted to immortalize the name of Sir James Marshall (1829–1889), a Scottish Anglican Pastor who converted to Roman Catholicism in 1857 and arrived in Cape Coast, a port

53 Cannell, Anthropology of Christianity, 26.
54 See Labbé, 'Le concept d'inculturation'.

1. Ceremony of the Knights and Ladies of Marshall in Lomé, Togo. [Photo: Kwami Edem Afoutou]

city in Ghana in 1873 as a colonial civil administrator ('Chief Magistrate and Judicial Assessor'). He later became Chief Justice in charge of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. It was through his efforts and contacts that the earlier mentioned priests of the Society of African Missions of Lyon were brought in to evangelize Elmina (Ghana) and its surroundings.[55]

The Knights and Ladies of Marshall (KLM) define their society as a secret brotherhood, different from the usual secret societies within which everything is absolutely secret. KLM is, on the contrary, an initiation and spiritual society that aims to keep other Christians and non-initiated out of their rituals while sharing other fundamental aspects of their faith, like the sacraments and the doctrine with their fellow Catholics. From the beginning, the society was assigned the goal of instilling in its members notions of loyalty and fidelity to the Church as well as to the state, both of which they should be able to defend at any time. The Marshallans are trained to be spiritually autonomous; they have to observe the strict solidarity through which the members are bound and are called to experience that unity at all levels of their society. Regarding their duty to defend the Church, they above all strive to prevent young Catholic elites from turning toward esoteric movements, which have lately emerged in African countries and have proven to be very active.[56] Responding to that reality, several episcopal conferences in West Africa, including Togo, Benin and Côte d'Ivoire, have written pastoral letters

55 https://marshallan.org/sir-james-marshall.

56 Malu-Malu, 'Franc-maçonnerie africaine et indépendance cha-cha'.

over the past five years, highlighting the incompatibility between Catholicism and these esoteric movements, especially Freemasonry. This explains why some Catholic bishops have invited KLM to assist them in encouraging young elites to remain in the Catholic Church. Eleven years after their establishment in Ghana, a branch of the KLM was created in Lomé, the capital city of Togo, on 20 December 1937. From there, it spread to Benin, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, and it even reached the UK through the Ghanaian diaspora.[57]

At the time of my ethnographic fieldwork in 2017, the Knights, Ladies and juniors of Marshall in Togo and Benin, which my research concerned, had approximately 1,250 members. The KLM headquarters are based in Ghana, with a supreme council managing all the new sections that are emerging progressively in several West African countries. Established only in cities, the KLM is an elitist society, membership of which the poorest cannot afford, though this is strongly denied by its members.

The spirituality of the KLM is essentially based on the performance of rituals that aim at enriching the members' lives. Members are welcomed into the society through an initiation ritual, while the institutional ritual assigns them a certain role to play within their brotherhood. The regular ritual can be divided into several performances according to a specific calendar. In January, the members perform a ceremony for 'protection'; in April and December, rituals for 'peace' and 'light in their lives'; in June, a ceremony for 'healing' and 'purification'; in August, they pray for ill members and their relatives. KLM has a funeral ritual through which the dead members are removed from the register of the living and added to the register of the deceased. In the performance of their rituals, the Marshallans are invited to connect themselves with the invisible realm; they welcome the presence of the divine and angelical entities so that they can fight against the Devil in their daily life.

Ritual, imagination and the battle against the Devil among the KLM

The KLM perform a regular monthly ritual that serves as a kind of spiritual framework which can also include other rites.[58] The definition of the term 'ritual' found in the Order's *Manuel de formation* gives a clue about their tendency to dichotomize the spiritual reality:

> A ritual is a ceremony encompassing the use of gestures, formulas and symbols, specially designed to put an individual in contact with entities not endowed with physical bodies [... A] ritual may be either black or white. Angels of light or dark-

57 KLM Arch 001.

58 The observation of this ritual took place on 9 September and 30 December 2017.

> ness respond to human ritual, to produce good or evil. The white ritual develops the human spirit and attracts the entities of progress.[59]

Nine stages are required by the KLM initiation ritual to make an ordinary baptized Catholic into a Knight or a Lady of Marshall. In the fourth stage, the candidates become fighters against the Devil. At this stage, the chaplain is summoned by the Noble Lady to come forward so that he will wrap the candidates' hands with rosaries. The role of the priest is to lead the ritual and give the candidates the ultimate weapon they will need to fight against the Devil. The candidates are reminded that during the twelfth century, the first generations of knights were given the duty to go to the crusades and to fight against 'barbarians' and 'non-believers'.[60] In respect for that first generation of knights, the Marshallans should still fight in a spiritual way today. During the ritual, some participants, in the role of guards, carry swords, which reminds them that a Knight or a Lady of Marshall is above all a spiritual fighter. However, the fight must be taken up today not with iron swords, but with prayer. It does not target a specific physical enemy but rather aims at the demonic entities that roam around, looking for someone to devour.[61]

To perform their regular ritual, the Grand Knight is the one entitled by the rules to carry out what is called the 'spiritual locking of the room'. He solemnly orders in a firm tone that 'anyone who is not qualified to stay in the room should withdraw'. At this moment, no one among the KLM will think that the Grand Knight is addressing one among them; the Order always ensures that no stranger is able to enter their temple. According to what is written in the Order's *Manuel de formation*, this recommendation of the Grand Knight is addressed to the Devil and to the demonic entities. This is taken seriously by the participants, who hold these entities to be as real and alive as the humans with whom they share their daily lives.

The Ewe recognize the existence of sorcerers, people capable of mobilizing the negative forces of nature to threaten fellow human beings. In the Christian world, the sorcerers belong to the world of the Devil and his demons that have to be confronted. Chasing demons through ritual is, at the same time, a way of ensuring more security and peace in one's own life. The conversations I had with several Knights were revealing as to their attachment to the realm of the invisible world, in particular the testimony of Brother Kondo, a former Rosicrucian who converted to Catholicism:

59 KLM Arch 003, 19 (translated from French by the author).

60 For more information about this context, see Lamy, *Les templiers, ces grands seigneurs aux blancs manteaux, leurs mœurs, leurs rites, leurs secrets*. See also Rivière, *Les Templiers et leurs mystères*.

61 KLM Arch 002: le Rituel du noble Ordre de Marshall, 4.

> It is the search for spirituality, the desire to know the realities of the other world and to be in contact with God, that pushes towards such movements. The Catholic Church does not teach these things openly, you have to go into a society such as Marshall to know about these things. The world in which we are living is not the only one that exists.[62]

The concern with the invisible world is the common ground where esoteric movements are competing in the context of Africa. In several West African countries, especially in Togo, esoteric movements like Freemasonry and Rosicrucianism are becoming increasingly popular.[63] These secret societies, at least the classic variant of them, claim to hold the key to reading, interpreting and understanding the world. Besides this spiritual need, people are also attracted to them because of the strong affiliation that they offer. As for the KLM, in no way does the desire to know the realities of the other world distract them from the realities of this present world. The ritualistic exorcisms performed during assemblies carry out the goal of satisfying the concerns of this world. To drive out the demonic entities that populate the invisible world, to protect the prayer room and the participants from being invested by such terrible beings, they proceeded to the 'incensing rite'. One of the officers goes around with a censer full of active embers into which a large amount of incense is poured. An impressive amount of smoke comes out the fire and fills the room. Even though the smoke hinders the breathing of the participants, it gives them a feeling of security.

Another rite, enforcing the latter, consists of the priest who is playing the role of chaplain pouring holy water over the entire assembly and into every corner of the room. If no priest is present, a designated Knight occasionally takes up this task. Both the blessed water and the incense are sacramentals of the Catholic Church. They stand as symbols of God's grace revealed in the daily life of Christians. As the French anthropologist Maurice Godelier (1934–) puts it, only a shared imagination gives meaning and life to symbols.[64] The incense is polysemic; it could also be considered as carrying the believer's prayers to God through the smoke that emanates out of it.[65] Here, among the Marshallans, the incense is used to drive out the demonic entities that threaten people's lives. After having spiritually locked up the room through the sprinkling of holy water and the incensing, the guards, with their swords are positioned at strategic points of the room. Then an exorcism is performed with Saint Anthony's prayer formula: 'This is the cross of the Lord, flee

62 Brother Kondo was seventy-two years old at the moment of the interview in September 2017. He has twenty-seven years of experience as a Knight in the Order.

63 Malu-Malu, 'Franc-maçonnerie africaine et indépendance cha-cha'.

64 Godelier, *Au fondement des sociétés humaines, ce que nous apprend l'anthropologie*, 43.

65 Sartore, Triacca and Delhougne, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la liturgie*.

2. Ceremony of the Knights and Ladies of Marshall in Lomé, Togo.
[Photo: Kwami Edem Afoutou]

enemy powers! The Lion of the tribe of Judah, David's offspring, has defeated you, hallelujah! Hallelujah! Hallelujah!'.

The spiritual authority which consists in confronting and expelling the evil spirit is one of the attractive features of the Marshall Order. It is appealing to the southern people of Togo as well as to the 7,000-plus West Africans that are members of the Order. Nevertheless, Marshallans do not only spend their life battling against the Devil, they also experience God's power in a more positive way. The grace coming from God is the Good News of salvation which Christianity is proclaiming. KLM spirituality thus also focusses on a special way of entering into communion with God.

The summoning of divine power

The early missionaries who evangelized the population in southern Togo assured that God's power is radically more efficient than that of any traditional deity. To reach out to God, the Catholic Church provides the faithful essentially with different rites. The sacraments are designed to act out the presence of God among the people, and in that vein, the best way to unite oneself to Him is primarily in the celebration of the Holy Mass or the sacrament of Eucharist. From their research among the Tswana in South Africa, Jean (1946-) and John L. Comaroff (1945-) predicted in 1991 that as time goes by, the colonization of African consciousness,

in dealing with the Christian religion, would become more and more effective.[66] One of the effects of the Christian subjectivity, built upon a morally engaged God, is that evil is now an integral part of the faithful, who is called to examine his inner self in the light of the Word of God and confess his sins. This dimension of the Christian doctrine that personalizes the person, making him an autonomous individual, is represented in the spirituality of the KLM. In preparing the participants to experience God's presence during the invocatory procession rite, an exhortation is made with the goal of leading them to examine their conscience. To that end, the deputy Noble Lady proclaims in a firm tone:

> Do not go to God with a heart full of malice; if you are not in harmony with your conscience or if you are full of grudges against a sister or against anyone here on earth, never go to God under any pretext. Christians must break with malice, resentment, vengeance. These inharmonious conditions belong to the devil and contribute to the destruction of the human race, therefore my sisters, never forget this exhortation.[67]

In spite of the importance of inner life and the great number of prayers that demand concentration, silence and meditations, the pinnacle of spiritual life among the Marshallans occurs through the rite of the so-called 'invocatory procession'. This rite starts with turning the lights off in the room. The symbol of Christ as the light of the world appears in all its splendor in the form of lit candles held by all participants in their right hands. In this procession, participants sing, timing their steps to the harmonium music played by one of the knights. They walk in step with the rhythm of their emblematic hymn, in which they address the Holy Spirit in these terms: 'Come, Holy Spirit, send upon us these gentle rays which pour out from your shining throne. O come Father of the poor, O you, source of our abundance, come and fill our hearts with love'. The faces of the participants are radiant, ravishing; the flow generated by the ritual and shared by the participants creates an intense group dynamic. Through the procession, the participants address their praise and spiritual requests to God. The manual of the *Rituel du Noble Ordre de Marshall* explains that during the procession, the angelic spirits come down, bringing with them God's grace, to meet the expectations of the faithful. This transaction between the present world and the other world is at the heart of all KLM rituals but is particularly present in this performance.

66 Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution. Vol. 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa.*

67 KLM Arch 002, 6 (translated from French by the author).

Even though processions have always been part of the Catholic Church's practices, they are considered secondary spiritual means.[68] The fact that in the case of the KLM the invocatory procession is so important, to the point of being designated by the Order as the pinnacle of their ritual acts, raises the question of the reasons for such a choice. The most plausible explanation at this point is that this way of worshipping God, involving movements of the body, dancing and singing, corresponds much more to the way of praising and singing used by the Ewe in South Togo and to a certain extent African culture in general. This is shown in the way the traditional cults are practiced in this area of the Gulf of Guinea, the cultural cradle of *Vodu*. In these cults, the human body takes on capital importance through dance and trance, as evidenced by extensive anthropological research in the area.[69] While not rejecting silence and meditation, Marshallans live out the Christian faith by bringing it back within the cosmological framework of their worldview, which involves not only cognitive but also emotional and motivational dimensions.[70]

Conclusion

This chapter contributed to the study of the Christian dualistic phenomenon by focussing on members of the Fraternal Order of the Knights and Ladies of Marshall in southern Togo. History has put boundaries between the different Ewe communities that were once united by their customs and their language. The Pietists of the North German Missionary Society arrived among the Ewe in 1847 even before the German colonization that started in 1884. They were later joined by the German Catholic missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word in 1892. The German missionaries, the Protestants, as well as the Catholics were ejected from Togo in 1917 during World War I, after seventy years of mission work, before being replaced by the missionaries of the Society of African Missions of Lyon, most of whom were French. To support their missionary apostolate, these early missionaries developed a written grammar as well as a dictionary of the Ewe language, introducing new realities that were previously unknown to the Ewe. The common point of the missionaries' endeavors was their desire to open the Ewe people to a transcendence inhabited by *Mawu*, a God who bears the same name as their unsurpassable god. Apparently, the Christian God has less to do with the Ewe's traditional *Mawu*, since the former requires us to enter into a personal re-

68 Chiffoleau, 'Les processions parisiennes de 1412'.

69 See Rosenthal, *Possession, Ecstasy, and Law in Ewe Voodoo*; Hamberger, 'La parenté vodou, organisation logique et symbolique en pays ouatchi (Togo)'; Vannier and Montgomery, 'Sacred Slaves', among others.

70 Gilli, *Un culte du vodu Hebiesso, approche d'une religion africaine chez les Ouatchi du Sud-Togo*, 389.

lationship with Him, while the latter is neutral. In the logic of the missionaries, God's transcendence calls for a break with what gives meaning to Ewe subjectivity and sociality. For the salvation of their soul, Christianity requires from them the development of their inner life, which is a space of encounter between God and the human being.

By conducting an ethnography, I sought to determine the nature of Christianity and its place in the immediate context of people in southern Togo, inquiring how it impacts their lives through the challenges and opportunities it brings about. Such fieldwork allows for participating in the debate that structures the anthropology of Christianity, which posits a 'radical discontinuity' between Christianity and local cultures. Recently, for example, Aparecida Vilaça has touched upon this interplay in her anthropological studies in southwestern Amazonia. Using an ontological conceptual framework concerned with the essence of things to describe the Wari's symbolic system, she reflects on the transformation that happens when animist people adopt Christianity. As the result of her study, she points to the complexity of identity issues, backing the discontinuity theory with a focus on identity transformation.[71] Yet from the case of the KLM, whose ancestors met the missionaries and were educated by them, it becomes clear that the relationship between Christianity and local cultures is very complex and does not fit easily into the simple category of radical discontinuity. The God/Devil dichotomy that seems to characterize the Christian practices among the Ewe derives from both the local cosmology and the Christian mission. As Robert Hefner wrote, the conversion is 'not a deeply systematic reorganization of personal meaning [...] but a new locus of self-identification'.[72] Such an approach makes it understandable that the Ewe's identification with the Christian God, while disassociating themselves from the Devil, is largely attributable to the work of evangelization. Nevertheless, the nature of the relationship of Ewe Christians to God and to the other entities that populate their imagination also reflects a logic that is deeply linked to traditional Ewe cosmology.

In contrast to advocates of the theory of radical discontinuity, I conclude from my study that, through evangelization, Christianity unquestionably introduces new elements, but that they are received and filtered through local cosmological frameworks, to the point of being deeply transformed themselves. This is what prompts the different configurations of Catholic religion around the world in spite of the uniqueness of its specific doctrine. In that regard, I share the position of John Baker, anthropologist and specialist in Melanesia, who believes that Christianity is one and many at the same time.[73] I propose that Ewe Christianity,

71 Vilaça, 'Do Animists Become Naturalists when Converting to Christianity?'.
72 Hefner, *Conversion to Christianity*, 17.
73 Barker, 'The One and the Many'.

as it is seen today, does not result from a radical discontinuity, but rather from an oscillation between the Ewe worldview and the Christian worldview. In the KLM, Ewe Christianity tends to accommodate a need for sociality and affiliation, fundamental features of Ajatado cosmology and the desire to cultivate an inner life. This Catholic subjectivity, while exhibiting a form of radical immanence that is compatible with traditional Ewe religion, opens up to the new notion of Christian transcendence. Therein lies the paradox of Catholic identity in southern Togo. In fact, this mode of existence is not strange to the Ewe people. Their conception of reality has always immersed them in a frame of paradox and dialectic. The Christian missionaries had brought to the Ewe a concept of God and Devil, new entities from which the Ewe now draw their identification. Between the Christian God and the Devil, between tradition and modernity, the Ewe manage to build their identity, which enables them to fit into multiple worlds.

REFERENCES

Primary sources

Location (Lomé), Archives of the Knights and Ladies of Marshall.

KLM Arch 001: Noble Ordre des Chevaliers et Dames de Marshall (24–25 juillet, 2015). *Raison du Chrétien d'espérer et de devenir l'espérance de l'humanité dans ce monde de généralisations hâtives*. Paper presented at the first general Assembly of the Order, University of Lomé.

KLM Arch 002: Rituel du Noble Ordre de Marshall (2000).

KLM Arch 003: Noble Ordre des Chevaliers de Marshall: Manuel de formation (1998).

Spieth, Jakob. *Die Ewe-Stämme. Material zur Kunde des Ewe-Volkes in Deutsch-Togo*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1906. https://archive.org/details/dieewestmmemat00spie/page/n9/mode/2up?view=theater

Spieth, Jakob. *Les communautés éwé, (Die Ewe-Stämme)*. Lomé-Togo: Presses de l'Université de Lomé, 1906–2009.

Westermann, Dietrich Hermann. *Wörtebuch der Ewe-Sprache. I. Ewe Deutsch*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1905.

Secondary literature

Agbobly-Atayi, B., and S.-Y. Gbédémah. 'Les missions chrétiennes'. In: Nicoué Lodjou Gayibor, ed. *Histoire des Togolais. Des Origines aux années 1960. Vol. 2: Du XVI^e siècle à l'occcupation coloniale*. Lomé: Karthala-Presses de l'Université de Lomé, 2011, 37–63.

Agossou, Médéwalé-Jacob. *Gbetó et Gbedótó, l'homme et le Dieu créateur selon les Sud-Dahoméens: de la dialectique de participation vitale à une théologie anthropocentrique*. PhD dissertation, Institut catholique de Paris, 1972.

Barker, John. 'The One and the Many: Church-Centered Innovations in Papua New Guinean Community'. *Current Anthropology*, 55 (2014), 172–181.

Bastide, Roger. 'Le principe d'Individuation, contribution à une philosophie africaine'. In Roger Bastide and Germaine Dieterlen, eds. *La notion de personne en Afrique noire*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993.

Bastide, Roger, and Germaine Dieterlen, eds. *La notion de personne en Afrique noire*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993.

Cannell, Fenella. 'Anthropology of Christianity'. In: Cannell, Fenela (Ed.), *The Anthropology of Christianity*. Durham-London: Duke University Press, 2006, 1-50.

Chiffoleau, J. 'Les processions parisiennes de 1412, Analyse d'un rituel flamboyant'. *Revue historique*, 284 (1990), 37-76.

Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff. *Of Revelation and Revolution. Vol. 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Comaroff Jean, and Comaroff John. *Of Revelation and Revolution. Vol 2: The dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Degbe, Emmanuel Mawuli. *De la naissance à la renaissance de la mission catholique au Togo (1886-1921)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2018.

Degbe, Emmanuel Mawuli. *Mission catholique, pouvoirs coloniaux, pouvoirs locaux en terre togolaise : confrontation et accommodements de 1886–1921*. PhD dissertation, Institut Catholique de Paris, 2013.

Descola, Philippe. *Par-delà nature et culture*. Paris: Gallimard, 2005.

de Surgy, Albert. 'La relation au conjoint idéal et le statut de l'imaginaire chez les Evhé'. *Journal des Africanistes*, 50 (1980) 2, 73–105.

de Surgy, Albert. *Le système Religieux des Ehve*. Paris: L' Harmattan.1988.

Devey Malu-Malu, Muriel. 'Franc-maçonnerie africaine et indépendance cha-cha', *Jeune Afrique*, 22 April 2013. https://www.jeuneafrique.com/137766/politique/franc-ma-onnerie-africaine-et-ind-pendance-cha-cha/

Fisher, Humphrey. *Conversion Reconsidered: Some Historical Aspects of Religious Conversion in Black Africa. Journal of the International African Institute*, 43 (1973) 1, 27-40.

Garratt, John Gregory. 'Kulturkampf in Lomé: German and Ewe Identification and Alienation in Togoland, West Africa, 1884–1913'. *Traversea. Journal of Transatlantic History*, 2 (2012), 17–29.

Gayibor, Nicoué Lodjou. *L'aire culturelle ajatado, des origines, à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*. PhD dissertation, Université Paris 1-Sorbonne, 1985.

Gilli, Bruno. *Un culte du vodu Hebiesso, approche d'une religion africaine chez les Ouatchi du Sud-Togo*. Lomé: Éditions Haho, 2016.

Godelier, Maurice. *Au fondement des sociétés humaines, ce que nous apprend l'anthropologie*. Paris: Alban-Michel, 2007.

Hamberger, Klaus. *La parenté vodou, organisation logique et symbolique en pays ouatchi (Togo)*. Paris: Édition de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 2011.

Harrison, Rodney. 'What is Heritage'?. In: *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009, 1-42.

Hefner, Robert. *Conversion to Christianity*. Los Angeles: University of California, 1993.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge Press University, 2002.

Horton, Robin. 'On the rationality of conversion (Part I)'. *Africa. The Journal of the International African Institute*, 45 (1975), 219–235.

Horton, Robin. 'On the rationality of conversion (Part II)'. *Africa. The Journal of the International African Institute*, 45 (1975), 373–399.

Horton, Robin, and John David Yeadon Peel. 'Conversion and Confusion: A Rejoinder on Christianity in Eastern Nigeria'. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines*, 10 (1976) 3, 481–498.

Labbé, Yves. 'Le concept d'inculturation'. *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 80 (2006) 2, 205–215.

Lamy, Michel. *Les templiers. Ces grands seigneurs aux blancs manteaux, leurs mœurs, leurs rites, leurs secrets*. Bordeaux: Auberon, 1997.

Lawrance, Benjamin Nicholas. *Locality, Mobility, and « Nation », Periurban Colonialism in Togo's Eweland 1900-1960*. New York: University of Rochester Press. 2007

Lawrance, Benjamin Nicholas. 'Most Obedient Servants: The Politics of Language in German Colonial Togo'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 159 (2000), 489–524.

Le Quellec, Jean-Louis, and Bernard Sergent. *Dictionnaire critique de mythologie*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2017.

Mary, André. 'Retour sur la "conversion africaine": Horton, Peel et les autres'. *Journal des Africanistes*, 68 (1998) 1–2, 11–20.

Meyer, Birgit. '"If You Are a Devil, You Are a Witch and, If You Are a Witch, You Are a Devil." The Integration of "Pagan" Ideas into the Conceptual Universe of Ewe Christians in Southeastern Ghana'. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 22 (1992) 2, 98–132.

Meyer, Birgit. *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute, 1999.

Meyer, Birgit. 'Christianity and the Ewe Nation: German Pietist Missionaries, Ewe Converts and the Politics of Culture'. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 32 (2002), 167–169.

Neckebrouck, Valeer. *Paradoxes de l'inculturation, les nouveaux habits des Yanomami*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994.

Nukunya, Kwaku. *Kinship and Marriage among the Anlo-Ewe*. London: The Athlone Press, 1969.
Pazzi, Roberto. *Introduction à l'histoire de l'aire culturelle ajatado: peuples ewe, aja, xwla, ayizo, gèn, sahwe, xweda, fon, gun*. Lomé Université du Bénin-Institut national des sciences de l'éducation, 1979.
Rivière, Patrick. *Les Templiers et leurs mystères, Organisation « initiatique » et seul ordre de chevalerie dont l'adversaire principal fut l'esprit du mal*. Paris: Éditions de Vecchi, 1992.
Rosenthal, Judy. *Possession, Ecstasy, and Law in Ewe Voodoo*. Charlottesville-London: University Press of Virginia, 1998.
Sartore, Domecico, Achille M. Triacca, and Henri Delhougne. *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la liturgie*. Vol. II. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2002.
Suphan, Bernard and al, ed. *Johann Gottfried Herder Sämtliche Werke*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1877.
Vannier, Christian, and Eric James Montgomery. 'Sacred Slaves: Tchamba Vodu in Southern Togo'. *Journal of Africana Religions*, 4 (2016) 1, 104–127.
Vilaça, Aparecida. 'Dividuality in Amazonia: God, the Devil, and the constitution of personhood in Wari' Christianity'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 17 (2011), 243–262.
Vilaça, Aparecida. 'Do Animists Become Naturalists when Converting to Christianity? Discussing an Ontological Turn'. *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, 54 (2015), 547–568.

Co-Mission

The Material Dimension of Missionary Work in the Pacific

Karen Jacobs

The National Museum of Fiji houses a display case that illustrates the introduction of Christianity to the country.[1] It exhibits the remaining shoe sole from the leather boots that used to belong to Reverend Thomas Baker, who worked as a Methodist missionary in Fiji from 1859 to 1867 when he was killed as he tried to spread Christianity in the highlands of Viti Levu, Fiji's largest island. The shoe sole is displayed amongst other Fijian objects that played a significant role in the events leading up to his death, amongst which is a *tabua* or presentation whale's tooth, which is still an important valuable offered to people of high status or to establish relationships.[2] During his 1867 journey in the Nasova highlands, Reverend Baker had presented *tabua* to chiefs to ensure his safe passage. However, a Fijian chief, who was opposed to Christianity, subsequently offered *tabua* to the same chiefs, thereby superseding Reverend Baker's act, which ultimately resulted in his death.[3] As the sole European missionary to be killed and cannibalized in Fiji, Baker's death became one of the most notorious events in Fijian Christian history. While Fiji is now a devout Christian country, the museum display serves as a reminder of the sometimes strained relationships that emerged between European missionaries and Pacific leaders as they attempted to reshape spiritual and cultural landscapes together. The juxtaposition of powerful Fijian objects and Reverend Baker's relics underlines the sense of potency with which objects are imbued in the Pacific. It also reminds us of the contradictions inherent in missionary encounters, which

1 The case was set up in the 1980s and was further developed over the years, including during the recent refurbishments of the Fiji Museum in 2022 and 2024. A photograph of the display can be found in Buadromo and Igglesden, 'Thomas Baker's Shoes, Fiji', 102.

2 Hooper, '"Supreme among Our Valuables"'.

3 Tomlinson, 'Passports to Eternity', 222; Buadromo and Igglesden, 'Thomas Baker's Shoes, Fiji', 103.

in Fiji created a dichotomy between so-called old and new religion, which in reality overlap. All the items had been donated to the Fiji Museum by the Methodist Church of Fiji and Rotuma and were put on display in the mid-1980s as missionary heritage.

The main title of this chapter, 'co-mission', is a playful reference to 'commission' and highlights the role of missionaries in transforming artistic production in the Pacific. The hyphen in the word 'co-mission' implies both disjunction and conjunction; it separates the 'mission' from the Pacific communities as much as it connects them. Not denying that power relations were in place, an emphasis on the notion of interaction allows for a more complex analysis of the role of both missionaries and local people when considering the impact of missionary work. Missionaries depended on the willingness of the indigenous people they aimed to convert and local people had their own agendas and strategies in the process while some became proselytizers themselves. Recently scholars have considered missionary work as two-way encounters rather than a one-way process.[4] This chapter extends this view as it is based on the premise that mission history does not simply have two sides, whereby an indigenous view can be juxtaposed with a mission perspective. Rather, missionary work is considered as an ongoing sequence of complex encounters characterized by a variety of cultural exchanges.

In this chapter, the legacy of missionary encounters will be considered through the lens of their material remains. As William Arweck and Elisabeth Keenan write: 'the idea of religion itself is largely unintelligible outside its incarnation in material expressions'.[5] Therefore it is important to study materiality (objects, spaces and the practices surrounding them) as an essential part of religion.[6] The material dimension of mission activity provides rich evidence of missionary engagement with Pacific Islanders. This interest in the material dimension of missionization will be explored through two case studies: early attempts of conversion to Christianity in Papua and Fiji.[7] In the Fiji case study, the emphasis will be on clothing and the body in relation to Protestant Methodist missionary influence between the 1850s and 1870s. At the center of the Papua case study is the Catholic Mission's commissioning of woodcarvings and the indigenous reaction between the 1950s and 1970s.

Some methodological caveats are needed. Firstly, this is not a comparative study. Although both are in the Pacific region, Fiji and West Papua are distinct –

4 Lindenfeld, 'Indigenous Encounters with Christian Missionaries in China and West Africa, 1800–1920', 328; Harding, *Religious Transformation in South Asia*.

5 Arweck and Keenan, 'Introduction. Material Varieties of Religious Expression', 2–3.

6 Morgan and McKenzie, 'Material Analysis and the Study of Religion', 15; see also Keane, 'The Evidence of the Senses and the Materiality of Religion'; Morgan, *Religion and Material Culture*.

7 These regions were chosen for the simple reason that I have worked in both, see Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro* and *This is Not a Grass Skirt*.

geographically, culturally and linguistically – and the analysis concerns different timeframes and different Christian denominations. The aim of looking at specific case studies is to bring out the role of individuals, intercultural interpretations and indigenous agency. Secondly, in both cases the focus is on early processes of 'conversion', a term that requires clarification because it has been used very broadly. David Lindenfeld points out that for some scholars the term 'has a built-in Western bias and continues to connote a one-way process from non-Christian to Christian'.[8] Christopher Harding even suggested using the term 'religious transformation' rather than 'religious conversion'.[9] This transformation cannot be simplified in a glorification or condemnation of missionary practices. Notions such as translation, appropriation and indigenization need to be explored and Steven Kaplan's work on indigenous responses to Western Christianity has been helpful to contemplate these different notions.[10] In this chapter, 'conversion' will denote the spread of Christianity and the new practices and/or beliefs that came with it, bearing in mind that this varied considerably as local people merged new lifestyles with their old ones and as missionary understanding and acceptance of the local context varied.

Fiji: material missionary heritage

The first London-based Wesleyan Missionary Society missionaries, Reverend William Cross and Reverend David Cargill, arrived with their families at Lakeba, Fiji, in 1835, having previously spent some years in neighboring, already Christianized, Tonga. The missionaries felt that, unlike Tongans, Fijians did not immediately show an interest in conversion. More Methodist missionaries settled with their families in different Fijian regions over the next few years, including James Calvert (time in Fiji: 1838–1856), John Hunt (1839–1848), Thomas Williams and Richard Lyth (1839–1854), but missionary progress was slow.[11] In 1837, Tui Cakau, the paramount chief of Cakaudrove, asked the Methodists to establish a mission in Somosomo. However, the mission post failed and was subsequently abandoned in 1847. It was not until 1849 that the paramount chief of Lakeba, Tui Nayau, converted.[12] The missionary success rate changed dramatically after 1854 following the conversion of Ratu Seru Cakobau, a paramount chief who was gain-

8 Lindenfeld, 'Indigenous Encounters with Christian Missionaries in China and West Africa, 1800–1920', 330. See also Schreuder and Oddie, 'What is "Conversion"?'.

9 Harding, *Religious Transformation in South Asia*.

10 Kaplan, 'The Africanization of Missionary Christianity'.

11 The dates provided show the time the missionaries spent in Fiji.

12 There is a plethora of literature on the establishment of Christianity in Fiji. For more recent studies, see Thornley, *The Inheritance of Hope* and *Exodus of the i Taukei*.

ing power over most of Fiji. Cakobau's conversion prompted the mass conversion to Methodism of many different vassal states in Fiji. By the time Fiji became a British colony in 1874, the Methodist Church was the most followed denomination by indigenous Fijians, a position it has kept, although in recent years newer evangelical churches have been growing popular.[13]

Material culture played an important role in the early interactions between missionaries and Fijians. When Tui Cakau asked for a mission station in 1837, he 'believed that a Missionary would bring axes, &c., for his support [...] and that hereby his property would be increased, and he would become rich and great'.[14] Missionaries reported that Fijians 'admired the[ir] material goods but also admired the "domestic comforts" created by the missionaries'.[15] The Wesleyan Methodist Church originated in the United Kingdom as a religious renewal movement within the Church of England, propagated through the preaching and teaching of John Wesley and his brother Charles.[16] Initially John valued the role of women as educators, but the movement became less open to women's preaching after his death in 1791.[17] Yet the role of Wesleyan missionary wives remained significant, as the whole family was inadvertently involved in missionary work. Missionary families had to adjust to a different culture and climate while trying to lead by example. They promoted European material goods that were brought in by the mission ships, *Triton* and *John Wesley*. These ships returned with Fijian objects, which were sent to England or New Zealand to convey stories of pagan customs and missionary martyrdom in addition to accounts of the elevation of Fijian people once converted, in order to raise funds for the mission.[18] While Wesleyan missionaries aimed to introduce European goods, they also understood the significance of Fijian valuables in establishing relationships. At the end of 1849, for instance, a group of women from an enemy village were seized and taken to be killed in Bau. Hearing news of this event and, in the absence of their husbands, who were traveling, Mrs Calvert and Mrs Lyth took *tabua* or presentation whale's teeth to the chief in Bau and managed to save five of the women.[19] Two decades later, Reverend Baker also used *tabua* to establish relationships, as described above, but with a less successful outcome. While some forms of material culture were used strategically, others were discouraged in order to 'improve' Fijian lifestyle. Clothing became an important focus of change for the Methodist mission.

13 Tomlinson, 'Passports to Eternity', 218.
14 Cargill, *Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Cargill,* 150.
15 Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians,* Vol. 2, 12–14.
16 O'Brien and Carey, 'Introduction: Methodism and the Southern World'.
17 O'Brien, 'Australian Methodist Women', 211–212.
18 Hooper, 'An Exhibition and Sale at the Wesleyan Centenary Hall'; Jacobs, *This is Not a Grass Skirt*, 85.
19 Thornley, *Exodus of the i Taukei,* 34.

Indigenization: Fijian Christian dress

According to Methodist thinking, the understanding of the body was closely associated with bodily behavior and manner; morality was conflated with physicality and proper clothing implied a moral change into proper conduct.[20] Covering the body was important and, as a result, Methodist missionaries had an impact on Fijian clothing. Missionary wife Mary Ann Lyth wrote to her friend when she received new clothing:

> For the dresses from the Ladies Sewing Association we are very thankful [...] When we have them the women who live with us, we expect them to wear them continually, else they are naked to the waist – a most disgusting sight for us.[21]

While the Fijian women Mary Ann Lyth described would have considered themselves fully dressed in their *liku* (fiber skirt) and associated tattooing (*veiqia*) and other forms of body adornment, Mrs Lyth focussed on the uncovered body parts. Following a Euro-American perspective, she associated nudity (wrongly) with a lack of morals, a perspective that influenced earlier representations of Pacific women. Owing to a differing interpretation of modesty, Fijian clothing was discouraged by missionaries. However, expedition reports indicate that Fijians, conversely, condemned Europeans' immodesty; in the 1840s Fijians strongly criticized French sailors who had removed all their clothes to fill their casks of water in a stream.[22]

Gradually, Fijians gave up their style of dress and this was considered by the missionaries to be an outward sign of accepting Christianity. As Methodist missionary Lawry described:

> An elderly woman has just called here to exchange her native dress, about eight inches wide, made to wrap round the middle. For this she wished to obtain some calico to cover her person; as she began to lotu ['convert to Christianity', from the Tongan 'to pray'] yesterday.[23]

The mission relished in telling the classic 'before and after' story of indigenous conversion in which dress played a significant role. For example, most of the text of an 1870s missionary publication aimed at the younger generation, highlight-

20 Eves, 'Colonialism, Corporeality and Character'.
21 Letter Mary Ann Lyth from Viwa to Mrs John Jackson, 26 November 1847; courtesy Harry Lyth.
22 Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, Vol. 3, 356; Tcherkézoff, '*First Contacts' in Polynesia*, 160.
23 Lawry, *Friendly and Feejee Islands*, 70.

ing changes brought about by Christianity is dedicated to the description of Fijian clothing. The text tells the story of a sick boy, Elijah, who, before dying, begged his mother to bring an *isulu*, which is an apron or skirt:

> Now you must know, my dear children, that there was a meaning in this poor lad's thus asking for his sulu [isulu], or dress; for this sulu is the outward mark which distinguishes the Fijian Christians from their heathen neighbours, who go all but naked; so that they may know hereby that the little Elijah wanted to die with the 'outward and visible sign' of Christianity about his body, as well as its 'inward and spiritual grace' in his heart.[24]

Christian dress and conversion were so closely related that taking the *isulu* or adopting Christian dress became synonymous with accepting Christianity. The booklet might portray a development from the naked to the clothed body, or the heathen to the converted body, but the reality was more complex. A closer look at the *isulu* shows that it differed considerably from the European dress of missionary families. Rather than a pair of trousers like missionaries were wearing, the *isulu* worn by Fijian men consisted of two pieces of cloth (initially barkcloth and later calico) sewn together and fastened to the waist. Women too wore an *isulu* together with 'an upper tunic, or what they call a *pinafo* [pinafore, blouse]' (Figure 1).[25] The *isulu* itself was not adopted from Europeans, but from neighboring Tonga, a country with which Fiji had longstanding exchange relations. The Tongan *vala*, a rectangular piece of ochre stained barkcloth was reserved for high-ranking people during festive occasions and was kept in place by means of a barkcloth sash. This Tongan garment was adopted at a time when Tongan native preachers were supporting the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in Fiji and these Tongan preachers influenced the new form of dress.[26] The missionary encouragement to wear European clothing thus led to a covering up of the body in what was deemed to be a more suitable substitute adopted from Tonga. While missionaries delighted in Fijians' adoption of 'decent' coverings, for Fijians the appropriation of a Tongan garment could be read as a manner of self-representation in an imposed Christian context. Be that as it may, the *isulu* was a foreign form of indigenous dress, which ensured that both Fijians and missionaries appeared pleased with the message it conveyed.

As much as putting on the *isulu* was a signal of the adoption of Christianity, taking off this dress was an outward rejection of the new religion. In the early 1870s, there was an outbreak of measles, an epidemic that cost many lives and led to many Fijians openly defying the religion that had not helped them during these traumatic times. They did this by throwing off the *isulu* and returning to pre-Chris-

24 Missionary Present, *Missionary Present About the Children in Fiji*, 26.
25 Smythe, *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands*, 55.
26 Colchester, 'Objects of Conversion', 34–35.

1. These chiefly Fijian women are wearing formal church-going dress of an ankle-length skirt with a pinafore blouse or dress. Part of a series of photographs probably made outside the house of Rokotui Ba, chief of Ba, Northern Viti Levu, Fiji, in the 1880–1890s.
[Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, N.35783.ACH2]

tian dress.[27] This emphasizes how missionaries' success depended on local people and how it was expressed in material terms. By the late 1870s, the *isulu* was fully adopted and it is still in use today as an expression of Fijian identity. These kinds of material changes and appropriations are widespread in mission history and illustrate that missionization was not a one-way process.

Kamoro: establishment of a Roman Catholic Mission

The Kamoro, formerly known as Mimika, are a non-Austronesian linguistic group of approximately 18,000 people living on the southwest coast of Papua, an Indonesian province which, together with current West Papua, was formerly a colony of the Netherlands known as Dutch New Guinea.[28] Christian missionaries established themselves in Dutch New Guinea from 1855 onwards, almost fifty years before the Dutch Colonial Government established its first permanent government posts.[29] While Protestant missionaries were mostly active in the north, Roman Catholic missionaries worked in the south. In 1963, political authority of the region was transferred from the Netherlands to Indonesia and Islam became another strong religion in the region.

In the early twentieth century, Roman Catholic missionaries began to explore the potential of the Kamoro region for missionization. The story, as recorded in missionary history, goes that, in 1910, the Dutch missionary Father Mathias Neijens of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) first encountered Kamoro people during a nose-piercing ceremony. This was an initiation ceremony during which the nose septum of young boys was pierced to initiate them into manhood. The fact that he arrived during the mock battle at the end of the ceremony, when women retaliate against the men by attacking them, influenced Father Neijens' perspective. He described the women as 'female devils' and decided that the establishment of a mission post should be postponed.[30] As a result, when a permanent

27 Gordon Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 222–223.

28 The western half of New Guinea has undergone several name changes, which all had political implications: Nederlands Nieuw Guinea or Dutch New Guinea (1828–1962), then West New Guinea, West Irian (Irian Barat) and Irian Jaya. From the 1960s onwards, the term West Papua has been used by the local independence movement. With the 2001 induction of Indonesia's law of regional autonomy, the use of the name Papua was accepted. In 2003, the province of Papua was divided into two provinces: West Papua and Papua.

29 Ipenburg, 'Christianity in Papua', 345.

30 Boelaars, *Met Papoea's Samen op Weg*, Vol. II, 253, author's translation. All author's translations throughout this chapter were from Dutch. The interviews with missionaries were also conducted in Dutch.

mission post was established in 1927, the nose-piercing ritual was one of the elements to be prohibited by the mission.[31]

Before the introduction of Christianity, Kamoro life was marked by a cycle of feasts that marked important liminal phases celebrating adulthood or death and had significant roles, such as revealing knowledge to uninitiates, the transmission of oral history, and the production of dance and material culture, such as feast houses (*karapao*), ancestor poles (*mbitoro*), anthropomorphic figures (*wemawe*), ceremonial shields (*yamate*), masks, canoes and drums.[32] While missionaries influenced these *kakuru* (feasts) by dismissing certain components, they used their significance to organize large-scale baptism feasts. Converting a high number of local people to Catholicism in the Kamoro region was a priority. Time was precious because the formal division of Dutch New Guinea into a Protestant North and a Roman Catholic South that had been introduced in 1912 was lifted in 1928.[33] During the era of double missionization, the Protestant Church intended to place a Protestant teacher (mostly Ambonese) alongside every Roman Catholic teacher. By the early 1930s, the spread of the Protestant Church into the Kamoro region was considered to be a threat by the Roman Catholic mission.[34] Both institutions distributed clothes, food, tobacco and tools. Father (later Monsignor) Herman Tillemans MSC called upon the Catholics in the Netherlands to send clothes for the newly baptized children, largely because the Protestants persuaded people by giving them material bribes: 'those foreigners entice our children with clothes, coats and trousers.'[35] Missionary reports show how MSC missionaries managed to gain territory by organizing a range of baptism feasts. In 1933 they converted people in Kokonao village. In 1934 they christened inhabitants of Kekwa and Timuka (Timika Pantai) villages, followed by the villages of Mioko, Paripi, Yaraya and Ipiri in 1935.[36] In 1937 the Protestant Church had to withdraw from the Kamoro region because of a shortage of funds.[37]

31 Father Zegwaard wrote how the administration outlawed the ritual in the early 1930s at the request of the mission, see Zegwaard, 'Het Neusdoorborings Ritueel in het Mimika Gebied', 2.

32 For more information on Kamoro feasts, see Coenen, 'Enkele Facetten van de Geestelijke Cultuur van de Mimika'; Kooijman, *Art, Art Objects, and Ritual in the Mimika Culture*; Pouwer, 'A Masquerade in Mimika', *Geslachtelijkheid en Ideologie*, and 'Kamoro Life and Ritual'; Zegwaard, 'The Induction Ritual and Body Decoration of Recently Initiated Young Men in the Mimika Region'.

33 Bavel, 'De Geschiedenis van de Missie in het Mimika-Gebied en Achterliggende Binnenlanden', 22.

34 Pouwer, *Enkele Aspecten van de Mimika-Cultuur*, 235.

35 Tillemans, 'Voor Onze Missienaaikringen!', 225, author's translation.

36 Pouwer, *Enkele Aspecten van de Mimika-Cultuur*, 233.

37 Ipenburg, 'Christianity in Papua'; 357; Boelaars, *Met Papoea's Samen op Weg*, Vol. I, xii.

Co-mission: toleration and acculturation

So far, the mission had concentrated on conversion and this appeared to be done by discouraging cultural expressions and by enticing people with material gifts. However, Father Piet Rievers MSC's description of a large-scale baptism feast in Kokonao village in 1933 illustrated how the mission deployed Kamoro cultural expressions in an attempt to facilitate and deepen conversion. His report, published in the Congregation's newsletter, indicates that a large feast house (*karapao*) had been built for the baptism feast with seven doors.[38] Traditionally the number of doors corresponded to the number of initiates in an initiation feast, but this was reinterpreted as representing the Seven Sacraments. In front of the feast house a large crucifix with 'multiple coloured motifs' was erected by Kamoro people.[39] Father Tillemans MSC, who worked in the Kamoro region between 1930 and 1941, before becoming Vicar Apostolic of the Vicariate of Merauke, which served the southern part of Papua, in 1950 and Bishop in 1966, reflected on his vision for the whole mission area in an interview. He explained that he only prohibited what conflicted with the Ten Commandments, which meant that in the Kamoro region:

> The actual piercing of the nose was stopped and the three free days as well. However, the rest: the building of the feast house, the dance, the remembrance of the deceased, the adorning of the young men, the food parties [...] What can we have against that?[40]

His vision corresponded to the development of Catholic missiology at that time. In his history of the MSC mission in Papua, Father Boelaars MSC, a missionary active in Papua between 1956 and 1989 and a trained anthropologist, distinguishes the pioneer missionaries, who worked from an ethnocentric theology during their exploration of the region at the beginning of the twentieth century, from the trailblazers (*baanbrekers*), missionaries active in the 1920s, who, while having had the same education, developed a more tolerant view of local culture.[41] The 1920s were

38 The 'Almanak van O.L. Vrouw van het H. Hart' was published annually between 1893 and 1953 and contained educational and popular information about the Congregation with a range of stories of overseas missions. The newsletter was most popular in 1923 when about 75,000 copies were distributed. The newsletter can be found in the Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, http://www.archivesportaleurope.net/ead-display/-/ead/pl/aicode/NL-AgaENK/type/fa/id/AR-P027/dbid/C54969607.

39 Rievers, 'Mimika's Eerste Doopfeest', 20, author's translation.

40 Boelaars, *Nieuw Guinea uw Mensen zijn Wonderbaar*, 26.

41 Boelaars, *Met Papoea's samen op weg*, Vol. I, xiv–xv, Boelaars names the missionaries educated between 1930 and 1940 'companions' (*begeleiders*), as they based their work more on a practice-based missiology. See also Dujardin, 'Mission Research Revised', and Nissen, '*Scientia Missionum Ancilla*'.

a time of reflection in Catholic mission history, which was partly instigated by Pope Benedictus XV and the debate over the level of civilization of local cultures.[42] While Kaplan used the concept of 'toleration' in a general 'African' context, it is relevant for this case study. Kaplan employed the term to refer to cases where missionaries accepted the continuation of indigenous customs, even though they considered them to be incompatible with a Christian lifestyle.[43]

Even though they aimed to transform Kamoro lifestyle, the mission showed more tolerance of Kamoro culture than the hundreds of Catholic gurus (teachers) from the Kei and Tanimbar Islands in southeast Maluku, who they relied on to conduct work on the ground.[44] In addition to the drumming and Kamoro singing during the first baptism feast, Rievers described how the Kamoro people had to perform dances taught by their Catholic gurus: 'as real Kei people they danced on – to them – strange drumming'.[45] Unlike the Tongan preachers who worked in Fiji (see above), there were not many cultural similarities between Kei Islands and Kamoro culture. Dutch missionaries considered Kei culture, especially music and dance, more 'civilized' compared to Papuan culture. In their task of acting as agents to teach Papuans Catholic values. Kei gurus therefore imposed their culture and version of Catholicism.[46]

While generally the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart tolerated certain Kamoro customs, some of them went further. Father Petrus Drabbe MSC, who worked in the region between 1935 and 1939, was convinced that knowledge of the native language was an essential requisite for mission work, long before it had become a general prerequisite for Catholic mission work. He wrote an extensive study of the Kamoro language and identified that oral tradition was a significant part of Kamoro culture.[47] The mission even acknowledged that there was something called Kamoro 'culture'. In a mission article aimed at the general Dutch public it was stated that this culture was worthy of attention:

> However low we think their level of civilisation might be, we cannot deny that in some regions of New Guinea a real culture [cultuur] exists or has existed, which

42 See Dujardin, *Missionering en Moderniteit*, 259–260, for a discussion of Pope Benedictus XV's Apostolic Letter *Maximum Illud*, in which he argued for an improved training of local clergy. The debate following this letter urged missionaries to consider the level of civilization of local cultures.

43 Kaplan, 'The Africanization of Missionary Christianity', 10–11.

44 Boelaars, *Nieuw Guinea uw Mensen zijn Wonderbaar*, 27; Derksen, 'Local Intermediaries?', 113.

45 Rievers, 'Mimika's Eerste Doopfeest', 20, author's translation.

46 Derksen, 'Local Intermediaries?', 131; Kei Islanders were mostly active until World War II.

47 Drabbe, 'Folk-Tales from Netherlands New Guinea', 18(2); 'Folk-Tales from Netherlands New Guinea', 13(3); 'Folk-Tales from Netherlands New Guinea', 19(1); 'Folk-Tales from Netherlands New Guinea', 20(1); *Spraakkunst van de Kamoro-Taal*.

> manifests itself in stylish dances and in the production of artistic utensils or objects related to their religion.[48]

The Kamoro region was particularly known for its artistic woodcarving: 'Their canoes, shields, paddles, drums, bamboo containers and virtually all their utensils have since the olden days been very artistically decorated with carving.'[49] In an attempt to preserve features of traditional culture that are valuable and compatible with the development of Christian spirituality, as Kaplan defined the process of acculturation, the mission began employing Kamoro material culture.[50]

Missionaries experimented with placing *mbitoro*, ancestor poles that incorporate deceased people, next to a cemetery to mark All Souls' Day, but it 'did not impress or only slightly impressed the Papuans'.[51] Made from a large mangrove tree, these *mbitoro* (*mbii* = ancestor) or ancestor poles depicted ancestors who were commemorated when the poles were erected. Ancestor poles served as temporary containers (*kao*) for the ancestors during death ceremonies (*watani kame*), during which homage was paid to recently deceased relatives, and similarly during initiation feasts (*karapao*) when the poles symbolized the presence of the ancestors. The fact that the planting of *mbitoro* at cemeteries failed seems logical given that the Kamoro considered the human body to be a container (*kao*) of the ancestor (*mbii*), which is released after death. When the presence of the ancestor is welcome, the *mbitoro* functions as a temporary container for the ancestor – as a whole, the pole then represents the presence of the ancestors at feasts. Following this reasoning, cemeteries are only places were corpses or 'empty' containers are buried.

A more successful process of acculturation was the missionary project of commissioning Christian Kamoro art. Father Anthonius Welling MSC (1948–1953) began by commissioning crucifixes, Madonnas and candelabras, mainly in the villages of Ipiri, Yaraya, Paripi and Amar. He provided the Kamoro carvers with tools and material. Ironwood, referring to the dense, straight-grained hardwoods from one of the *Intsia* species, was the main material used in the timber school in Kokonao and it became the primary resource for creating these commissions. Softer woods were normally used for Kamoro carvings such as drums (*hibiscus tiliaceous*) and ancestor poles (*Sterculia ampala*). The results were more durable representations of missionary success, which were given to supporters of the mission.

After the transfer of the Kamoro region from the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart to the Franciscan Mission (OFM) in 1952, the commission project was continued. Father Stevens OFM established a small domestic industry in the western Kamoro region, and a considerable number of crucifixes, walking sticks and

48 Sint Antonius, 'Houtsnijders en Houtsnijwerk Aan de Mimika', 9, author's translation.
49 *Ibid*., 9, author's translation.
50 Kaplan, 'The Africanization of Missionary Christianity', 19.
51 Sint Antonius, 'Houtsnijders en Houtsnijwerk Aan de Mimika', 10, author's translation.

2. Madonna made by Soter, a Kamoro artist who often made commissions for the OFM mission in the 1970s. Formerly in the collection of Father Jan Koot, OFM.
[Photo: Mary Rabaey]

staffs, miniature ancestor poles, miniature anthropomorphic figures, Madonnas and candelabras were produced (Figure 2).[52] Father Rombout Camps reported that it appeared that young woodcarvers were more interested in the project than Kamoro elders, who expressed concern about the pointlessness of their specialist *mbitoro* carvers now producing crucifixes and Madonnas and miniaturized souvenir versions of their art: 'They will, in order to please the white men, let it happen, but equally they will try to, behind an impenetrable screen of inapprehensible customs and rites, keep the old Mimikan [Kamoro] life going'.[53] Woodcarving was, and still is, a specialist and hereditary skill reserved for men, and *mbitoro* (ancestor poles) were a particular speciality. Interestingly, initial commissioned portrayals of Christ and Mary resembled human figures carved on *mbitoro* and some even showed a nose with a pierced septum. In an attempt to disguise these strong stylistic features, Father Stevens subsequently asked carvers to depict Christ and Mary with veils over their heads. The carvers then gave them a round skull, 'because they do not depict the skull itself, but the cloth under which the skull is hidden'. However, this tactic only worked in rare cases as figures of Christ and the Holy Virgin still mostly demonstrated the characteristics of figures depicted on ancestor poles.[54] This depiction of Christian figures in Kamoro style might have a deeper level of meaning, which will be analyzed by looking at Kamoro strategies in other missionary events.

Kamoro oral history: Christianization versus appropriation

In 1958 a memorial event was held to honor Father Cornelis Le Cocq d'Armandville, a Jesuit missionary – one of the first in Papua – who had drowned in the Kamoro region during an exploratory trip in 1896. The MSC mission asked the Kamoro people to create and erect a large wooden cross several meters high in remembrance of him (Figure 3). The Kamoro people had chosen to perform an additional play explaining how Father Le Cocq had died. The Kamoro actor portraying Father Le Cocq was dressed in an alb and shoes and carried a crucifix in his hands. A group of Kamoro actors asked him about the intention of his visit, to which the Jesuit replied that he came with His Lord's gospel and distributed tobacco. The missionary reporting on the play commented that this indicated how closely associated missionization and material gifts were in the Kamoro mind. Then, while it was well known that Father Le Cocq had drowned accidentally, the play showed

52 Interview with Father Bob Schijns, OFM, 27 August 2002.
53 Camps, 'Het Mysterie van Kipja', 87, author's translation.
54 Sint Antonius, 'Houtsnijders en Houtsnijwerk Aan de Mimika', 10–11, author's translation.

3. The erection of a cross in commemoration of Father Le Cocq d'Armandville in 1958. [Photo: Father Wempe, OFM – courtesy of OFM mission]

how the first missionary had been shot with arrows by Kamoro people and finally murdered by the notorious Kamoro war leader Naowa.[55]

According to Father Camps, the content of the performance demonstrated a typical characteristic of the Kamoro people that often complicated mission work. The Kamoro people had learned about the mythification of the death of Father Le Cocq. Those who had worked as laborers in the capital had heard stories that his mysterious death might have been caused by the Kamoro people instead of being an accident. Father Camps interpreted the fact that the Kamoro people chose to re-enact this myth rather than the true events as the Kamoro adjusting to 'white man's wishes – they take on the role of murderer, simply because the white man expects this'.[56] However, the play could be interpreted differently. After all, the Kamoro performed a play that depicts a heroic war leader as the murderer of Father Le Cocq. It is not necessarily the death of the missionary that is significant here, as this goes back to a true event. What is important is the presence of Naowa, who originates in *amoko*, the Kamoro timeless era of culture heroes (*amoko-we*). This suggests that missionaries, and by implication Christianity, have been part

55 Camps, 'Het Mysterie van Kipja', 87, author's translation; 'Pater Cornelis Le Cocq d'Armandville S.J.', 82, author's translation.

56 Camps, 'Het Mysterie van Kipja', 92, author's translation.

of Kamoro history since ancestral times. Christianity was therefore not imposed, but originated in Kamoro history.

The Kamoro have a vast repertoire of *amoko-kwere*, oral narratives related to the cultural 'heroes' (*amoko-we*), and *tata-kwere*, narratives about ancestral (in terms of genealogy) protagonists – but this distinction should not be considered that rigid. Although known in other villages, narratives are the ownership of one social unit and only the owners will know the essence (*mapare*) of the story.[57] Father Jules Coenen OFM, who wrote extensively on Kamoro indigenous concepts during his work in the region between 1953 and 1963, looked for connections between Kamoro narratives and Christianity.[58] For example, he invoked local cultural heroes, such as Mapurupiu, to compare them with God. The Mapurupiu story is widely known in the Kamoro region, but is particularly associated with Pigapu village. According to the narrative, Mapurupiu dies and begins his journey to the ancestral world. He travels inland and calls out to the ancestors in order to find their world. After a long journey in various directions, Mapurupiu finally goes west over the sea, where he stays.[59] Since Mapurupiu was responsible for planting sago and other trees during his journey to the ancestral world, and for giving birds their colors, Father Coenen used this narrative to explain God's deeds.[60] This is only one of many examples of Christianization, i.e. a case in which missionaries sought to create Christian versions of traditional practices.[61]

However, Kamoro people had already adapted oral history themselves to incorporate Christian and other non-Kamoro influences. In 1952, anthropologist Jan Pouwer collected a narrative about two women, Mumorekapare and Mumarepa. The women caused a flood out of revenge for the killing of their osprey, which caused the people in neighboring regions to migrate. When Mumorekapare and Mumarepa then noticed that women in the East had more wealth, they decided to steal this wealth and flee. It was agreed that Mumarepa would escape to the Netherlands, while Mumorekapare would go to Opè, heaven. After all, Mumarepa's Christian name was Wireremina (Wilhelmina) and Mumorekapare's Christian name was Maria.[62] This example indicates how the Kamoro claim ownership and appropriate both the Dutch Government and the mission, represented by Queen Wilhelmina and Mary. Jan Pouwer noted several of these integrations of non-Kamoro elements in narratives. The way that Kamoro people employ oral

57 Pouwer, *Enkele Aspecten van de Mimika-Cultuur*, 159.
58 Coenen, 'Enkele Facetten van de Geestelijke Cultuur van de Mimika'.
59 The Mapurupiu narrative was recorded by Zegwaard, 'Het Neusdoorborings Ritueel in het Mimika Gebied', 46–49, partly recorded by Drabbe, 'Folk-Tales from Netherlands New Guinea', 19(1), 78–79 and Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro*, 206.
60 Coenen, 'Enige Opmerkingen over de Godsdienstige Toestand in de Onderafdeling Mimika', 3.
61 Kaplan, 'The Africanization of Missionary Christianity', 16.
62 Offenberg and Pouwer, *Amoko in the Beginning*, 249–253.

narratives as tools to adapt to change by reinterpreting and incorporating foreign elements and changes in these narratives is something that has been continued over history.[63] This tradition of appropriation sheds a different light on the role of Kamoro people in the mission's commission project. While the mission might have used Kamoro arts for their own purposes, the main Kamoro response appears to be a pragmatic one. Not only did they choose to partake in the mission patronage project, they made it their own by depicting Christian figures in Kamoro style.

Inculturation and Vatican II

After the new theological approach promoted during the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), which aimed to safeguard the integrity of the gospel while encouraging sensitivity to various cultural contexts, missionaries working in Dutch New Guinea discussed the Vatican II principles in detail and promoted an indigenous Christianity, which was spread by local people.[64] Father Jan Koot OFM (in Kamoro region: 1962–1965) argued for a greater general comprehension of Kamoro life and culture and advised that certain Christian rules should be customized to Kamoro culture or should not be imposed at all.[65]

Following Vatican II and the transfer of the region to Indonesian administration, the assimilation of Christian and Kamoro elements was boosted by giving Kamoro laypeople more responsibility in the celebration of the Eucharist. The Dutch Franciscan missionaries also trained an indigenous clergy and attempted to hold Mass in the Kamoro language.[66] Father Felix Tijdink OFM (1967–1981) introduced the use of Kamoro drums during Mass, but some of the older women considered this act to be 'heathen'. Drums were played by Kamoro men, either to call upon the ancestors or as a form of entertainment – two functions that apparently did not belong in church; 'I comforted them by saying that they were already good Christians and that it was not a problem to use drums during the mass'. In addition, Father Tijdink also replaced oil with white paint for drawing a cross on the forehead during anointment. This more visible sign corresponded with the custom of applying white body decorations in Kamoro ritual (Figure 4).[67]

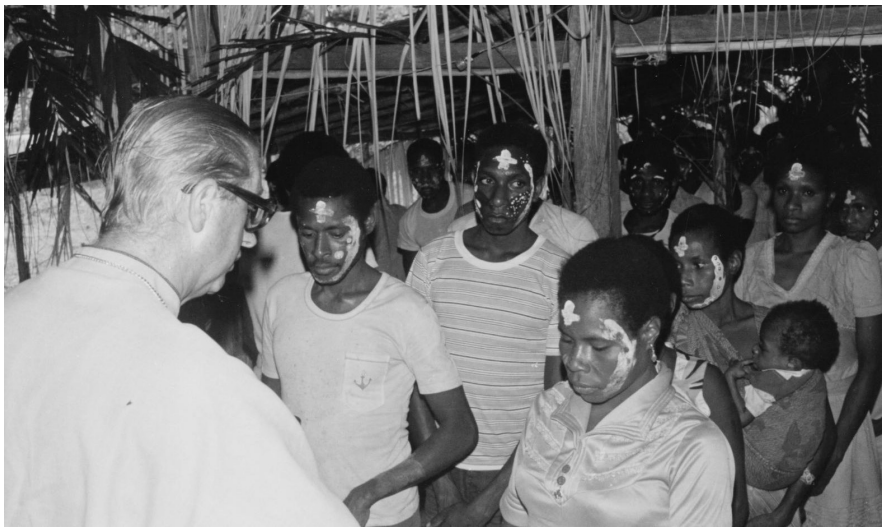
63 Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro*, 205–207; Offenberg and Pouwer, *Amoko in the Beginning*, 57–60; Widjojo, *Orang Kamoro dan Perubahan*.

64 Boelaars, *Met Papoea's Samen op Weg*, Vol. 1, xv; Doyle, 'The Concept of Inculturation in Roman Catholicism', 1.

65 Interview with Jan Koot, 9 January 2003.

66 Today the Roman Catholic Mass is conducted in *bahasa Indonesia*, often by Papuan pastors, but, to date, there has not been a Kamoro Bishop.

67 Interview with Felix Tijdink, 29 August 2002, author's translation.



4. Drawing a white cross on the forehead during anointment, 1970s.
[Photo: Father Huub Zwartjes OFM – courtesy of Huub Zwartjes OFM]

In 1977, Father Huub Zwartjes OFM (1972–1979) combined a baptism/holy confirmation and initiation feast (*tawri*) in Kekwa village. The *tawri* feast, consisting of the cutting off the boys' aprons (*tawri*) at ankle level, marked the first transformation from boyhood to adolescence, before the piercing of the nasal septum.[68] In Kekwa in 1977, the initiates were decorated with black and white body paint and wore long fiber aprons that reached the ground (Figure 5). As was customary, these aprons were cut off by the initiates' mothers. The cut off fibers were set on fire and the boys were required to extinguish the fire with their feet. Applying the ashes to the navel was believed to stimulate the growth of body hair and the beginning of adolescence.[69] Afterwards, Father Zwartjes anointed the initiates and confirmed their initiation into the Catholic Church.

This combined Kamoro–Christian initiation feast was one of many festivities in the Kamoro region leading up to a culminating feast: the mission's golden jubilee in Kokonao village. As an assembled village, Kokonao consists of four hamlets: Kokonao, Migiwiya, Kiyura and Mimika. Each hamlet built a feast house (*karapao*), which was painted with Christian motifs, such as crosses, angels and Malay writings such as '*pesta emas*' (golden feast) or '*Jesus bangkit dari kubur*' (Jesus stands up from the grave). Each hamlet also produced an ancestor pole (*mbitoro*), which were placed around the altar on the official anniversary day. After Mass, the ancestor

68 Zegwaard, 'The Induction Ritual and Body Decoration of Recently Initiated Young Men in the Mimika Region', 309.

69 Coenen, 'Enkele Facetten van de Geestelijke Cultuur van de Mimika', 64.

5. Initiation feast and baptism in Kekwa (1977) with boys wearing long aprons before initiation. (Photo: Father Huub Zwartjes OFM – courtesy of Huub Zwartjes OFM)

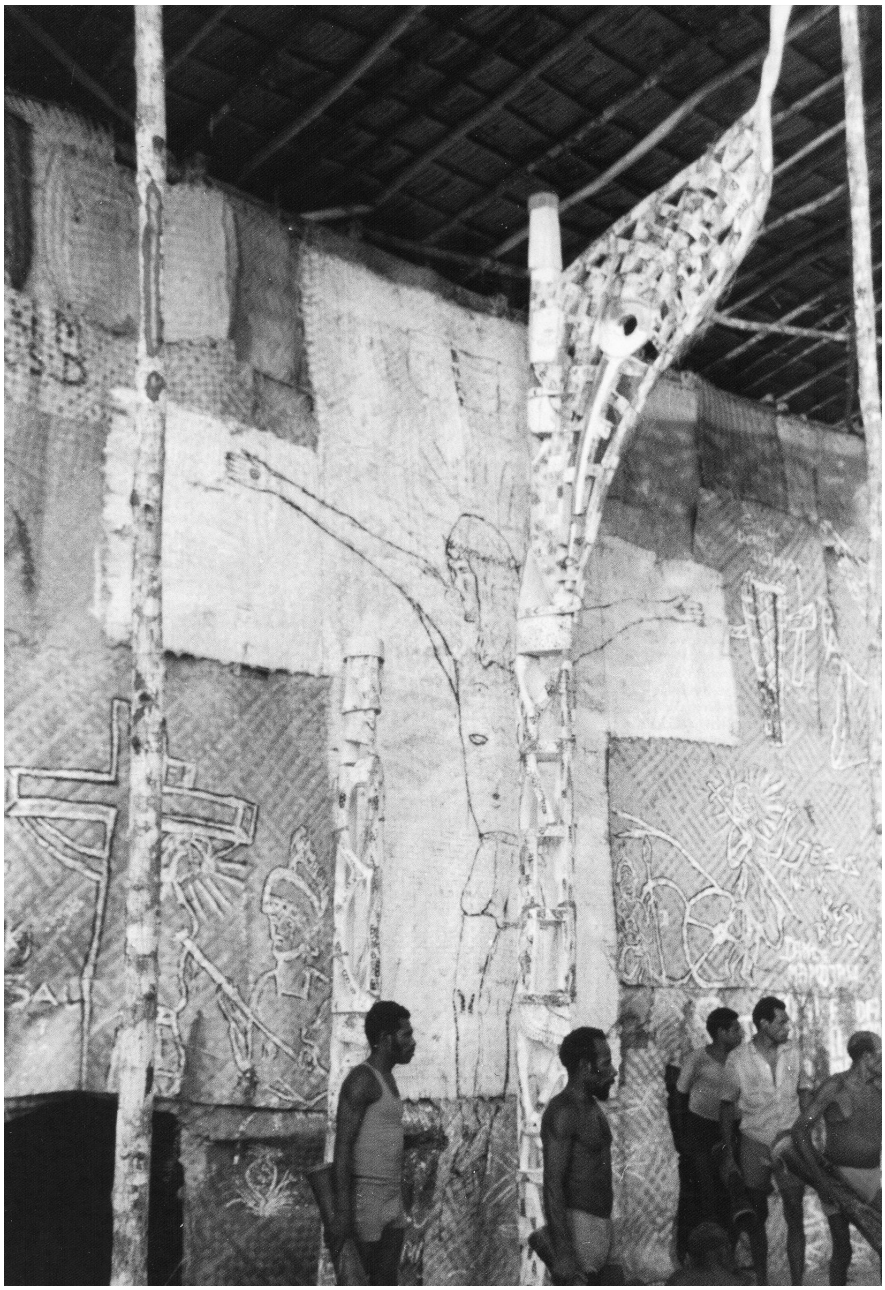
poles were left to decay as they would have done after serving their role in a Kamoro feast (Figure 6).[70] One of the *mbitoro* depicted Monsignor Herman Tillemans, who worked in the Kamoro region and other parts of Papua between 1930 and 1966. He had died in Merauke (Papua) a couple of years earlier and the Kamoro people decided to commemorate him in a *mbitoro* as was done with Kamoro deceased.[71] For the missionaries this was a sign of true conversion and success; for the Kamoro people, it was a way of indicating that Father Tillemans originated from the Kamoro region during the time of *amoko*, the ancestors. It was a way of appropriating Christian culture, which is exactly what missionaries aimed to achieve after Vatican II.[72]

The golden jubilee celebrated fifty years of missionary success by showing an amalgamation of Kamoro and Christian material evidence of missionary work and Kamoro responses. The process of conversion had been one of trial and error, which depended on the initiative of missionary individuals as well as the mission as a collective and which was influenced by a high level of Kamoro agency. After fifty years, Christianity in the Kamoro region was an indication that the mission had been open to a variety of forms of indigenization. Today, Jeremias Emeal and Agus Yakopeyauta are two woodcarvers who excel in the creation of Kamoro

70 Van der Schoot writes that they were thrown in sago swamps to influence the growth of sago, see *Het Mimika-en Asmatgebied (West-Irian) voor den na de Openlegging*, 68.

71 Interview with Huub Zwartjes, 26 August 2002.

72 Interview in Indonesian with Yohannes Mapareyau, head of tradititions (*kepala suku adat*) of Pigapu village, 8 April 2002.



6. One of the golden jubilee feast houses, Kokonao 1977, with mbitoro (ancestor pole) in front. (Photo: Father Huub Zwartjes OFM – courtesy of Huub Zwartjes OFM)

Christian art. While both woodcarvers are able to make other artifacts, such as drums and ceremonial shields, they prefer the genre introduced by the mission in the 1950s.[73] Their art works draw from intersecting traditions – Kamoro and Christian – and are suitable examples of how the Kamoro appropriated outside influences and how missionaries felt that they obtained conversion success.[74]

Conclusion: mission accomplished?

In an attempt to answer the question whether early missionary attempts of conversion were accomplished in Fiji and Papua, the legacy of these encounters was considered by looking at their material remains. While the main approach between Protestant missionaries in Fiji in the mid-nineteenth century differed considerably from the Roman Catholic approach in the Kamoro region in the mid-twentieth century, both case studies had a focus on materiality in common (even though this was limited to the covering of the body in the Protestant context).

Missionary (museum) collections, memorials and historic churches can be considered as missionary heritage – they have been inherited from a past to which missionary endeavor contributed considerably. Missionary heritage should be seen as a cultural resource, to be studied for its enduring potential to become a focus for reflections by people from different parts of the world. A crucial feature of material remains of missionary encounters is indeed their potential to become a focus for reflection on shared histories by people from different parts of the world. As much as converting was not simply a one-way process, as varying elements of integration, dismissal and strategic use need to be taken into account, shared heritage does not simply imply 'sharing'. We are often dealing with unequal power relations and different ontologies. Missionary work should thus be analyzed as an interaction characterized by cultural exchanges, which can variably be described as toleration, acculturation, inculturation, Christianization and appropriation, but which were always some form of co-mission, an interaction between missionaries and Pacific communities in terms of cultural and artistic production.

At one level, missionary heritage should be studied for its enduring potential to become a focus for reflection by people from different parts of the world. At another level, heritage is not only about the things themselves, but about how we negotiate their significance in the present. The recent anthropological approach to (missionary) heritage has uncovered how material heritage is a product of multiple, constantly renewing relationships and networks, not only the historical re-

73 Jacobs, "'United Colors of Papua"'.

74 Jeremias Emeal, personal communication, 26 April 2001; Agus Yakopeyauta, personal communication, 27 April 2001.

lationships that have shaped them. Missionary heritage has the potential to be at the core of new relationships; they are not passive things with a fixed meaning, instead they act to relate people over space and time. Therefore we need to ask what missionary heritage honors, normalizes, ignores and celebrates and we need to allow for changing perspectives.

REFERENCES

Archival sources

Archival material related to the Methodist Mission in Fiji was found in SOAS University of London, the Mitchell Library in Sydney and Fiji Museum. Archival material related to the Kamoro region (including newsletters, published reports and letters in missionary journals) was found in the Mission House of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart in Tilburg, in personal missionary archives (Father Tijdink, Father Koot), the National Museum of World Cultures, Leiden, and the Katholiek Documentatiecentrum in Nijmegen, the Netherlands.

Secondary literature

Arweck, Elisabeth, and William J.F. Keenan. 'Introduction. Material Varieties of Religious Expression'. In: Elisabeht Arweck and William J.F. Keenan, eds. *Materializing Religion: Expression, Performance and Ritual*. Theology and Religion in Interdisciplinary Perspective Series. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, 1–20.

Bavel, Cor. van. *De Geschiedenis van de Missie in het Mimika-Gebied en Achterliggende Binnenlanden*. Tilburg: Archives of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, 1946.

Boelaars, Jan H.M.C. *Nieuw Guinea uw Mensen Zijn Wonderbaar, het Leven der Papua's in Zuid Nieuw Guinea*. Bussum: Brand, 1953.

Boelaars, Jan H.M.C. *Met Papoea's Samen op weg. Het Openleggen van het Binnenland. Deel I: De Pioniers. Het Begin van een Missie*. Kampen: Kok, 1992.

Boelaars, Jan H.M.C. *Met Papoea's Samen op Weg. Het Openleggen van het Binnenland. Deel II: De Baanbrekers, de Ontwikkeling van de Mensen en de Missionarissen*. Kampen: Kok, 1995.

Buadromo, Sagale, and Katrina Talei Igglesden. 'Thomas Baker's Shoes, Fiji'. In: Karen Jacobs, Chantal Knowles and Chris Wingfield, eds. *Trophies, Relics and Curios: Missionary Heritage from Africa and the Pacific*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015, 102–110.

Calvert, James. *Fiji and the Fijians. Vol. 2: Mission History*. G.S. Rowe, ed. London: Alexander Heylin, 1858.

Camps, Rombout. 'Het Mysterie van Kipja'. *Sint Antonius*, 62 (1960) 4, 86–92.

Camps, Rombout. 'Pater Cornelis Le Cocq d'Armandville S.J.: Eerste Missionaris van Nieuw Guinea'. *Missienieuws*, 69 (1961) 6, 82–87.

Cargill, David. *Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Cargill, Wife of the Rev. David Cargill, A.M. Wesleyan Missionary, Including Notices of the Progress of Christianity in Tonga and Feejee*. London: John Mason, 1841.

Coenen, Jules. *Enige Opmerkingen over de Godsdienstige Toestand in de Onderafdeling Mimika*. Speciaal Oost-Mimika. Archives of the Order of Franciscan Missionaries, Utrecht, 1956.

Coenen, Jules. *Enkele Facetten van de Geestelijke Cultuur van de Mimika*. Unpublished typescript. Omawka: Mimika, 1963.

Colchester, Chloe. 'Objects of Conversion: Concerning the Transfer of Sulu to Fiji'. In: Susanne Küchler and Graeme Were, eds. *The Art of Clothing: A Pacific Experience*. London: UCL Press, 2005, 33–46.

Derksen, Maaike. 'Local Intermediaries? The Missionising and Governing of Colonial Subjects in South Dutch New Guinea, 1920–42'. *Journal of Pacific History*, 51 (2016) 2, 111–142.

Doyle, Dennis M. 'The Concept of Inculturation in Roman Catholicism: a Theological Consideration'. *US Catholic Historian*, 30 (2012) 1, 1–13.

Drabbe, Petrus. 'Folk-Tales from Netherlands New Guinea'. *Oceania*, 18 (1947) 2, 157–175.

Drabbe, Petrus. 'Folk-Tales from Netherlands New Guinea'. *Oceania*, 18 (1948) 3, 248–270.
Drabbe, Petrus. 'Folk-Tales from Netherlands New Guinea'. *Oceania*, 19 (1948) 1, 75–90.
Drabbe, Petrus. 'Folk-Tales from Netherlands New Guinea'. *Oceania*, 20 (1949) 1, 66–79.
Drabbe, Petrus. *Spraakkunst van de Kamoro-Taal*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1953.
Dujardin, Carine. *Missionering and Moderniteit. De Belgische Minderbroeders in China 1872–1940*. Leuven: KADOC, 1996.
Dujardin, Carine. 'Mission Research Revised: Missiology as a Project of Modernity and a Contemporary Form of Apologetics'. In: Carine Dujardin and Claude Prudhomme, eds. *Mission & Science. Missiology Revised 1850–1940*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015, 9–22.
Eves, Richard. 'Colonialism, Corporeality and Character: Methodist Missions and the Refashioning of Bodies in the Pacific'. *History and Anthropology*, 10 (1996) 1, 85–138.
Gordon Cumming, Constance F. *At Home in Fiji*. New York: A.C. Armstrong, 1883.
Harding, Christopher. *Religious Transformation in South Asia. The Meanings of Conversion in Colonial Punjab*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
Hooper, Steven. '"Supreme among Our Valuables": Whale Teeth *Tabua*, Chiefship and Power in Eastern Fiji'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 122 (2013) 2, 103–160.
Hooper, Steven. 'An Exhibition and Sale at the Wesleyan Centenary Hall'. In: Karen Jacobs, Chantal Knowles and Chris Wingfield, eds. *Trophies, Relics and Curios? Missionary Heritage from Africa and the Pacific*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015, 45–49.
Ipenburg, At. 'Christianity in Papua'. In: Jan S. Aritonang and Karel A. Steenbrink, eds. *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*. Leiden: Brill, 2008, 345–381.
Jacobs, Karen. '"United Colors of Papua": Kamoro Arts and Cultural Appropriation'. In: Jonathan Harris, ed. *Identity Theft. Cultural Colonisation, Contemporary Art*. Tate Gallery Liverpool Critical Forum. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008, 175–196.
Jacobs, Karen. *Collecting Kamoro. Objects, Encounters and Representation in West Papua*. Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde. Leiden: National Museum of Ethnology, 2012.
Jacobs, Karen. *This is Not a Grass Skirt. On Fibre Skirts (Liku) and Female Tattooing (Veiqia) in Nineteenth Century Fiji*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019.
Kaplan, Steven. 'The Africanization of Missionary Christianity: History and Typology'. In: Steven Kaplan, ed. *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity*. New York: New York University Press, 1995, 9–28.
Keane, Webb. 'The Evidence of the Senses and the Materiality of Religion'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 14 (2008), S110–S127.
Kooijman, Simon. *Art, Art Objects, and Ritual in the Mimika Culture*. Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. Leiden: Brill, 1984.
Lawry, Walter. *Friendly and Feejee Islands. A Missionary Visit to Various Stations in the South Seas in the Year MDCCCXLVII*. London: Charles Gilpin, 1850.
Lindenfeld, David. 'Indigenous Encounters with Christian Missionaries in China and West Africa, 1800–1920: A Comparative Study'. *Journal of World History*, 16 (2005) 3, 327–369.
Missionary Present. *Missionary Present About the Children in Fiji*. [London]: Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, n.d. [1870s].
Morgan, David., ed. *Religion and Material Culture. The Matter of Belief*. London: Routledge, 2009.
Morgan, David, and Joanne McKenzie. 'Material Analysis and the Study of Religion'. In: Tim Hutchings and Joanne McKenzie, eds. *Materiality and the Study of Religion: The Stuff of the Sacred*. Theology and Religion in Interdisciplinary Perspective Series in Association with the BSA Sociology of Religion Study Group. London: Routledge, 2017, 14–32.
Nissen, Peter. '*Scientia Missionum Ancilla*: Alphons Mulders and the Beginnings of Mission Studies at Nijmegen University'. In: Carine Dujardin and Claude Prudhomme, eds. *Mission & Science. Missiology Revised 1850–1940*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015, 139–150.
O'Brien, Glen. 'Australian Methodist Women'. In: Glen O'Brien and Hilary M. Carey, eds. *Methodism in Australia: A History*. Ashgate Methodist Studies Series. Burlington: Ashgate, 2015, 211–224.
O'Brien, Glen, and Hilary M. Carey. 'Introduction: Methodism and the Southern World'. In: Glen O'Brien and Hilary M. Carey, eds. *Methodism in Australia. A History*. Ashgate Methodist Studies Series. Burlington: Ashgate, 2015, 1–11.
Offenberg, Gertrudis A.M., and Jan Pouwer, eds. *Amoko in the Beginning: Myths and Legends of the Asmat and Mimika Papuans*. Adelaide: Crawford House, 2002.

Pouwer, Jan. *Enkele Aspecten van de Mimika-Cultuur (Nederlands Zuidwest Nieuw Guinea).* 's-Gravenhage: Staatsdrukkerij, 1955.

Pouwer, Jan. 'A Masquerade in Mimika'. *Antiquity and Survival*, 1 (1956) 5, 373–386.

Pouwer, Jan. *Geslachtelijkheid en Ideologie. Toegelicht Aan Een Samenleving van West Nieuw Guinea.* Nijmegen: [Katholieke Universiteit], 1983.

Pouwer, Jan. 'Kamoro Life and Ritual'. In: Dirk Smidt, ed. *Kamoro Art. Tradition and Innovation in a New Guinea Culture*. Amsterdam-Leiden: KIT Publishers and Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 2003, 24–57.

Rievers, Piet. 'Mimika's Eerste Doopfeest'. *Almanak van onze Lieve Vrouw van het heilig hart*, 17 (1935), 15–20, 27–28.

Schreuder, Deryck, and Geoffrey Oddie. 'What is "Conversion"? History, Christianity and Religious Change in Colonial Africa and South Asia'. *Journal of Religious History*, 15 (1989) 4, 496–518.

Sint Antonius. 'Houtsnijders en Houtsnijwerk Aan de Mimika'. *Sint Antonius*, 60 (1958) 1, 9–11.

Smythe, Sarah Maria. *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands.* Oxford: John Henry and James Parker, 1864.

Tcherkézoff, Serge. '*First Contacts*' *in Polynesia. The Samoan Case (1722–1848), Western Misunderstandings about Sexuality and Divinity*. New ed. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008.

Thornley, Andrew. *The Inheritance of Hope. John Hunt, Apostle of Fiji.* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 2000.

Thornley, Andrew. *Exodus of the i Taukei. The Wesleyan Church in Fiji, 1848-74.* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 2002.

Tillemans, Herman. 'Voor Onze Missienaaikringen!'. *Annalen van Onze Lieve Vrouw van het Heilig Hart*, 52 (1934), 225–227.

Tomlinson, Matt. 'Passports to Eternity: Whales' Teeth and Transcendence in Fijian Methodism'. In: Lenore Manderson, Wendy Smith and Matt Tomlinson, eds. *Flows of Faith: Religious Reach and Community in Asia and the Pacific*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2012, 215–231.

van der Schoot, Hein A. *Het Mimika-en Asmatgebied (West-Irian) voor den na de openlegging.* PhD thesis, Katholieke Hogeschool Tilburg, 1969.

Widjojo, Muridan S. *Orang Kamoro dan Perubahan. Lingkungan Sosial Budayad di Timika, Irian Jaya.* Jakarta: LIPI, 1997.

Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842.* Vol. 3. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845.

Zegwaard, Gerard. *Het Neusdoorborings Ritueel in het Mimika Gebied.* [n.d.].

Zegwaard, Gerard. 'The Induction Ritual and Body Decoration of Recently Initiated Young Men in the Mimika Region'. In: Dirk Smidt, Pieter ter Keurs and Albert Trouwborst, eds. *Pacific Material Culture. Essays in Honour of Dr. Simon Kooijman on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, Leiden. Leiden: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 1995, 308–323.

Place and Memory

Identity and Memory of Christian Missions among the Maguzawa in Nigeria, 1940–2017

Naziru Yahaya Shuaibu

Tudun Wada, a district of Kano Emirate in northern Nigeria, is a Hausa Muslim society where people of different cultures, ethnicity and religions live together harmoniously as a community.[1] It has been observed that missionaries from the Roman Catholic Mission and the Anglican Church Missionary Society preceded those from the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), later renamed the Evangelical Church of West Africa (SIM/ECWA), in Tudun Wada district. However, in their evangelization processes, the Sudan Interior Mission was the first Christian denomination to make inroads into the indigenous communities of Tudun Wada. In their various attempts to spread the Christian faith and win converts, the SIM had had to contend with the traditional Maguzawa religion and Islam, the main religion in the area since the eighteenth century. The following study intends to show that the SIM's localizing of Western religious traditions and cultural forms in a remote area like Tudun Wada was simultaneously challenging and inspiring to this missionary organization. What strategies were deployed by the SIM and how successful were they in the spread and consolidation of Christianity in the Maguzawa (non-Muslim) community located in a Muslim-dominated region? How effectively did SIM institutions shape the religious and cultural identity of the Maguzawa as well as the relationship between members of the diverse religious groups in the area? How do heritage sites today reflect the SIM missionary strategies among the Maguzawa?

Against this backdrop, this chapter examines the role of the SIM/ECWA in spreading the gospel and in church planting in the district. It will focus on three

1 Tudun Wada district is located in the south-eastern part of Kano. It lies approximately between longitude 11°15'N and 11°25'N and between latitude 8°24'Eand 8°40'E. It covers an area of 2,023 square miles, with a population of 223,620, according to the 1991 provisional census. For further information see Mustapha and Yakudima, 'Population and Settlement', 36.

case studies: the establishment of the Evangelical Church of West Africa, the expansion of the SIM/ECWA denominational institutions, and the development of health services in the Tudun Wada district. All three subjects reflect the identity and memory of the SIM among the Maguzawa and make it possible to demonstrate how the religious identity and space in the area was significantly altered. Conversely, Maguzawa religious traditions also had a certain effect on the forms of Christianity that would develop across the area, particularly after the SIM handover to the Evangelical Church of West Africa in 1976.

The data for this study were obtained from four main sources: documentary sources, in-depth oral interviews, visual sources, and ethnographic sources. The documentary sources include missionary archives and published sources. Important historical data in the area were missing and did not survive to the present, because most of the historical documents about Christian missionary activities kept in the mission institutions were not well looked after. Therefore, extensive fieldwork was conducted, taking a more ethnographic approach. One of the goals of this chapter lies in its effort to 'rescue the memory' of the indigenous people. For this purpose, I interviewed seventy-six persons involved in Christian religious activities in the studied area, using random sampling. Although some informants were somewhat suspicious and reserved at beginning, I was able to have intimate discussions with many others, allowing for a substantial data collection. Although these types of oral testimonies often present rich historical information from the point of view of particular individuals, families, classes and cultures, critical and corroborative verification of sources has helped deal with the biases inherent to personal memories.[2]

There is a rich literature dealing with the history of Christianity and missionary activities in northern Nigeria. Studies by scholars such as Ubah, Ayandele, Barnes, Ajayi, Shankar, Turaki, Crampton, Linden have scrutinized the discords between the colonial state and the missionaries over Christian evangelism in Muslim Emirates of Nigeria. Some focussed on the activities of specific Christian churches in specific regions. Hiskey's focus is on the Catholic Church in northern Nigeria; Kayode and Onye worked on ECWA activities in Kano and Katsina States,

2 Questions included: identification, date, name, age, ethnic group, indigene in the area, and religion. Other questions were: When did the activities of Christian missions start in the area? Do you have indigenous Christians in this area? Can you mention their settlements? When did you accept Christianity? Which of the Christian denominations do you belong to? What is your position in the church organization? How many churches are there in this area? What do you think were the reasons that made Maguzawa to accept the SIM in spite of the efforts of other Christian denominations and impact of Islamic culture in northern Nigeria? What were the methods used by the SIM in converting people? Have you received any support from the SIM? What type of support? Do you have any relation with Christian societies outside? What social services has the SIM/ECWA been rendering to this community? Did Muslims patronize the medical services rendered by the SIM in this area?

and in Sokoto town respectively. Shankar and Lere examined SIM/SUM initiatives for leprosy patients in northern Nigeria, while Tushima and Danjuma studied succession patterns in Church leadership. However, none of these studies fully explore the identity and memory of SIM/ECWA among the Maguzawa in Tudun Wada district or the communities bordering the area.

Christianity introduced a new intellectual and material culture, as well as new forms of education and church management. Schools for Bible studies were built and maintained by SIM/ECWA pioneer missionaries (both within and outside Tudun Wada).[3] These schools produced the literate personnel and administrators that would take over church leadership after the departure of European missionaries in 1976. Since the departure of these expatriates, there have been major changes in the administrative structure. For instance, divisional and local heads were put in place: community leaders, teachers, judges and administrators whose responsibilities were not confined to the church or the religious sphere.[4] All pastors heading divisions report directly to the Chairman of Kano State Diocese through the district/zonal head of southern Kano. The zonal/district head is responsible for appointing or transferring divisional/local heads from one division to another after every four years.[5] However, the organizational setup of ECWA has over the years undergone structural changes and nowadays consists of a hierarchical structure headed by the General Church Council, which oversees district church councils, local church councils and local church boards.[6]

Background and context: Tudun Wada as an 'entrepot'

The penetration of the Christian missionaries into Tudun Wada is as old as the history of the imposition of British colonial rule in northern Nigeria, starting in 1903. According to Uchendu Mike Reuben, the opening of mining activities around Riruwai attracted a number of Catholics from Plateau to work in the mines, but there was no record of new conversions.[7] It equally seems that the efforts of the Anglican Church Missionary Society stationed in Zaria to spread

3 Interviews with Nayaro Galadima, a farmer and the first to convert to Christianity in the district, at mission house Karefa, Tudun Wada, 18 September 2021; Rev. Bako Gambo, born in 1937, an evangelist, at Tudun Wada, 16 September 2021; and Rev. Yusuf Bako, born in 1946, a Church planter, at Tudun Magai, 18 September 2021

4 Interviews with Rev. Bako Gambo, born in 1937, an evangelist, at Tudun Wada, on 16 September 2021; and Rev. Yusuf Bako, born in 1946, a Church planter, at Tudun Magai, 18 September 2021.

5 Danjuma, *Church Leadership Tussle*', 23.

6 Kayode, 'Mission Strategies of the Evangelical Church of West Africa Among the Maguzawa in Kano and Katsina States, 1954–2007', 47 and Danjuma, '*Church Leadership Tussle*', 21.

7 Reuben, 'A History of Catholic Church in Kano 1924–1999', 40.

Christianity into the area in the aftermath of the British colonial occupation were not successful. The cause of this may have been the resistance of the Kano Emirate to Christian missionary activities in Kano. Colonial policies restricted Christian missionaries from operating in the north, limiting missionary activities in both sphere and scope.[8]

From 1930–1960, the colonial policy of excluding Christian missionaries became more lenient.[9] This development provided a politically tranquil and favorable environment for missionary activities in Kano Emirate, including the Tudun Wada district, which was comprised of the present Tudun Wada and Doguwa districts. In addition, Tudun Wada's remote location, at the tail-end of Kano Emirate, coupled with poor communication networks, hindered the missionaries from missionizing in the area.

The Maguzawa are a sub-group of Hausa people that retained the traditional religious beliefs and practices of their ancestors for centuries. In colonial records, they were listed as an ethno-religious minority.[10] The Maguzawa were agrarian communities who lived in dispersed hamlets without a centralized authority since the 1804 Jihad in Hausa land. In Kano, the majority of Maguzawa resisted Islam; many spilled over to Tudun Wada district to the south, in order to retain the religious beliefs and practices of their ancestors.[11] As first indigenes in a sparsely populated area, they constituted the dominant group in the district.[12] The Maguzawa traditional religion and traditional ritual practices and values centered on this-worldly life and the enhancement of both community and individual life. Since its pioneers could not read nor write, the Maguzawa religion has no evidence of any book or literature. It has been orally transmitted from father to son and

8 National Achieve Kaduna (NAK) KANPROF, No. 06070/307, 'Christian Missionaries in Muhammadan Centers' (1926).

9 In 1929, the Phelps Skoke's commission on education in Africa featured the situation in the northern Nigeria as clearly an injustice to the Christian missionaries and insisted that government should do anything possible to grant religious freedom to Nigeria. On the side of the Christian missionaries again by the same 1929, they began to criticize the colonial government. It started with Dr. Rawland Bingham, editor of the Evangelical Christian Mission and General of the SIM and Lowry Maxwell of the Sudan United Mission, who were very critical of the British colonial policy. Dr. Bingham for example insisted that if the policy of restricting the Christian missions would not be reviewed justifiably, violating the order of the colonial government became the necessary line of action for them to take. For more details see Turaki, *Theory and Practice*; and Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria.*

10 Haour and Rossi, 'Hausa Identity, Language, History and Religion', 14

11 Wakili, *Religious Pluralism and Conflict in North Western Nigeria, 1970–2000*, 36.

12 Interviews with Nayaro Galadima, at mission house, 1 March 2017; Idi Dabo (Mato), at Unguwar Mai Gada Karefa, 7 February 2017; Abubakar Adamu, village head of Tudun Wada, born in 1945, interviewed at his residence in Tudun Wada, 11 March 2017; Abubakar Ibrahim, born in 1928, village head of Yalwa, at his palace, 31 March 2017. The information has been confirmed to me by virtually all the interlocutors.

from generation to generation.[13] Most of the Maguzawa settlements existing in the area at the beginning of the British rule were in remote places, surrounded by bushes and wildlife such as hyenas, monkeys and snakes.[14] This may be the reason why Islam did not progress well in the area, which created a gap for the Christian missionaries to step in. In spite of all the challenges, Christian missionaries like Mr. and Mrs. Ivan Paul Darckert[15] had penetrated the area by 1940. They were given a small area of bush to clear and built a mission house and later a clinic. It is here that Darckert and his wife anchored the SIM/ECWA mission work from 1940 to 1976. He embarked on a thorough exploration and study of Tudun Wada, accessing many villages in the district. His socio-geographical knowledge helped the following Christian missionaries to sketch out the demarcations of some strategic Maguzawa areas from Karefa to Tudun Wada, Karefa to Wuna, and Karefa to Nata'ala, in order to prepare them for missionary work.[16]

Christian proselytism among the Maguzawa was challenging and problematic. For the Maguzawa, accepting Christianity meant that they had to adopt new ideas and institutions which often were at variance with their culture, traditions and beliefs. Hence, the missionaries opted for the policy of tolerance in their relationships with the Maguzawa and the Muslims of the area. They also adopted distinct strategies, such as providing social services, gifts and humanitarian aid in order to win over people and communities. Despite these efforts, the majority of the people in the district remained impervious to Christian conversion until the Nigerian oil boom of the 1970s, which led to the collapse of agriculture, most especially the groundnut export trade, which was the major economic livelihood of Maguzawa in rural northern Nigeria.[17] For many rural dwellers, this agricultural crisis was accompanied by a decline in living standards. From that time onwards, resistance to conversion among the Maguzawa began to fade, as they were drawn to the humanitarian and financial aid offered by SIM missionaries. Three elements that were raised frequently during interviews with local informants were the importance of evangelical indigenization and the training of converts; the role of these converts in the spread of Christianity and the SIM's practice of 'converting' personal homes into mission posts and the further proselytization from there; and the way the SIM used medical services as a stepping stone to evangelization.

13 Omerehbe, *Comparative Religion*, 64.

14 Interview with Nayaro Galadima, a farmer and the first to convert to Christianity in the district, at mission house Karefa, Tudun Wada, 1 March 2017

15 Mr. Darckert (1940–1975) was an English missionary deployed by the SIM from Jos to Tudun Wada in 1940 to preach the gospel.

16 Interviews with Nayaro Galadima, born in 1923, a farmer, and the first to convert to Christianity in the district, at mission house Karefa, Tudun Wada, 1 March 2017, and with Idi Nadabo (Mato), a farmer, born in1921, at Unguwar Mai Gada, 7 February 2017

17 For detail see Albert, 'Violence in Metropolitan Kano'; and Goriawala, 'Maguzawa: Influence of Islam on Traditional Religion in Hausa Land'.

1. Residence of the pioneer missionaries Mr. and Mrs. Darckert during their stay in the district. [Photo by the author during his reconnaissance tour to mission house, Karefa, Tudun Wada, 11 December 2017]

The following sections will take a deeper look at these three facets of the SIM/ECWA mission in Nigeria.

SIM/ECWA evangelical conversion and training in Maguzawa communities

It was only after World War II that the missionaries saw some progress regarding the development of stations. The first major Christian success was recorded with Mr. and Mrs. Ivan. Paul Darckert's journey (1940–1975), who first converted Nayaro Galadima (Figure 2), followed by Gidan Naddi, Gidan Auta and many more. Mr. Darckert was an English missionary deployed by the SIM from Jos to Tudun Wada in 1940, to preach the gospel.[18] Within a short period of time, he endeared himself to the people of the area through his many welfare activities. He was thought of fondly in many settlements of the district. For about a decade, Mr. Darckert lived in a temporary structure, a round hut made up of corn stalk

18 Interviews with Rev. Habila Galadima, born in 1955, former chairman Christian Association of Nigeria Tudun Wada chapter, at Jandutse, 23 April 2018; Nayaro Galadima, born in 1923, at mission house, 1 March 2017; Dalladi Gwano, born in 1930, a Muslim farmer who converted to Christianity, at his house in Jandutse, 18 February 2017; Dahiru Galadima, born in 1921, a Muslim farmer who converted to Christianity, at Gidan Tili, Jandutse, 8 February 2017.

plastered with mud, with a roof of woven grass with frames of corn stalks.[19] In the 1940s and much later, villages were clusters of corn stalk huts and virtually all the Christian mission stations in Kano in the 1930s and 1940s started with such temporary edifices.[20] Perhaps this was partly because of the difficulty of reaching these areas and the economic challenges of the period arising from the after-effects of the Great Depression of the 1930s. As a result, aid was not as forthcoming as it should have been from voluntary organizations and their parent church bodies in Europe and America.[21] It was only at the beginning of the 1950s that Mr. Darckert was able to acquire carpentry and building tools, with which he constructed a clinic and a permanent structure to replace the temporary residence.[22] The SIM, as personified by Mr. and Mrs. Darckert, were the first to build a brick structure in the district.[23] This mission house attracted people from the town who came to admire and behold the new edifice (Figure 1).

The aim of the SIM in opening the Karefa mission house was to receive Maguzawa boys, the sick, orphans, displaced persons and other less privileged individuals and to provide them with a home, care and biblical instruction and discipline. These new 'residents' of the missionary stations would eventually win others over to Christianity. Mr. Darckert believed in evangelical indigenization. He told Rev. Bako Gambo that: 'By the grace of God, I intend to get many boys from this zone whom I would train to carry the Gospel to their own people'.[24] From his point of view, the plan was a success: almost all the early Maguzawa Christian converts in Tudun Wada converted through his preaching and humanitarian aid. Apart from Nayaro from Karefa village, other early converts included Rev. Bako Gambo from Rugu-Rugu village, Audu Mai Gona from Yalwa village and Madakin Shanu Daniel from Yar Maraya village. These early converts went through rigorous training in Kano, Zaria and Jos, and they also played a significant role in the spread of Christianity in their respective villages, leading to establishment of churches in those areas.

By 1976, the SIM was handed over to the Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA). By that time, the SIM/ECWA had the largest, best-coordinated Christian ministries and departments, as well as the largest workforce in northern

19 Interviews with Idi Dabo, born in 1928, a farmer, at his residence of Unguwar Maigada Karefa, 7 February 2018, and Nayaro Galadima, at mission house, 1 March 2017.

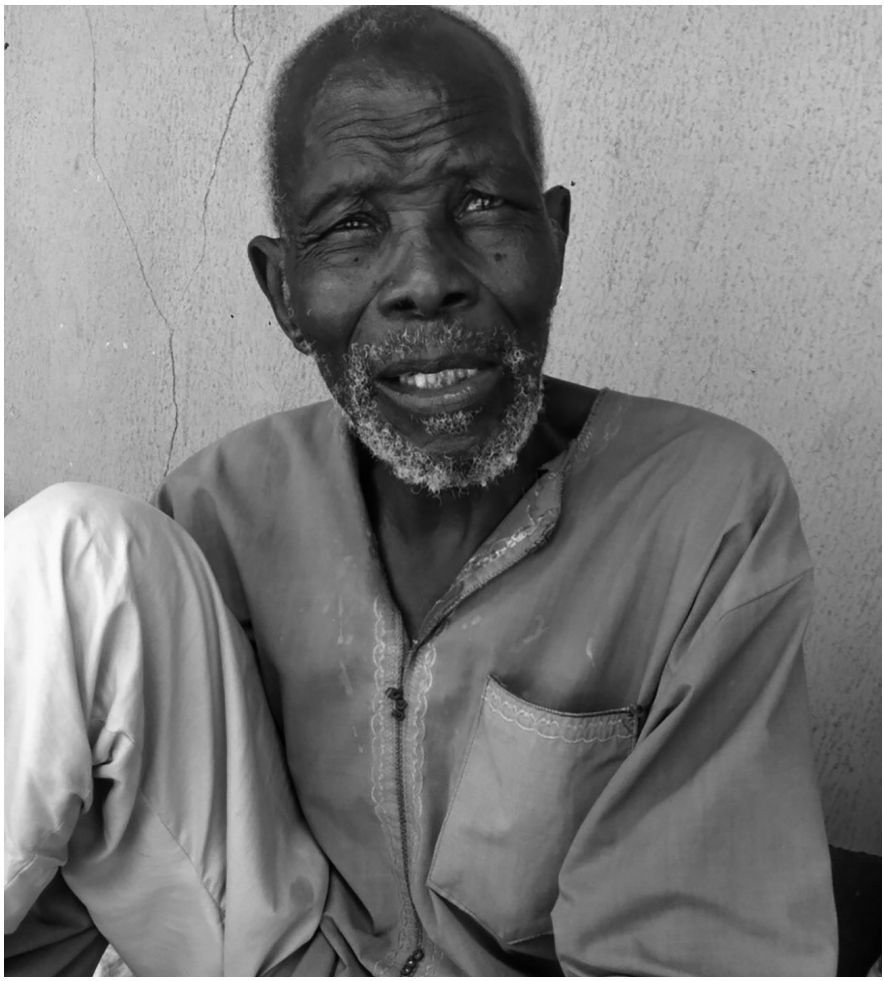
20 Ariyo, 'Ralp Balisky', 70.

21 Bako, *The Impact of Christian Missionary Activities on the Rural Areas of Kano State*, 75.

22 Interview with Rev. Bako Gambo, born in 1937, an evangelist, at his residence in Tudun Wada, 6 November 2018;

23 Interview with Dahiru Abdulkarim, born in 1959, Chairman Islamic Propagation Movement, Kano South Zone, at Yalwa, 4 April 2017.

24 Interview with Rev. Bako Gambo, born in 1937, an evangelist, at his residence in Tudun Wada, 6 November 2018.



2. Nayaro Galadima, the first convert to Christianity in Tudun Wada district.
[Photo taken by the author during an interview at mission house, Karefa Tudun Wada, 7 February 2017]

Nigeria.[25] The high level of conversion to Christianity among the Maguzawa that we see today in the district is to a great extent the result of the SIM/ECWA activities pioneered by Mr. and Mrs. Darckert. The Christian missionaries where mainly to be found in certain villages and towns across the district; therefore, the heritage of Christian evangelism was more prominent in some areas than others. Presently, nearly all the churches have a clinic or dispensary attached to them.

Growth of SIM/ECWA denominational churches in the Maguzawa communities

Efforts to establish Christian missionary stations and institutions continued from 1968 to 2017. In addition to the Karefa mission station, which was established in 1940, and the subsequent clinic attached to it in 1952, as well as the School for Bible Studies installed around 1955–1957,[26] other stations and institutions were subsequently erected by the SIM through the activities of the itinerant missionaries. Before Christian missionaries reached Karefa, the Maguzawa had grouped themselves into eight autonomous but interrelated clan groups in the village. The missionary activities of SIM/ECWA in this area lead to the establishment of eight churches, first at Unguwar Maigada, Garu, and later on at Sabon Garin Isra'ela, Unguwar Waziri, Unguwar Talle, Gidan Illo, Gidan Naddi, Gidan Auta and Unguwar Koli (all part of Karefa) between the 1960s and 2007.[27] In 1968, a new station was opened in Yar Maraya, located in the extreme western part of the district, as a result of the conversion of Madakin Shanu (Daniel) to Christianity. He 'converted' his personal residence into a mission house.[28] The station served as a focal point for the spread of the Christian mission stations in the western part of the district. With the moral and technical support of the SIM in Zaria in Kaduna State, missionaries such as Nuhu Shekau, Malam Bulus and Mathew expanded their activities to the villages of Yalwa, Jeli, Rugu-Rugu and Sumana.[29] In Yalwa village, it was not until 1972 that

25 Turaki, *Theory and Practice*, 244.

26 Interviews with Nayaro Galadima, at mission house Karefa, 12 November 2016; Rev. Bako Gambo, interviewed at his residence in Tudun Wada, 6 November 2018.

27 These communities were identified during a reconnaissance tour to the village. The point was confirmed to me by the village head of the area Idris Aliyu and many responsible elders in the area.

28 Interviews with Rev. Yusuf Bako, born in 1946, a Church planter, at Tudun Magai, 1 March 2017; Nayaro Galadima, 12 November 2016.

29 Interview with Rev. Yusuf Bako, born in 1946, a Church planter, at Tudun Magai, 1 March 2017.

3. Rev. Yusuf Bako, a church planter in Gidan Gero, Sumana and Dogon Kawo.
[Photo by the author during an interview at Tudun Magai, Sumana village in Tudun Wada, 1 March 2017]

a church structure emerged in the residence of Barangwaje.[30] By 1978, the missionaries had moved into the house of Kunnuwa and settled in Unguwar Kamfa.[31] In Jeli village, SIM/ECWA established churches in two Maguzawa residences located in the western part of town through the efforts of Rev. Yusuf Bako: the residence of Dan Umma was 'converted' in to a church in 1978,[32] as was Gidan Gero's in 1979. The commercial relevance of Rugu-Rugu village and its proximity to Yalwa and Yar Maraya were important factors that inspired the establishment of a church in the

30 Interviews with Audu Diga, born in 1952, a farmer, interviewed at Barangwaje Yalwa village, 28 June 2017; Saidu Shu'aibu, born in 1967, non-teaching staff at Federal College of Education, Kano, at Brangwaje Karefa, 29 May 2018.

31 Interviews with Saidu Shu'aibu, at Brangwaje Karefa, 29 May 2018; Nasiru Goma, born in 1927, a farmer, at Unguwar Talle Karefa, 11 December 2017.

32 Interviews with Rev. Bako Gambo, born in 1937, an evangelist, at Tudun Wada, 6 November 2018; Malam Rabiu, born in 1958, village head of Jeli town, at residence in Jeli, 2 July 2018.

residence of a man called Zori in 1978. In 1979, the SIM extended its frontiers to the residence of Maidawa.[33] From 1979 onwards, Rev. Yusuf Bako established Christian mission stations for the SIM/ECWA in personal residences in the villages of Sumana at Tudun Magai and of Dogon Kawo (residences of Kura and Bawa) (Figure 3).[34]

On the eastern side of the district, the SIM missionaries extended their activities to Wuna, Jandutse, Nata'ala and then to Tudun Wada in the southeast. The first Christian mission station in Wuna was established by the SIM in 1971 at the residence of Korau.[35] This served as a prelude to the proliferation of SIM churches in the residences of Katsinawa, Sama'ila and Bala in Felis, in the residence of Tsamage in the area of Yamma and another one between the residences of Katsinawa and of Sidi.[36] Christianity arrived in the village of Jandutse in the 1970s with the visit of SIM missionaries to the house of Tili.[37] As a frontier settlement between Jandutse and Wuna, Gidan Tili village attracted SIM missionaries from the Katsinawa mission station, located immediately to the west. This led to the establishment of a SIM/ECWA station at the residence of Tili in 1972 and another one up north in 1975.[38] In 1971, the SIM/ECWA reached Nata'ala village, and converted people at the residences of Kuzantu, Marere, Sale, Yaji and Koko.[39] A SIM/ECWA station was founded to the southwest of Tudun Wada town, close to Yamma Primary School, in 1977. From the late 1970s up to the 1980s, children mostly attended this government school. By the 1990s, however, the competition and contestation of Muslim-Christian actors created chaos in the area and encouraged non-Muslims to withdraw their children from the public school. This in turn lead led to the emergence of Christian schools in Tudun Wada town, supporting the former school established by the SIM in 1952 in Karefa village.

33 Interviews with Rev. Bako Gambo, at Tudun Wada, 6 November 2018; Abdullahi Bello, born in 1948, village head of Rugu-Rugu, at residence in Rugu-Rugu, 10 March 2017.

34 Interviews with Rev. Yusuf Bako, at Tudun Magai, 1 March 2017; Dahiru Garba, born in 1962, village head of Sumana, at Tudun Magai Sumana, 27 February 2017.

35 Interviews with Muntari Muhammad, born in 1955, village head of Wuna, at his residence, 29 March 2017; Sabo Mato, born in 1982, an evangelist, at his residence in Wuna village, 1 April 2017.

36 Interviews with Muntari Muhammad, at his residence, 29 March 2017; Sabo Mato, at his residence in Wuna village, 1 April 2017.

37 Interviews with Habila Galadima, born in 1955, chairman Christian Association of Nigeria Tudun Wada unit, at his residence in Jandutse village, 23 April 2017; Dahiru Galadima, born in 1921, a farmer, at Gidan Tili Jandutse, 23 April 2017; and Sama'ila Bako, born in 1965, a farmer, at Gidan Tili Jandutse, 24 April 2017.

38 Interviews with Dalladi Gwano, born in 1930, a farmer, at Gidan Tili Jandutse, 23 April 2017; Ali Na Galadima, a farmer, at Gidan Autan Sango, Jandutse, 24 April 2017; Andrews Danladi, born in 1963, a farmer, at Gidan Autan Sango Jandutse, 24 April 2017.

39 Interviews with Nomau Mai Dawa, born in 1934, a farmer, at Yar Labi, 28 February 2017; Lawan Idris, born in 1970, village head, at Nata'ala village, 29 February 2017; Yusuf Sani Nata'ala, born in 1967, Public Complaint Officer Tudun Wada, at public complaint office Tudun, 11 June 2018; Yakubu Sarki, born in 1982, an evangelist, at Nata'ala village, 7 February 2017.

The SIM/ECWA medical services in Tudun Wada district

One important avenue through which Christian missionaries carried out their evangelical work in the Tudun Wada district was through the provision of medical services. The development of medical services in the rural districts has its origin in the Native Authority Ordinance of 1933 under the administration of Sir Donald Charles Cameron, the Governor General of Nigeria from 1931 to 1935.[40] The Ordinance rated government intervention in health as inadequate because there were only sixteen dispensaries and eighteen hospitals with 569 beds across Nigeria in the 1920s. Moreover, these facilities were concentrated in the south, where Christian missions were located.[41] This situation gave rise to a brisk demand for outpatient clinics and hospitals. Cameron's struggles with the poor-quality health services went further than all the efforts of his predecessors and marked a turning point in the history of Nigeria's health services. By 1940, there were 350 dispensaries treating 2,288,000 outpatients, and eighty-five hospitals with 4,135 beds in Nigeria, including in the northern region.[42] The simultaneous outbreaks of communicable diseases between the 1910s and 1930s, such as smallpox, measles and sleeping sickness, especially in Tudun Wada district and other rural areas infected by tsetse fly,[43] further drew the attention of the British colonial government and the Kano Native Authority to the need to deliver medical services to the rural population. As humanitarian organizations, the missionaries were put in charged of the departments of health in 1940, and the restriction placed on their missionary activities was relaxed. This development gave them opportunities to further proselytize in Maguzawa areas. And so it happened that, with the permission of the Kano Native Authority, Christian missionaries came to Tudun Wada district to provide medical services. As Yusufu Turaki argued, these missionaries operated as medical dispensers as much as evangelists, motivated by evangelical interests as well as their assigned task of reaching the rural districts to provide medical services.[44]

The provision of medical services by the missionaries with the support of the colonial government was a direct attack on the traditional medicine of the Maguzawa. This development weakened the socioeconomic status of the Maguzawa native doctors and herbalists. In the first place, the Christian missionaries condemned local practices such as sacrifices, female genital mutilation and tradition-

40 Nicolson, 'Administocracy, 1918–1948', 245.
41 *Ibid*., 244.
42 Ezera, *Constitutional Development in Nigeria*, 37.
43 Wada, *Kano Native Authority (N.A.) and the Provision of Modern Health Care Services 1903–1967*, 5.
44 Turaki, *Theory and Practice*, 313.

4. Clinic with fourteen beds built by Mr. Dercket in the mission house Karefa, Tudun Wada. [Photo taken by the author during his reconnaissance tour to mission house, Karefa, Tudun Wada, 11 December 2017]

al healing.[45] They insisted on modern measures of preventing diseases through the popular dictum 'cleanliness is next to godliness'.[46] This meant that if a traditional healer became a Christian, he was expected to destroy and completely remove all the visible symbols of his profession. Consequently, the propaganda against the traditional medicine advocated by the Christian missionaries automatically declared the traditional system unworthy and those involved redundant. However, Maguzawa traditional healers did not just let themselves be pushed aside, and challenged the so-called civilization brought about by Christian missionaries who did not offer anything better than what they had.[47] The healers considered their traditional religion to be a comprehensive religion – not simply a belief system, but a way of life encompassing religious, social, economic, political, ethical and moral aspects. Contempt and mockery could not move them to abandon their heritage, and they were committed to safeguarding their religion, culture and identity.

Yet, in spite of the resistance by the traditional healers and their supporters, the SIM intensified its efforts in the district to ensure that medical services to fight diseases of one kind or another were dispersed. The advantageous position granted to the SIM by the state, which allowed it to graft evangelical proselytization onto medical services, fueled religious rivalry in the area. Interdenomina-

45 For details see Krusius, *The Maguzawa,* and J. Greenberg, *The Influence of Islam on Sudanese Religion.*

46 Ayandele, 'The Missionary Factor', 508.

47 Interviews with Sama'ila Dan kande, born in 1949, a farmer, at Unguwar Mai gada Karefa, 14 February 2017; Nayaro Galadima, at mission house, 23 August, 2017; Alh Idi Mato; Rev. Bako Gambo and others.

5. Nurse residence built by the missionaries.
[Photo taken by the author during his reconnaissance tour to mission house, Karefa, Tudun Wada, 11 December 2017]

tional competition in Nigeria had a longer history. In 1895, for example, Roman Catholic and protestant missionaries engaged in competition in the town of Onitsha. The former used medical services to gain converts, which convinced the latter to counteract by doing the same and engaging in medical services themselves in 1898.[48] Tudun Wada was no exception in this dynamic. In 1952, the SIM/ECWA missionaries established a clinic at Karefa (Figures 4 and 5).[49] An experienced European woman who later took the name Malama was sent to serve as a medical worker. She attended to patients suffering from diseases such as skin rashes, scabies and eye-related problems. Both Muslims and Maguzawa visited the clinic, and drugs were initially given freely.[50] Afterwards, the such services became restricted to the Maguzawa willing to accept Christianity.[51] From that point on, Karefa became a center for curing diseases and a gateway for conversion to Christianity. The clinic was designed in such a way that preaching of the gospel was carried out there, thereby bypassing restrictions imposed by the colonial government.[52] The

48 Ayubosi, 'Christian Missions and the Development of Health Services Among the Western Niger Delta People 1901–1960', 120.

49 Turaki, *Theory and Practice*, 314.

50 Interview with Idris Aliyu, born in 1964, village head of Karefa, 7 February 2017; see also Wada, *Kano Native Authority (N.A.) and the Provision of Modern Health Care Services 1903–1967*, 58.

51 Wada, *Kano Native Authority (N.A.) and the Provision of Modern Health Care Services 1903–1967*, 181.

52 Kano State History and Culture Bureau, Christian Missionary Activities in Kano, SR910 A.

restriction included that a leper settlement or clinic should only be used for medical services. Therefore, proselytizing any member of the Islamic faith or preaching in public spaces were not permitted.[53] Despite this, the medical center was still used for preaching, as a result of which several Maguzawa, like Yusuf Bako (Figure 3), Audu Mai Gona and Bako Gambo, among others, were converted to Christianity. These converts were from various Maguzawa communities in different villages of the district, and most of their families followed them into Christianity.

Conclusion

The identity and memory of the SIM/ECWA has been addressed and assessed in this chapter from the perspective of a historical survey. The SIM/ECWA recorded a remarkable proselytizing success among the Maguzawa in Tudun Wada district despite people's resistance to Christianity in the beginning. The SIM/ECWA was the first Christian institution established in Karefa village of Tudun Wada district and that moved to the extreme western part of the district (Yar Maraya). With the moral and technical support of the SIM from Zaria, it spread to Sumana and Jeli. In the northwestern part of the district, it extended its sway to Yalwa and Rugu-Rugu. On the eastern side, it went as far as Wuna and Nata'ala and then along the southeast, where Jandutse is located. The other villages of Faska, Jita, Yarmaraya, Riruwai and Rurum had a lower proportion of SIM adherents.

Furthermore, the advent of the SIM/ECWA came with its own appeal, especially the provision of social services and the prospect of material progress, which compelled some non-Muslim Maguzawa, who had initially resisted the missionaries' intrusion, to support the missionaries and also sacrifice their residences and land for church building. Today, most people remember the expatriate European missionaries with whom they came into contact and associated because of the social services they rendered. The missionary house boys who resisted the attempts in the early days by the expatriate European missionaries to convert them to Christianity and make them literate, as well as to get them to accept modern health services, are today not hesitant to send their children to school. They therefore remember what their masters used to tell them about the future of Western education. Many of them have at least lived to see that day. Today, therefore, primary school attendance has increased, because the people's attitudes towards Western education have changed considerably. Meanwhile, only God knows how many lives the missionaries have helped to save. The SIM/

53 NAK/Christian Mission Among Muslims: Sokoto Province, Nigeria 1935–1990, Appendix 11, Agreement Between the Mission and the Native Authorities on the Administration of Leper Settlements.

ECWA missionaries brought a number of changes, transformations and redirections to these villages. The conversion to Christianity led to the transformation of the social system of these communities and left a deep impact on the people's way of life. One of the areas where Christians exerted influence on people's culture in the district is in the observance of Christian religious festivals and feasts, such as Christmas and Easter, and adopting Sunday as the Christian day of worship. However, the situation did not change completely with the advent of Christianity. Although the old Islamic landmarks, which were deeply entrenched before the advent of SIM/ECWA, were not completely ruined, they lacked the possibility of advancing further.[54] In addition, a significant number of the new converts defied some of the new religious order and clung, and indeed continue to cling, to their generation's traditional beliefs in relation to health, healing and knowledge exchange. This phenomenon of transgenerational memories of their old religious tradition manifests in many forms and holds a great deal of power over the minds of the Christian converts, which requires in-depth historical inquiry.

REFERENCES

Archival materials

National Achieve Kaduna (NAK)

NAK/26516/4/387, 'Homes for Treatment of Lepers, Form of Agreement Between the Mission and the Native Authorities on the Administration of Leper Settlements'.

NAK/KANPROF No. 06070/307, 'Christian Missionaries in Muhammadan Centers' (1926).

NAK/KANPROF, No. 17734, Vol. 11/263, 'Missionary Activities in Kano Province' (1927).

NAK/KANPROF, No. 1828, 'Pagans in Kano Province 1938–1947'.

NAK/KANPROF, No. 2163, 'Population of Kano Emirate, 1927–1955'.

Kano State History and Culture Bureau (KSHCB)

KSHCB, Tudun Wada District Official Gazetteer Vol. II 25.

KSHCB R.910A, 'Christian Missionary Activities in Kano Emirate'.

Secundary literature

Albert, Isaac Olawale. 'Violence in Metropolitan Kano: A Historical Perspective'. In: E.E. Osaghae, ed. *Urban Violence in Africa: Pilot Studies*. Ibadan: Institut Français de Reserche en Afrique, 1994, 111-136.

Ariyo, R. *Ralph Balisky. A Pioneer Missionary to the Core-North of Nigeria, A Biographical Book for All Involved in Missions*. Zaria: Crest Royal Ventures, 2016.

Ashafa, Abdullahi M. 'British Colonial Rule and the Transformation of Inter-Group Relations'. In: Mahmood Yakubu, Ibrahim Muhammad Jumare and Asma'u Garba Saeed, eds. *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903–2003*. Kaduna: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, 2005, 425-450.

Ayandele, Emmanuel A.. 'The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria, 1870-1918'. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3 (1966) 3, 503–522.

54 Before the advent of Christian missionaries, Islam had reigned for over 500 years in northern Nigeria. Therefore, Islamic influences were already at home with the Maguzawa traditional beliefs. This becomes evident from the fact that the Maguzawa's way of life has been influenced by Islamic civilization and culture. The Muslim name for God, 'Allah', has displaced the Maguzawa traditional name for God, which according to Goriawala is now lost. The Muslim words like spirits, '*al-jinn*', had the Maguzawa traditional practices, and stand to date.

Ayubosi, Samuel C. 'Christian Missions and the Development of Health Services Among the Western Niger Delta People 1901–1960'. In: G.O. Oguntomisi and S.A Ajayi, eds. *Readings in Nigerian History and Culture: Essays in Memory of Prof. J.A Atanda*. Ibadan: Hope Publication, 2002, 115–132.

Bako, Sani Mohammed. *The Impact of Christian Missionary Activities on the Rural Areas of Kano State*. MA dissertation, Bayero University, Kano, 1985.

Crampton, Edmund Patrick Thurman. *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1979.

Danjuma, Danjuma. *Church Leadership Tussle: Its Implication For the Growth of Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA) in Kaduna State*. MA dissertation, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 2016.

Ezera, Kalu. *Constitutional Development in Nigeria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964.

Goriawala, Mucizz. 'Maguzawa: Influence of Islam on Traditional Religion in Hausa Land'. In: Emefie Ikenga-Metuh, ed. *The Gods in Retreat: Continuity and Change in African Religions*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1985, 47–58.

Greenberg, Joseph. *The Influence of Islam on Sudanese Religion*. Monographs of the American Ethnological Society 10. New York: J.J. Augustin, 1946.

Haour, Anne, and Benedetta Rossi. 'Hausa Identity, Language, History and Religion'. In: A. Haour and B. Rossi, eds. *Being and Becoming Hausa; Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. African Social Studies Series 23. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010, 1–33.

Ikenga-Metuh, Emefie. 'Muslim Resistance to Christian Missionary Penetration in Northern Nigeria 1857–1960.' *Mission Studies*, 3 (1986) 1, 28–40.

Kayode, Ajamu Thomas. *Mission Strategies of the Evangelical Church of West Africa Among the Maguzawa in Kano and Katsina States, 1954–2007*. PhD thesis, University of Ibadan, 2013.

King, Lamont DeHaven. 'The Civilizing Mission and Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria: A Contradiction'. *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, 4 (2016) 8, 1-8.

Krusius, Paul. *The Maguzawa*. Zaria: Gisela Seidensticker – Brikey, 1915.

Mustapha, Adamu, and Ismail Ibrahim Yakudima. 'Population and Settlement'. In: Emmanuel A. Olafin, Aliyu Baba Nabegu and Abdulkadir Mohammed Dambazau, eds. *Wudil within Kano Region: A Geographical Analysis*, Kano: Adamu Joji Publisher, 2008, 35-52.

Nadabo, D.S. *Tarihin Hausa (Maguzawa) da Al'adunsu ada*. Katsina: Aston Publishers, 2008.

Nicholson, Ian F. *The Administration of Nigeria: Men, Methods and Myth, 1900–1960*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, 35–52.

Olofin, Emmanuel A. *Some Aspects of the physical Geography of Kano Region and Related Human Responses*. Department Lecture Series. Kano: Department of Geography, Bayero University, 1987.

Omoregbe, Joseph. *Comparative Religion. Christianity and Other World Religion in Dialogue*. Lagos: Joja Educational Research and Publishers, 1999.

Reuben, U.M. *A History of Catholic Church in Kano 1924–1999*, MA thesis, Bayero University, Kano, 2000.

Sale, D. *Fundamentals of Hausa Culture*. Kano: Dot Image Plus, 2018.

Shankar, Shobana. *Children of the Mission in Kano Emirate: Conflict of Conversion in Colonial Northern Nigeria*, PhD dissertation, University of California, 2003.

Shankar, Shobana. 'Medical Missionaries and Modernizing Emirs in Colonial Hausaland: Leprosy Control and Native Authority in the 1930s'. *The Journal of African History*, 48, 2007, 45-68.

Turaki, Yusufu. *Theory and Practice. Christian Mission in Africa: A Century of SIM/ECWA History and Legacy in Nigeria 1893–1999*. Vol. 1. Nairobi: International Bible Society Africa, 1999.

Wada, Muhammad. *Kano Native Authority (N.A.) and the Provision of Modern Health Care Services 1903–1967*, PhD dissertation, Bayero University, Kano, 2012.

Wakili, Haruna. *Religious Pluralism and Conflict in North Western Nigeria, 1970–2000*. Kano: Center for Research and Documentation, 2009.

From Mainland to Island

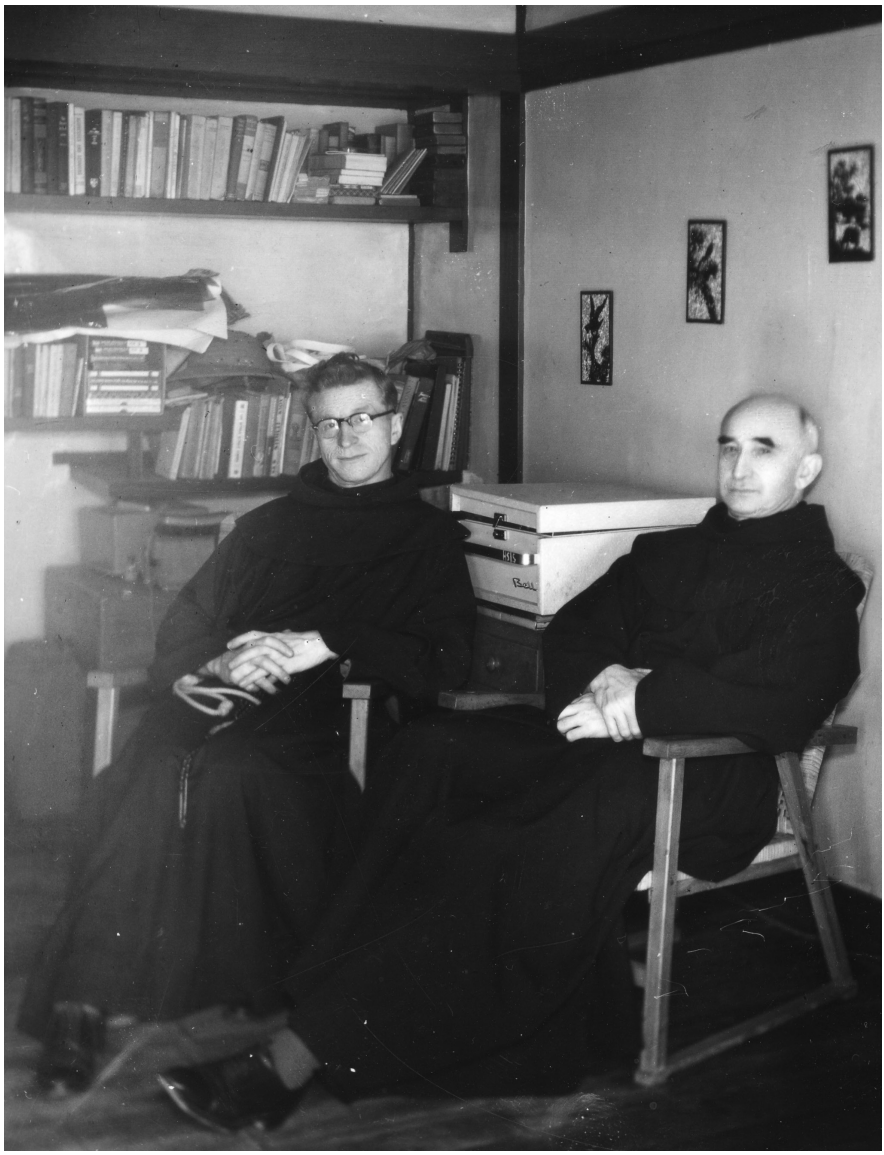
The Architectural Legacy of Belgian Franciscan Missionaries in Early Postwar Taipei

Leon Bouwmeester

Belgian Franciscans of the Order of Friars Minor (OFM) carried out missionary work in China from 1870 to 1953, in the vicariate apostolic of Yichang 宜昌 (Hubei province). After their expulsion from mainland China, these missionaries tried to adapt to new apostolates in other countries. Father Methodius Van Steenwinkel 孟照琨 (1891–1969)[1] was the first Belgian Franciscan to land in Taipei 臺北 in 1951.[2] According to the necrology book (*Necrologium*) of Our Lady Queen of China Province and the group pictures, forty or forty-one Franciscan fathers with at least twelve Belgians belonging to the Flemish Franciscans of the province of Saint Joseph relocated to Taiwan, founded a local Franciscan community, and successfully proceeded with their apostolic works.[3]

The missionary activities of the different branches of the Franciscan family in China before 1950 have been the subject of research.[4] Among other publications, Father Arnulf Camps and Father Patrick McCloskey wrote an overview of the history of the Franciscan missions to China,[5] Carine Dujardin studied in detail the Belgian Franciscans in Hubei,[6] and Thomas Coomans published on different aspects of missionary architecture, including sinicization and spatial strategies.[7] While most of the Catholic churches built by foreign congregations in Taiwan

1 ODIS database, http://www.odis.be/lnk/PS_15870 (17 March 2023).
2 Han and Lai, *Zhonghua fangjihui sheng jianshi*, 9.
3 Hong Kong, Archives of the Order of Friars Minor-Our Lady Queen of China Province, Han Cheng-liang, *Friars in China Necrologium*, 2004, no page number.
4 Tiedemann, *Reference Guide*, 26–32 (OFM friars) and 56–60 (OFM nuns).
5 Camps and McCloskey, *The Friars Minor in China (1294–1955)*.
6 Dujardin, *Missionering en Moderniteit*.
7 Coomans, 'Islands on the Mainland'; Id., 'East Meets West on the Construction Site'; Id., 'The Sino-Christian Style'; Id., 'Church Architecture and Church Buildings: China'; Coomans and Xu, *Building Churches in Northern China*.



1. Fr. Dunstanus Put (right) and Fr. Ralphus Reilly (left), ca. 1959.
[KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans - Flemish province, KFH3075]

emerged during the 1950s and 1960s, the historical studies in the architecture field pass lightly over the role of foreign missionaries in the development of Taiwanese church architecture. Even though Taiwanese scholars have paid some attention to the missionary churches, the missionaries themselves are largely omitted in their research and are only granted a supporting role as providers of European artistic taste. Recent works of Lin Wen-ling and Yu Li-pen are two exceptions to this general trend. Lin's visual study of 2012 focusses on Jesuit church architecture in Hsinchu 新竹, which she approaches as objects of transcultural processes or actions and simultaneously considers as a neutral object.[8] However, it is hard for religious architecture as a visible symbol of religion and evangelism to be neutral, while the intensions behind church architecture cannot be ignored. Yu's research of 2015 on German Franciscan church architecture in Tainan 台南 from 1950 to 1970 investigates how church constructions have been influenced by European, especially German, modern church architecture, the Liturgical Movement, and the localization intention.[9] All things considered, church buildings are the most representative architectural legacy of missionary activity and have not been studied appropriately in the fields of Catholic missionary history and architectural history in Taiwan.

This chapter departs from questions that aim to reconstruct the context in which the Belgian missionaries of the Flemish Franciscan province of Saint Joseph – henceforth the Flemish Franciscans – built their mission, adapted to the local context in Taipei in the 1950s and 1960s, and eventually contributed to the foundation of the local Franciscan province of Our Lady Queen of China in 1970. First, how did the Flemish friars materialize their architectural presence and identity in Taiwan? This question includes the issues of design, style, decoration, construction techniques and actors. Second, which buildings and memories from the Flemish Franciscans' time remain today as witnesses of a shared history between Taiwan and Belgium?

Visual and written sources, such as letters, design plans of churches, photos of construction works and other records, were retrieved from Franciscan archives in Taipei and Leuven, and complemented with interviews of friars and priests during my fieldwork in Taiwan in 2019 and 2020. The most valuable resources concern Father Gentiel Hugelier OFM 恩特里 (1896–1975),[10] who was in charge of the construction of churches. His archives include illustrated scrapbooks recording his missionary life and work in Taiwan in 1956–1969, which were sent to Belgium for fundraising.[11]

8 Lin, 'Transculturation'.
9 Yu, 'German and Taiwan Encounters'.
10 ODIS database, KADOC, http://www.odis.be/lnk/PS_12857.
11 Leuven, KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans – Flemish province, KFH 3160, 3161, 3162, 3153, 3164, 3165, 3072, 12036.

Taiwan in transition

The specific historical context of Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s impacted all societal activities, including missionary architecture. Taiwan is an island in the northwestern Pacific Ocean, surrounded by mainland China, Japan and the Philippines. Before 1895, the major part of the population of Taiwan consisted of Hokkien-speaking Hoklo people 河洛人 and Taiwanese indigenous peoples 原住民. From 1895 to 1945, the island, then named Formosa, was part of the Empire of Japan. After World War II, it was returned to the Republic of China, which then was ruled by the Chinese Nationalist Party or Kuomintang. After the victory of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in the Civil War in 1949, the Kuomintang retreated to Taiwan, accompanied by 1.1 million Chinese soldiers and refugees,[12] namely more than one-fifth of the Taiwanese population at that time. The Kuomintang established its power in Taiwan, claiming that the Republic of China was 'the only real China' compared with the People's Republic of China (PRC).

While the CPC established the PRC and set up its own 'officially sanctioned Christian and Catholic churches', all the foreign missionaries were formally expelled from mainland China in the early 1950s.[13] Many of them relocated and redeveloped their apostolate in the then British colony of Hong Kong 香港, the then Portuguese colony of Macao 澳門, and in Taiwan. Italian, German and Belgian Franciscans friars who had been missionaries in Henan, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Shandong and Hubei were assigned to three different dioceses in Taiwan by the Holy See (*Propaganda Fide*): the Italians settled in Hsinchu 新竹, the Germans in Tainan 台南, and the Belgians in Taipei.[14]

The missionaries who were expelled from China and came to Taiwan established new bases in a very short time. The different national groups of each religious community in Taiwan often meant that they were under the jurisdiction of different provinces and spoke different languages. However, despite their affiliation to the same religious order, members from different nationalities did not always work together. The Franciscans are an example of this. The Franciscan Minister General in Rome also choose a general delegate (*delegatus generalis*) to manage the apostolic work in East Asia.[15] A Belgian, Father Dunstanus Put 童達德 (1893–1974),[16] was chosen as first general delegate and served for around ten

12 Number established in recent research (2018) based on data from the household register, the Veterans Affairs Council, yearly death rate and other databases. Yap, 'Waishengren de renshu, laiyuan yu fenbu', 16.

13 Leung, 'The Missionaries'.

14 Tiedemann, *Reference Guide*, 26–32.

15 Father Thomas Chen OFM, interview by the author, Daxi (Taiwan), 27 July 2019.

16 ODIS Database, http://www.odis.be/lnk/PS_17632.

years until 1959 (Figure 1).[17] Monsignor Joseph Kuo Joshi 郭若石 (1906–1995), archbishop of Taipei from 1950 to 1959, initially assigned four places to the Flemish Franciscans to initiate their new missions: Song-Shan 松山, Nan-gang 南港, Xi-Zhi 汐止, and Rui-fang 瑞芳 up to the border with Yilan County 宜蘭縣.[18] Xi-Men-Ting 西門町 Friary in Taipei was the friars' base during the early years of the mission. From there, they spread across the area from Taipei to the northeast coast, following the railway from Taipei to Yilan.[19]

Some clergymen in Taiwan believed or hoped that the Kuomintang would reconquer China from the CPC in the near future. Because the Kuomintang, the Catholics and the Protestants had experienced persecution and expulsion from China by the CPC, they became allies once in Taiwan.[20] In the following decades, the Kuomintang government kept repeating its legitimacy and intention to counterattack and reconquer mainland China, as as there was a strong warlike sentiment in the 1950s and 1960s. Lin Cheng-Yi claims that '*counterattack China* was put back to the agenda and seemingly was prepared intensively in 1962'.[21] Yeh Hui-Fen agrees with this and further explains that Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887–1975) continued to fight against the mainland in the 1950s and 1960s. When Chiang finally did give up his plan of 'counterattack China' is a matter of debate, but it seems not earlier than the failure of the Eight-Six Naval Battle 八六海戰 in 1965.[22] Therefore, we can presume that an atmosphere of war filled Taiwanese society.

The hidden worries of the Church about war and expulsion never disappeared during that period. Two different emotions intertwined in the minds of the missionaries in the early postwar years in Taiwan. One possibility was the fear of another

17 He was succeeded by Fr. Ralphus Reilly 雷益勵 (1900–1970), one of the few friars from the American Province of Holy Name, who served as *delegados generalis* another ten years from 1959, as the head of a region that included Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and Malacca. Taishan, Archives of Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, Taiwan, *Necrologium*, unknown date, no page number.

18 Taishan, Archives of Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, Taiwan, Padre Tobias Lapolla OFM: *Storia della Provincia Francescana regina della Cina (1950–2000)* (Fr. Pogoraro OFM oral translation), unpublished. Archbishop Joseph Kuo Joshi assigned different apostolic works and specific mission fields to each congregation according to their specific charism. For instance, the Belgian Scheut Fathers of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, who were used to working in remote regions such as Inner Mongolia, were sent to the relatively remote districts of Wan-Hua 萬華, Lao-Mei老梅, and Jin-Sjan金山. Interview with Father Frans De Ridder CICM 林瑞德 (1940–), 18 July 2019.

19 Taishan, Archives of Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, Taiwan, Han Cheng-liang, 'qingzhu bilishi xiongdu laitaichuanjiao wushizhounian', [2003], unpublished, 13.; Bouwmeester and Coomans, 'The Catholic Territorialization of Taiwan'.

20 Chen, 'The Orientation of the Taiwanese Catholic Church', 8.

21 Lin, 'The ROC-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty', 160.

22 Yeh, 'Chen Cheng's Participation', 65. After the Eight-Six Naval Battle 八六海戰 in 1965, he had no choice but to postpone his plan.

war in Taiwan; the other was the expectation of a successful Kuomintang counter-attack on the mainland and the reopening of China. In both cases the missionaries would have to leave Taiwan. Consequently their work in Taiwan was likely to be temporary, and all their constructions in Taiwan had to take this into account.

The eleventh article of the contract between the Flemish Franciscans and Cardinal Thomas Tien Ken-sin 田耕莘 (1890–1967), the then Archbishop of Taipei, explicitly stated: 'The contract is valid for twenty years, and once that date has passed, if the Order has not returned to China, the latter will freely transfer its works to the Archdiocese'.[23] After the first draft of the contract, Cardinal Tien added a supplement: 'if the Order cannot keep operating [in Taiwan] due to the war or other similar situation, the high school and the school properties shall be transferred to the Archdiocese without any conditions'.[24] Later, when the European Franciscans tried to establish the Chinese Franciscan province, they explained that one of the resulting advantages would be that the Chinese friars could take over the work of the missionaries if the foreign friars could no longer stay in Taiwan and would be expelled on one way or another.[25]

Tracing archival sources in Belgium and Taiwan

Historical research on missions relies on extensive archives and requires tracing sources both in the home country of the missionaries and in the country of their mission field, in this case Belgium and Taiwan respectively. On the one hand, the archives of individual friars from the time prior to the establishment of the Taiwanese Franciscan province were preserved in the central archives of the Flemish Franciscan province, which also included other documents related to the mission, such as annual reports, fundraising materials, relations with the *Propaganda Fide*, the training of the missionaries before their departure, etc. On

23 Author's translation of: 'Conventio ista ad 20 annos valebit ita ut, haeo, tempore elapso, mutuo consensu Excellentianimi Ordinarii Taipehensis at Moderatoris Provinciae S.Iosephi in Belgio, libere renovari poaait. Attamen ai hoo tempore nondum expleto, poaaibile erit reverti ad Continentem Sinarum, Patribus Franciscanis liberum erit relinquere omnia in Archidioecesi Taipehenai opera.' The Latin agreement between the Flemish Franciscans and the Archdiocese of Taipei, 25 March 1963, approved by Propaganda Fide on 19 April 1968. Leuven, KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans – Flemish province, KFH 12036.

24 Author's translation of: 'die Mittelschule und deren Gebäude für den Fall, daß Ihr Orden selbe einmal nicht mehr weiter führen will oder kann (im Kriegsfall oder dergleichen) dann bedingungslos in den Besitz der Erzdiözese übergehen müßte'. Leuven, KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans – Flemish province, KFH 12036: a German letter from Cardinal Tien to Flemish Franciscans, 15 May 1963.

25 Leuven, KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans – Flemish province, KFH 12036: letter from Fr. Theobald Diederich 翟煦 (1911–2008) to the Father Provincial to discuss about founding a local province, 1 May 1969.

the other hand, the archives related to material property, such as land contracts, architectural plans, construction accounts, etc., remained in Taiwan and became property of the Taiwan Franciscan province.

Due to the big drop in vocations and the ageing of the Franciscan communities, the diocese gradually took over the ownership of lands and churches from the Franciscan Order in the course of the 1980s, and all the records related to the church buildings were moved to the diocesan office. The Taipei Archdiocese – which was never run by a Franciscan bishop – only preserves financial documents and some basic design drawings following the inspection requirements of the official building regulations. Neither land contracts nor church plans have been found in the archives of Taipei Archdiocese and in the archives of the Flemish Franciscans, which suggests that neither institution made any efforts to conserve building archives. After six decades, only a few records and archives related to the original Franciscan parishes remain. Today a large part of the archives relating to Franciscan building activities belongs to the Franciscan Order rather than to the archdiocese.

The memory of the first generation of church buildings and the religious communities that emerged around them is very limited. This is due both to the absence of material evidence and the lack of living memory of this era. When the Flemish friars arrived in Taiwan in the 1950s, their stay was expected to be limited in time, hence they did not consider keeping records or archiving files, which are scarce for this pioneering period. Moreover, the fathers were not that young anymore when they debarked on the island, with the consequence that there is no longer any first-hand oral history now that the last Flemish Franciscan priest, Father Ildephons De Clercq 德天道 (1928–2017), has passed away.[26] The international spread of Franciscan missionaries in Taiwan is another factor that explains the scarcity of memories of this area. Before 1961, the Franciscan Order received young vocations in China but they were sent to other countries instead of staying in Taiwan. As a result, the young friars of that generation have few memories of the senior Flemish friars.[27] Last but not least, it is intrinsic to the Franciscan religious identity to keep very few personal belongings and archives. All things considered, the oral history of the Flemish brothers and the archives of the early period have not been well collected or made accessible by the Taiwanese Franciscan province.

The archives of the Taipei Archdiocese are difficult to consult as there is no full-time archivist and the documentation center was flooded several years ago. The archives of the 1950s and 1960s are not indexed and the original maps, design plans and photos all seem to have been lost. The archives kept by the Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province in Taipei have not yet been inventoried. The provin-

26 See the website of the Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, http://www.ofm.org.hk/public/aboutus/olqc/prolist/necrologium/0712/12/1211.html (17 March 2023).

27 Father Pius Liu 劉其祥 OFM (1921–), interview by the author, Taishan (Taiwan), 15 July 2019.

cial archive room is situated in Taishan 泰山, Taipei, and cannot be easily accessed at this moment. Father Claudio Pogoraro 裴高樂 (1955-), the archivist of the Chinese Franciscan province and former provincial minister, kindly provided the church design plans and records he could find. This includes archives of a small number of mission stations, which were not transferred to the archdiocese, either because they are still served by the OFM or because they had been abandoned very early. Here it must be added that the archives of the Franciscan missions in Taiwan include documents in Chinese, Latin, Italian, German and Dutch.[28]

The archives of the Flemish province of Saint Joseph OFM in Belgium are conserved at KADOC, the Documentation and Research Centre on Religion, Culture and Society of KU Leuven. From 1843 to 1932, the Saint Joseph Franciscan province of Belgium covered the whole territory of the country. In 1932, it was divided into two different provinces: Saint Joseph province belonged to the Flemish Franciscans and the province of Marie-Médiatrice to the Walloon Franciscans. The friars who embarked for Taiwan were Flemish and thus belonged to the Saint Joseph province. The most recent change occurred in 2013, when the province of Saint Joseph became a dependent custody of the province of the Holy Martyrs of Gorkum in the Netherlands and transferred most of their archives from their central house in Sint-Truiden to KADOC in Leuven.[29] The archives of the Flemish Franciscan houses include letters, documents, personal manuscripts, images and photo albums related to missionary activities in China, Congo, Chile, Japan and Taiwan.[30] They are a remarkable source about life in Taiwan and contain first-hand information about churches and other buildings of the mission.

Father Hugelier himself was the pastor and builder of the church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Nan-Gang 南港, the construction of which he reported on in detail.[31] His aforementioned scrapbooks were written in Dutch and intended for Flemish readership. They mention that Father Hugelier asked for a 'helping hand', especially from the Poor Clares, who he called 'sisters in silence'. The cooperation pattern between friars and sisters is not mentioned much in the scrapbooks, but a list mentioning nine Flemish convents of Poor Clares was pasted on the front page.[32] The visual archives of the Franciscans also contain several albums with

28 Based on those archives, when better accessible, future studies might answer some of the questions that are left unanswered here.

29 Brother Walter Verhelst OFM, interview by the author, Leuven, 8 May 2019.

30 KADOC, *Inventaris van het beeldarchief Vlaamse Minderbroeders*.

31 Leuven, KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans - Flemish province, KFH 3162: manuscript by Fr. Hugelier, p. 3b, [1960].

32 Leuven, KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans - Flemish province, KFH 3164: manuscript by Fr. Hugelier, front page, 1961-1962. The list intended to make sure each convent has read the scrapbook and passed it to the next one, namely the convents at Bavikhove, Kortrijk, Roeselare, Sint-Niklaas, Turnhout, Boom, Dendermonde, Ghent, and Hasselt.

photographs of church buildings taken by Father Allard Coppens 王以德 (1916–1988) between 1959 and 1965.[33]

This general lack of written and visual sources can, at least partially, be compensated for by fieldwork and interviews. With the aim of collecting second-hand oral history, I visited seven churches in Taiwan and interviewed eight Catholic priests in Taiwan, including several elderly Franciscans.[34]

Church architecture and constructions

Apart from lacunae in terms of archives and memory, a second obstacle in studying the Flemish missionaries in Taiwan is the lack of material remnants of their missions. During twenty years of missionary work from 1951 to 1970, the Flemish missionaries built fourteen churches, nine kindergartens, one high school, one Taiwanese folk dancing group for children, a friary and three stations in the mountain regions.[35] Nine of the fourteen churches have since been rebuilt or demolished. The first batch of churches was treated as 'temporary' and rebuilding the church was a symbol of success for the missionaries. Only three of the fourteen have not been rebuilt and are still in use today, two have been decommissioned. Two of the fourteen were located in the military dependents' villages, nationalized residential villages for the accommodation of the numerous soldiers of the Republic of China who retreated to Taiwan in 1949. Chinese soldiers became a large part of Taiwan's population and some of them were Catholics. The friars who had been active in China before were able to communicate with them in Mandarin or dialects. Today, as a result of the success of the Franciscan mission and growing communities, nine of the fourteen first-generation churches have been replaced by new, larger buildings (Table 1).[36] Consequently, most first-generation churches are lost and only known from photos and other historical sources.

33 Leuven, KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans – Flemish province, KFH 3075: photos by Fr. Allard Coppens, 1959; KFH 3073: mission photos in Taiwan, 1959–1965.

34 Interviews carried out in Taiwan, July–August 2019 (detail in bibliography) of Fr. Pius Liu OFM, Fr. Thomas Chen OFM, Mgr. Joseph Ti-kang, Archbishop emeritus of Taipei, Fr. Claudio Pogoraro OFM, Fr. Francisco Carin Garcia CMF, Fr. Fans De Ridder CICM, Fr. Peter Fei, and Fr. Joseph Huang.

35 Leuven, KADOC, Archives Franciscans – Flemish province, 11238/2: letter from Fr. Martinus to another father, 13 February 1967.

36 Leuven, KADOC, Archives Franciscans – Flemish province, 11238/2: note by Fr. Martinus, February 1968.

Table 1. Churches built by Belgian Franciscans in Taiwan, 1951–1968, and present state of the buildings and parishes.

Date	Location	Buildings	Today's State	Parish
1951	Cheng-Gong village 成功新村	church and military dependents' village	demolished and replaced (date unknown)	active
1953	Nan-Song-Shan 南松山	church and kindergarten	demolished and replaced in 1979	active
1956	Rui-Fang 瑞芳	church and kindergarten	demolished and replaced in 1998	active
1957	Si-Jiao-Ting 四腳亭	church and kindergarten	still in use	active
1959	Xi-Men 西門	main friary with church	demolished and replaced in 1980	active
1960	Nan-Gang village 南港村	church and kindergarten	demolished and replaced in 1979	active
1961	Nei-Hu 內湖	church and high school	still in use	active
1961	Shui-Nan-Dong 水滴洞	church and kindergarten	demolished	decommissioned
1961	Jin-Gua-Shi 金瓜石	church, clinic, kindergarten and folk dancing group	still existing	decommissioned
1963	Xi-Zhi 汐止	church and kindergarten	demolished and replaced in 2019	active
1964	Nang-Gang 南港	church and kindergarten	demolished and replaced in 2020	active
1967	Lian-He village 聯合新村	church and military dependents' village	still existing	decommissioned
1968	Zhong-Lun 中崙	church and kindergarten	still in use	active
-	Yong-Chun 永春	church,[37] status of accessory buildings uncertain	uncertain	active

The aforementioned friary of Xi-Men-Ting 西門町 was well located, a ten-minute cycle ride from Taipei's main train station 台北火車站, an important place in the city center of Taipei. Upon their arrival in Taipei, the Flemish Franciscans installed a friary and chapel in a residential house in Xi-Men-Ting.[38] The original building was demolished and rebuilt in 1964 in Western style (Figure 2). The friary was well located because it was in one of Taipei's most populated areas and easily linked with houses of other religious institutes. Today, Xi-Men-Ting is still an important part of Taipei city, but much wealthier than in the 1960s.

The rest of the churches were located along the railway, which ran east–west through the archdiocese from Taipei to the northeast coast and Yilan, connecting the four Franciscan mission territories.[39] Even though the railway was not the

37 This research did not find that Yong-Chun church was a Flemish friars' church until the fieldwork was over, thus the information about this church is very limited. Perhaps the church was transferred to the archdiocese in the very early stage, and so the history and the detail of this church cannot be found.

38 Xi-Men-Ting is located near the west gate of the old Taipei city walls 臺北府城. Its name is a Chinese–Japanese hybrid: 西門 (Xi-Men) meaning 'west gate' in Chinese and 町 (Ting) meaning 'town or district' in Japanese. Therefore, the church of the friary was called 'Xi-Men church' but not 'Xi-Men-Ting church'. https://jisho.org/search/%E7%94%BA (27 July 2020).

39 Bouwmeester and Coomans, 'The Catholic Territorialization'.

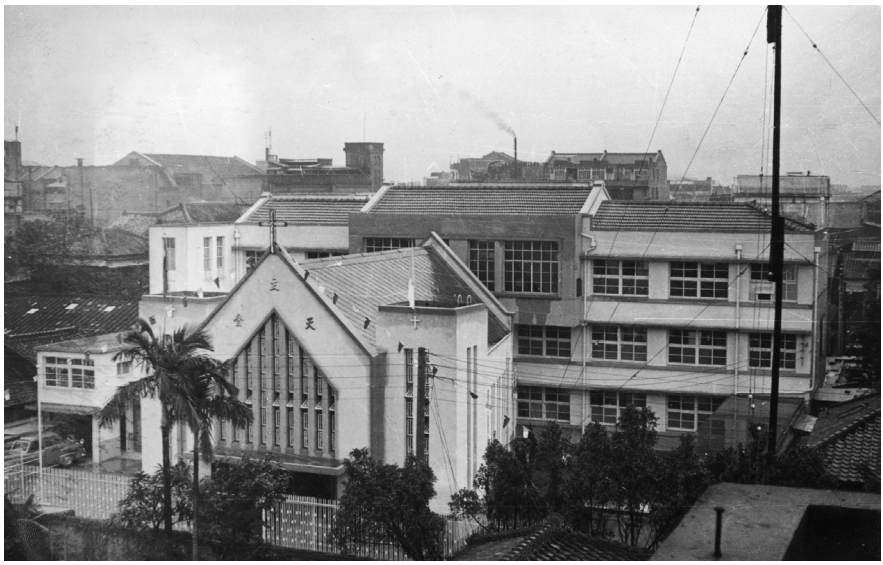
only means of transportation, it provided an easy and efficient way to move across the mountainous island.

The Flemish Franciscans were sent to several poor districts where, as usual in every new mission area, they would start by erecting a provisional chapel or station. Only when the local community had grown and had enough regular parishioners would a permanent church be built. To house the chapel, the friars usually bought or rented accommodation in Taiwanese or Japanese style and adapted it to its new use, as was the case in Xi-Men, Zhong-Lun, Xi-Zhi, Jin-Gua-Shi and Shui-Nan-Dong. In some cases, like in Young-Chun, they rented a condominium in a three- or four-story building. When the local community was stable enough, the friars would start to erect a permanent church. The construction could take many years and be realized in phases. The buildings included liturgical spaces, parish offices, the rectory and often a kindergarten.

The Franciscan churches directly faced the road and several of them – Xi-men, Nan-Song-Shan, Jin-Gua-Shi, Nan-Gang-Village and Rui-Fang – mixed both Western and Taiwanese features. In these parishes, there are two building clusters, each with different stylistic features. The church was a front-gabled building in Western style with a sloping roof, symmetrical façade, symmetrical floor plan, pointed arched front door and pointed arched windows. Many churches have a gable window above the front door; some have buttresses. By contrast, the side buildings, which included the parish office, common space, priest's residence and a kindergarten, were side-gabled and similar to common Taiwanese folk houses. The side buildings may have had a hip roof 廡殿頂 or a gable roof 硬山頂, a square window and a veranda 檐廊. Just like traditional Taiwanese houses, the groups of parish buildings usually had one or two square courtyards and all the buildings were surrounding by the low brick walls or bamboo fences. In short, the Franciscans tried to reflect the local spatial atmosphere through the architecture of the side buildings and the general layout of the mission site.

Although all the church projects of the Flemish Franciscans belonged to their collective missionary apostolate in Taiwan, they did not primarily display some form of stylistic uniformity, but resulted from the personal tastes of individual missionaries. Father Hugelier's scrapbooks, prior to the construction of the Nan-Gang church, show that he visited and photographed a dozen Catholic and Protestant churches.[40] It seems that he wanted to show Christian buildings in Taiwan to his Belgian readers in order to introduce his new church plans. Even if a building project required the agreement of the local fraternity and superior, the idea of the parish priest was still the essential factor. Moreover, in the early years

40 According to the research, the number of Protestants in Taiwan in the 1960s may have been similar to that of the Catholics. Competitions and conflicts existed under Japanese rule and extended to the postwar time.



2. Xi-Men church in Taipei, ca. 1959.
[KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans - Flemish province, KFH3075]

of the new dioceses, the local bishops had limited staff and seldom intervened in church building projects that foreign missionaries could manage themselves.[41] Along with the local bishop, the superior of the Order, parishioners and the architect, the parish priest was definitely one of the significant actors in a church architectural project in the early stages of a mission territory.

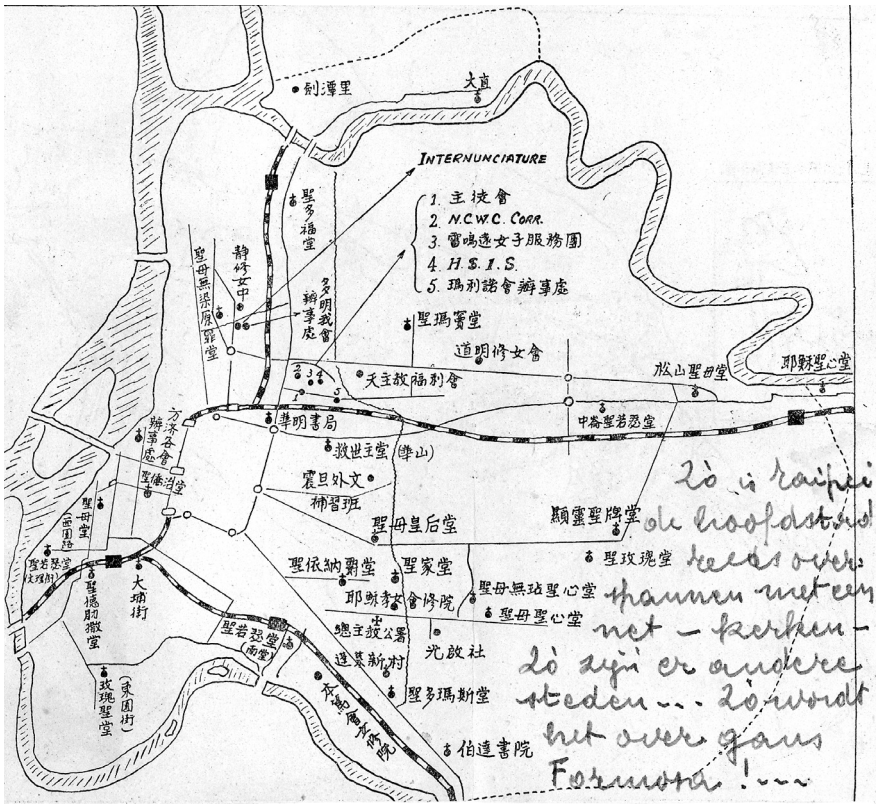
In the actual design stage, friars needed to cooperate with Taiwanese architects to obtain official approval; some talented friars might be involved in the design progress by providing ideas or special artistic skills. For example, the German Brother Lucas Roettgen 路加樂根 (1927–2007), who belonged to the German Franciscan province and worked in the diocese of Tainan for fifty years, had a special talent for stained glass and mosaic tile art.[42] During the 1960s, he designed the churches of Xia-Ting 下營, Liu-Ying 柳營, and Xian-Cao-Pu 仙草埔 in Tainan,[43] and in the 1980s the current friary in Tai-Shan 泰山 in Taipei.[44] Another architecturally skilled missionary was the Flemish Father Hendrik Daniëls 譚道源 (1907–1985), who, after having worked in China from 1933 to 1951, moved to

41 Father Huang Ching-Fu 黃清富, interview by the author, Taichung (Taiwan), 8 August 2019.

42 His work can be found in several churches in the diocese of Tainan and the archdiocese of Taipei. See Brother Lucas Roettgen's obituary, official website of the Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, http://www.ofm.org.hk/500-ofmTW/590-Necrologium/0711-rottgen-lucas/index.htm (29 July 2020).

43 Yu, 'German and Taiwan Encounters', 64–65.

44 Father Pius Liu OFM, interview by the author, Daxi (Taiwan), 15 July 2019.



3. Church map of Taipei, from the manuscript by Fr. Gentiel Hugelier. The inscription in Dutch reads: 'Taipei, the capital, is already covered with a net of churches. So are other cities. And so it will be across all Formosa!'
[KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans - Flemish province, KFH3164]

Hong Kong and Macao from 1951 to 1967, and finally was active in Taiwan from 1967 to 1985. His artistic talents included sketching, painting and printing.[45] In 1968, he designed the interior of the church of Zhong-Lun and the Lourdes grotto in the courtyard.[46]

The first churches erected by the Flemish Franciscans were relatively simple and used low-cost construction methods. These small single-nave churches usually had a capacity of around a hundred seats, sometimes around two or three hundred, and were shaped like straightforward rectangular boxes, with the main altar at the end of the long axis. Father Hugelier's scrapbooks contain pictures of church

45 Leuven, KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans – Flemish province, KFH 1133: personal archives of Father Hendrik Daniëls.

46 *Tianzhujiao taibeijiaoqu shengruose laogong zhubao tianzhutang wushizhounianqing*, Taipei archdiocese Saint Joseph the worker church 50 anniversary, 2007, unpublished, 14.

construction works showing the brick and timber structures strengthened with concrete corners, columns and floors. It is worth noting that not all the churches in Taipei archdiocese in the 1960s were as small and modest as those of the Franciscans. For instance, the Taipei Holy Family Church, built by the Jesuits in 1964, has more than 1,000 seats and was constructed from reinforced concrete.[47]

Although modest, Nang-Gang Church also included some fine details. Its liturgical space was rectangular and two small partition walls, each with a niche for a statue, stand to the right and left, separating the chancel from the nave. The chancel was one step higher than the nave and the sanctuary three steps higher than the chancel. The altar was attached to the chevet wall under a huge crucifix, which was flanked by two rows of round glass providing natural light through the wall. The side walls behind the partition walls had a row of high windows with stained glass on the southwestern side for better air circulation and an extensive fixed stained-glass window on the northeastern side, both supplying more light for the chancel. This attention to natural lighting for the chancel can also be found in Xi-Men and Zhong-Lun. In other small churches, the sanctuary was smaller than the nave and one or two steps higher, with a simple pointed arched recess in the chevet wall to locate the altar, as in Rui-Fang, Si-Jiao-Ting and Shui-Nan-Dong. The decoration was mostly limited to the sanctuary and the windows, while furniture included wooden pews or single chairs in the nave, simply marked with a cross. The seats provided kneelers and armrests because the participants were required to kneel down frequently during the celebrations before the Second Vatican Council (henceforth Vatican II). After the Council, some churches adjusted the interior – altars in particular were relocated – but most parts of the liturgical spaces remained unchanged.

Apart from their design and financial viability, the structural safety of the constructions was an important point. Nan-Gang Church, for instance, clearly shows that Father Hugelier favored a stronger construction technique to adapt to Taiwan's harsh natural conditions and withstand frequent typhoons.[48] Before his relocation to Taiwan in 1956, Father Hugelier briefly stayed in Ma-On-Shan 馬鞍山, Hong Kong, and visited Saint Francis Church, which had just been destroyed by a typhoon. He became involved in repairing the brick structure of this Franciscan church in collaboration with the local lay community. One year later, he constructed Nan-Gang Church in Taiwan with a reinforced brick structure which combined concrete and bricks to overcome the tensile forces on the

47 The user license, Public Works Department, Taipei City Government, taibeishi gongwuju jianzhuwu shiyongzhizhao cungen, Shizidi 0095, 1964.

48 Only in 1961, Father Hugelier noted six typhoons in Taiwan: Betty, Pamela, Olga, Nancy, Elsie, Sally and Tilda. A newspaper cutting reports that Pamela left 98 dead and 485 severe injured. Leuven, KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans – Flemish province,, KFH 3161: Fr. Hugelier's newspaper cuttings about typhoons, 1956, 19–27.

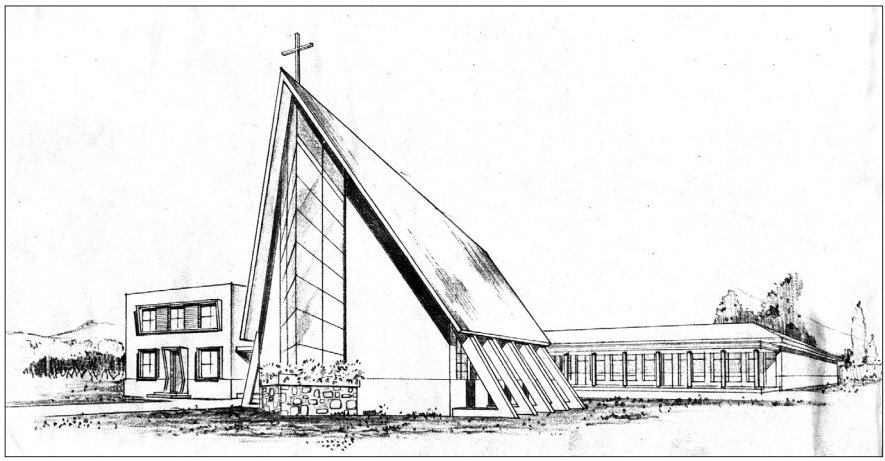
columns, the corners and the foundations. Whereas the brick structure of Saint Francis Church was erected directly at ground level, Nan-Gang Church had reinforced foundations that required trenches to be dug and that would prevent the structure from sinking further into the ground. The construction team of Nang-Gang Church was composed of the Taiwanese architect Chen Xi-Zhao 陳錫照 (date of birth and death unknown) and various local workers. Chen also signed off on the design plans as the designer. Unfortunately, so far no further personal information about him has been found. Church design could also be influenced by the natural environment. The original plan of Nan-Gang Church shows common flat windows similar to other churches (Figure 4), but the final design and the completed construction feature an original sequence of windows embedded at a certain angle in the exterior wall to withstand typhoons. The mountainous terrain often obliged the missionaries to adapt their plans and create unique architectural forms. For example, Xi-Zhi Church was a massive building with multiple entrances at different levels according to the different ground lines. This was more frequent in rural than in urban areas.

The friars had to adapt to their new working conditions and to the particular natural and cultural environment of their mission areas. It was not just a practical matter. Religious architecture is not only a material space for a particular religious event, but also constitutes an expression and public representation of the identity of a certain religious group, and as such, it can also serve as a tool of evangelization.

Not only did the Franciscans adapt the design of their churches to climate and topography, they also adapted themselves to local cultural features such as dress and language, and vernacular architecture for secondary buildings and the general layout of the parish compounds. However, the appearance of their churches and the liturgical space remained largely Western. Without exception, all the churches erected by the Flemish Franciscans in the 1950s and 1960s were modern or Western-looking.

The break of memories

Most Catholic parish communities were established in the 1950s and erected their first churches in the 1960s. Some churches or annex buildings have long since been rebuilt or converted to other uses. Meanwhile, the reconstruction of churches and the closure or transformation of parochial kindergartens can be partly attributed to the transformation of Taiwanese society over the last fifty years. Few postwar churches have been officially heritagized at the provincial level: only fourteen Catholic churches in Taiwan have been designated as monuments or registered



4. The original design drawing of Nang-Gang church, from the manuscript by Fr. Gentiel Hugelier. [KADOC, Visual archives Franciscans - Flemish province, KFH3162]

as historic buildings. The chapel of the Sacred Heart of Saint Mary's Hospital Luodong 羅東聖母醫院耶穌聖心堂 is the only one in the Taipei Archdiocese.[49]

Some of the churches mentioned in this chapter were demolished and replaced by new churches, which did not provide more space or seats but offered additional room for offices, classrooms and social spaces. This happened in Nan-Song-Shan, Nan-Gang-Village, Xi-Men, Rui-Fang, Xi-Zhi and Nan-Gang. The other churches built by the Flemish Franciscans lost their function or were also demolished and not rebuilt (see Table 1). Memories of the buildings from the time of the Belgian missionaries are scarce and the two remaining original churches have not been heritagized either. The small Si-Jiao-Ting church, built in 1959, is located near a local train station and only has sixty seats. Zhong-Lun Church, built in 1961, is the last to have been completed by the Flemish Franciscans; it was transferred to the diocese of Taipei in 1987.

Several factors explain the absence of heritagization of these first-generation churches. As earlier discussed, the replacement of the initial churches by the second generation of larger buildings expressed the success of the Catholic Church and of Vatican II. A more decisive factor was the particular Taiwanese struggle to 'counterattack and reconquer China from the Communists', which impacted postwar Taiwan, including the Catholic Church, in many ways. Against this political-religious background, it is understandable that some missionaries,

49 Completed on 23 June 1962, designated by Yilan County Government on 16 July 2005. Online sorting system, National Cultural Heritage Database Management System, Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture (Taiwan). Keywords: Catholic Church, https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/ (1 August 2020).

who had been expelled from China and relocated in the 1950s, might have considered their Taiwanese mission as an uncertain task because they would return to China in the near future or face war between the Communists and Kuomintang. In such a context, it would have been pointless to invest time, labor and resources in creating permanent and prominent church architecture. Meanwhile, Taiwan's heritage policy paid little attention to architecture of the 1950s–1960s and the Catholic Church did not develop a positive heritage attitude toward these postwar churches.[50]

Proportionally to the number of Catholic churches in Taiwan, the number of churches designated for preservation is quite low. On the one hand, the progress of designating postwar buildings for preservation in Taiwan has indeed been slow. The Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was promulgated in 1982, and provides that public buildings that the cultural value of buildings completed over fifty years ago should be assessed before disposing of them.[51] Consequently, postwar architecture was not on the urgent preservation agenda for a long time, neither public facilities nor private property. On the other hand, due to the rapid transformation of Taiwan's society and the pressure on owners to renew old buildings, the historical and cultural significance of a building is far from sufficient to outweigh the benefits of demolishing and rebuilding. Moreover, under Taiwan's current Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, once a building is designated as cultural heritage, ownership of the property shifts from private to public; the use, maintenance and alteration of cultural heritage are all then restricted to a large extent. When it comes to the heritagization of churches, the Catholic Church in Taiwan considers the human and financial burden related to cultural heritage to be far greater than the prestige of having a historical building. When national cultural heritage regulations and subsidies are unable to support private efforts to preserve cultural heritage, the designation of historic buildings poses a serious challenge.

At this point, we can say that the break in missionary memory is due to many factors, such as the lack of historical records, the age gap between the first generation of Flemish friars and the younger generation of native friars that followed, and changes in the missionary enterprise. The former two have been discussed earlier in this chapter; however, the break in the friars' memory legacy had a very different cause and brings to light the major changes in missiology thinking within the Franciscan Order over the last century.

50 The Yi-Lan Government nominated Jiao-Xi church礁溪天主堂 as a temporary historical site, but the Catholic Church contested this decision. In 2018, soon after the qualification of temporary historical site expired, the Catholic Church demolished Jiao-Xi church without permission and received a fine. Heritage lost the battle.

51 Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, Laws and regulations database of the republic of China (Taiwan) website, https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=H0170001 (28 February 2023).

While the conversion of individuals had been the most important aim of Catholic missions before the twentieth century, *Maximum Illud*, the apostolic letter issued by Pope Benedict XV in 1919, had aimed at a missiological shift.[52] The mission focus changed from 'the salvation of the individuals' to 'rooting the church' (*inplantatio ecclesiae*),[53] emphasizing the need to develop a local Church and local clergies. This new mission policy influenced missionaries across the globe, including the Franciscans in China before 1949,[54] and during the first decade of their activities in Taiwan. Young Taiwanese vocations were encouraged to join the local dioceses, while the young Chinese friars were sent as missionaries to Singapore, the United States and other countries. In another words, the Flemish friars were foreign missionaries promoting a local Church and local diocesan clergy rather than extending the Order itself in the mission territory.

Eventually, from the mid-1960s, as a consequence of Vatican II, a second missiological shift would take place among the Franciscan friars in Taiwan and aimed at rooting the Franciscan order in Taiwan (*inplantatio ordinis*).[55] If the above-mentioned *inplantatio ecclesiae* had initiated the first evangelization, founded the first Christian community, formed the first clergy, established churches, schools and health centers, and inculturated the gospel, the *inplantatio ordinis* offered the charism of Saint Francis and Saint Claire of Assisi to the local Church, opened a Franciscan Fraternity, and presented the Franciscan mission and spirit in different needs and forms of diverse cultures.[56] The two notions intertwine in the mission but have different accents in different phases. Discussions around *inplantatio ecclesiae* and *inplantatio ordinis* were typical of the Franciscan Order in this era. This missiological transformation seems reasonable in this context and might happen in a more general sense. However, I have only found the use of these two unique terms as a pair of missiological notions in the Franciscan documents, but further research should reveal similar use by other missionary congregations.

Entering this new stage of 'rooting the Order' after 1961, the community of Flemish Franciscans was reinforced with young Taiwanese and Chinese friars, the latter coming from Hong Kong: the Fathers Jerome Tung 董玉文 in 1961, Thomas Chen 申培謙 in 1964, Pius Liu 劉其祥 in 1967, and Bonaventure Tung 同冏 in 1968.[57] This was fairly late in the establishment process of the Flemish mission in Taiwan and their working experience with Flemish friars was also very limited. Yet this shift helped the Franciscan Order to explore its local vocation and

52 Taveirne, 'Re-reading the Apostolic Letter *Maximum Illud*'.
53 Among the different spellings, we use *inplantatio* (rather than *plantatio*, *implantation*, *plantation*, etc.).
54 Dujardin, *Missionering en Moderniteit*, 433–434.
55 Interview of Fr. Claudio Pogoraro OFM, 2019.
56 Brocanelli, 'La missione cuore della vita francescana', 24–25.
57 Friars Index, Website of Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, http://www.ofm.org.hk/500-ofmTW/520-friars/FriarsIndex.htm (1 August 2020).

become a part of the Taiwanese Catholic Church rather than being a mere foreign mission. However, twenty years after Father Van Steenwinkel's arrival, no friar moved back to mainland China. Instead, Western and Chinese friars merged their communities and established the new Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, which includes Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. Xi-Men in Taipei became the headquarters in Taiwan and ushered the Franciscans into the third phase of indigenizing their apostolic ministry with a generation of native friars.[58]

Conclusion

After being expelled from China, the Belgian Franciscan missionaries relocated their mission, pledged to establish new Catholic communities in Taiwan and built a range of churches. Studying the construction of these new parishes and engaging with the archives in both Taiwan and Leuven contributes to our understanding of the Franciscan mission in the complex transitional context of the 1950s and 1960s and its memory today.

These Flemish Franciscans establishing missions as assigned by the archbishops of Taipei, developed parishes according to the plan of the Franciscan Order and their previous personal missionary experiences in mainland China. Their apostolic work developed in Taipei and in the countryside along the railway line.

A typical mission station in a parish consisted of a church, a residence, educational ancillary facilities, and service spaces like a parish office and multifunctional rooms. The liturgical space was dedicated to worship, while the kindergarten and the high school were tools to reach local families and communities, a place of apostolate and social encounter, but also a source of income. In their forms and construction techniques, these churches demonstrate attempts to adapt to the local climate and cultural context. No precise information about the local workers and carpenters pictured in archival photos is recorded. Because there were very few European friars, the work tended to mostly rely on a local architect, Chen Xi-Zhao, while the friars co-supervised the local workers.

However, as discussed earlier, the lack of first-hand data, including oral histories, is the biggest obstacle to studying the first-generation architecture of the Flemish Franciscans in Taiwan. Only three or four records and archives of the original Franciscan parishes could be traced. The selection of records by the office of the Taipei Archdiocese is only based on formal criteria of building regulations. As result, today, the archives relating to Franciscan building activities, such as design plans and construction licenses, belong to the Franciscan Oder rather than the Archdiocese. Since the work of the foreign Franciscan missionaries in Taiwan

58 Han and Lai, *Zhonghua fangjihui sheng jianshi*, 10.

was taken over by local Franciscans, the archives of the former are kept in their provinces of origin. How 'shared' these scarce archives, buildings and oral history of the postwar mission heritages are might be a question.

Due to the little interest of Flemish friars in conserving their personal stories before 1961, most personal memories have faded. To a certain extent, this void of memories and historical data is less a 'missing piece of the puzzle' in understanding the broader story than it is an indication of the psychologies of missionaries who, after their traumatic expulsion from China, tried to hide themselves in service of developing a Taiwanese Church in a transitional context of relocation and uncertainty.

There are several reasons for the lack of heritagization of postwar churches. In addition to external factors – such as the lack of mandatory legal norms for preservation and evaluation of historical buildings in Taiwan, the heavy economic burden on the Church caused by the maintenance of old churches and the huge benefits of reconstruction – in terms of architectural artistic values, many of the postwar Catholic church buildings in Taiwan are relatively plain, simple and quickly constructed buildings, rather than projects of unique artistic merit. As a result, they are not only under-appreciated when it comes to their preservation, but are often not in the field of architectural research either. Yet these architectural legacies are important witnesses to the history of the Church and its missions. They inherit the European missionaries' vision of the great Chinese dream, as well as their adaptation to the Taiwanese culture and terrain, and their efforts towards evangelism and an autonomous Church. These missionary legacies may not necessarily become national monuments, or even disappear from the map one day, but through the study of missionary buildings, researchers can see missionary stories that have not been recorded in the archives, and approach history from a different perspective than that of official archives.

Research into missionary architecture in Taiwan is limited and deserves far more attention than it receives today. Architectural sites are the actual product of multiple choices and considerations. The variety of church architectures shows the complex encounter of Western (European and American) modern aesthetics and Eastern (Chinese, Taiwanese and Japanese) workers and construction techniques, with the identities, desires and current ideologies of missionaries in a particular period. Church architectural research offers a valuable angle for historical research because it allows connections with a very diverse range of methodologies and sources, from material to intangible.

Acknowledgements

This research was conducted thanks to a Taiwanese scholarship of government sponsorship for overseas study 臺灣教育部公費留學獎學金. I also express my sincere thanks to the Taiwanese Catholic Church and the Order of Friars Minor – Our Lady Queen of China Province. This research could not have been carried out without either the welcome and resources of KADOC-KU Leuven, or the 2019 MiMoRA#2 workshop in Leuven and the reviewers of this chapter.

REFERENCES

Primary sources

Hong Kong, Archives of the Order of Friars Minor-Our Lady Queen of China Province, Han Cheng-liang 韓承良: *Friars in China Necrologium* / fangji xiaoxiongdihui zaihua wangzhelu 方濟小兄弟會在中國亡者錄, 2004.

KADOC-KU Leuven, Archives Franciscans - Flemish province.

- 3160, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3164, 3165, 3075, 12036
- 2181-2186: Manuscripts by Father Gentiel Hugelier (1956, 1956, [1960], 1963-1964, 1962-1963, 1961-1962, 1969)

Taipei, Chong-Lun Church, *Tianzhujiao taibeijiaoqu shengruose laogong zhubao tianzhutang wushizhounianqing* 天主教台北總教區聖若瑟勞工主保天主堂50周年慶 [Commemorative publication of the 50th anniversary of Taipei Archdiocese Saint Joseph the Worker Church], 2007, unpublished book.

Taishan, Archives of Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, Taiwan:

- Padre Tobias Lapolla OFM, *Storia della Provincia Francescana regina della Cina (1950-2000)* (Fr. Pogoraro OFM oral translation), date unknown, unpublished book.
- Han Cheng-liang 韓承良, 'Qingzhu bilishi xiongdu laitaichuanjiao wushizhounian' 慶祝比利時弟兄來台傳教五十周年 [Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of Belgian Brothers Missioning to Taiwan], *Bilishi fangjihui zai Nan-Gang, Xi-Zhi, Rui-Fang kaijiao jinqing*比利時方濟會在南港、汐止、瑞芳開教金慶 [The 50th Anniversary of the Belgian Franciscans in Nan-Gang, Xi-Zhi and Rui-Fang], [2003], unpublished book.
- *Necrologium* / Zhonghua fangjihuisheng wangzhelu 中華方濟會省亡者錄, [2023], unpublished booklet.

The user license, Public Works Department, Taipei City Government, taibeishi gongwuju jianzhuwu shiyongzhizhao cungen 台北市工務局建築物使用執照存根 [The stub of the building use license from the Taipei City Public Works Department], Shizidi 0095使字第0095號 [No. (Shi) 0095], 1964.

Interviews by the author

Father Pius Liu 劉其祥 OFM (1921-), Taishan (Taiwan), 15 July 2019.

Father Thomas Chen 申培謙 OFM (1927-2022), Daxi (Taiwan), 27 July 2019.

Monsignor Joseph Ti-kang 狄剛 (1928-2022), archbishop emeritus of the archdiocese of Taipei, Ba-Li (Taiwan), 17 July 2019.

Father Claudio Pogoraro 裴高樂 OFM (1955-), Taishan (Taiwan), 15 July and 12 August 2019.

Father Francisco Carin Garcia 范凱令 CMF (1968-), Taipei (Taiwan), 9 July 2019.

Father Frans De Ridder 林瑞德 CICM (1940-), Wanhua (Taiwan), 18 July 2019.

Father Peter Fei 費格德 (1964-), Tainan (Taiwan), 2 August 2019.

Father Joseph Huang 黃清富 (1955-), Taichung (Taiwan), 8 August 2019.

Secondary literature

Bouwmeester, Leon, and Thomas Coomans. 'The Catholic Territorialization of Taiwan. Vatican Global Strategy and Franciscan Local Parishes, 1949-1960s'. In: Thomas Coomans, ed. *Missionary Spaces. Imagining, Building, Contesting Christianities in Africa and Asia, 1840-1960*. KADOC Artes 17. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2023, chapter 5.

Brocanelli, Vincenzo. 'La missione cuore della vita francescana'. *Vita minorum*, 80 (2009) 2, 1-68.

Camps, Arnulf, and Patrick McCloskey. *The Friars Minor in China (1294–1955)*. Saint-Bonaventure: Saint-Bonaventure University, Franciscan Institute, 1995.

Chen, Tsung-ming 陳聰銘. 'The Orientation of the Taiwanese Catholic Church during Chiang Kai-shek's Government: Sinicization in the Pursuit of Identity'. *Ching Feng*, 9 (2008–2009) 1–2, 3–21.

Coomans, Thomas. 'The Sino-Christian Style: A Major Tool for Architectural Indigenization'. In: Zheng Yangwen 鄭揚文, ed. *Sinicizing Christianity*. Studies in Christian Mission 49. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2017, 197–232.

Coomans, Thomas. 'East Meets West on the Construction Site. Churches in China, 1840s–1930s'. *Construction History*, 33 (2018) 2, 63–84.

Coomans, Thomas. 'Islands on the Mainland: Catholic Missions and Spatial Strategies in China, 1840s–1940s'. In: Thomas Coomans, ed. *Missionary Spaces. Imagining, Building, Contesting Christianities in Africa and Asia, 1840–1960*. KADOC Artes 17. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2023, chapter 3.

Coomans, Thomas. 'Church Architecture and Church Buildings: China'. In: Yik-yi Cindy Chu 朱益宜 and Kit-fun Beatrice Leung 梁潔芬, eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of the Catholic Church in East Asia*, Singapore: Springer, 2023, chapter 8.1,

Coomans, Thomas 高曼士, and Xu Yitao 徐怡涛. *Building Churches in Northern China. A 1926 Handbook in Context / Bolai yu bentu—1926 nian Faguo chuanjiao shi suo zhuan Zhongguo beifang jiaotang yingzao zhi yanjiu* / 舶来与本土—1926年法国传教士所撰中国北方教堂营造之研究, Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chuban she, 2016.

Dujardin, Carine. *Missionering en Moderniteit. De Belgische Minderbroeders in China, 1872–1940*. KADOC Studies 19. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996.

Han, Cheng-Liang 韓承良, and Li-Hua Lai 賴利華. *Zhonghua fangjihui sheng jianshi*中華方濟會省簡史 [A Brief History of Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province]. Taipei: Si gao shengjing xuehui chubanshe思高聖經學會出版社 [Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Hong Kong], 1992.

Leung, Kit-Fun Beatrice 梁潔芬. 'The Missionaries'. In: R. Gary Tiedemann, ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China. Vol. Two: 1800 to the Present*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010, 793–809.

Lin, Cheng-Yi林正義. 'The ROC-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty and Its Constraints on President Chiang Kai-shek'. *Bulletin of Academia Historica*, 47 (2016), 119–166.

Lin, Wen-ling 林文玲. 'Transculturation: Visual Encounters between Jesuit Catholics and the Natives in Hsinchu'. *Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 77 (2012), 99–140.

Taveirne, Patrick 譚永亮. 'Re-reading the Apostolic Letter *Maximum Illud*'. In: Weiying Ku 古伟瀛 and Xiaoyang Zhao 赵晓阳, eds. *Jidu zongjiao yu jindai Zhongguo*基督宗教与近代中国 [Multi-aspect Studies on Christianity in Modern China]. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press / Shehuikexue wenxian chubanshe 社会科学文献出版社, 2014, 64–87.

Tiedemann, R. Gary. *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*. Armonk-London: M.E. Sharpe, 2009.

Yap, Ko-Hua 葉高華. 'Waishengren de renshu, laiyuan yu fenbu' 外省人的人數、來源與分布 [Population, origin, and distribution of mainlanders]. *Taiwanxue tongxun*臺灣學通訊 [*Taiwan Studies Newsletter*], 103 (2018), 15–17.

Yeh, Hui-Fen 葉惠芬. 'Chen Cheng's Participation and Influence in the Planning of Recovering the Mainland'. *Bulletin of Academia Historica*, 59 (2019), 27–76.

Yu, Li-pen 于禮本. 'German and Taiwan Encounters: Church Architecture of the German Franciscan Province Colonia in Tainan's Xingying Region during 1950–970'. *Journal of Art Studies*, 16 (2015), 37–130.

Online resources

Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, Laws and regulations database of the republic of China (Taiwan) website, https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=H0170001 (28 February 2023).

Friars Index, the website of Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, http://www.ofm.org.hk/500-ofmTW/520-friars/FriarsIndex.htm (1 August 2020).

ODIS Database, https://www.odis.be/, personal pages on fathers Edmund Van Steenwinkel, Gentiel Hugelier, Martien Put (17 March 2023).

Ting / 町, https://jisho.org, 2012, https://jisho.org/search/%E7%94%BA (27 July 2020).

Online sorting system, National Cultural Heritage Database Management System, Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture (Taiwan). Keywords: Catholic church, https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/ (1 August 2020).
Personal page: Lucas Roettgen, official website of the Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, http://www.ofm.org.hk/500-ofmTW/590-Necrologium/0711-rottgen-lucas/index.htm (29 July 2020).
Personal page: Ildephons de Clercq, official website of the Our Lady Queen of China OFM Province, http://www.ofm.org.hk/000-general/frames/frame-francis.htm (17 March 2023).

Dreams, Nostalgia, and Commercialization

Telling Stories about Missionary Schools for Girls in Modern China

Jennifer Bond*

The Ningbo City Education History Museum is housed inside the former main building of Riverside Academy (*Yongjiang nüzi zhongxue* 甬江女子中學) in Ningbo, Zhejiang province, a missionary school founded in 1923 by the American Northern Presbyterian, Northern Baptist and later English Methodist missions.[1] Its forerunner, the school established by British missionary Mary Ann Aldersey in 1844, is widely thought to be the first public school for girls in China.[2] In 2003 the city authorities decided to preserve the 1923 building, and in 2013, at the cost of 15 million Chinese yuan, reopened it as a museum celebrating the long history of Sino-foreign education exchange, including an exhibition dedicated to the history of women's education on the third floor. The renovation was done after the original building plans, which are conserved in the Ningbo city archives.[3] The building today offers a glamorous advertising backdrop for the adjacent shopping mall, titled with the huge neon lettering '1844', the date of the school's first foundation.[4] The complex is complete with a Starbucks coffee shop which stands next

* 'Elements of this chapter have previously been published in Jennifer Bond, *Dreaming the New Woman: An Oral History of Missionary Schoolgirls in Republican China* (Oxford University Press, 2024).'

1 Zhu, 'Xiao shi'. In 1952 the school was taken over by the PRC government and renamed Zhejiang Province Ningbo Female Middle School (*Zhejiangsheng Ningbo nüzi zhongxue* 浙江省寧波女子中學). For more details on the school's history see Bond, *Foreign Puppets, Christian Mothers or Revolutionary Martyrs?*.

2 White, *A Woman pioneer in China*, 9.

3 Ningbo City Archives (NCA) 旧10-1-310.

4 An advertising sign reading 'Find your 1844 fun times' is rather ironic to the student of Chinese history. In 1842, China had been forced by the British to sign the Treaty of Nanjing to conclude the First Opium War, and thus marking the start of 'China's Century of Humiliation' as it is taught on the mainland today.

1. Front view of Riverside Academy, the 1844 shopping centre just visible on the right takes its name from the date of the school founded by British Missionary Mary Ann Aldersey in 1844. [Photograph by Jennifer Bond, October 2015]

to the former school, with invitingly arranged deckchairs and parasols (Figure 1). On the other side of the building, facing the Yongjiang River, the faded, but just-visible traces of a quotation from Mao Zedong, 毛澤東, 'United, tense, serious, lively' (*tuanjie, jinzhang, yansu, huopo* 团结紧张严肃活泼), the motto which he gave to the Red Army's military training school during the war of resistance against Japan, still remain. These words, which were frequently written on schools and university campuses in big characters during the Cultural Revolution, serve as a brief but tangible reminder of several decades when the status of this building as a foreign missionary school would have branded it a tool of 'cultural imperialism' and 'foreign brainwashing'. They are a reminder of a period of history that many want to forget, and references to this period are glossed over in the museum, both internally and externally. What was a missionary-funded school building, later inscribed with the words of the leader who helped China shake off the shackles of imperialism, now serves as a stylish backdrop to a successful commercial redevelopment. Republican past, Mao's China and the post-socialist present seem to have melded seamlessly together.

There have been many stories told about missionary schools for girls and their pupils over the past 150 years. One of the earliest narratives told by foreign missionaries themselves was of Christian 'uplift', in which Chinese girls were presented as passive recipients of a modernizing Western education, unbinding their feet and freeing them from arranged marriages. According to narratives of the People's Republic of China (PRC), they were labeled the 'tools of cultural imperialism' and 'aristocratic schools' for the elite – a narrative which first emerged in

the 1900s, resurfaced periodically, and then became the most enduring image of these schools after 1949. Today, in an era when a Western education and fluency in English once again confer cultural and social capital, missionary schools and their pupils have re-emerged as legitimate objects of study. As China increasingly seeks to project its soft power beyond its borders, missionary schools can be used as evidence of China's long history of interaction with the West and celebrated as early sites of Sino–foreign cultural exchange. Very few studies have sought to place missionary pupils' own voices and understanding of their school experiences at the center of the analysis.[5] Drawing on interviews conducted with missionary school alumnae, this chapter will explore and unpick the stories which have been told about missionary schools for girls in modern Chinese history.

This study probes how missionary schools have been represented in missionary writings, Republican Era print media and alumnae's memories, as well as how political narratives of these schools have changed over time. Alumnae's voices have largely been left out of the literature on missionary education and Chinese women's history. To explore how they are now reclaiming their school history in their own edited volumes of oral histories and memoirs, I conducted interviews with missionary school alumnae currently living in China, the USA, the UK and Taiwan.[6] What stories have been told about missionary schools for girls and how do alumnae's lived experiences complicate our understanding of these familiar stories? How have changes in China's modern history determined who gets to tell these stories over time? In the post-socialist present, missionary schools have largely been stripped of their turbulent republican history. Today, missionary schools have become nostalgic, imaginative and empty spaces where different groups: alumnae, state educational authorities and commercial redevelopers can envision new 'dreams', reimagining the story of these schools for different personal, political and commercial ends.

This chapter focusses on three schools in East China: St. Mary's Hall in Shanghai, founded by the American Episcopal Church in 1881; McTyeire in Shanghai, an American Methodist school founded in 1892; and Riverside Academy in Ningbo, established in 1923 by the North American Presbyterian and Baptist Missions, and joined in 1934 by the English Methodists (see Table 1 on the next page).

5 Most studies of missionary education to date have been institutional histories of Christian colleges and higher education for women, particularly Ginling College in Nanjing. See Feng, *The Making of a Family Saga*. An exception to this trend is the study by Heidi Ross of St Hilda's Episcopal middle school for girls in Wuchang, which foregrounds the experience of her mother, Yeh Yuanshuang and her mother's American Episcopal missionary teacher, Dorothea Kingsley. See Liu, *Foreign Exchange*.

6 The article draws heavily on my doctoral fieldwork in 2015–2019, when I interviewed eighty-one missionary school alumnae, who I contacted via missionary school alumnae networks and churches, using a snowball sampling technique. Research from my PhD has now been published and a full list of interviews can be found in: Bond, *Dreaming the New Woman*, 211-215.

Table 1. Missionary middle schools for girls under study

School	City	Mission	Dates	Evolution after 1949	Dates
St. Mary's Hall 圣玛利亚女校	Shanghai	American Episcopal Church	1881	Shanghai Number Three Girls' School 上海市第三女子中学	1952
McTyeire 中西女中	Shanghai	American Methodist Church	1892	Shanghai Number Three Girls' School 上海市第三女子中学	1952
Riverside Academy 甬江女中	Ningbo	1) American Northern Presbyterian 2) Northern Baptist 3) English Methodist missions	1923 1934: English Methodists joined	Zhejiang Province Ningbo Female Middle School 浙江省宁波女子中学 Today: Yongjiang Vocational High School 寧波市甬江職業高級中學	1952 1995

Place, space and memory

Historians and psychologists have highlighted that memory is sensory and affective and how memories can be recalled via visual and other stimuli.[7] In the process of interviewing alumnae, whose memories of their schooldays stretch back over eighty years to the 1930s and 1940s, I discovered that many of their reminiscences were inherently visual in form. Alumnae generally started recalling their schooldays by describing the physical layout and beauty of their campus buildings and grounds.[8] Personal and social spaces, such as the dormitories, common and snack rooms, featured prominently in many alumnae's memories.[9] The two opportunities that I had to interview pairs of alumnae, while walking around the grounds

7 There have been many studies on the interaction between memory, place and space. Drawing on Pierre Nora's work on 'Lieux de Mémoire', much recent scholarship in the field of memory studies has been done on memory and war memorials, as well as in psychology and neuroscience with theories of why memory can be sensory and affective. See for example Callard and Papoulias, 'Affect and Embodiment', 246–262; Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 7–24.

8 Some alumnae mentally walked through the school in their mind's eye, and I found myself drawing pictures, maps and diagrams in my research notes to try and capture a memory on paper that was inherently visual. Interview with Gwendoline Lee 李葵 at St John's University Reunion, 17 October 2015, Shanghai.

9 St. Mary's group interview, 11 May 2016, Beijing. Participants included Zhao Fengfeng 趙風風 (class of 1948), Zhu Wenqian 朱文倩 (class of 1953), Gu Meicheng 顧美誠 (class of 1948), Wu Qihui 吳其慧 (class of 1947) along with their former teacher, Yu Huigeng 俞慧耕 (politics teacher at St. Mary's 1949–1953).

of their former schools, were particularly rich and interesting.[10] The preservation and renovation of their original school buildings prompted site-specific memories which may not have been forthcoming had we done the interviews sitting in their homes. For example, one Riverside alumna, on seeing her former gymnasium, remembered that this building was particularly impressive for its time, that it had a spacious stage at one end and was used by many other churches and local government groups for meetings. Her memory gave me an insight into Riverside's broader function and status and the school's connection to different missions and other groups in local society.[11]

While this form of interviewing is particularly rich and fascinating from a memory perspective, we must be careful when analyzing these sorts of reminiscences. Although Riverside alumnae remembered quite accurately that their dormitories were on the third floor, there was of course a danger of contaminating their memories: the internal divisions of the exhibition space and modern lifts are certainly very new editions. More subtle differences, such as small changes to the style in which the buildings have been externally renovated, were, as we shall see, sometimes lost on alumnae. Gail Hershatter has warned of the dangers of false or 'recreated' memories. When interviewing rural women in Shaanxi province about their experiences of the Communist Revolution in 1949, Hershatter realized that one of her respondents was relating details about the soldiers' uniforms that she had probably watched on a TV show, which had no factual basis for what had happened in her village.[12]

The alumnae's history of missionary schools for girls in the first half of twentieth-century China is by no means a straightforward one, and many different versions of their story could be told. It is also a highly political and personal one, as every member of the school had different experiences and took a different path upon graduation. Collectively, alumnae's memories allow us a unique insight into how girls experienced mission education in China. By complicating and unpicking the previous narratives about these schools, alumnae's own perspectives allow for a more holistic and nuanced understanding of the role of missionary schools in modern Chinese history.

10 Interview with Fan Meiling 範美玲 and Xu Zhenzhu 徐珍珠, 28 November 2015, Ningbo City Education Museum. Interview with Xu Meizhen 徐美貞 and Xiao Jiaxun 肖嘉珣, 15 April 2016, Number Three Girls School, Shanghai.

11 Interview with Xu Zhenzhu 徐珍珠, 28 November 2015, Ningbo City Education Museum.

12 Hershatter, *The Gender of Memory*, 58.

Making Christian homes

One of the earliest and most pervasive narratives about missionary schools, told mainly from a Western missionary perspective, was part of the story of Christian 'uplift'.[13] At first regarded as a rather dubious secular enterprise, early Protestant missionaries to China soon recognized that schools and hospitals represented the most effective way of securing an audience for their message.[14] Although education for boys took off rapidly, as missionaries could capitalize on a longstanding Chinese desire for education for male children, education for girls grew much more slowly and encountered numerous difficulties. For poor families, educating girls was a waste of family resources: girls would upon marriage leave their natal families to become members of their husbands' families. Fear and mistrust of foreigners also meant that pioneers in female education faced great difficulty in attracting girls to their schools. British missionary Mary Ann Aldersey 艾迪綏(1797–1868) explained that she had to dispel rumors she had murdered all her own children and was now attempting to kill Chinese girls.[15]

Historians debate the extent to which female missionaries to China were attempting to 'uplift' Chinese women according to Western social norms. Gael Graham, Irwin Hyatt and Arthur Schlesinger have argued that the elevation of women was a direct aim of female missionaries, who were conscious participants in the cultural imperialism of the late nineteenth century.[16] In contrast, Jane Hunter has argued that missionaries did not set out to transform the position of women in Chinese society but that this was the unintended outcome of their attempts to evangelize Chinese women.[17] That evangelism, rather than the emancipation of women, remained the central concern of female missionaries working in late nineteenth-century East China is demonstrated in the correspondence of Matilda Laurence (1844–1930), the first single female missionary working for the Church Missionary Society in Ningbo from 1868 to 1931. At the early stage of her work in China, when she was faced with the impossibility of arranging marriages

13 See for example Burton, *The Education of Women in China*.

14 At the Shanghai Mission conference of 1877, education was barely discussed and had to be vigorously defended by a few missionary educators. By the conference of 1890, almost all agreed upon the value of mission education and much time was spent on discussing methods, curriculum and textbooks. See *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10–14, 1877*, Shanghai, 1878, and *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China Held at Shanghai, May 7–20, 1890*, Shanghai, 1890.

15 White, *A Woman pioneer in China*, 38.

16 Graham, *Gender, Culture and Christianity*, 2. See also Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, ix and Schlesinger, 'The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism', 7.

17 Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, 174. Hunter also explores the ways in which American missionaries drew on a traditional rhetoric of 'service' and 'domesticity' to justify their foray into the non-domestic realms which missionary work entailed. See Chapter 4, 269–270.

between the girls at her boarding school and local Christian-educated boys, whose families still desired a bride with bound feet, she argued that foot binding should not be banned in her school.[18] Laurence's main concern in this early period was thus to produce 'Christian wives for Christian men' and create self-perpetuating generations of Chinese Christian families, rather than free women from this crippling practice and elevate Chinese women for their own sake. Laurence stressed that only 'one in ten' pupils at missionary schools should be trained to 'become useful teachers for their own sex' and that the 'vast majority' should become 'intelligent and exemplary wives and mothers.'[19]

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the advent of the Social Gospel, as propounded by influential missionary speakers such as Sherwood Eddy (1871–1963), made the 'uplift' of Chinese women a more direct goal of female missionaries to China.[20] However, the doctrine of 'Christian homemaking' remained central to mission schools for girls in China throughout the Republican Era. In 1923, Riverside Academy spent 2,000 dollars to build a 'model home' on its campus, where small groups of girls took it in turns to live for several months, practicing the skills which would prepare them for their roles as China's future homemakers.[21] Both at missionary schools for girls and government schools across China, domestic education, or Home Economics as it later became known, remained a central part of the curriculum throughout the republican period. At schools where girls came from more modest family backgrounds, such as Riverside, the Home Economics curriculum included practical skills such as sewing, washing and mending clothes, cleaning, and cooking.[22] At more elite mission schools, such as St. Mary's Hall and McTyeire in Shanghai, where girls would be waited on by an army of servants at home, Home Economics was adapted to suit students' future roles in life. This included learning Western table manners, how to lay a table for a dinner party, how to entertain guests and how to bake Western cakes and delicacies. Rosalyn Koo 陳晉明 (McTyeire graduate of 1947), who styled herself a 'tomboy', remembered that she was mortified that she was required to take Home Economics: 'I refused to sew, to cook, to knit. Anything attached to the feminine I refused. That's why I said to my high school principal, "Why should I have to go into Home Economics? I have no use for that."'[23]

18 CMS Archive, G1 CH/O 1884/150, Laurence to Mr. Fenn, 7 May 1884, p. 3.
19 M. Laurence, 'Female Boarding Schools', in *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 10–17, 1877*, Shanghai, 1877, 469.
20 Thompson, 'Sherwood Eddy, the missionary enterprise, and the rise of Christian internationalism in 1920s America'.
21 Esther M. Gauss to Mr. Speer, 26 February 1920, PHS RG82-18-17.
22 'Faculty 1935 Fall' in Principal's report, 27 March 1936, NCA 旧10-1-307.
23 Rosalyn Koo (1947) in McTyeire Alumnae Association, eds., *Telling Women's Lives*.

Rosalyn's rejection of 'traditional feminine roles' leads us to the question: how did missionary-educated Chinese women respond to the message that their primary contributions to the nation should be via their roles as modern, educated and hygienic housewives and mothers? Much to early missionary educators' dismay, many of the first generation to receive an education at missionary schools for girls saw their teachers as role models of women who had chosen not to marry in order to pursue more fulfilling careers. Many missionary-educated women in this period chose to remain single and put their education to use by becoming China's first teachers, doctors, nurses, and eventually by the 1930s, lawyers and bank mangers.[24] Missionary education, designed to produce the perfect Christian homemaker, ironically provided Chinese women with the role models and crucially the skills, connections and networks of support they needed to remain single and pursue careers outside of the home. Trying to allay fears within the missionary and Chinese community that education would make women unfit for their traditional roles as wives and mothers, missionaries continued to stress the important role played by domestic education in their school curriculum. Despite their declarations in support of traditional roles for women, missionaries were not above helping their female pupils escape from marriages which they deemed morally or spiritually harmful. For example, Ding Maoying 丁懋英 (McTyeire class of 1910), was engaged to a man who smoked opium. Her great-niece, Ding Yuming 丁毓明 (McTyeire class of 1941), remembered how, with the help of the headmistress of McTyeire, Helen Richardson (1864–1917), her auntie was able to escape this marriage and pursue a medical degree in the USA:

> Ding Maoying, my grand-aunt, went to McTyeire [...]So she finished high school and my great-grandfather wanted her to get married to a young man that the family had fixed for her. This young man smoked opium [...] and my grand-aunt said, 'no' I am not going to marry this man, I don't want a husband who smokes opium. So with the help of a missionary teacher from McTyeire, a Methodist missionary from Mississippi, she was able to escape before the day she was going to get married. They helped her get out, and they financed her to apply and come to Mount Holyoke College in the United States [...] then she finished her studies at the University of Michigan medical school. At that time her father did not want to give her any money, so they gave her a Barbour Scholarship for Oriental Women.[25]

24 The careers which women could pursue changed across the Republican Era. While the first generation of missionary graduates were limited to the traditional caring feminine professions of nursing and teaching, by the 1930s graduates of missionary schools included China's first female lawyer and bank manager. Cecilia S. L. Zeng / Cheng Xiuling 程修齡 (McTyeire class of 1920) and Yan Shunzhen 嚴順貞 (McTyeire class of 1910) became a pioneering Chinese female lawyer and female bank manager respectively. See Chen, *Zhongxi nüzhong*, Vol. I, 164.

25 Interview with Ding Yuming, 9 November 2016, San Mateo.

Upon her graduation from Michigan, Ding Maoying returned to China to start the first obstetrics and gynecology hospital for Chinese women in Tianjin, which later developed a pediatrics department.[26] Therefore, while producing the perfect Christian homemaker remained a central goal of the missionary enterprise, alumnae's memories show us how pupils used the education they received at school for their own ends, to pursue careers which took them well beyond the domestic sphere.

'Aristocratic schools' or *guizu xuexiao*

According to one Shanghai newspaper report, by 1946 McTyeire had become Shanghai's 'most aristocratic school for girls'.[27] The history of McTyeire is atypical of most missionary schools which developed in late nineteenth-century eastern China.[28] It was the brain-child of Young J. Allen 林樂知 (1836–1907), who believed the best way to convert Chinese people to Christianity was via the elite. McTyeire was thus established in 1892 to cater for the growing demand for female education amongst China's reform-minded gentry. By the turn of the century, Chinese reformers, humiliated by negative Western depictions of China and anxious about the increasing encroachment on China's borders by imperial powers, sought to strengthen the nation via promoting women's education.[29] Despite the growing number of Chinese-run private schools for women, such as the Chinese School for Girls *Jingzheng Nü shu* 經正女塾, which was opened by a group of like-minded reformers in Shanghai in 1898, missionary schools had started half a century earlier and were thus more numerous and well established at this time.[30]

26 Interview with Ding Yuming, 9 November 2016, San Mateo.

27 Sha Luo, 'Zhongxi nüxiao hao fengguang', 7.

28 McTyeire was significantly more expensive than any other school in East China. For example, in 1926–1927, McTyeire was the most expensive school for girls, with an annual tuition fee of 156 dollars for senior boarders, followed by St. Mary's at 120 dollars. This was significantly higher than the average tuition fees in East China of 74 dollars. The schools were thus much wealthier than the average missionary school in East China. They were also better equipped in terms of buildings, science equipment, music equipment and library books. Cressy, 'Middle School Standards, Second Study', 87.

29 Drawing on ideas of Chinese fetal education and social Darwinist principles, Liang Qichao (1873–1929) directly related the position of women's education to the strength and vitality of the nation: 'education for women will enable them to assist their husbands on the one hand and instruct their sons on the other; in the short-term it will benefit the household, in the long term it will benefit the race.' Liang Qichao cited by Bailey, *Gender and Education in China*, 21. For more on 'fetal education', the longstanding belief that certain influences encountered by the mother could be transmitted to the foetus in the womb, see: Bai, 'Children and the Survival of China'.

30 Bailey, *Gender and Education*, 25.

As all-female and often boarding institutions, they were also seen as 'safe' options where girls would be cloistered away from male eyes. As Shanghai grew to become China's most important treaty port, merchants and reform-minded gentry flocked to the city to exploit the commercial opportunities it offered. It was this class of gentry-merchant elite that most desired missionary education for their daughters. For example, Zhang Long 張瓏 (McTyeire class of 1947) explained that her grandfather Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 (1867–1959), former president of Jiaotong University and a co-founder of the Commercial Press in Shanghai, was a late Qing official, Hanlin scholar and supporter of Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929). He shared Liang's progressive ideas about women's education so he hired a private tutor for his daughter and sent his granddaughter to McTyeire.[31]

As Wang Zheng, Susan Glosser and others have explored how, during the political, social and cultural awakening of the May Fourth Period, the modern, Western-educated Chinese man in the 1920s desired a companionate marriage to a modern, educated woman.[32] A Western-educated daughter-in-law, schooled in perfect American or British English, with Western manners and habits, therefore became increasingly desirable in the urban marriage market. By the 1920s–1930s, going to an elite missionary school for girls, such as St. Mary's or McTyeire, had become an essential status marker for the social elite or those aspiring to this status. The Song 宋 sisters all briefly attended McTyeire before they left for the US, and seven of the eight daughters of the Guo 郭 family who owed the Yong'an department store in Shanghai (上海永安百貨公司) sent their daughters to St. Mary's.[33] These schools had also become a vehicle for upwards social mobility. Mae Yih (McTyeire class of 1946) remembered: 'My parents sent me to McTyeire because my mother said all the ambassadors' wives came from McTyeire [...] It was a kind of a prestige. It's the elite school for elite members of society. So if you want to be elite, your daughters have to go to McTyeire.'[34]

There is thus evidence to suggest that this elite or 'aristocratic' label was not unjustified or even unwelcomed in the case of St. Mary's and McTyeire in the republican period. However, after 1949 this status became a problem for alumnae, who over the course of the political campaigns in the next few decades were targeted for their bourgeois family background and for having received a 'foreign' education. Today, alumnae reject or try to distance themselves from this label when relating their school experiences. Indeed, members of both St. Mary's and McTyeire, which were rival schools in Shanghai during the Republican Era, told

31 Interview with Zhang Long, 6 July 2016, Yan'an Hotel, Shanghai.

32 Wang, *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment*,; Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915–1953*.

33 Xu and Chen ed., *Shengmaliya nüxiao*, Vol. 1, 56.

34 Mae Yih in McTyeire Alumnae Association, ed., *Telling Women's Lives*. I could not find this student's Chinese name.

me that their school was more 'down to earth' and less 'aristocratic' than the other.[35] They were thus still competing, but this time to shed rather than shore up their reputations as the most exclusive schools for girls in China. Alumnae in the USA who had left China shortly before 1949, having not lived through the Cultural Revolution, were not so sensitive about this 'aristocratic' label. To combat this negative reputation, many of the alumnae in China stressed how they dressed in a 'toned down' way at school, with no make-up, expensive clothing or jewelry allowed. Zhang Long (McTyeire class of 1947) recalled how her classmate was sent home from school one day for wearing red nail polish: 'So it's rather strict. We never used makeup and we never dressed too fantastically. We were allowed to curl our hair, but we didn't maybe until senior [high].'[36]

The portraits of graduates dressed in immaculately tailored qipao with shaped brows and permed hair who adorn the glossy pages of the schools' leather-bound embossed yearbooks sometimes belie alumnae's protestations that their schools were really quite 'toned down' or 'humble' places (Figures 2–3). However, as we shall see, memories of alumnae reveal that missionary schoolgirls did police their own appearance, and that of their teachers, based on their own understanding about appropriate feminine behavior at the time.[37] During the 1930s there was increasing concern in Chinese society about the 'fake' or 'pseudo-modern' New Woman who flaunted her Western-style education, dress and appearance simply to make a good match on the marriage market. This rather frivolous 'modern-girl' type was often contrasted unfavorably to the patriotic 'New Woman' who put her education to good use and worked diligently for the country.[38].

A concern to maintain their patrician status and distinguish themselves from this type of flashy and fake New Woman is also apparent in alumnae's memories. Rosalyn Koo recalled how she was almost expelled for leading a class rebellion against a new Chinese language teacher who did not conform to McTyeire girls' standards of how a high-class, well-educated Chinese woman should comport herself.[39] Her classmate Zhang Long elaborated on how this teacher's appearance was doing harm to their school's reputation:

35 Focus group with St. Mary's alumnae, 11 May 2016, Beijing. Interview with Zhang Long, 6 July 2016, Shanghai.

36 Interview with Zhang Long, 6 July 2016, Shanghai.

37 See for example 'The Graduating Class', in *The McTyerian*, Shanghai, 1934.

38 In 1934, as China's territorial sovereignty was increasingly infringed by the expansion of Japanese imperial ambitions, Chiang Kai-shek's government sought to militarize and rejuvenate Chinese society through the New Life Movement (*Xin shenghuo yundong*, 新生活運動). Drawing on elements of Confucianism, Christianity and anti-communist ideologies, the New Life Movement policed men's and women's bodies and reinforced women's primary contribution to the nation through their roles as modern, educated and hygienic housewives. See Yen, 'Body Politics, Modernity and National Salvation'.

39 Interview with Rosalyn Koo, 5 November 2016, San Mateo.

2. Group portrait of McTyeire Graduates, in front of Richardson Hall today 'May Fourth' Hall (wusi tang 五四堂).
[Image from Methodist Archives and History Center, Drew University, New Jersey, 1684-6-7-11. Reproduced with permission]

3. St. Mary's graduation ceremony, circa 1947. Graduates are dressed in white, with a flower unique to their class attached to their qipao.
[Photo courtesy of Guo Lin 郭琳]

> Once there came, a Chinese teacher, Miss Wang, to teach us Chinese. She dressed herself in a very unusual way, not the way a McTyerian would do. She came with full high heels, lipstick, and we did not like her. She wore her qipao very tight, and very full high heels, we did not like that, because no teacher was dressed like that [...] I think [Principal] Xue Zheng 薛正 understood that she was not actually a good teacher for us, so at the beginning of the next semester we did not see her.[40]

Not all students who attended McTyeire and St. Mary's were moving in the circles of the Song sisters or shopping with the daughters of the Yong'an department store. Others, such as Lucy Hong Lüming 洪侶明 (McTyeire student from 1941 to 1945), were daughters of Chinese clergymen or teachers at missionary universities.[41] There was also a scholarship at St. Mary's for students from a Christian family background who could not afford the fees.[42] Alumnae's memories generally gloss over the social tensions and divisions that may have existed within the school. However, the experience of newcomers who entered the schools after 1949 when, under PRC government control the school fees were dramatically reduced, reveal that a certain amount of snobbery did exist. According to Tao Xiafang 陶霞芳, who attended McTyeire from 1950–1956, the senior girls looked down upon newcomers such as herself for being from less socially elite families.[43] Whether defending their patrician status and reputations as patriotic Chinese New Women, or defining themselves as 'down to earth' in the post-Mao Era, the labels of 'elite' and 'foreign' has persistently dogged missionary schools and their graduates.

'Running dogs of foreigners'

The accusation that missionary education 'denationalized' Chinese pupils, making them into the passive 'puppets' or 'running dogs' of foreigners who were actively contributing to the cultural and economic invasion of China, was perhaps the most persistent and negative label that missionary schools were branded with over the course of the twentieth century. This has also been a cyclical image, re-emerging with slightly new features with every fresh peak of anti-foreign and anti-imperialist nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Fears about the interventions of foreign missionaries in China can be traced back to the series of unequal treaties that China was forced to sign after the Opium Wars. The most long-lived and perhaps hated term of these treaties was the system of extraterritoriality, which granted foreigners in China immunity from Chinese

40 Interview with Zhang Long, 6 July 2016, Shanghai.
41 Interview with Lucy Hong and Cao Shengjie, 22 October 2016, Shanghai, 23:30.
42 See 'The Alumnae Scholarship', *The Phoenix*, Shanghai, 1932, 92.
43 Interview with Tao Xiafang, 2 August 2018, Shanghai.

laws. Hostility to foreign missionaries, who were not backward in making use of these powers to interfere on behalf of their converts in local court cases, helped to spark the Boxer Uprising of 1900–1901, when several hundred Christian missionaries and thousands of Chinese Christians were killed.[44] Strident, sometimes openly militaristic language used in Christian publications documenting the spread of Christianity in China, such as the *Christian Occupation of China* (1922), fueled fears amongst Chinese intellectuals about the level of encroachment of what they saw as a 'foreign' religion into civic life in China.[45] In 1922, an Anti-Christian Association was formed in response to the meeting of the World Student Christian Federation in Beijing that year.[46] Calls for patriotic Chinese citizens to 'take back control' of educational rights grew in this period amongst leftwing Chinese students and intellectuals.[47] In the aftermath of the shooting of Chinese protestors by British police in Shanghai on 30 May 1925, newspapers across the country called on patriotic students to leave their schools lest they be branded the 'running dogs of foreigners.'[48]

The most damning of the indictments about the unfair treatment of Chinese students came from missionary school pupils themselves.[49] There were several high-profile walkouts of missionary schools, most famously at St John's University where, when President Francis Lister Hawks Pott 卜舫濟 (1864–1947) refused to admit outside representatives of the student movement to speak on campus or allow the national flag to be flown at half-mast when classes were not in session, over half the college students and three-quarters of the middle school students chose to leave the university.[50] For missionary schoolgirls in East China, tensions came to a crisis point in 1927 when, in the aftermath of Chiang Kai-shek's 蔣介石

44 A particularly notorious case was the attempted murder of German Society of the Divine Word missionary, George Stenz, in Shandong province on 1 November 1897 in what became known as the Juye incident. Stenz was particularly active in interfering in local lawsuits on behalf of his converts, causing widespread hostility in local society. Although Stenz survived the attack, two fellow German missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word, Richard Henle and Francis Xavier Nies, were killed. Germany used the incident as a pretext to seize the port of Jiaozhou, making it part of their territories in Shandong province. For more see Cohen, *History in three keys*, 20.

45 Stauffer, ed., *The Christian Occupation of China*.

46 For more on the Anti-Christian Movement see Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*, and Yip, *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students*. See also Han, 'Shouhui jiaoyuquan yundong zai shen guan'.

47 The movement made use of quotations from Christian Education in China and the slogan 'Restore Education Rights' was first coined by Yu Chia-Chu in his article 'The question of religious education' published in the journal *Chinese Education Review* in 1923. See Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, 236.

48 Gan, 'Fenggao na hai liu bu li jiaohui xuexiao de tongxue ji juhua'.

49 Lin, 'Tuoli jiaohui xuexiao de ji zhong yuanyin'.

50 Perry, 'Managing Student Protest in Republican China', 8.

Northern Expedition to reunify the country under Guomindang rule, there was widespread anti-foreign violence which targeted missionary schools. President of the University of Nanjing, Dr. John Williams 文懷恩 (1871–1927), was killed and several missionary schools were occupied by radical leftwing middle school students and teachers from local schools. Many missionary schools were forced to close at this time, some of them never to reopen.

At Riverside, Margaret Van Boli 範博理 was a rather unlikely rebel, who became caught up in this patriotic fervor between 1925 and 1927. The daughter of a Chinese pastor, her mother had also received a missionary education and founded the first school for girls in Zhenhai 鎮海, Zhejiang province, at the end of the Qing dynasty.[51] Margaret's writings in the school's magazines reveal her to be a very Christian and left-leaning student. In 1925 she wrote an article entitled 'Church activities in China', which detailed how Christianity could help China, listing improved 'hygiene', 'spirituality' and 'agrarian production' as some of its benefits.[52] She also reveals her Social Gospel and left-leaning sympathies in another article entitled 'A meeting at the factory', where she explains why giving up time and money to convert factory workers to Christianity and educating them to improve their minds and bodies is a worthwhile task. She explained that '[i]f we want people to have equal treatment and social standing, we must emphasize what Jesus said, that He came for all the world and take steps to realize it.'[53]

Margaret was thus a devout Christian, socially minded and patriotic student when the student protest against the shooting of Chinese protestors in Shanghai broke out in 1925. However, she was forced to choose between her missionary school and her patriotic sensibilities by the heavy-handed actions of Riverside principal Dora Zimmerman (1879–1960), who expelled Margaret when she refused to publicly deny her attendance at a patriotic rally. After her expulsion, she became radicalized and signed up to join the Northern Expedition to unify the country.[54] We know from famous writer Xie Bingying's 謝冰瑩 (1906–2000) *Autobiography* and *War Diaries* that for women to join the army was widely regarded as a radical and unfeminine step in this period.[55] Margaret's family was horrified by her decision. As her brother Fan Aishi 範愛寺recalled, their father followed her from Ningbo to Shanghai to Suzhou. When he finally caught up with her in Nanjing he was shocked: she wore the torn and bloodied clothes of a soldier and was ill.[56]

51 Interview with Pastor Fan Aisi, 27 November 2015, Ningbo.
52 Van, 'Church Activities in China', 5.
53 Van, 'A Meeting at the Factory', 6–7.
54 Interview with Pastor Fan Aisi, 27 November 2015, Ningbo.
55 Tsui, (transl.), *Autobiography of A Chinese Girl*; Xie, *Xin congjun riji*.
56 Interview with Pastor Fan Aisi, 27 November 2015, Ningbo.

While Margaret's decision to rebel against her school principal is certainly one example of how students reacted when forced to choose between Christianity and their patriotic feelings in this period, it does not tell the whole story. In contrast to Margaret, other students found that in face of this anti-Christian and anti-foreign hostility their faith and patriotism could become mutually reinforcing. Many students found in the gospel of 'social service' that they had been taught at school a means by which to justify their school's patriotic and Christian contributions to society. A good example is provided by another Riverside student named Yang Yinsui 楊音綏. Although we know little about Yang's family background, from her writings in the Riverside school magazine we can see that she, like Margaret, was both a very patriotic and Christian student. In 1927 she also attended a patriotic rally for students in Ningbo, but in this case she went with the goal to defend her school.[57] Yang cleverly invoked the incontrovertible spirit of Sun-Yatsen 孫中山, the father of the Chinese Republic and figurehead of the 1911 Revolution, and his 'Three People Principles'[58] to disarm those who wanted to denounce Christianity:

> This Monday they wanted to hold a meeting against Christ (anti-Christian). Then I stood up and said, 'Freedom of religious belief is in the Three People's Principles. I confess I am a Christian. I cannot oppose Christ! They heard it. They couldn't speak any word for five minutes. Later they changed the name of the (proposed) meeting.[59]

In the summer of 1927, Riverside was occupied by a local group of middle school teachers and students calling itself the 'Committee for the Quick Taking Back of Education Rights'. Yang and another Riverside pupil, Chen Aizhen 陳愛貞, were part of a group of more than twenty Riverside students and five teachers who voluntarily remained over the summer vacation, occupying the third floor to ensure that the school would not fall into the hands of the anti-Christian group.[60] The 1931 Riverside magazine allows us an insight into how patriotic students, such

57 Yang Yinsui, 'Ben xiao bei [shouhui jiaoyu quan jijin hui] zhanju shi de huiyi', 1-2.

58 Sun Yat-sen, known as the 'Father of Nation' in mainland China, was the figurehead of the 1911 revolution which ended the Qing dynasty, and the founder of China's Nationalist Party, the Guomindang in 1912. Sun's nationalist thinking was most famously developed in his Three People Principles (*Sanmin zhuyi*, 三民主義) of 'Nationalism' (*minzu zhuyi*, 民族主義), 'Democracy' (*minquan zhuyi*, 民權主義） and 'People's Livelihood' (*minsheng zhuyi*, 民生主義). These principles became principal tenants of the Republic after the Guomindang victory in 1927 and became a compulsory subject of study in civics classes in schools in the 1930s. For more on Sun Yatsen see Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*.

59 PHS RG82-32-10, Esther E. Gauss, Letter to friends from Shanghai, 9 May 1927.

60 Central China Mission, Presbyterian Church in the USA, Annual report, 1926–1927, PHS MR7-PA-ZCAS, 15.

as Yang and Chen, effectively combined their patriotism with Christianity in this period. In her article entitled 'The smallest contribution of mission schools for girls towards modern China' Chen writes:

> Lately the outside world's opposition to mission schools for girls has been extremely thick. Their attack of us is truly very harmful, we know that they want to blot out in one stroke our mission schools for girls, to sweep them away. In the summer of 1927, this school also suffered this kind of intimidation. In Ningbo prefecture (Zhejiang province) there were several schools, in a similar situation to us [...] Was their interference in the end correct or incorrect? [...] What value did our missionary school still have? [...] I fear that they wrongly blamed us, now we will narrate our special contribution.[61]

Her article then goes on to outline three ways in which missionary schools for girls have made a great contribution to China: by educating women who would previously be denied an education, by cultivating girls who create happy Christian homes, and by providing primary school teachers for poor village children.[62]

Chen's case reveals a little-told part of the story of Chinese Christianity: faced with increasing hostility, Christian women were forced to justify their contributions to society, forging as they did so a unique gendered vision of Protestant Christianity for China. Ryan Dunch has explored how in early twentieth-century Fuzhou, Fujian province, Protestants were effectively able to combine their patriotic and Christian ideals, becoming leaders in civic and nation-building activities in the city.[63] Like their male counterparts in Fuzhou, Christian-educated women in Zhejiang province were effectively able to combine their Christianity with nationalism to defend their contributions to society. However, missionary schoolgirls in Zhejiang went a step further, using a gendered rhetoric of 'service' to argue that they, as educated Chinese Christian women, were uniquely able to uplift their downtrodden female compatriots. Much as their missionary educators had done, girls justified their entry into hitherto-barred spheres of activity through a traditional gendered rhetoric of 'service', which was sanctioned by the mutually reinforcing demands of Christianity and nationalism.

After 1927, the nationalist government mandated the registration of all missionary schools. The registration requirements stipulated that schools must have a Chinese principal, a majority of Chinese board members, and that religious education and church attendance must be non-compulsory.[64] The schools that registered in the 1930s thus became much more secular and more Chinese. Records

61 Chen, 'Jiaohui nüxiao duiyu xiandai zhongguo zui shao xiandu de gongxian', 42.
62 *Ibid*., 43.
63 Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857–1927*.
64 Lew, 'The interpretation of Clause five for the government registration of mission schools in China'.

from Riverside Academy show that students from a Christian family background decreased from 42 percent in 1929 to just 14 percent by 1937.[65] Similarly, by the 1930s–1940s many alumnae felt that McTyeire did not have a particularly strong religious atmosphere.[66]

The image of mission schools as being simply the 'brainwashed pawns of foreigners' or 'aristocratic schools' for the elite is therefore too simplistic to capture the diversity of real lived experiences of pupils who attended these schools in the republican period. Although in the Mao Era these labels were reapplied with a new vengeance, particularly during the Cultural Revolution, the memories of missionary school alumnae challenge these persistent narratives. The rising tide of nationalism and growing hostility to missionary schools actually allowed some Chinese women to assert their own gendered vision of how Christianity could benefit the Chinese nation and position themselves as leaders of society through their social service contributions.

Dreams, nostalgia and commercialization since reform and opening

In 1952, three years after the founding of the PRC, missionary schools, other private schools and colleges across China were disbanded, merged and reorganized into the government education system (see Table 1). In Mao's China, missionary schools were largely off limits as a subject of enquiry beyond their condemnation as tools of cultural imperialism. Today, more than forty years on from the reform and opening policies of 1978, missionary schools have again become legitimate objects of historical enquiry. There has been a plethora of studies both in English and Chinese on the topic of missionary schools since the 1990s.[67]

In a political moment when China is attempting to spread its economic, technologic and soft power across the world, missionary schools have themselves been reinterpreted as sites of Sino–foreign exchange and part of China's global history. Local governments seek to stress the cosmopolitan history of their cities' educational establishments, at least on an external or surface level. In 2015, after having stood derelict for decades, Riverside Academy was reopened as the Ningbo City Education History Museum (as mentioned above). The introductory plaque which

65 Principal's Report, 16 April 1932, NCA 日10-1-307.

66 Interview with Zhang Long, 6 July 2016, Shanghai, 1:08.

67 Indeed, scholars of Christianity in China today are attempting to write the history of Christianity back into China's Labor and Communist Party history. Recent studies have highlighted the efforts of Christian organizations such as the YWCA to educate poor working factory women at night schools. See Zhao, 'Jidujiaohui yu laodong wenti',183–209; Niu, 'Lingyi zhong funü yundong', 234–282.

outlines the school's history, although celebrating Riverside's forerunner as the first school for girls in China, makes no mention of its missionary roots.[68] While utilizing the aesthetics of Western architecture to signpost the cosmopolitan history of Ningbo, the role of foreign missionaries as the frontrunners in girls' education in this period is still not a topic which local governments wish to emphasize in their regional educational history. While appropriating the aesthetics of Republican Era Western-style architecture for commercial gain, authorities do not want to draw too much attention to who the original founders of these buildings were, where the money came from or why they were in China in the first place. Although the story of China's national humiliation by foreigners is told in detail inside the museum, externally at least the government wishes to present a strong and confident cosmopolitan China which takes pride in its cultured past and looks forward to its bright future.

Today, missionary schools have become part of a cosmeticized cultural nostalgia as the republican past is appropriated and repackaged for a post-socialist Chinese present. In an era of massive reconstruction, demolition and commercial redevelopment, it is remarkable that some missionary school buildings, such as Riverside, have been preserved. From the ways former missionary schools were integrated into urban redevelopments, it is clear that commercial developers have capitalized on an appreciation for republican-style architecture, appropriating a nostalgia for a romanticized Sino-Western cultural past (which has largely been sanitized of the anti-foreign tensions described above) to market a modern, cultured and cosmopolitan lifestyle to consumers today.

Western style blue and red brick buildings from the Republican Era, characterized by features such as arches, porticos, balconies and porches have been preserved, restored and imitated in many commercial redevelopment projects in the past few decades.[69] In Shanghai's former French Concession, many Republican Era mansions have been preserved as part of the city's architectural heritage. Newly built luxury housing and shopping developments which imitate this style can

68 The inscription reads: 'Ningbo School for Girls, the predecessor of Yonjiang Girls High School, founded in 1844, was the first girls' school in China. The building, erected in 1922 and then burned in the wars twice, was rebuilt in 1951. Designated as a Ningbo cultural relic protection site in 2003, it was renewed with an investment of RMB 15 million yuan in as Ningbo Museum of Education 2013. The tablet was established by Ningbo People's Government in May 2015.' 'Tablet inscription for Ningbo Museum of Education' (Ningbo shi jiaoyu bowuguan beiji, 宁波市教育博物碑记), erected by the Ningbo City Government (*Ningbo shi renmin zhengfu li* 宁波市人民政府立), May 2015. In a very similar style, but on a larger scale, the Suzhou City Education Museum was opened in 2017. The role of missionary education for girls is also downplayed within the museum's displays, which lump missionary schools together with private schools for girls established by individual Chinese reformers.

69 For more on Republican Era missionary school architecture see Cody, 'American Geometrics and the architecture of Christian campuses in China'.

also be found in this part of the city, providing a startling juxtaposition to the glass skyscrapers nearby in Jing'an temple district.[70] Arlif Dirlik has explored how the global architecture in Shanghai is itself a form of 'occidentalism – a sort of imagined futurism'.[71] When this imagined futurism, in the form of revolving restaurants at the top of glass skyscrapers, is placed alongside nostalgic but nationalized visual references to the republican past, this occidentalizing effect, essentializing the West, is magnified. But it also underlines a larger politicized national story: such a contrast invites the viewer to marvel at the speed of China's development and modernization, conveniently erasing the traces of the economic disasters of Mao Era politics. It also reminds the well-heeled inhabitants of the new luxury apartments and shops of the long history of Shanghai's interaction with the West, signaling their global modernity. As Dirlik explains, local elites, who were often created in the colonial project themselves, have come forward as the 'vanguards of globalization in formerly colonial societies and candidates for membership in the newly emergent transnational capitalist class.'[72] Emphasizing a connection to these symbols of a globally circulating Sino–foreign cultured modernity is in fact a very desirable (and lucrative) image for businesses, shops and developments in China today.[73]

The redevelopment of St. Mary's in Shanghai is an example of this phenomenon. In 2016, St. Mary's was 'rebuilt' in mock-Spanish style on its original site, which now functions as the venue for a German pub and Singaporean-sponsored shopping complex.[74] The school chapel, the only surviving original building, has been renovated, and although its exterior remains intact (minus the Christian crosses that sat atop the chapel), the interior has been stripped away, with all religious elements removed. The former church itself is dwarfed by the gleaming dark reflective glass walls of the new Singaporean-sponsored Raffles City shopping center (Figure 4). Originally designed to be at the heart of the former St. Mary's campus, the chapel now forms the hub of this shopping center. Its main

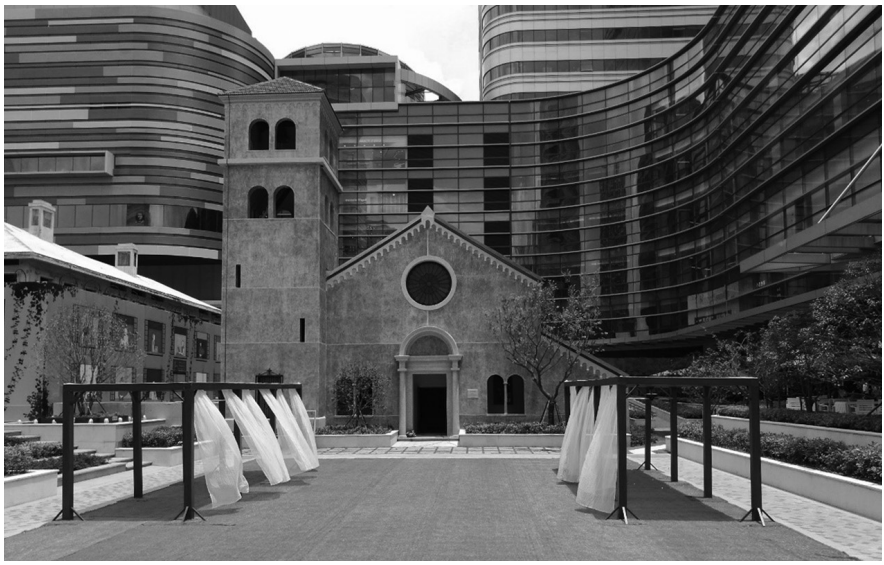
70 See for example *Sinan Mansions* 思南公馆, on South Chongqing Road, Shanghai. This luxury residence of 39 mansions, close to the former residence of Song Qingling, all imitate the Western style of this Republican Era mansion, originally built in the 1920s.

71 Dirlik, 'Architectures of Global Modernity, Colonialism and Places', 38.

72 *Ibid*., 46.

73 As Lu Pan has explored, widespread use of Western architectural styles in Shanghai's urban redeveloped can also be seen as a continuance of an historic, artistic competition between Shanghai (*haipai*) and Beijing (*jingpai*) and a nostalgia on the part of local government and city planners for an era when Shanghai was the epicenter of China's economic, cultural and literary production. Pan, 'Nostalgia as Resistance'. See also Fan, 'Culture for Sale'.

74 Raffles City, Channing (*Changning Laifushi Guangchang* 長寧來福士廣場) located on 1191 Changning Road, Changning district, Shanghai. This is an example of 'decontextualization', where an object or relic's meaning/signification is changed by a change in context or moving it out of its original context.



4. The former St. Mary's Church at Raffles City, (Changning Laifushi Guangchang 長寧來福士廣場) 1191 Changning Road, Changning district, Shanghai. (Photo by Jennifer Bond, June 2017)

purpose seems to be for visual aesthetic stimulation and amusement for the patrons of the shopping center. Its Spanish-style architecture also functions as an effective advertisement backdrop for the Western brands and lifestyles on sale in the shopping center. Looking closely, the persistent image of missionary schools as elite schools for the republican Chinese aristocracy, can be seen again, this time presented in a positive way, in visual details of the St. Mary's Church renovation. Floating white cloth hung over wooden frames provides shelter from the sun on the lawn in front of the church and provides the perfect visual marketing material, effectively promoting Raffles City as an elite shopping center where the new global elite of Shanghai can consume a luxurious lifestyle.[75]

The idea of the missionary school as a place where Chinese women were *dreaming* of their future personal and patriotic roles in Chinese society has been carried over in the ways in which the history of St. Mary's is narrated at the shopping center today. The engraved glass introduction sign for the dormitory building, Pott Hall, states: 'Today this building no longer shelters slumbers, but dreams still live

75 A similar, but more 'Chinese' aesthetic has been utilized in Tanzifang 田子坊, a hugely successful commercial redevelopment in Jing'an district. The original grey stone alleyway houses, fronted by a stone archway known as Shikumen 石庫門, have been preserved and renovated into a boutique shopping area, hugely popular which Chinese and foreign tourists. For more see, Pan, 'Nostalgia as Resistance'.

under its roof.'[76] The pervasive political rhetoric of the 'China Dream' (a political slogan of Xi Jinping that promises a bright future in which every citizen can simultaneously strive for individual and national prosperity) serves as a useful metaphor in many marketing campaigns. In St. Mary's case, it also serves as a translation device, helping to make these republican buildings legible and identifiable to the modern Chinese female consumer, who is pursuing her own, patriotic and personal China Dream. This imagery of missionary schools as a place to 'dream' has also been taken on board by alumnae and their relatives who have visited their school site since its reopening as a shopping center. After his visit to the school site in 2019, George Wu, whose mother Xu Ren 徐仁 attended St. Mary's from 1936 to 1941, commented:

> During 1930's and 1940's, my mother, her three younger sisters, and her youngest aunt (my grandmother's baby sister) all spent their middle school years here in this building. All of them must have an abundance of *dreams* and plans for their future when they lived here. They might also have a lot of beautiful and sweet memories on this building when they were old.[77]

It is interesting to explore how alumnae, their relatives and members of the public react to the ways in which their school campuses and histories are being reinvented in China's post-socialist present. Upon discovering the rebuilt St. Mary's, George Wu shared his photos and reactions with the St John's and St. Mary's alumnae network via email. In his commentary Wu is both excited and impressed, as well as critical and frustrated by his visit to the former school site. Wu is excited to find that some features of the school have been recreated (such as the lawn in front of the church) and even admires the commercially savvy way in which the developer has utilized the St. Mary's buildings in their design for the retail park. Wu, however, goes on to comment on some of the more negative aspects:

> Although the real estate developer has indeed preserved some of St. Mary's original buildings, it nevertheless cut down all the old and canopic camphor trees on campus. The absence of these storied camphor trees, which were frequently mentioned and vividly discussed by the girls in their school newspaper, homework assignments, and even in their memoirs in their old age, makes the efforts to preserve St. Mary's historical buildings far from being ideal. Interestingly enough, the words are on the wall of the side entry to the original St. Mary's chapel, not on the wall for the main entrance. I cannot figure out why it is done this way by the real estate developer.[78]

76 'Slumber and Dream: Pott Hall', Sign located at Former St. Mary's School site, today: Raffles City, Channing (Changning Laifushi Guangchang 長寧來福士廣場) located on 1191 Changning Road, Changning district, Shanghai.

77 Email from George Wu to St. Mary's Alumnae, 7 August 2019 (emphasis added).

78 *Ibid.*

The lack of signs and information throughout the development suggest that the developers and Shanghai government were more concerned to utilize the aesthetics of these foreign-style buildings for commercial purposes rather than preserve and curate them as historical sites in their own right. The emphasis here is very much on a commercial, rather than educational, function.

Whether alumnae and their families feel a certain sense of anger or irony when they see what has become of their former schools and the ways in which their histories are being rewritten is difficult to gauge. None of my informants, even those who walked around their former school grounds with me, made any comment on the commercial or educational uses to which their schools were being put today. Having lived through the Cultural Revolution, when their schools were again denounced as 'tools of foreign imperialism', it would be surprising if alumnae did not find some of these commercial developments by overseas developers ironic. Having learned to keep a low profile and not air their real opinions in public, their lack of comment on this is understandable. Above all, the lasting impression from Wu's commentary is a sense of satisfaction and delayed justice that, finally, the history of Chinese Christians who made a contribution to China's educational modernization is being told and recognized. George Wu explains in his email to a descendant of Francis Lister Hawks Pott and Huang Su'e 黄素娥, the first Chinese principal of St. Mary's:

> The inscription acknowledges that your great-grandmother, Madam Su'e Huang Pott, was the founder of St. Mary's, and the building is named after her. I was more than happy to see her name in public view here. There may be in some places (like museums and libraries) in China that carry your great- grandfather's name, but this maybe the only place where your great-grandmother's name is in public display. The English name for the building is called Pott Hall. However, I like its Chinese name better, which can be literally translated into 'The Hall for Remembering Pott' [思卜堂]. The word 'remembering' in Chinese inspires reverence, respect, dedication, and reminiscence on the viewers. Your great-grandmother is remembered in this ever crowded and jostling business center in Shanghai today.[79]

By highlighting the name of Huang Su'e on the building's signposts, visitors are left with the impression that it was a Chinese woman, rather than foreign missionaries, who founded and funded St. Mary's. St. Mary's is thus reclaimed as a patriotic, aesthetically Western, but essentially Chinese institution, which made a great contribution to Chinese women's education. After Huang Su'e resigned in 1890 to marry the American Episcopal missionary Francis Lister Hawks Pott, principal of St John's College (later St John's University), St. Mary's was one of the few

79 *Ibid.*

missionary girls' schools in China which did not comply with nationalist government regulations stipulating the appointment of Chinese principals in all private schools in China after 1927. Its strong connection with the prestigious St John's University, also run by the Episcopal Church, meant that St. Mary's could get away with not appointing a Chinese principal, until the internment of all foreigner teachers in Japanese prisoner-of-war camps during World War II necessitated the appointment of Lu Zhu Lanzhen 陸朱蘭貞, a St. Mary's graduate of 1917, with a BA from Michigan and an MA from Columbia.[80] The new St. Mary's at Raffles City is an interesting example of the nationalization of colonial-era architecture since 1949, which has been studied by many architectural historians.[81] As we shall see in the next section, some alumnae have also sought to tell their own version of their school's history.

Alumnae tell their own stories

In the late 1970s, alumnae who fled China on the eve of the communist revolution were able to come back to China and reconnect with family members after more than thirty years. For many overseas alumnae who left as young men and women just graduated from high school, the most salient memory of China which they carried with them to Hong Kong, Taiwan and the USA was of their school experiences. Their missionary school identities constitute an important part of their identity as Chinese. Alumnae are deeply concerned with what has happened to their schools, their classmates and teachers and want to take an active part in shaping how their schools are remembered in China today. In an era where a Western education once more confers social and cultural capital, alumnae are taking the opportunity to preserve, recapture and write their own version of their schools' history.

An example of how alumnae have successfully recaptured and redirected their school history can be seen in the Number Three Girls' School in Shanghai today. Rosalyn Koo explained how she, with support of other alumnae, was able to recapture their school's history and redirect its future through their financial support of the school. On her trip back to China in 1978, she succeeded in finding her

80 Xu and Chen (ed)., *Shengmaliya nüxiao*, 160.

81 Similarly, on the former campus of McTyeire (today the Shanghai Number Three Girls School) features which commemorate its foreign missionary routes have been elided. For example, the school's main auditorium, originally 'Richardson Hall' in memory of American Methodist Missionary Helen Richardson, the first principal of McTyeire, is now known as 'May Fourth Hall' (Wusi tang, 五四堂) to commemorate the May Fourth Movement of 1919 which the Communist Party celebrate as a foundational moment in their history. See Figure 2. For more on the nationalization of colonial era architecture in East Asia see Sorensen and Arai, eds., *Spaces of Possibility*.

former McTyeire School principal, Xue Zheng 薛正. Rosalyn was horrified at the hardships Xue Zheng had endured during the Cultural Revolution and saddened at the dilapidated state of her former glorious school campus. She vowed: '[W]ell the time has changed. So, somehow, I am going to restore your old glory.'[82]

After being invited by Rosalyn to visit the McTyeire Alumnae Association in the USA in 1979, Xue Zheng was given the position of honorary principal of the Number Three Girls' School on her return to Shanghai. In the era of China's reform and opening up, both headmistress and alumnae saw an opportunity to recapture their school's history and direct its future through their financial investment in the school. Rosalyn explained that the first step was to reinstate Music and English and then crucially to restore the school to being an all-girls institution.[83] Through their financial support, the McTyeire alumnae thus succeeded in reclaiming their school history, restoring it to an all-girls school. It is today the only government-run all-girls school in Shanghai, and one renowned for producing girls who are both academically and musically outstanding, much like the *guixiu* 閨秀 or accomplished upper-class young ladies who graduated from the school before 1949.

A desire to capture and preserve their school's prestigious past for posterity has recently resulted in the publication of a three-volume school history, composed of memoirs written by alumnae themselves.[84] Although this official history of the school presents a sanitized version of the story, largely devoid of the very real tensions and paradoxes that existed, it does represent for alumnae an important step in reasserting their own narrative of their school history and restores agency to the voice of Chinese women who attended missionary schools for girls themselves.

This sense of pride in their school history is palpable in the annual reunions of alumnae chapters, which take place across the world, from Shanghai and Beijing to New York and San Francisco. These school reunions are not only designed for alumnae to reconnect and keep in touch, often in lands far away from their place of birth, but also a valuable forum for alumnae to keep alive their school identities and preserve for posterity school traditions and rites of passage which they seek to transmit to the next generation. Today, the school and class songs, signs and symbols of class and school loyalty, serve to connect alumnae to their school history and identity. Annual and semi-annual reunions for the schools are usually opened and closed by old girls singing the school song and group photos of each graduating class. The McTyeire alumnae association also includes graduates of the Shanghai Number Three Girls' School at their reunions, and the desire to carry forward their school history and its traditions is tangible at such events.

82 Interview with Rosalyn Koo, 5 November 2016, San Mateo, USA.

83 One alumna from Taiwan donated $100,000 to buy brass instruments so the school could form a band. Interview with Rosalyn Koo, 5 November 2016, San Mateo, USA.

84 Chen, *Zhongxi nüzhong 1892–1952*, 3 vols.

Conclusion

From missionary claims of 'uplift' and 'enlightenment', to Mao Era accusations of 'foreign occupation' and 'brainwashing', to nostalgia and commercialization in the era of economic reforms and opening, the story of missionary schools in China has been reinvented many times with the momentous political and social changes that have marked China's twentieth century. Very few of these narratives have sought to understand and put at the center the memories and experiences of missionary school alumnae themselves.

This chapter has argued that, while founded on Victorian ideals of domesticity for the rather conservative purpose of creating the perfect Christian homemaker, these schools paradoxically provided girls with a free space where they could experiment with new gendered identities and 'dream' new roles for themselves which would take them far beyond the domestic sphere upon graduation. Missionary schoolgirls thus had agency to take from their school education elements which they found useful to themselves. While girls' reactions to the rising tide of nationalism that engulfed Republican China differed, they were far from being 'brainwashed pawns of foreigners', as sometimes depicted by contemporaries and later historians. At times of mounting anti-foreign and anti-Christian Chinese nationalism, girls were able to deploy a mutually reinforcing, gendered, Christian and patriotic language of 'service' to effectively defend their schools from attack and prove their contribution to society. In doing so they forged their own unique vision of a gendered Christian modernity, which has not been properly acknowledged within the history of the Chinese Church or the history of the women's movement in China.

Since reform and opening, missionary schools have been preserved, repackaged and commodified for new economic, political and educational ends by the state. Although these buildings are being preserved in a variety of forms as museums, schools or shopping centers, a lack of signposting of the schools' missionary origins suggests that the government and commercial developers are more keen to utilize the aesthetics of missionary school architecture for commercial purposes, rather than to preserve the history of these schools for their own sake. Their Western-style architectural aesthetics, stripped of their problematic religious connotations and turbulent political histories, remain nostalgic and imaginative spaces for 'dreaming' of personal and national prosperity, which are today being appropriated and repackaged by urban developers. In both republican past and today, missionary schools were marketed as, and still remain marketed as, elite spaces, whose elitism was and is conferred through a colonial/global power dynamic, but appropriated and consumed by an emergent Chinese Western-educated national elite. Western powers who used their extraterritorial privileges to build these schools in China are today replaced by the globalized capitalism of the interna-

tional firms who build shopping developments.[85] These spaces were and are simultaneously both foreign and Chinese. Missionary schoolgirls had agency to take from their Christian education what they found useful to them, creating in the process their own vision or 'dreams' of a gendered Chinese Christian nationalism. Today, these buildings are used as a backdrop where new global elites consume the West, building as they do so their personal and national dreams for prosperity and self-fulfillment.

Alumnae have sought to harness this environment of relative openness, and while their attitudes towards the blatant commercialization of their schools remains ambivalent, they are not immune to the cultural nostalgia that pervades these new Republican Era, Sino-foreign-style developments. Seeking to hold on to their childhood and adolescent memories of their missionary schooldays, which also represent their most tangible memories of China itself, alumnae who left China before 1949 are now the most ardent proponents in efforts to recapture, retell and preserve for posterity their own version of their school history. As China continues to reinvent its past for purposes of national strengthening, the question remains as to how the heritagization of missionary schools for girls will evolve after the last alumnae who attended these schools pass away.

REFERENCES

Archival collections

Church Missionary Society Archive Cadbury Research Collection, Birmingham University, UK:
- CMS G1 CH/O 1884/ 150, Laurence to Mr. Fenn, 7 May 1884.

Ningbo City Archives (NCA), Ningbo, China:
- NCA 旧10-1-310. Riverside Academy Building Plans, 1923.
- NCA 旧10-1-307. 'Faculty 1935 Fall' in Principal's report, 27 March 1936.
- NCA 旧10- 1-307. Principal's Report, 16 April 1932.

Presbyterian Historical Society Archives (PHS), Philadelphia, USA:
- PHS RG82-18-17. Esther M. Gauss to Mr. Speer, 26 February 1920.
- PHS RG82-32-10. Esther E. Gauss, Letter to friends from Shanghai, 9 May 1927.
- PHS MR7-PA-ZCAS. Central China Mission, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Annual report, 1926-1927.

Interviews and emails

Email from George Wu to St. Mary's Alumnae, 7 August 2019.

Ding Yuming 丁毓明 (McTyeire class of 1941), 9 November 2016, San Mateo.

Fan Aishi 範愛侍, 27 November 2015, Ningbo.

Fan Meiling 範美玲 and Xu Zhenzhu 徐珍珠, 28 November 2015, Ningbo City Education Museum.

Hong Lüming 洪侶明 (McTyeire) and Cao Shengjie 曹聖潔 (Jingde Southern Baptist Girls School 進德女校), 22 October 2016, Shanghai.

Gwendoline Lee 李葵 (St. Mary's class of 1952), St John's University Reunion, 17 October 2015, Shanghai.

Rosalyn Koo, Chen Jinming陳晉明 (McTyeire class of 1947), 5 November 2016, San Mateo.

St. Mary's group interview, 11 May 2016, Beijing. Participants included Zhao Fengfeng 趙風風 (class of 1948), Zhu Wenqian 朱文倩 (class of 1953), Gu Meicheng顧美誠 (class of 1948), Wu Qihui 吳其慧 (class of 1947) along with their former teacher, Yu Huigeng 俞慧耕 (Politics teacher at St. Mary's, 1949-1953).

85 Dirlik, 'Architectures of Global Modernity, Colonialism and Places', 46.

Tao Xiafang 陶霞芳 (McTyeire class of 1956). 2 August 2018, Shanghai.
Xu Meizhen 徐美貞 (McTyeire class of 1946) and Xiao Jiaxun 肖嘉珣 (McTyeire class of 1952), 15 April 2016, Number Three Girls School, Shanghai.
Zhang Long 張瓏 (McTyeire class of 1947), 6 July 2016, Yan'an Hotel, Shanghai.

Contemporary articles, books, pamphlets and speeches

Burton, Margaret. *The Education of Women in China*. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1911.
Chen Aizhen 陳愛貞. 'Jiaohui nüxiao duiyu xiandai zhongguo zui shao xiandu de gongxian 教會女校對於現代中國最少限度的貢獻' [The smallest contribution of missionary schools for girls to modern China]. *Yongjiang Sheng* 甬江聲 [Riverside Echo], (1931), 42–45.
Cressy, Earl Herbert 'Middle School Standards, Second Study'. *East China Studies in Education*, No. 5 (Shanghai: China Christian Educational Association, 1929).
Gan Mengxiong 幹孟雄. 'Fenggao na [hai liu bu li jiaohui xuexiao de tongxue] ji juhua' 奉告那[還留不離教會學校的同學] 幾句話 [A few words addressed to thosecClassmates who have not yet left missionary schools]. *Shishi gongbao* 時事公報, (Part 2), 7 August 1925, 3.2.
Laurence M. 'Female Boarding Schools'. In: *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 10–17, 1877*. Shanghai, 1877.
Lew, Timothy Tingfang. 'The interpretation of Clause five for the government registration of mission schools in China', *China Christian Educational Association*, Message No. 3. Shanghai: East China Christian Educational Association, 1925.
Lin Shiguang 林時光. 'Tuoli jiaohui xuexiao de ji zhong yuanyin', 脫離教會學校的幾種原因 [A few important reasons to leave missionary schools]. *Shishi gongbao* 時事公報, 14 September 1925, 3.2.
Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10–14, 1877. Shanghai, 1878.
Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China Held at Shanghai, May 7–20, 1890. Shanghai, 1890.
Sha Luo 沙洛. 'Zhongxi nüxiao hao fengguang', 中西女校好風光 [The fine scenery of McTyeire]. *Shanghai Texie* 上海特寫, (1946) 20, 7.
Stauffer, Milton T., ed. *The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China, Made by the Special Committee on Survey and Occupation, China Continuation Committee, 1918–1921*. Shanghai, 1922.
'The Alumnae Scholarship,' *The Phoenix*. Shanghai, 1932.
'The Graduating Class,' *The McTyerian*. Shanghai, 1934.
Tsui Chi (transl.), *Autobiography of A Chinese Girl, A Genuine Autobiography by Hsieh Ping-Ying*. London, 1943.
Van, Margaret. 'A meeting at the Factory', *Riverside Echo*, (Ningbo, 1925), 6–7.
Van, Margaret. 'Church activities in China', *Riverside Echo*, (Ningbo, 1925), 5–6.
White, E. Aldersey. *A Woman pioneer in China: The Life of Mary Ann Aldersey*. London, 1932.
Xie Bingying 謝冰瑩. *Xin congjun riji* 新從軍日記 [New War Daries]. Hangkou, 1938.
Yang Yinsui 楊音綏. "Ben xiao bei [shouhui jiaoyu quan jijin hui] zhanju shi de huiyi" 本校被[收回教育權急進會]佔據時的回憶 [Remembering the time when our school was occupied by the committee for the quick taking back of educational rights]. In Yinxian sili Yongjiang nüzi zhongxue nianwu zhounian jinian kan 鄞縣私立甬江女子中學廿五周年紀念刊 [Yonjiang private middle school for girls in Yin county twenty-fifth anniversary magazine] (1948): 1–2.
'Yongjiang nüzhong shuqing xuban', 甬江女中書請續辦 [Yongjiang Female middle school requests to be allowed to continue to operate]. *Shishi gongbao* 時事公報, 24 August 1927, (3.2).
Zhu Zhecheng朱至誠. 'Xiao shi' 校史 [School History]. *Yinxian sili yongjiang nüzi zhongxue nianwu zhounian jiniankan* 鄞縣私立甬江女子中學廿五周年紀念刊 [Yonjiang private middle school for girls in Yin county twenty-fifth anniversary magazine], (1948), 1–2.

Secondary literature

Bai, Limin. 'Children and the Survival of China: Liang Qichao on Education before the 1898 Reform', *Late Imperial China*, 22 (2001) 2, 124–155.
Bailey, Paul. *Gender and Education in China: Gender Discourses and Women's Schooling in the Early Twentieth Century*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
Bergère, Marie-Claire, *Sun Yat-sen*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Bond, Jennifer. *Dreaming the New Woman: An Oral History of Missionary Schoolgirls in Republican China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024.

Bond, Jennifer. *Foreign Puppets, Christian Mothers or Revolutionary Martyrs? The Multiple Identities of Missionary School Girls in East China, 1917–1952*. PhD dissertation, SOAS, University of London, 2018.

Callard, Felicity, and Constantina Papoulias. 'Affect and Embodiment'. In: Susan Radstone and Bill Schwarz, eds. *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2010, 246–262.

Chen Jinyu 陈瑾瑜, ed. *Huiyi Zhongxi nüzhong* 回忆中西女中 [Remembering McTyeire School 1949]. [1952]. Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2016.

Chen Jinyu 陈瑾瑜, ed. *Zhongxi nüzhong* 中西女中 [McTyeire School 1892–1952]. Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2016.

Cody, Jeffery W. 'American geometrics and the architecture of Christian campuses in China'. In: Daniel H. Bays and Ellen Widmer, eds. *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-cultural connections 1900–1950*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009, 27–56.

Cohen, Paul. *History in three keys: The Boxers as an event, experience and myth*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Dirlik, Arif. 'Architectures of Global Modernity, Colonialism and Places'. *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, 17 (2005) 1, 33–61.

Dunch, Ryan. *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857–1927*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Fan, Sizheng K. 'Culture for Sale: Western Classical Architecture in China's Recent Building Boom'. *Journal of Architectural Education (1984–)*, 63 (2009) 1, 64–74.

Glosser, Susan. *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915–1953*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Graham, Gael. *Gender, Culture and Christianity: American Protestant Mission Schools in China*. New York: Peter Lang, 1995.

Han Shu 韩戍. 'Shouhui jiaoyuquan yundong zai shen guan – cong shengyuehan daxue dao guanghua daxue' 收回教育权运动再深观-从圣约翰大学到光华大学 [A deeper look at the movement to recover educational rights – from St. John's University to Guanghua University]. In: Li Ling 李灵 and Xiao Qinghe 肖清和, eds. *Jidujiao yu jindai zhongguo jiaoyu* 基督教与近代中国教育 [Christianity and education in modern China]. Shanghai: Shanghai yiwen chubanshe, 2018, 94–120.

Hershatter, Gail. *The Gender of Memory, Rural Women and China's Collective Past*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.

Hunter, Jane. *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Hyatt, Irwin. *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth Century American Missionaries in Eastern Shantung*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Jin Feng. *The Making of a Family Saga: Ginling College*. New York: SUNY Press, 2009.

Liu, Judith. *Foreign Exchange: Counterculture Behind the Walls of St. Hilda's School for Girls, 1929–1937*. Bethlehem, P.A.: Lehigh University Press, 2011.

Lutz, Jessie Gregory. *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850–1950*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.

Lutz, Jessie Gregory. *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–1928*. Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988.

McTyeire Alumnae Association, ed. *Telling Women's Lives: In Search of McTyeire, 1892–1992*. San Mateo, 1992 [unpublished oral history collection].

Niu Shengni 钮圣妮. 'Lingyi zhong funü yundong – yi Zhonghua jidujiao nüqingnianhui de nonggong shiye weili (1904–1933) 另一种妇女运动-以中华基督教女青年会的农工事业为 例 [A different kind of women's movement: The Chinese YWCA rural and factory work]. In: Tao Feiya 陶飞亚, ed. *Xingbie yu lishi: jindai Zhongguo funü yu jidujiao* 性别与历史：近代中国妇女与基督教[Gender and History: Women and Christianity in Modern China]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2007, 234–282.

Nora, Pierre. 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire'. *Representations*, 26 (1989), 7–24.

Pan, Lu. 'Nostalgia as Resistance: Memory, Space and the Competing Modernities in Berlin and Shanghai'. *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 12 (2013) 1, 135–160.

Perry, Elizabeth J. 'Managing Student Protest in Republican China: Yenching and St. John's Compared'. *Frontiers of History in China*, 8 (2013) 1, 3–31.

Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr. 'The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism'. In: John K. Fairbank, ed. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974, 1–38.

Sorensen, Clark, and Andrea Gevurtz Arai, eds. *Spaces of Possibility: In, Between, and Beyond Korea and Japan.* Washington: Washington University Press, 2016.

Thompson, Michel G. 'Sherwood Eddy, the missionary enterprise, and the rise of Christian internationalism in 1920s America'. *Modern Intellectual History*, 12 (2015) 1, 65–93.

Wang Zheng. *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment: Oral and Textual Histories.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Yen Hsiao-pen. 'Body Politics, Modernity and National Salvation: The Modern Girl and the New Life Movement'. *Asian Studies Review*, 29 (June 2005) 2, 165–186.

Yip, Ka-Che. *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922–1927.* Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1980.

Xu Yongchu 徐永初, and Chen Jinyu 陈瑾瑜 (eds.). *Shengmaliya nüxiao* 圣玛利亚女校 [St. Mary's School for Girls, 1881–1952]. Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2014.

Zhao Xiaoyang 找晓阳. 'Jidujiaohui yu laodong wenti – yi Shanghai jidujiao nüqingnianhui gongye xiao wei zhongxin' 基督教会与劳动问题–以上海基督教女青年会工业校为中心 [Christian missions and labour issues – A case study of the Shanghai YWCA industrial schools]. In: Tao Feiya 陶飞亚, ed. *Xingbie yu lishi: jindai Zhongguo funü yu jidujiao* 性别与历史：近代中国妇女与基督教[Gender and History: Women and Christianity in Modern China]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2007, 183–209.

Zhang Long 张珑, ed. *Huiyi Zhongxi nüzhong* 回忆中西女中[Remembering McTyeire, 1900–1948]. Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2016.

Representation and Memorialization

Text and Mission in Transition

The Indigenization of the Ranchi Jesuit Province, 1956–2000

Rinald D'Souza

In 1956, the Belgian Jesuit mission among the Adivasis[1] in erstwhile Chota Nagpur[2] transitioned into the present-day Ranchi Jesuit province in Jharkhand, India. This transition was part of a growing shift within twentieth-century Catholic missions in South Asia that sought to localize[3] mission spaces in the context of an emerging national consciousness within the Indian subcontinent. While these missions have until today largely been seen as an enduring legacy of foreign missionary activity in modern South Asia – viewed mainly through its architectural heritage, linguistic works, educational programs, developmental works, and

1 Adivasi (*adi*: original, *vasi*: dweller) is a self-referential collective term employed by indigenous peoples within the Chota Nagpur region that first emerged among them in the 1920s in the context of their struggle for land ownership rights. While the term was later embraced by other such groups within South Asia, its nomenclature needs to be examined against other terms of governmentality that were deployed either by the colonial state or other such dominant groups. Thus *Adivasis* were alternatively also categorized as tribes, *vanavasis*, *vanyajatis*, *atavikas*, *vanyajatis*, *adimjatis*, *pahadias*, *girijans*, etc.

2 Chota Nagpur refers to a plateau region in eastern India that during the British colonial rule was designated as the South-West Frontier or Chota Nagpur Division with Ranchi as its headquarters. In today's administrative divisions of India, the Chota Nagpur region includes the state of Jharkhand and parts of the neighboring states of Bihar, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and Odisha. Consequently, in the course of its existence, the former Ranchi Jesuit Mission in Chota Nagpur underwent administrative and ecclesiastical restructuring and in 1956 was constituted as the Ranchi province, now located within Jharkhand since 2000.

3 In this chapter, I use localization in more generic sense to refer to an ongoing process of accommodation to the sociocultural specificities of the region. Indigenization, more specifically, is 'the act or process of rendering indigenous or making predominantly native; adaptation or subjection to the influence or dominance of the indigenous inhabitants of a country; spec. the increased use of indigenous people in government, employment, etc.' (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, December 2021, Oxford University Press, https://www.oed.com /view/Entry/94473?redirectedFrom=Indigenisation (28 December 2021)).

through the practice of Christian faith and its practitioners – their legacies need to be critically examined through a reading of indigenization, which developed with emerging Christian identities in post-independence India (1947 onwards), articulating and negotiating their religious and social spheres within public life.

The presence of Christianity within the Indian subcontinent reveals a tradition that goes back nearly 2,000 years – about the same time it blossomed in the now Middle East and spread to Europe. Over these two millennia, it was shaped by historical contingencies that now reveal diverse traditions of Christian practice.[4] By the early twentieth century, as constitutional reforms and the freedom movement advanced the prospect of nationhood, Christian traditions within the Indian subcontinent – Syrian Christians, Roman Catholic and Protestants – were surveyed through a singular frame: Christianity. Nevertheless, the social and cultural production of Christianity's multiple identities within South Asia reveal the fault lines of its diversity.[5] Dalit and Adivasi Christianities had historically been subject to caste and class discriminations, and exposed to mechanisms of discrimination within their own religious and social spheres. In the politics of representation and reservation that unfolded in the post-independence period, they reasserted their identities from the margins. These assertions for identity had emerged from the margins that were doubly inscribed by mechanisms of discrimination within their own religious and social spheres.[6] However, viewed in their totality, the 2011 Census Data of India reveals that Christians account for 2.3 percent (27.8 million people) of the population.[7] While they represent a minority within India, their societal contribution and influence remains significant. This is attested by the educational and other welfare works that inform the heritage, legacy and memory of Christianity within India.[8]

Missions and missionaries in South Asia have generally been studied through the framework of 'missionary knowledge', their role in the production of social categories and their relationship with colonialism as agents of empire.[9] One of the key themes in this historiography has been the production of difference where indigenous practices have been evaluated against a discourse of Christian universalism.[10] Similarly, the study of missionary education and linguistics that aided a colonial civilizing mission is a recurring theme, though Hayden Bellenoit has argued

4 Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India*; Frykenberg, *History of Christianity in India*.
5 Malekandathil, Pachuau and Sarkar, *Christianity in Indian History*; Robinson, *Christians of India*; Webster, *Historiography of Christianity in India*.
6 Mosse, *The Saint in the Banyan Tree*; Robinson and Kujur, *Margins of Faith*; Webster, *The Dalit Christians*.
7 www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/c-01.html.
8 Hedlund et al., *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of South Asian Christianity*.
9 Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*; Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700*; Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860*.
10 Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*.

how missionaries have occasionally diverged from such attitudes.[11] While these works have generally studied Christianity and its relationship with colonialism, they have largely focussed on Protestant missionaries.

Research on indigenization within twentieth-century Christianity in South Asia has now moved on from its earlier focus on biographies and broad surveys.[12] Susan Harper's republished biography on the Anglican Bishop Azariah (1874–1945) demonstrated how subaltern actors negotiated their identities within their sociopolitical contexts.[13] Current scholarship increasingly links indigenization to processes of decolonization, which then alternates between two frameworks: colonization and its after-effects, and secondly, syncretism and indigenous identities. Carey Watt and Michael Mann's historiographical analysis of whether the colonial civilizing mission is contiguous with its postcolonial contexts and David Lindenfeld and Miles Richardson's study of indigenous identities and syncretic practices vis-à-vis their encounters with global Christianity are illustrative of these frameworks.[14]

This chapter investigates the indigenization of the Ranchi Jesuit province, 1956–2000, in an attempt to articulate Adivasi Jesuit identities within the province. It takes a twofold approach by analyzing the indigenizing turn within the mission's history and its texts. While analyzing its mission history along with its key actors reveals the structural changes within the province, the mission texts are read back to reveal Adivasi self-perceptions of their own identity, in the manner with which they constructed and deployed it within their mission. In this process of indigenization, native indigenous actors exhibit their agency to interpret and express their sociocultural norms and behaviors within their own sociocultural boundaries, while also possessing the ability and agency to adapt non-native cultural norms and behaviors.

In order to attempt to understand indigenous perceptions and the process of indigenization among the Adivasis, it is essential to turn to Adivasi sources. When these sources are read along with other sources, they provide a more nuanced understanding of the indigenization of the mission.

This chapter uses the *Nishkalanka* as its primary source. Begun in 1920 as a spiritual magazine in Hindi for boys' sodalities at St. John's School, Ranchi, the missionaries quickly realized its potential for evangelization. Within a decade, the magazine had been circulating in the villages and, along with its spiritual thrust, also covered sociocultural issues that affected the lives of Adivasis. Being a popular

11 Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920*.
12 Houtart, Lemercinier and Rendel, *Genesis and Institutionalization of the Indian Catholicism*; Houtart and Lemercinier, *Size and Structures of the Catholic Church in India*.
13 Harper, *In the shadow of the Mahatma*.
14 Watt and Mann, *Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia*; Lindenfeld and Richardson, *Beyond Conversion and Syncretism*.

magazine published by the Adivasi Jesuits, it reveals their self-perception of the mission as well as uncovers their own identities. The *Nishkalanka* is also examined with other archival sources from the Ranchi Jesuit province and the northern Belgian Jesuit province that include correspondence, news bulletins, catalogues and magazines. While some archives for this period tend to be inaccessible due to archival restrictions for this period, the chapter also relies on a set of interviews that were conducted during fieldwork.

The indigenizing turn within the Mission

The indigenization of the Ranchi Jesuit province should be seen through its administrative genealogy, whence it evolved from being a missionary enterprise (*Regio Missionum Ranchiensis*) of the northern Belgian Jesuit province (*Provincia Belgica Septentrionalis*) to an independent Jesuit province (*Provincia Ranchiensis*) in 1956. The growth of the Ranchi province was contiguous with the development of the Ranchi Archdiocese and today functions within the ecclesiastical boundaries of the archdiocese of Ranchi and the dioceses of Gumla, Khunti and Simdega.[15] Mapping the historical contexts of the Ranchi Jesuit province along with the key actors that shaped this transition is necessary to trace a genealogy for the indigenization of the Ranchi province. This transition can be delineated through three phases.

Missio Bengalae (1869–1935)

The early phase of the Jesuit mission to Chota Nagpur constituted an extension of the *Missio Bengalae* (1859) headquartered in Calcutta within the British-ruled Bengal Presidency and the newly established ecclesiastical unit of the Vicarate of Calcutta (Archdiocese of Calcutta in 1886).[16] The *Missio Bengalae* functioned under the patronage of the Belgian Jesuit province (*Provincia Belgica*) and was, together with Congo and Ceylon, popularly known as the *Missions Belges*. With the arrival of Father Augustus Stockman (1826–1897) to Chaibasa in 1868 and subsequently Fathers Constant Lievens (1856–1893)[17] and John Baptist Hoffmann (1857–1928),[18] the mission in Chota Nagpur took concrete form as its social contexts marked its difference from a more metropolitan Calcutta. Father Lievens was incisive in making an analysis of the mechanisms of internal colonialism that had alienated the Munda and Oraon indigenous peoples from their land. He de-

15 Athreya, D'Souza and Goddeeris, 'The Postcolonial Expansion of a Mission'.
16 Tete, *A Short History of the Expansion of the Catholic Missions in North India.*
17 Clarysse, *Father Constant Lievens, S.J.*
18 Tete, *A Missionary Social Worker in India.*

ployed the tools of legal advocacy as means for the emancipation of the Adivasis and this later paid dividends in his conversion strategies.[19] As of 1 August 1888 itself, the Chota Nagpur Mission comprised '11,291 baptised Catholics and 39,060 catechumens in 832 villages'.[20] Father Hoffmann, through his legal aid, but much more through his financial credit societies and linguistic works, provided the ideological language and framework that defined Adivasi identity as linked to their struggle for *jal*, *jangal* and *jameen* (water, forest and land).[21]

Whereas the lives of Lievens and Hoffmann would evolve as legacies within the Ranchi province, the memories of successive early missionaries of this phase would remain localized within the communities they served. While literature on these Jesuits is scarce, their memories are entrenched through popular anecdotes that have been passed on orally for generations. Thus Father Edmund De Gryse (1865–1930) is remembered as the founder of the Kurdeg and South Jashpur missions and popularly remembered for the brick kilns he set up for church buildings.[22] Father Louis Van Hoeck (1870–1933) is memorialized as a pioneering educationist who founded the St. John's School in Ranchi in 1902. While Father Edward Van Robays (1855–1906) is remembered as the founder of the mission in Samtoli, Father Henry Floor (1874–1947) is celebrated for founding the Nisha Sangat, a temperance society meant to eradicate social vices and instill Christian morals.

Some other noted Jesuits of this period include Father Peter Van Mulken (†1936),[23] who worked initially in Bengal and later among the Oraons in Mandar, as well as Father Cyril Van den Driessche (1867–1936),[24] who served in Kurdeg and Jashpur. The memory of Father Arthur Van Emelen (1874–1936),[25] who collated and edited the *Encyclopaedia Mundarica* after Hoffmann's repatriation to Germany, remains embedded within the mission for his linguistic contributions.[26] The Anglo-Indian Jesuit brother, John D'Cruz (1846–1935),[27] one of the few non-European Jesuits who joined the Order after having been married, is popularly remembered for his years at St. Albert's College. The reminiscence of Elias Kerketta (1899–1939), a diocesan priest who worked in the Kanjia mission, is rare for its celebration within Jesuit memories of the mission.[28]

19 de Sa, *Crisis in Chota Nagpur*.
20 Clarysse, *Father Constant Lievens, S.J.*, 249.
21 Hoffmann's *Mundari Grammar* and fifteen-volume *Encyclopaedia Mundarica* – an ethnographic dictionary on the Munda people – remain among the most referenced ethnographic works on the Adivasis.
22 Van der Schueren. *The Belgian Mission of Bengal*, 41–42.
23 *Our Field*, March 1936, 85–88.
24 *Our Field*, June–July 1936, 214–218.
25 *Our Field*, September 1936, 310–311.
26 Hoffmann and Van Emelen. *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*.
27 *Our Field*, January–February 1936, 39–47.
28 *Our Field*, May 1939, 149–151.

While all the missionaries of this early phase provided the twentieth-century missionary template of education, financial credit societies along with catechesis and other spiritual activities within the missionary enterprise, Fathers Lievens and Hoffmann in particular emerged as missionary prototypes. Already in the early twentieth century, their memory was entrenched within the Ranchi mission and the Belgian province through missionary tracts and publications that celebrated their lives.[29] However, at the same time, the emergence of indigenous priests and religious recruits was already seen as a continuation of Lievens' legacy[30] and consequently celebrated in the *Nishkalanka*: 'Indigenous priests *also* in Chotanagpur' (emphasis added). And in citing the intention of the Pope for a more indigenous form of Christianity within India, the *Nishkalanka* petitioned the readers for prayers for this intention. Alongside a photograph of four newly ordained priests, the caption reminisced: 'Instead of four, when would we have fourteen to fifteen priests a year?'[31] The article which the photograph accompanied encapsulated the changing missiology ushered in by Pope Benedict XV's apostolic letter *Maximum Illud* (1919).[32] Apart from advocating for the training of native clergy, the apostolic letter encouraged a deep respect for local cultures and not relativizing them to the foreign missionary's own cultural background.[33] *Maximum Illud* was a turning point in the indigenization of missions and this project was further reflected in successive papal documents: *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926), *Evangelii Praecones* (1951) and *Fidei Donum* (1957).[34]

The recruitment of indigenous candidates for the mission was facilitated by the founding of the Manresa House in Ranchi, which functioned as a house of probation in Ranchi (*domus probationis Ranchensis*).[35] Apart from the training of new candidates, it coordinated the missionary activity within Chota Nagpur, thus proving strategically vital as the nerve center of the missionary enterprise. Brother Louis Ekka was the first Adivasi who joined the Society of Jesus as a *coadjutor* (helper) in 1916 in Shembaganur.[36] He was followed by Julius Topno in 1918 as a

29 Marlier, *Een Jezuiet Missionaris*.

30 Marlier, *Pater Lievens Geïllustreerde Levensschets*, 110–120.

31 'प्रार्थना प्रेरताई तथा मशिन अर्जी: देशी पुरोहतिों के लयि। क्यों देशी पुरोहति ?' [Prayer Appeal and Mission Requests: For Native Priests. Why Native Priests?], *Nishkalanka*, September 1933, 162–164.

32 Benedict XV, 'Apostolic Letter *Maximum Illud*', *Acta Apostolica Sedis* 11 (1919), 440–55.

33 De Dreuzy, 'Benedict XV: A Most Unexpected Architect of Vatican II'; Prudhomme, 'Maximum Illud, a Missionary Turning Point?'.

34 Pius XI, 'Encyclical Letter *Rerum Ecclesiae*', *Acta Apostolica Sedis* 18 (1926), 65–83; Pius XII, 'Encyclical Letter *Evangelii Praecones*', *Acta Apostolica Sedis* 43 (1951), 497–528; Pius XII, 'Encyclical Letter *Fidei Donum*', *Acta Apostolica Sedis* 49 (1957), 225–248.

35 *Catalogus Provinciae Belgicae*, 1889, 64–65.

36 *Catalogus Missionis Bengalensis*, 1917, 32.

scholastic.[37] Father Topno would eventually be ordained as the first Adivasi Jesuit priest. In 1933 the Ranchi mission established the St. Stanislaus College in Sitagarha, Hazaribagh, for the initial two years of the novitiate program.[38] The establishment of the novitiate in Sitagarha reflected a steady influx of local candidates; foreign missionaries during this phase tended to complete their initial training in their places of origin.

Another key instrument in the indigenization process of the eventual Ranchi povince during this phase was the establishment of an apostolic school in Ranchi in 1903 for the purpose of recruiting indigenous candidates to the priesthood. This decision was taken in a meeting between Father Luis Martin, the then Superior General of the Society of Jesus, and Father Sylvain Grosjean, the Rector of Manresa House, who together foresaw the indigenization of the mission.[39] The apostolic schools functioned as minor seminaries where promising candidates were disciplined and groomed in the study of Catholic spiritual practices while studying at regular school. The success of the apostolic school in Ranchi promoted the opening of more apostolic schools in Gumla (1955) and Samtoli (1969).[40]

Similarly, the Jesuits began a seminary named St. Albert's College in Bankuli in 1914, relocated to Ranchi in 1916, that catered mainly for the training of diocesan seminarians. Until then the diocesans preferred to attend the Pontifical Seminary in Kandy, Sri Lanka, which was also managed by the Belgian Jesuit province. However, St. Albert's College was meant to encourage clergy training that was adapted to the region's own cultural milieu. Apart from training, this seminary played an instrumental role in the coordination of missionary activities, as the bishop's house as well as the office of the Jesuit mission superior were located on its premises.[41]

Regio Missionum Ranchensis (1935–1956)

As the mission in Chota Nagpur assumed its own distinctiveness vis-à-vis Calcutta, it was established as the Ranchi mission (*Regio Missionum Ranchiensis*) in 1935. This was also aided by the division of the Belgian Jesuit province where Ranchi was joined to the North Belgian province (*Provincia Belgica Septentrionalis*) and Calcutta to the South Belgian province (*Provincia Belgica Meridionalis*).[42] This phase marked a period of stability in the nature of missionary works that focussed mainly on education and spiritual ministries. However, during the 1940s there was a

37 *Catalogus Missionis Bengalensis*, 1919, 32.
38 Rosner, *Fifty Years of St Stanislaus College, Sitagarha*, 3–8, 53–54.
39 *Nishkalanka*, May 1953, 70–71.
40 *Catalogus Provinciae Ranchiensis Societatis Iesu*, 1970, 6–15.
41 Cuyper, *St Albert's College*, 1–2, 21–32.
42 *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, VIII, 1935, 146–149.

marked degree of administrative and geographical restructuring with regard to the Ranchi province as well as the ecclesiastical units within which it functioned. This rapid expansion of the Jesuit mission beyond Chota Nagpur had previously been the subject of a whole debate surrounding its missionary activity: extension of the mission versus consolidation of existing works.[43]

As this phase saw a gradual increase in indigenous candidates, the memory of these years is dominated by European Jesuits. These include Father d'Alcantara (1872–1941),[44] who founded the Musgutri mission, Father Bernard Lonneux (1888–1952),[45] who established the St. Joseph's School in Torpa, and Father Joseph Ford (1870–1956),[46] who is remembered for his contribution in establishing the Majhatoli mission parish. Father Jules Delvaux (1886–1951)[47] is considered a pioneer for his evangelization of the Sadans, where he came into opposition with the Hindu reform movement of Arya Samaj.[48] Father Delvaux later moved to Hazaribagh to work among the Santals.

Of particular significance is the memory of the missionary on horseback, Father Louis Cardon (1857–1946), who founded the Rengarih and Biru missions while also establishing himself as a botanist.[49] The orchid *Microstylis cardoni* and several other flora of the region are credited to his name.[50] Together with Fathers Clement Bretaudeau (1862–1942)[51] and Francois Bodson (1873–1942),[52] Father Cardon was among the oldest missionaries who transitioned from the Lievens era to the mid-twentieth century. They continued to use former missionary methods of blending legal aid with a pastoral approach as a means for evangelization.

The missionary engagement with language and linguistics remained constant throughout this phase and would become a characteristic feature of evangelization that later aided the process of indigenization. Besides his work with the Chota Nagpur Cooperative Society and his pastoral work in Katkahi, Father André Grignard (1875–1942)[53] produced an Oraon–English dictionary that was widely used by candidates and missionaries in their ministries.[54] Another missionary popular-

43 A.F., 'Conversion vs. Consolidation'.
44 *Our Field*, July–August 1941, 82–86.
45 *Our Field*, January–April 1952, 5–6.
46 *Our Field*, June–August 1956, 108–109.
47 *Our Field*, September–October 1951, 173–175.
48 The Arya Samaj was a Hindu reform movement founded by Dayananda Sarasvati in 1875, and that sought to return to the Vedas as the guiding principle of life.
49 Anthony Doondoong, interview, 23 April 2019; Doondoong, *Father Louis Cardon SJ*, 24–33.
50 Mooney, 'A List of Plants recorded from the Pats of Ranchi and Palamu Districts and the States of Jashpur and Surguga'.
51 *Our Field*, August 1942, 146–148.
52 *Our Field*, February 1943, 16–18.
53 *Our Field*, July 1942, 120–122.
54 Grignard. *An Oraon-English Dictionary in the Roman Character*.

ly remembered for his Oraon proficiency is Father Henry Dilles (1896–1942).[55] Along with these, the Dutch Jesuit Father Gerard Turkenburg (1894–1946) was instrumental in promoting vernacular languages.[56] While being responsible for the Apostolic School in Ranchi, Turkenburg set up the Catholic Press in 1930 that in due course had the Bible translated and printed in Hindi, besides publishing varied literature in Hindi and in indigenous vernacular languages.

Probably the most prolific Jesuit missionary of this period remains Father Joseph Jans (1899–1951) who spent most of his career as an educationist in Samtoli, Gumla, Katkahi and later Chainpur.[57] Apart from education, he assumed key responsibilities for the training of indigenous candidates, first as the director of the apostolic school in Ranchi and then as master of novices at the novitiate in Sitagarha.

Provinciae Ranchiensis (1956 onwards)

While the indigenization of the Ranchi Jesuit province had already been facilitated since the beginning of the twentieth century, it still remained an administratively dependent mission of the Belgian province until the mid-twentieth century. However, as the freedom movement within India resulted in political independence and eventual decolonization, the indigenization of administrative structures within foreign Christian missions in India gained momentum. The Ranchi mission was thus raised to the status of a vice-province in 1953, following which it was declared an independent province (*Provinciae Ranchiensis*) in 1956.[58] Subsequently, Jesuit missions that had formerly shared their boundaries with Ranchi were also declared independent provinces: Calcutta in 1976, Jamshedpur in 1984, Hazaribagh in 1992, Madhya Pradesh in 1992 and Darjeeling in 1997.

Although Ranchi had now become an independent Jesuit province, it continued to share its association with the Belgian province while also being part of a global network within the Society of Jesus. What changed was its ability to localize its decision-making capacities within its administrative structures, rather than being partly governed from abroad. This 'localization' took on an even different significance when indigenous Jesuits were appointed provincials of the province. Father Phillip Ekka was the first Adivasi provincial of the Ranchi province in 1972,[59] and was followed by Father Pascal Topno (1978–1984), Father Michael

55 *Our Field*, July 1942, 144–146.
56 *Our Field*, July 1946, 175–176.
57 *Our Field*, September–October 1951, 175–178.
58 *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XIII, 1956, 58–71.
59 *Catalogus Provinciae Ranchiensis Societatis Iesu*, 1973, 3.

Fonseca (1984–1987),[60] Father Henry Barla (1987–1993), Father John Kerketta (1993–1999), Father Christopher Lakra (1999–2005), Father Ranjit Pascal Toppo (2005–2011), Father Xavier Soreng (2011–2014), Father Joseph Marianus Kujur (2014–2020) and Father Ajit Kumar Xess (2020–present).

Adivasi Jesuit provincials were instrumental in indigenizing the Ranchi province and in the process were equally enabled by their confrères, who in this phase were fairly evenly composed of Adivasis, Europeans and a sizeable minority from the Indian states of Karnataka and Kerala. Father Philip Ekka was preceded by three Belgians as provincials – Father John Baptist Moyersoen (1956–1959), Father Francis Crick (1959–1966) and Father Luke Verstraete (1966–1972) – whose administrative policies favored indigenization. Father Moyersoen established an *arca seminari* fund that aimed to meet the training expenses of the increasing indigenous candidates. He equipped the province professionally and by facilitating the training of a number of Adivasi Jesuits within India and abroad; for example, Father Philip Ekka received doctoral training in social anthropology at the University of Oxford.[61] Father Verstraete oversaw the liturgical transitions in the province in the post-Vatican II period. As local Jesuit institutions also began to increase, he moved beyond the province boundaries to recruit candidates from Kerala, as well as from Bangalore and Mangalore in Karnataka. This attempt to heterogenize the province was also matched by a change in leadership positions within the province: Adivasi Jesuits were now appointed in key positions as rectors, superiors and directors of institutions.[62] The founding of the Apostolic School in Samtoli in 1969 provided a further impetus to indigenous candidates. Consequently, Father Ekka's term as provincial was a watershed moment in the indigenization process because he had inherited a province that had been structurally well prepared for indigenization. His appointment was significant in the manner in which it gave expression to Adivasi Jesuit desires of self-actualization. Father Ekka, who had earned their trust, was able to recognize these desires and strategically deploy them for effective governance. He remarked: 'I will not dismiss anybody from the Society. I shall be a father to all my subjects.'[63]

The General Congregation 32 from 1974–1975 (GC 32) convened by the Society of Jesus in Rome – in response to the directives of the Roman Church's Vatican Council II – would provide a key impetus to Jesuit works globally, including

60 Michael Fonseca SJ, as a Mangalorean within the Ranchi province, was the sole exception in a successive line of Adivasi Jesuit provincials.

61 Delporte, 'Bishop Philip Ekka'.

62 Aurel Brys, interview, 20 April 2019.

63 Delporte, 'Bishop Philip Ekka', 170.

in Ranchi.[64] The GC 32 directives, namely Decree 4 on 'Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice' and Decree 5 on 'The Work of Inculturation of the Faith and the Promotion of Christian Life', resonated well with the emancipatory nature of Adivasi identities in general and its drive towards inculturation and indigenization.[65] For example, the Xavier Institute of Social Service (XISS) involved itself in the struggle of the Adivasis against the Koel Karo project that had threatened to displace them from their land and livelihood.[66]

Father Pascal Topno largely continued in the direction outlined by his predecessor, though he now articulated a GC 32 perspective of 'faith and justice' to the mission. Father Michael Fonseca initially proved to be a dynamic provincial as he sought to further institutionalize the province. He directed several Adivasi Jesuits to equip themselves with professional training. However his term ended abruptly in the midst of a personal crisis in 1987.[67] While institutional archives for these years remain inaccessible, the provincial tenures of Fathers Henry Barla, John Kerketta and Christopher Lakra suggest further institutional building that focussed largely on schools and parishes as the Jesuit province moved into the hinterland. Issues of social justice and Adivasi identity came into focus as the Jesuits joined the movement for the creation of a separate state of Jharkhand in 2000.[68] A key element of transition in the identity of the Ranchi province was the manner in which it reinvented itself as a province that sent out missionaries to other regions instead of receiving foreign missionaries. The Jesuits of the Ranchi province, indeed, volunteered as missionaries to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands from 1948,[69] Sudan from 1971,[70] Assam from 1998[71] and Cambodia from 2001.[72]

The memories of Jesuits that belong to this phase can be recollected within the present-day Ranchi province, as a few fathers who encountered them remain alive and are still active within the province. Brother Louis Ekka (1888–1961) from the Katkahi parish in the Barway region remains memorialized as the first Adivasi Jesuit from Chota Nagpur. While he served as a *coadjutor* brother and mainly worked at St. Mary's Cathedral in Ranchi, the obituaries for him in several publications in-

64 A General Congregation is a global legislative assembly of the Society of Jesus and is made up of Jesuit province representatives. It is the highest decision-making body within the Jesuit order that then mandates the Superior General to carry out its mission.

65 Padberg, ed., *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 298–318.

66 Ekka and Asif, *Development-Induced Displacement and Rehabilitation in Jharkhand 1951–1995*.

67 Aurel Brys, interview, 19 April 2019.

68 Christopher Lakra, interview, 8 April 2019.

69 *Status Regionis Missionum Calcuttensis, Jamshedpurensis, Ranchiensis et Patnensis*, 1949, 76.

70 *Catalogus Provinciae Ranchiensis Societatis Iesu*, 1972, 49.

71 *Catalogus Provinciae Ranchiensis Societatis Iesu*, 1999, 32.

72 *Catalogus Provinciae Ranchiensis Societatis Iesu*, 2002, 39.

dicate his popularity.[73] Father Edmund Harrison (1905–1964), the founder of an indigenous congregation of religious nuns, the Handmaids of Mary, is recollected within the wider history of the Chota Nagpur mission. Similarly, the Belgian Father Oscar Sevrin (1884–1975) is remembered as a bishop of Ranchi (1934–1951) and Raigarh-Ambikapur (1951–1957) who advocated for indigenous clergy within his dioceses. In keeping with the missiological trends ushered in by *Maximum Illud*, he resigned twice to make way for an indigenous bishop. Hence, Father Niclas Kujur became bishop of Ranchi in 1951, and Father Stanislaus Tigga was elected bishop of Raigarh-Ambikapur in 1957.[74]

Other prominent figures that emerge in this phase are the founder of St. Xavier's College, Father Henri De Jonghe (1901–1982);[75] Father Edward De Meulder (1904–1983);[76] the Spanish Father Jose Solozabal (1905–1984);[77] the humble *dindas* (servant), Father Francis Quirijnen (1909–1985);[78] and the Anglo-Indian writer Father Victor Rosner (1911–1985).[79] Among the Adivasi Jesuits, Father Polycarp Toppo (1924–1987) is remembered as the first Adivasi missionary who worked in Sudan.[80] Father Martin Topno (1901–1988) is significant for his catechetical and liturgical works in Mundari.[81] Father Peter Tete (1941–2001) established himself as an Adivasi church historian at St. Albert's College and produced a modest corpus on the church in Chota Nagpur and north India.[82]

However, in recent Jesuit memory, the Hindi scholar Father Camille Bulcke (1909–1982) is now popularly celebrated within Ranchi for his Hindi lexicography as well as his work on the Hindi epic *Ramcharitmanas*.[83] Soon after his death, the Jesuits established the Camil Bulcke Research Institute in 1983, had a city road named after him and celebrated his legacy with a statue within Manresa House. While the memory of Father Bulcke is localized within Ranchi, the martyr Father Herman Rasschaert (1922–1964)[84] is celebrated across the province, as one is

73 'रेभ. ब्रदर लुइस एक्का की स्मृति में ' [In Memory of Rev. Brother Louis Ekka], *Nishkalanka*, December 1961, 189; *Ranchi Bulletin*, No. 12/61, 29 November 1961, 1.

74 Van Troy, 'Oscar Sevrin SJ (1884–1975)' in: Tete. *To Chotanagpur with Love and Service*, 91–113; *Ranchi Bulletin*, No. 4, 15 May 1975, 1.

75 *Ranchi Bulletin*, No. 5, 30 April 1982, Supplement, 1–4.

76 Ponette, 'Edward De Meuder SJ (1904–1983)'; *Ranchi Bulletin*, No. 11, November 1983, Supplement, 1–5.

77 *Ranchi Bulletin*, No. 2, February 1984, Supplement, 1.

78 Matthijs, 'Francis Quirijnen SJ (1909–1985)'; *Ranchi Bulletin*, No. 8, August 1985, Supplement, 1–2.

79 *Ranchi Bulletin*, No. 12, December 1985, Supplement, 1–3.

80 *Ranchi Bulletin*, No. 8, August 1987, 4; Soreng, 'Bro. Vincent Soreng, SJ'.

81 Van Exem, 'Martin Topno SJ (1901–1988)'; *Ranchi Bulletin*, No. 7, July 1988, Supplement, 1–3.

82 *Ranchi Bulletin*, March 2001, 11–12.

83 *Ranchi Bulletin*, No. 10, 25 October 1982, Supplement, 1–10; Editorial, *Nishkalanka*, September 1982, 227.

84 *Ranchi Bulletin*, March 1964.

bound to find a framed picture of him along with fathers Lievens and Hoffmann in the current Jesuit residences of the Ranchi province.

Other popular missionaries of this phase include the social workers Father Michael Windey (1921–2009) and Father Victor Van Bortel (1929–2010), the educationists Father Michael Van den Bogaert (1928–2009) and Father Peter Paul Van Nuffel (1929–2013), and the liturgist Father Jozef de Cuyper (1920–2012).

Looking back at the demographic shifts within the Ranchi Jesuit province, in all there have been 701 European missionaries (553 from Belgium itself) that worked in the Calcutta–Ranchi missions from 1859 to 1969, with an average arrival of six per year. While not accounting for the 126 Jesuits from other parts of India, if one were to split the European recruits into 544 missionaries that arrived between 1869–1935 (eight per year) and 157 missionaries between 1935–1969 (four per year), one can see a drop of 50 percent. After 1969 no European missionaries arrived. However, these numbers differ from an Adivasi perspective. In 1920 there were four Adivasi Jesuits (2 percent) in the mission, with a total of 239 Jesuits. However, in 2000 there were 331 Adivasi Jesuits (88 percent), 39 European Jesuits (10 percent) and five from other parts of India. Of these thirty-nine European Jesuits, seven had already returned to Europe, and most of the remaining ones were either emeriti or working in non-decision-making capacities. By 2018, European Jesuits accounted for merely 1 percent (four Jesuits), while the remaining 373 Jesuits were all Adivasis.

The indigenizing turn within the mission text

The indigenizing turn within the mission of the Ranchi province was facilitated by the production of missionary texts that the Jesuits used not only for their works of evangelization but also as cultural products, which in turn contributed to their identity-making. While ethnographic and linguistic works like the *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*, grammars and dictionaries did contribute to the production and reification of certain social categories, the Jesuits were also able to deploy them in their emancipatory struggle of asserting their identity as Adivasis. These texts also played a critical role in the indigenization of the Adivasi Jesuits as they employed them to construct and articulate their own identities within their mission communities.

The *Nishkalanka* has been among the most popular missionary texts within the Ranchi province.[85] It was started in 1921 by Father Oscar Sevrin as a monthly spir-

85 *Nishkalanka* (without stain) refers to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Such popular devotions were catechetical devices through which missionaries alluded to the conscience of the Catholic community.

itual magazine in Hindi for the Junior Sodality of St. John's School in Ranchi and in its initial years was used for imparting Christian doctrine.[86] However, when in 1930 the Jesuits established the Catholic Press in Ranchi, the *Nishkalanka* was able to consolidate its publishing within Ranchi while its missionary network enabled its circulation to reach beyond Ranchi.[87] As the content and size of the magazine grew from a modest eight pages in 1921 to thirty-six in 2000 (today forty-eight pages), it transcended its original spiritual focus to grow into a social document of the mission. Owing to its vast circulation, the magazine also became an official channel of communication for the Archdiocese of Ranchi in its initial years. Gradually, the *Nishkalanka* was able to speak to a broader collective imagination of the Adivasis,[88] leading to a formation of a Christian Adivasi public sphere. Having always been Adivasi Jesuits, the editors helped to articulate their own Adivasi identity.[89] The frequent use of possessive pronouns like 'we' and 'our' unconsciously indicated a sense of identity and belonging that the editors sought to locate within the social and religious contexts of their Adivasi community.

Mission text in the making of an Adivasi Jesuit identity

It was within this nascent Christian Adivasi public sphere that emerging Adivasi Jesuit identities were articulated through the creation of a missionary discourse that celebrated the priestly vocation. In the ensuing process of indigenization, such a discourse would be reinforced especially when celebrating new ordinations or recruiting new candidates for religious life. Yet it also exposed the fault lines of these emerging identities. One such example, which bears recounting here, is a January 1950 article titled 'A Priest is Another Christ'.[90] The text celebrates the ordinations of twenty-one Jesuits in Kurseong, of whom seven belonged to the Ranchi mission. Two of them, Nabor Lakra and Henry Kerketta, were Adivasis 'from *our* Chotanagpur'. The other five were 'from Belgium' (Rene Smits, Albert Van Exem and Albert Verbraeken) and 'from Holland' (Johan van Boxtel and Johan Kohlbrugge).[91] It later spells out the training process of the two Adivasi Jesuits: apostolic school in Ranchi, St. Xavier's College in Calcutta, novitiate at St. Stanislaus

86 Van Troy, 'Oscar Sevrin SJ (1884–1975)', 95.

87 KADOC, 11909, *Brieven betreffende de aanschaf van drukpersen voor de katholieke pers in Ranchi*, 1928–1930.

88 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1–8.

89 While the publishers of the *Nishkalanka* had in the initial decades been European Jesuits who were executive directors of the Catholic Press, their status within the magazine was nominal. Similarly, the *Nishkalanka* functioned as a separate entity and its office was based at St. Albert's College, Manresa House and later Satya Bharati in Ranchi.

90 Kurseong, 'पुरोहति दूसरा ख्रीस्त है। ' [A Priest is Another Christ], *Nishkalanka*, January 1950, 7–8.

91 *Status Regionis Missionum Calcuttensis, Jamshedpurensis, Ranchiensis et Patnensis*, 1949, 74.

College in Hazaribagh where they entered the Society of Jesus, philosophy at Sacred Heart College in Shembaganur (south India), teaching at Samtoli High School (Nabor) and St. John's School in Ranchi (Henry), and finally theology at St. Mary's College, Kurseong. In the following paragraph, the text comments on how the 'other five' entered the apostolic school in Belgium, studied philosophy, taught in various schools and were then conscripted to serve in the war. After briefly making note of their teaching services in India and learning the Hindi language, the text continues:

> The seven have sacrificed a lot to become priests. They had to leave behind their homes, parents, siblings and friends. Half of their lifetime is spent in learning and their education has not yet ended. But our foreign fathers have made more self-sacrifices. They have not only left homes, parents and so on but have also left their country. [...] The great Father Lievens, Hofmann and Cardon and others have shown us the path to true religion. Our forefathers have decided to follow the same path. These new fathers have come to set us on the same path. In this work, even if they have to die, they are ready. [...] Nowadays, the opponents of our religion are engaged in money to dissuade us from this path. They know very well that if we stay in the Christian faith, we will progress soon. Who then does not know that the Christian faith has liberated us from the plight? Who does not know that if we are anything today, all this is due to the Christian faith? Therefore, those who want to free us from the Christian faith does [sic?] not do us a favour but does [sic?] us harm.

The author later espouses a theology where he further spiritualizes the role of the missionary priest and appeals for more candidates to the priesthood. He then continues:

> Whichever child or youngster has generosity more than ordinary people and wishes to serve the country and faith; and those who have a calling for the priest-Christ, there is only one answer – 'See, Lord, I am ready to serve you.'

The above text is remarkable for the manner in which it typifies a missionary discourse that would get embedded within missionary texts and identity-making. The text introduces the newly ordained priests by first claiming the two Adivasi priests 'from *our* Chotanagpur'. On being introduced in two neatly separate paragraphs, their qualifications are highlighted in an attempt to not only reflect the newfound status they have acquired, and valorize their achievements, but also ascribe an aspirational value to their priesthood. The achievements of the 'other five' are clubbed into a single paragraph, and are then couched within a language of self-sacrifice. Their missionary enterprise is defined as a 'spiritual and financial service' to the community. This discourse borrows its legacy from the first phase of the mission. However, it also juxtaposes this 'service' – again in a language

of self-sacrifice – with the process of acculturation by which foreign missionaries are now embedded within local culture. In this sense the foreign missionary would also experience a double consciousness of they while being foreigners, are now being embedded within Adivasi culture. Yet there is a marker of difference as these missionaries would be ones working 'among' us, while not really being 'ours' – though in the texts of the later years one encounters phrases that identified the foreign missionaries as '*our* fathers', thus reinforcing a marked degree of acculturation.[92]

Further on, the text historicizes the mission by viewing it as a legacy of Fathers Lievens, Hoffmann and Cardon.[93] This reveals an oral tradition of the history of the mission through which these memories of the past are deployed through the oral traditions of the Adivasi forefathers that 'follow the same path'. The newly ordained priests and the future course of the mission would be inserted within these oral traditions 'on the same path'. This text moves on to embed this legacy within the liberative struggle of the Adivasis, which is now further juxtaposed against an emerging debate on their identity that in a few decades would come to be challenged by the *sarnas*:[94] are Christian-Adivasis tribals?[95]

Within such contexts, missionary texts would seek to valorize the identity of Adivasi Jesuits by first presenting it as an aspirational status worth ascribing to – as 'more than ordinary people' that 'serve the country and faith' – while also embedding it ideologically within a theology that identified them as *alter Christus* (another Christ). Such discourses would repeatedly be deployed in successive texts that also inform a larger context of the indigenization of Adivasi Christianity. However, in later years, as Adivasi Christianity itself was invited to locate itself within a pan-Indian Christianity, Adivasi Jesuits in the Ranchi province would come to navigate their identities within multiple contexts: Adivasi, Indian, Catholic, Jesuit. It is in the margins of these identities that they reinvent themselves.

Deploying the mission text

The third phase of the Ranchi province, while being located within a post-independence India, has also to be situated within a changing global Christianity that

92 While the Adivasis used the pejorative term '*diku*' to refer to the colonial other, this was not used in reference to the foreign missionary, at least within the Jesuit mission in Ranchi.

93 Cardon had just died four years back in 1946 and is generally viewed among the founding fathers of the mission, though his memory is more localized within the Rengarih and Biru missions.

94 *Sarna* is a collective term that refers to indigenous peoples around the Chota Nagpur plateau that did not convert to Christianity or other faiths. Their beliefs are rooted in nature worship and often described as animism. *Sarnas* often tend to question the Adivasi ethnicity of those who converted to Christianity.

95 Toppo, 'आदविासी-ख्रीस्तीय ' [Adivasi-Christians], *Nishkalanka*, June 1968, 150–151.

was shifting from its traditional Western strongholds to emerging centers in the Global South.[96] Probably the most momentous manifestation of this transition was the announcement of the Second Vatican Council, 1962–1965, which apart from its conciliar decrees that effected changes within the Church at large,[97] also had a strong missionary character reflected within its decree on missionary activity, *Ad Gentes*.[98] A key feature of this decree was its emphasis on inculturation – an attitude of missionary acculturation to cultures and the adaptation of liturgies. However, by the 1950s, this process of inculturation had achieved considerable momentum within the Ranchi province.[99] De Cuyper was particularly active in composing Hindi adaptations of liturgical songs, which he then published in the *Nishkalanka*.[100]

Reportage on the Vatican within the *Nishkalanka* – through the publication of a pastoral letter, its proceedings, photographs and decree summaries – sought to situate a local Christianity within its global context.[101] Bishop Pius Kerketta, who was ordained Archbishop of Ranchi in 1961, participated in Vatican II.[102] Readers now saw their own indigenous bishops among global leaders who shaped global policies. At the same time, the publication of the deliberations of the 1969 Catholic Bishops' Conference of India (CBCI), 'All India Seminar on Church in India Today',[103] enabled the Adivasis to see Adivasi Christianity within the context of an Indian Christianity,[104] as well as to engage with debate regarding the Indianization of the Church in Chota Nagpur.[105] In 1979 the CBCI organized its national seminar in Ranchi, thus recognizing its place within a pan-Indian Christianity.[106]

By the 1970s, as the *Nishkalanka* had reached Assam and Jalpaiguri in West Bengal, where migrant Adivasis labored in the tea gardens, it spoke to a broader collective imagination of the Adivasis.[107] Later in the early 1980s – in preparation

96 Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, 89–92.
97 Flannery, *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Postconciliar Documents*.
98 Bevans, 'Revisiting Mission at Vatican II', 261–283.
99 De Cuyper, *The Making of the Liturgy in Hindi*, 4–28.
100 De Cuyper, 'हम गाना सीखे!' [We learn the song], *Nishkalanka*, July 1968, 181–181.
101 'वाटकिन वश्वि-सभा ' [Vatican World-Council], *Nishkalanka*, April 1962, 58–62.
102 Brugeman, 'रांची के महार्धमाध्यक्ष, महामान्यवर पयिुस केरकेट्टा, एस. जे. का बशिप-अभषिक ' [The Consecration of the Archbishop of Ranchi, Most Rev. Pius Kerketta SJ], *Nishkalanka*, July 1961, 81, 103–105.
103 'आज के भारत में कलीसयिा' [The Church in India Today], *Nishkalanka*, July 1969, 175–180.
104 Puthanangady, *The Church in India after the All India Seminar*.
105 Lakra, 'कलीसयिा का भारतीयकरण और छोटानागपुर' [The Indianisation of the Church and Chotanagpur], *Nishkalanka*, February 1970, 43–44.
106 Toppo, 'रांची में सी.बी.सी.आई. पहली बार' [CBCI first time in Ranchi], *Nishkalanka*, October 1979, 263–264.
107 Bara, 'नष्किलंका-प्रसार ' [Nishkalanka-Circulation], *Nishkalanka*, 1970, 72–73; Pradeep, 'नि-ष्कलंका का प्रचार आसाम एवं जलपाईगुडी में ' [The Spread of Nishkalanka in Assam and Jalpaiguri], *Nishkalanka*, 1970, 74–75.

for the celebration of the jubilee of Father Lievens' mission in 1985 – when the *Nishkalanka* had spread to the metropolitan cities, it sought to connect with Adivasi working classes as well as its intelligentsia. Now, this was part of a concerted appeal to enumerate the subscribers of the magazine, increase its circulation, as well as invite them to participate more earnestly in discussions within the magazine. However, more striking is the manner in which it sought to create a list of:

> Chotanagpur-born priests, religious sisters and religious brothers so that the people of the village and the parish could get information that Our Lord has chosen from our very own home-family, tribe-community to work in his vineyard. The tribes which the world considers backward tribes, the same tribes have been given the honour of being the chosen tribe by the Lord God.[108]

The Jesuits continued to employ such missionary rhetoric through the 1970s, as they now considered the priests not just as *alter Christus*, but much more as indigenous leaders within a larger diasporic Adivasi community that was located in Assam, Jalpaiguri, the Andamans[109] and metropolitan Delhi.[110] Such discourse-making played a key role in how Adivasi Jesuits hence also imagined themselves as missionaries. In 1971 Father Polycarp Toppo[111] ventured to Sudan and was succeeded by four more Adivasi Jesuits in 1972.[112] This was matched by a very concerted recruiting drive as Adivasis ascribed an aspirational value to religious life. A 1973 editorial mentions: 'We do not have any shortage. Ranchi Seminary is packed with priestly candidates.'[113] The *Nishkalanka* was repeatedly deployed for these purposes, as several front cover stories focussed on recruiting vocations to religious life.[114] Advertisements for vocations became a novel feature and their number increased as various congregations within Ranchi and from other states recruited Adivasi candidates. The Adivasi-as-missionary was now a turning point within Adivasi Jesuit identities.

Though the *Nishkalanka* played a critical role in this recruitment drive, it was also bolstered by other factors. In the post-independence fervor, nationalistic sentiments within India deemed foreign missionaries to be Western agents of

108 Editor, '"नष्किलंका " और बुध्दजिीवी' ['Nishkalanka' and Intellectual], *Nishkalanka*, December 1982, 311–312.

109 Sandy, 'अण्डामन्स में कलीसयिा की प्रगत ि' [The Progress of the Church in the Andamans], *Nishkalanka*, November 1975, 296–297.

110 James, 'आदवािसी समाज राजधानी में' [Adivasi Society in the Capital], *Nishkalanka*, May 1972, 123–124, 132.

111 सम्पादकीय [Editorial], *Nishkalanka*, November 1971, 283.

112 'छोटानागपुर के पांच पुत्र सूडान में' [Five Sons of Chotanagpur in Sudan], *Nishkalanka*, February 1972, 39, 49.

113 *Nishkalanka*, January 1973, 3.

114 *Nishkalanka*, May 1974, June 1975, September 1975, October 1976.

imperialism. Emboldened by the Madhya Pradesh state government inquiry and its two-volume 1956 report 'Niyogi Committee Report on Christian Missionary Activities',[115] there were calls to legally prohibit religious conversions and ban foreign missionary activities.[116] The last foreign missionary to the Ranchi province arrived in 1969; its expanding mission works and territories now demanded the recruitment of local candidates. In 1979, as an anti-conversion bill was introduced in the national parliament, the *Nishkalanka* brought the conversion debate to the Adivasi public sphere.[117] These debates underpinned an Indian Christian identity,[118] but there were simultaneously counter-debates within radical Hindu organizations that reinforced the idea of Christianity as a product of Western imperialism and sought a ban on its missionaries.[119]

While the Ranchi province and its ecclesiastical archdiocesan boundaries have generally been seen within the *Nishkalanka* as a legacy of the mission of Father Lievens[120] and Father Hoffmann,[121] their memory is only selectively recounted on occasions like ordinations or other institutional celebrations. When the centenary celebrations of Father Lievens' arrival were held within Ranchi in 1985, it gave the Adivasi diaspora the opportunity to gather and celebrate their own history along with Lievens.[122] However, Father Benjamin Lakra, recounting the centenary celebrations, remarks 'how unknown Father Lievens is in Belgium'.[123] The cover of the July 1991 edition of the *Nishkalanka*, celebrating the jubilee of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, depicted Fathers Lievens and Hoffmann along with Ignatius and his companions.[124] Though Lievens and Hoffmann are hardly encountered as missionary prototypes for current Adivasi Jesuits, they rather remain archetypes within the collective history of the Ranchi Jesuit province and are selectively deployed in recollections of its past. By considering their identity as legacies of Lievens and

115 Niyogi, *Report of the Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry Committee, Madhya Pradesh, 1956*.
116 Shourie, *Harvesting Our Souls*.
117 Jojo, 'आदविासी ने ईसाई होकर क्या पाया और क्या खोया ?' [By becoming Christians what did the Adivasi gain or lose?], *Nishkalanka*, February 1979, 41; सम्पादकीय : Anti-Conversion Bill [Editorial: Anti-Conversion Bill], *Nishkalanka*, February 1979, 59–60.
118 Choudhary, 'भारतीय ईसाई' [Indian Christians], *Nishkalanka*, August 1979, 205–206.
119 Ekka, 'वश्विे हन्दिू सम्मेलन में मशिनरी' [Missionaries at the World Hindu Conference], *Nishkalanka*, April 1979, 95–96.
120 'पथकि: फादर कोन्सटन्ट लीवन्स व' [Wanderer: Father Constant Lievens], *Nishkalanka*, November 1976, 290–291.
121 'फादर होफमन, ये.स.' [Father Hoffmann, S.J.], *Nishkalanka*, November 1978, 293–294.
122 'सम्पादकीय : लीवन्स शतवर्षिकि सम्पन्न ' [Editorial: Lievens Centenary Celebrated], *Nishkalanka*, November 1985, 87.
123 Lakra, 'बेलजयिम में लीवन्स शतर्वषीय जयंती समारोह ' [Centenary Celebrations of Lievens' Jubilee in Belgium], *Nishkalanka*, May 1985, 87.
124 Toppo, 'येसु संघयिों के जुबलिी बर्ष का अन्त ' [The Meaning of the Jubilee Year of the Jesuit Society], *Nishkalanka*, July 1991, 195–196.

Hoffmann, the Adivasi Jesuits also reinvent their identities depending on their prevalent social contexts.

Writings in the *Nishkalanka* in the 1980s placed a strong emphasis on Adivasi cultural and social issues,[125] even though it retained its spiritual element. Moreover, it now showed that the Adivasi public sphere had evolved, as its intelligentsia[126] made a more informed analysis of its past and present.[127] Similarly, the missionary discourse surrounding the recruitment of candidates did not necessarily take a spiritual approach but was rather embedded within its social contexts.[128]

The *Nishkalanka* of the 1990s reflected the political ferment within the Chota Nagpur region that ultimately led to the creation of a separate state of Jharkhand in 2000. Borrowing from their reading of GC 32 Decree 4 – 'The mission of the Society of Jesus today is the service of faith, of which the promotion of justice is an absolute requirement'[129] – Adivasi Jesuit identities displayed a strong thrust. They now connected with marginalized peoples – Adivasis[130] and Dalits[131] – outside their region, while engaging with social movements within their own region.[132] The Jesuits continue to be involved with the Netarhat Field Firing Range movement until today.[133] The 1990s also saw the demand for a separate Jharkhand state that was meant to give expression to an Adivasi political space. While the Jesuits initially debated on the role of the Church in the Jharkhand Movement,[134] they eventually gave expression to it and celebrated its formation on 15 November 2000.[135] This

125 आदविासी लोक-गीतों में कर्षि-र्वणन [Agricultural descriptions in Adivasi folksongs], *Nishkalanka*, June 1980, 167–168; Toppo, 'एक र्धम-संकट: आदविासयिों द्वारा र्धम-परर्वितन का' [A Religious Crisis: The Religious Conversions of Adivasis], *Nishkalanka*, March 1982, 72–73, 82.

126 Kindo, 'आदविासी समाज और उसके बुद्धजिीवी' [Adivasi Society and its Intellectuals], *Nishkalanka*, November 1982, 289.

127 Tirkey, 'मुंडा-उराँव इतहिास की एक झलक' [A Glimpse of Munda-Oraon History], *Nishkalanka*, July 1982, 179–180; Minj, 'आदविासयिों पर एहसान जताने वाले कतिने नकली, कतिने असली' [Of those who favour the Adivasis, how many fakes, how many true], *Nishkalanka*, March 1982, 70–71.

128 Jojo, 'पुरोहति: कलीसयिा का सेवक' [Priest: Servant of the Church], *Nishkalanka*, April 1980, 112–114; 'मैं क्यों पुरोहति बनना चाहता हूँ ?' [Why do I want to be a priest?], *Nishkalanka*, April 1982, 94–95.

129 Padberg, ed., *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 298.

130 Bhatt, 'उत्तरकाशी की 'जाड़' आदविासी जाति की सांस्र्कतकि परम्परयों ' [The Cultural Traditions of the 'Jad' Adivasis of Uttarkashi], *Nishkalanka*, May 1991, 152–153.

131 'दलतिों पर अत्याचार ' [Atrocities on Dalits], *Nishkalanka*, January 1991, 12–13.

132 Thakur, 'बहिार के कोल्हान-आंदोलन का वश्लिेषण ' [An Analysis of the Kolhan Movement of Bihar], *Nishkalanka*, August 1991, 243; Paul, 'जान देंगे, जमीन नहीं देंगे' [Will give life, will not give land], *Nishkalanka*, May 1994, 166–170.

133 Tigga, 'Netarhat Field Firing Range, 410.

134 Kullu, 'झारखंड राजनीति में कलीसयिा की संभावति भूमकिा' [The Potential Role of the Church in Jharkhand Politics], *Nishkalanka*, February 1995, 53.

135 Ekka, 'झारखंड और झारखंडयिों की आशा' [Hope of Jharkhand and Jharkhandis], *Nishkalanka*, November 2000, 503–504.

new political landscape ran parallel – though not related – to a new Adivasi identity within the Ranchi province, as it now veered towards a more homogenous Adivasi composition, as compared to its neighboring Jesuit provinces that reflected a more heterogeneous composition.[136]

Articulating Adivasi Jesuit Indigenization

Missionary histories have generally studied missions as products of cultural imperialism that are viewed through processes of colonialism and its ensuing imperialism. Such works within South Asia gained currency in the period following political decolonization,[137] often with polemic intent. Scholars continue to engage on whether missions and missionaries are in fact colonizers[138] or mere evangelizers that were sometimes seen to be in variance with the state.[139] While cautioning against applying deterministic concepts such as 'cultural imperialism' to the study of modern missionary movements, Ryan Dunch argues that such models essentialize cultural authenticity and ignore the agency of those acted upon.[140] Similarly, a purely subaltern perspective leaves the historian in a bind on the vexing issue of the ability to represent marginalised voices, as Spivak would famously question: 'Can the subaltern speak?'[141] Recent scholarship on the history of Christian missions investigates processes of localization that are operative in the mission, thus evealing a more nuanced understanding of indigenization.[142]

Rather than investigating indigenization of the Ranchi Jesuit province from either of these positions, this chapter began by tracing key figures within the mission's history in an attempt to outline the structural changes within the mission. It then read an indigenous Adivasi text, the *Nishkalanka*, in an attempt to recover an indigenous self-perception of indigenization, and how it was constructed and deployed within the province. Thus the chapter attempted to articulate Adivasi Jesuit identities that emerged in the Ranchi province in the post-independence period.

When viewing the Ranchi Jesuit province as an interprovince network with distributed agency, difference is not always visible using the above methodology and text. Moreover, European Jesuits were not referred to as *dikus* or colonial others by the indigenous Jesuits and people, but as 'our fathers'. Interviews with cur-

136 *Catalogus Provinciae Ranchiensis Societatis Iesu*, 2000.
137 Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*; Shourie, *Harvesting Our Souls*.
138 Vallgarda, 'Were Christian Missionaries Colonizers?', 865–886.
139 Chaudhuri, 'Towards an Understanding of the Tribal World of Colonial Eastern India'.
140 Dunch, 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism', 301–325.
141 Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'
142 Collins, *Christian Inculturation in India*; Bauman and Young, *Constructing Indian Christianities*; Young. *India and the Indianness of Christianity*.

rent Jesuits do reveal some personal biases and, on the whole, a marked degree of cultural adaptation and accommodation. If difference has to be studied, it needs to be done by investigating European sources that could possibly reveal attitudes that were at variance with indigenous sociocultural norms and behaviors.

The indigenization of the administrative governance of the Ranchi province took place only in the 1970s, in the context of an emerging national consciousness within the subcontinent. However, the indigenous turn in the mission's history reveals much earlier antecedents. In this regard, European Jesuits in the Ranchi province were much ahead of the norms set by the institutional Church with regard to indigenizing missions. The setting up of apostolic schools, recruiting indigenous candidates, instituting the *arca seminari* and professionalizing their training equipped the Adivasi Jesuits structurally when the 1970s presented them with administrative governance. Thus, Father Philip Ekka's term as provincial, 1972–1978, was a watershed moment in the indigenization because the province he had inherited was structurally prepared for such a development to take place.

The emancipatory identity of the Adivasis that characterized their self-making in the early twentieth century remains one of the primary cultural markers of their identity. Though marginality produced through the mechanisms of discrimination inscribed their identity, it was through these very margins that they forged together their identities. In later years, as Adivasi Christianity itself was invited to locate itself within a pan-Indian Christianity, Adivasi Jesuits in the Ranchi province would now navigate their identities within multiple contexts: Adivasi, Indian, Catholic, Jesuit. It is in the margins of these identities that they reinvent themselves. While Adivasi Jesuits do consider their identities as legacies of Fathers Lievens and Hoffmann, they also reinvent their identities depending on their prevalent social contexts.

REFERENCES

A.F. 'Conversion vs. Consolidation'. *Our Field*, 5 (June 1938), 172–177.

Athreya, Aditi, Rinald D'Souza, and Idesbald Goddeeris. 'The Postcolonial Expansion of a Mission: Jesuit Education in Ranchi after 1950'. In: Kim Christiaens, Idesbald Goddeeris and Pieter Verstraete, eds. *Missionary Education: Historical Approaches and Global Perspectives*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021, 80–117.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006.

Bauman, Chad M., and Richard Fox Young, eds. *Constructing Indian Christianities: Culture, Conversion and Caste*. New Delhi and London: Routledge, 2014.

Bellenoit, Hayden J.A. *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920*. Empires in Perspective. London: Routledge, 2007.

Bevans, Stephen B. 'Revisiting Mission at Vatican II: Theology and Practice for Today's Missionary Church'. *Theological Studies*, 74 (2013) 2, 261–283.

Chaudhuri, Binay Bhushan. 'Towards an Understanding of the Tribal World of Colonial Eastern India'. In: Sanjukta Das Gupta and Raj Sekhar, eds. *Narratives from the Margins: Aspects of Adivasi History in India*. New Delhi: Primus Books, 2019, 47–82.

Clarysse, Lucien. *Father Constant Lievens, S.J*. Ranchi: Satya Bharati, 1984.

Cleall, Esme. *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840–1900*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Collins, Paul M. *Christian Inculturation in India*. Liturgy, Worship and Society. London-New York: Routledge, 2016.

Cox, Jeffrey. *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818–1940*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.

Cox, Jeffrey. *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Das Gupta, Sanjukta, and Raj Sekhar Basu. *Narratives from the Margins: Aspects of Adivasi History in India*. Delhi: Primus Books, 2012.

De Cuyper, Jos. *St Albert's College: 1914–2009*. Ranchi: St. Albert's College, 2009.

De Cuyper, Jos. *The Making of the Liturgy in Hindi*. Ranchi: St. Albert's College, 2011.

de Dreuzy, Agnes. 'Benedict XV: A Most Unexpected Architect of Vatican II'. In: Vladimir Latinovic, Gerard Mannion and Jason Welle, eds. *Catholicism Opening to the World and Other Confessions: Vatican II and Its Impact*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, 25–42.

Delporte, 'Bishop Philip Ekka' in: *They Still Speak to Us: Pioneers in the Ranchi Jesuit Province*. Ranchi: Ranchi Jesuit Society, 1993, 149–188.

de Sa, Fidelis. *Crisis in Chota Nagpur. With Special Reference to the Judicial Conflict between Jesuit Missionaries and British Government Officials, November 1889– March 1980*. Bangalore: Redemptorist Publications, 1975.

Doongdoog, Anthony. *Father Louis Cardon SJ*. Ranchi: Sudarshan Press, 2001.

Dunch, Ryan. 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity'. *History and Theory* 41 (2002) 3, 301–325.

Ekka, Alex, and Mohammad Asif. *Development-Induced Displacement and Rehabilitation in Jharkhand 1951–1995: A Database on Its Extent and Nature*. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute, 2000.

Fernando, Leonard, and George Gispert-Sauch. *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*. New Delhi: Viking, 2004.

Flannery, Austin. *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Postconciliar Documents*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2014.

Frykenberg, Robert Eric. *History of Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs. Census 2011: Population by Religious Community. www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/c-01.html (31 August 2019).

Grignard, André. *An Oraon-English Dictionary in the Roman Character. With Numerous Phrases Illustrative of Sense and Idiom and Notes on Tribal Customs, Beliefs, Etc*. Calcutta: Catholic Orphan Press, 1924.

Grossberg, Lawrence, and Cary Nelson. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988

Habermas, Jurgen, and Thomas Burger. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996.

Harper, Susan Billington. *In the shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop Azariah and the travails of Christianity in British India*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.

Hedlund, Roger E., Jesudas Athyal, Joshua Kalapati, and Jessica Richard. *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of South Asian Christianity*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Hoffmann, John, and Arthur Van Emelen. *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*. 15 vols. Patna: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1930–1937.

Houtart, François, Geneviève Lemercinier and Iolanda Rendel. *Genesis and Institutionalization of the Indian Catholicism*. Louvain-la-Neuve: CRSR, 1981.

Houtart, François, and Geneviève Lemercinier. *Size and Structures of the Catholic Church in India: The Indigenization of an Exogeneous Religious Institution in a Society in Transition*. Louvain-la-Neuve: CRSR, 1982.

Jenkins, Philip. *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Johnston, Anna. *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Lindenfeld, David F., and Miles Richardson. *Beyond Conversion and Syncretism: Indigenous Encounters with Missionary Christianity, 1800–2000*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.

Malekandathil, Pius, Joy Pachuau, and Tanika Sarkar. *Christianity in Indian History. Issues of Culture, Power, and Knowledge*. Delhi: Primus Books, 2016.

Marlier, A. *Een Jezuiet Missionaris. Pater Constant Lievens*. Leuven: Xaveriana Uitgaven, 1929.

Marlier, A. *Pater Lievens Geïllustreerde Levensschets*. Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1931.

Matthijs, 'Francis Quirijnen SJ (1909–1985): A Humble Servant (*Dindas*)' in: Tete, *To Chotanagpur with Love and Service*, 141–153.

Mooney, H.F. 'A List of Plants recorded from the Pats of Ranchi and Palamu Districts and the States of Jashpur and Surguga'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, X (1944), 59–118.

Mosse, David. *The Saint in the Banyan Tree: Christianity and Caste Society in India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Niyogi, M.B. *Report of the Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry Committee, Madhya Pradesh, 1956*. 2 vols. Nagpur: Government Printing, Madhya Pradesh, 1956.

Padberg, John W., ed. *Jesuit Life & Mission Today: The Decrees and Accompanying Documents of the 31st–35th General Congregations of the Society of Jesus*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2009.

Robinson, Rowena. *Christians of India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003.

Panikkar, Kavalam Madhava. *Asia and Western Dominance*. New York: Collier Books, 1969.

Ponette, 'Edward De Meuder SJ (1904–1983): An Indomitable Apostle' in: Tete, *To Chotanagpur with Love and Service*, 125–139.

Prudhomme, Claude. 'Maximum Illud, a Missionary Turning Point?'. In: Alberto Melloni, Giovanni Cavagnini and Giulia Grossi, eds. *Benedict XV: A Pope in the World of the 'Useless Slaughter' (1914–1918)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020, 609–627.

Puthanangady, Paul. *The Church in India after the All India Seminar, 1969: An Evaluation of the Life and Ministry of the Catholic Church*. Bangalore: Yesu Krist Jayanti, 2000.

Robinson, Rowena, and Joseph Marianus Kujur. *Margins of Faith: Dalit and Tribal Christianity in India*. New Delhi: Sage, 2010.

Rosner, Victor. *Fifty Years of St Stanislaus College, Sitagarha: 1933–1983*. Ranchi: Satya Bharati, 1983.

Shourie, Arun. *Harvesting Our Souls: Missionaries, Their Design, Their Claims*. New Delhi: Rupa, 2006.

Soreng, 'Bro. Vincent Soreng, SJ: A Missionary in Africa for 49 Years' in: *Ranchi Jesuits Yearbook* 2020, 31.

Spivak, Gaytari. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'. In: Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988, 271–313 .

Tete, Peter. *A Missionary Social Worker in India. Fr. J. B. Hoffmann. The Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act and the Catholic Co-Operatives, 1893–1928*. Ranchi: Satya Bharathi, 1986.

Tete, Peter, ed. *To Chotanagpur with Love and Service*. Ranchi: Ranchi Jesuit Society, 1991.

Tete, Peter, ed. *They Still Speak to Us: Pioneers in the Ranchi Jesuit Province*. Ranchi: Ranchi Jesuit Society, 1993.

Tete, Peter. *A Short History of the Expansion of the Catholic Missions in North India*. Ranchi: Catholic Press, 1997.

Tigga, 'Netarhat Field Firing Range: Tribals in Danger', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 29 February 1994, 410.

Vallgarda, Karen. 'Were Christian Missionaries Colonizers?: Reorienting the Debate and Exploring New Research Trajectories'. *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 18 (2016) 6, 865–886.

Van der Schueren, T. *The Belgian Mission of Bengal*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Company, 1922.

Van Exem, 'Martin Topno SJ (1901–1988): A Pioneer of Inculturation' in: Tete, *To Chotanagpur with Love and Service*, 155–170.

Vints, Luc. 'Vier moet branden. Belgische missionarissen in India'. In: Idesbald Goddeeris, ed. *Het wiel van Ashoka. Belgisch-Indiase contacten in historisch perspectief*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013, 83–102.

Watt, Carey A., and Michael Mann. *Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia: From Improvement to Development*. London: Anthem Press, 2011.

Webster, John C.B. *The Dalit Christians: A History*. Delhi: ISPCK, 1994.

Webster, John C.B. *Historiography of Christianity in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Young, Richard Fox, ed. *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding – Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical – in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg*. Studies in the History of Christian Missions. Grand Rapids-Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009.

Ethnographic Objects and Provenance from Missionary Contexts

The Chile Missions of the Bavarian Capuchins and their Museum in Altötting, 1896–1932

Markus A. Scholz

In 1895–1896, the Bavarian Capuchins assumed responsibility for mission stations among the Mapuche in the South of Chile, stepping in for their Italian brothers, who had worked in the so-called Araucanía for almost half a century.[1] The Bavarians soon distinguished themselves as defenders of indigenous land rights and as linguistic experts on the Mapuche language. Father Siegfried von Frauenhäusl (1868–1954) supported Mapuche communities against Chilean and European colonists, who planned to gain more plots of land by violent means and at the cost of the indigenous people.[2] Other Bavarians applied themselves to the study of Mapuche linguistics: Father Félix José de Augusta (1860–1935) developed grammars and dictionaries and recorded oral accounts; Father Wilhelm Moesbach (1882–1963) followed in his footsteps.[3] Less known to scholars is that the Capuchins also began to create a missionary collection of ethnographic artifacts and natural specimens. The first exhibition was opened in 1905 and was followed a year later by a permanent display in the Capuchin monastery in Altötting, a town east of Munich, near the Austrian border, where they were in charge of a Marian pilgrimage site. Plans for a dedicated mission museum were realized in 1910. It became an attraction for the pilgrims, was extended in 1925, and remained more or less unchanged until 1965 when the Capuchins decided to redesign it. Since the museum did not continue to attract as many visitors as it used to in earlier years,

1 Noggler, '450 Jahre Araukanermission'.
2 Arellano Hoffman, Holzbauer and Kramer, eds., *Die Mapuche und die Republik Chile*.
3 Augusta, *Diccionario Araucano-Español y Español-Araucano*; Augusta, *Gramática Araucana*; Coña, *Lonco Pascual Coña ñi tuculpazugun*.

it was closed in 1987. The 260 ethnographic objects were given to the then Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich, today Museum Fünf Kontinente.[4]

An analysis of this missionary collection allows us to gain insights into the specificities of missionary collections and draw conclusions about their relation to other (ethnographic) collections. In this way, the present study will contribute to the understanding of such collections in general and to the clarification of the complex relationships between missionaries and anthropologists.[5] Furthermore, it will contribute to the current debate on how European museums handle ethnographic collections from colonial times. Postcolonial critique has pointed out 'the contexts of unequal power and sometimes outright violence in which collections were made, the deleterious side effects of categories and ordering principles employed by museum anthropology, and the problematic depictions of "others" in exhibitions'.[6] Taking this critique seriously may have different consequences and ideally museums will find ways to transform 'the mutual, asymmetrical relationships underpinning global, scientific entanglements of the past' into 'more reciprocal, symmetrical forms of cross-cultural curatorship in the present'.[7] Recently, such initiatives have taken the form of workshops held in European museums with indigenous representatives or cooperation via digital platforms.[8] In practice, these forms of cooperating require the establishment of contacts with representatives of the source communities. While it may not always be possible to realize such cooperation for different reasons – the source community cannot be identified or no longer exists, lack of funding, etc. – an appropriate approach to this challenge lies in systematic provenance research as an alternative or complement. Provenance research has the potential to provide a basis for clarifying the status as well as the significance of collections for transnational debates on indigenous cultural heritage, cultural property, restitutions, and shared heritage.[9]

These issues increasingly came to the public's attention when Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy drove forward the debate on the restitution of ethnographic artifacts with their *Rapport sur la restitution du patrimoine culturel africain* in November 2018, since they demanded more radically and clearly than others before them that virtually all objects be restituted to their countries of origin.[10] Their critique

4 Haringer, 'Die ehemalige Chile-Missionsausstellung'.
5 Tomalin, 'No connection or cooperation'?
6 MacDonald, Lidchi and von Oswald, 'Introduction', 96.
7 Schorch, McCarthy and Dürr, 'Introduction: conceptualising Curatopia', 2.
8 For working with indigenous representatives in workshops, see for example van Broekhoven, 'Yesterday's Knowledge, Tomorrow's Future' or Kraus, Halbmeyer and Kummels, eds. *Objetos como testigos del contacto cultural*. Regarding the use of digital platforms, see Scholz, 'Tejiendo nuevos enlaces'.
9 Förster, Edenheiser and Fründt, 'Eine Tagung zu postkolonialer Provenienzforschung'.
10 Sarr and Savoy, *Rapport sur la restitution du patrimoine culturel africain.*

may at least illustrate the importance attached to provenance research today, which, generally speaking, implies that the 'biographies' of objects and particularly the ways in which they were acquired have to be reconstructed on a case-by-case basis; even a single collection may be characterized by various kinds of acquisition, ranging from robbery to the receipt of gifts, with other types of exchange falling between these two extremes.[11]

Engaging with provenance research as an avenue to make the curation of ethnographic collections more transparent as to their origins, this chapter aims at exploring the specific circumstances of the Bavarian Capuchins' collecting activities in Chile, *and* the incorporation of the collected artifacts into exhibitions at their mission museum in Altötting.[12] Both processes are clearly embedded in the European course of expansion and the restructuring of cultural contact zones in the age of imperialism. These processes resonated in Europe through the transfer of knowledge between cultures and through media representations of contacts between them. At that time, missionaries were at the heart of global networks and were probably one of the groups most entangled in these processes worldwide.[13] Their entanglements with colonial contact zones were intense and lasted for long periods, which is why they became central agents in the construction and transformation of global imagination and knowledge regimes.[14] In Chile, the Capuchins operated in a politically independent state. However, many Latin American scholars hold the view that this situation was nevertheless permeated by 'coloniality' – here understood as the downside of Western modernity, which, as an epistemological frame, was inextricably linked to European colonialism.[15] Chilean historians have interpreted the missions of the Bavarian Capuchins and the schools they ran very much in that sense, but they have also described them as spaces where powerful developments took place, which facilitated a general socialization process and the construction of a homogenous national identity in the country.[16]

11 Andratschke, 'Provenienzforschung in ethnologischen Sammlungen', 73; Kraus, 'Perspectivas múltiples'.

12 There is a rather recent study of the mission museum in Altötting by Helmke Miquel and Hoth de Olano that analyses the exhibition, above all drawing on historical photographs and conceiving the exhibition-making by the Capuchins as a process of translation: Helmke Miquel and Hoth de Olano, '"*Para el apoyo significativo de la misión araucana*"'. Concerning the hard facts, the article does not provide any information that Haringer has not already worked out. I agree with the authors with regard to their overall judgement that the museum was primarily a means of generating donations for the mission, but I assess individual points differently, as I will explain further below.

13 Habermas, 'Mission im 19. Jahrhundert'

14 Habermas and Hölzl, eds., *Mission global.*

15 Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*.

16 Flores Chávez and Azócar Avendaño, '*Rulpachen ka wigkachen pu mapuche*', 27.

The Capuchins' discourse on the Mapuche in Republican Chile

In 1883, the State of Chile had completed the occupation of the Araucanía with a huge military campaign. Until then, the Mapuche had lived independently in that region since colonial times. While the Chilean State had regarded the occupation as part of the consolidation of its national territory, for the Mapuche it meant the loss not only of many lives, but also of the majority of their community lands and of their cattle herds. The Chilean State granted the most fertile lands to national or European colonists, whereas the Mapuche communities were required to register their remaining plots of land via complex legal procedures. Many colonists took advantage of this situation, defrauding indigenous communities.[17] This process went hand in hand with the emergence of a regional market for ethnographic artifacts: the Mapuche had been a prosperous society until the 1880s, also evident in the amount of silver jewelry they manufactured after acquiring Chilean silver coins through trade. But then soldiers stole silver jewelry as war booty, and the soldiers were followed by bandits and grave robbers. Apart from these violent forms of dispossession, the Mapuche's poverty also led them to sell their jewelry or hand it in to pawnshops, some of which expanded their business to include a section for ethnographic artifacts. Buyers were national and international tourists and private collectors as much as Chilean and foreign museums.[18]

As already mentioned, the Mapuche received some support from the Capuchins with regard to these injustices, but the missionary action in and of itself also aimed at incorporating the Mapuche into the state and Chilean society. For the Church, evangelization was a goal in itself; for the Chilean State it was a means which served the 'civilization' or 'chilenization' of groups of indigenous people.[19]

While these developments unfolded, the Capuchins, however, retained their particular perspective, and it is worth having a look at a source which exemplifies their point of view. In 1913, Father Jerónimo de Amberga (1866–1952) gave a speech entitled 'Estado intelectual, moral y económico del araucano' at the Chilean Society for History and Geography in Santiago. This speech was later published as an article in the journal issued by the same society.[20] In this remarkable text, Amberga defends the Mapuche against any common and/or scientifically explained prejudice of the time, and he demonstrates that the Mapuche are by no means an

17 Schindler, *Bauern und Reiterkrieger*, 52–53.
18 Flores Chávez, 'La ocupación de la Araucanía'.
19 Flores Chávez and Azócar Avendaño, '*Rulpachen ka wigkachen pu mapuche*', 27, 29, 33.
20 Amberga, 'Estado intelectual, moral y económico del araucano'.

'inferior' or 'immoral' race.[21] He even defends their polygamy, describing it as a 'human and moral' solution to problems faced by a society which had to cope with the loss of men and a surplus of women for centuries due to the continuing wars with the Spaniards. Moreover, he argues that the Mapuche would not present a problem and would integrate quickly into the Chilean nation if they received sufficiently large estates to support themselves. Amberga's long-term goal becomes quite clear: 'The Araucanian idolises his home soil, and I think it is my duty to preserve this affection as much as is possible. Affection for the soil is the preamble to love for the fatherland.'[22] Thus, although Amberga expresses an appreciation for the cultural traditions of the Mapuche and confirms their intellectual capacity and cultural achievements, he does not question the transformation of their culture as a prerequisite of its integration into Chilean society. His speech and article were not based on missiological arguments and have to be seen as a contribution to the public debate in Chile, in which the Mapuche were considered an obstacle for the nation's progress. Stating that

> the entire country is interested in this race being assimilated to civilisation as soon as possible; or if it is incapable of entering into the rights and duties of sophisticated nations, if it is inferior and fatally stigmatised by the curse of Ham, that it disappears and interferes not any longer in the advancement of progress in the beautiful and rich region it occupies,[23]

Amberga referred to an extreme position in favor of the Mapuche's quick assimilation or complete extinction, whereas he and other Capuchins, including Augusta and Frauenhäusl, declared themselves in favor of a slow assimilation.[24] Accordingly, Augusta stated in the prologue of a compilation of oral texts that the Mapuche had all 'necessary preconditions for the progress of a nation in terms of culture and civilization', that they were passing through 'a period of transformation', and that the 'customs and superstitions' apparent in his compilation would soon no

21 He answered to scholars like Tomás Guevara (1865–1935) who interpreted, for example, the Mapuche's strategy of taking cover under attack with firearms as a stronger tendency to react reflexively and thus as an evidence of an underdeveloped brain (Guevara, *Psicolojía del pueblo araucano*, 144–145; Noggler, *Vierhundert Jahre Araukanermission*, 71).

22 Amberga, 'Estado intelectual, moral y económico del araucano', 15. Original: 'El araucano idolatra su terruño, y creo que es deber mío conservar en cuanto es possible este cariño. El cariño al suelo es el preámbulo del amor a la patria'.

23 Amberga, 'Estado intelectual, moral y económico del araucano', 6. Original: 'Todo el país está interesado en que, cuanto antes, se asimile esta raza a la civilización; o, si es incapaz de entrar en los derechos y obligaciones de nación culta; si es inferior y fatalmente estigmatizada por la maldición camita, que desaparezca y no estorbe más el avance del progreso en la hermosa y rica zona que ocupa'.

24 Arellano Hoffmann, 'Die "irrigen Meinungen, die … in der Hauptstadt … in Umlauf sind"', 120.

longer reflect reality.[25] A similar description is found in an article with edited Mapuche songs translated into German: 'They don't have political significance any more und submit themselves quickly to civilization, while a part has already amalgamated itself completely with the Chileans.'[26] Moreover, Augusta's academic readership learned from his '[h]istoric examination about the Araucanians' religious ideas and their cultural manifestations' in the appendix to his compilation of oral texts that the Mapuche easily understood the detrimental nature of certain behaviors and the existence of a just god, explaining that

> the faculty to recognise said truths was already in his nature, and by preaching them to him you do nothing but recall them to his memory [...] The religious ideas which existed among the Indians before the preaching of the Gospel were not the first beginnings of religion in a savage people, but degenerate remnants of the first revelation and of the natural law.[27]

It is not clear if Augusta's reference to a primeval revelation in this quote was inspired by Father Wilhelm Schmidt's concept of primitive monotheism that will be dealt with later. However, such statements directed towards the Chilean public evince a somewhat different focus than the descriptions offered to the readership of the Capuchins' periodicals in German. In a short article about his missionary actions published in the *Altöttinger Franziskus-Kalender*, Augusta describes with a few details the procedure of a collective Mapuche ceremony called *ngillatun* that comprised animal offerings and, in his words, was accompanied by 'the crudest excesses', including 'intemperance, scuffle and even murder and manslaughter'.[28] Therefore, he had sought an interdiction of these ceremonies from the authorities, which was eventually granted, even though the Mapuche were very upset and needed time to compose themselves. He also writes that the Chilean government could contribute much more to their conversion, for example by prohibiting polygamy: 'It could protect the girls' right, so that they cannot be sold any longer, but have the possibility to choose their husband on their own.'[29] As mentioned

25 Augusta, *Lecturas Araucanas*, VI–VII.

26 Augusta 'Zehn Araukanerlieder', 684. Original: 'Sie haben keine politische Bedeutung mehr und ergeben sich rasch der Zivilisation, während ein Teil sich schon ganz mit den Chilenen amalgamiert hat'.

27 Augusta, *Lecturas Araucanas*, 232. Original: 'la facultad para conocer dichas verdades existía ya en su naturaleza, y predicándoselas no se hace más que recordárselas ... Las ideas religiosas que existían entre los indios antes de la predicción del Evangelio, no habían sido las primeras inserciones de religión en un pueblo salvaje, sino residuos de la primera revelación y de la ley natural'.

28 Augusta, 'Missionstätigkeit', 74.

29 Augusta, 'Missionstätigkeit', 77.

above, his brother Jerónimo de Amberga also commented on polygamy, but in a completely different way.

Another interesting topic treated in German articles was shamanism as an exotic trait of Mapuche culture. The second Capuchin Apostolic Prefect in Chile, Guido Beck (1885–1958), authored an article about a traditional healing ceremony called *machitun*. He described the Mapuche shamans – *machi* in their language – that performed these ceremonies as 'sorcerers' and acknowledged a certain expertise in botanical medicine. But he characterized them mainly as impostors that claimed to have contact with spirits and ghosts by using tricks and ecstatic body movements and fostered violent clashes among their people because they usually accused others of harmful magical practices as explanation for patients' illnesses. He also stated that the Capuchin missionaries had already managed to bring up indigenous boys who no longer believed this 'pagan superstition', but that it would still take time to eradicate it.[30] Taken together, these descriptions of Mapuche culture in the Order's own periodicals in German create a more vivid picture of cultural traits that must have appeared exotic to European readers and situate them in a discourse about missionary difficulties and achievements. In contrast, the Capuchins' publications in Spanish (or of a more scientific nature) tend to emphasize the potential of the Mapuche to integrate into Chilean society.

Anthropology and ethnographic collecting

With regard to the practice of collecting ethnographic artifacts by missionaries, a first point to bear in mind is that there are close links between the history of anthropology and the history of modern Christian missions. Often missionaries engaged in fieldwork, collected ethnographic data and contributed to the development of the discipline's theories. When evolutionist theories began to emerge in the middle of the nineteenth century, the so-called 'armchair anthropologists' quickly cultivated relationships with missionaries in order to receive data from them.[31] Due to their familiarity with specific local and cultural conditions, missionaries were among the most important addressees of scientific questionnaires and instructions for collecting that were issued towards the end of the nineteenth century.[32] With regard to the German-speaking countries, Adolf Bastian (1826–1905) conceptualized 'Ethnologie' as a discipline that works inductively with a range of methods inspired by the natural sciences. He considered objects of material culture to be unaltered sources that he could analyze (in contrast to written

30 Beck, 'Die Krankenheilung (Machitun) bei den Araukanern', 281–283.

31 Harries, 'Anthropology', 241.

32 Schindlbeck, 'The art of collecting', 60–62; Stocking, *After Tylor*, 15–16; Centlivres, 'Des "instructions" aux collections'.

sources used by historians that were, in his opinion, subjective expressions by authors that could involve exaggerations or even lies). Consequently, a broad empirical basis was needed and Bastian urged that ethnographic collections be created and expanded quickly, systematically and extensively.[33] The theoretical schools that developed in the German-speaking countries following Bastian suggested a 'priority for culture circles and for the study of cultural diffusion from those circles through history',[34] also deducing their insights from objects.[35]

The turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the peak of ethnographic collecting worldwide, but most collectors were not trained anthropologists. Apart from the missionaries, there were colonial officers, merchants, ships' crew members, plantation owners and others. Often their motivation for collecting was not a genuine interest in indigenous cultures; rather, they were interested in earning additional financial income: during the last decades of the nineteenth century, an international market for ethnographic objects had evolved, and museum directors had to compete with each other.[36] Collecting was also an important part of missionary ethnography. Some missionaries, especially those with scientific knowledge, cooperated with museums, while others collected artifacts only to their personal taste or following their own understanding. Other missionaries began collecting simply out of curiosity or fascination, and some, finally, because they wanted to sell objects to generate additional financial income for their missions or for themselves.[37] In general, missionary collecting comprised a wide range of acquisition types, from purchasing, commissioning, exchange and picking up to stealing or looting. As a special case, it could include objects that were abandoned by indigenous people at the moment of their conversion.[38] Conversely, missionaries sometimes also participated in destroying 'religious' objects as acts of iconoclasm.[39]

When it comes to the history of Catholic missions in particular, one has to consider Father Wilhelm Schmidt SVD (1868–1954), who founded the journal *Anthropos* in 1906 and became the most important proponent of the Vienna *Kulturkreislehre*. He combined his concept of culture circles with a postulate about

33 Bastian, *Der Völkergedanke im Aufbau einer Wissenschaft*, 181.
34 Gingrich, 'The German-Speaking Countries', 92.
35 Gingrich and Zips, 'Ethnohistorie und Historische Anthropologie', 374.
36 Penny, *Objects of Culture*. In Imperial Germany, collectors could also hope for a decoration or medal if they donated collections to one of the ethnological museums in the kingdoms of Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria or Württemberg; obtaining such an honour was a means to advance one's social standing (Buschman, *Anthropology's Global Histories*).
37 Nielssen, Okkenhaug and Skeie, 'Introduction', 7; Holthausen, 'Die besondere Situation missionsgeschichtlicher Sammlungen', 53–54; Livne, 'The Many Purposes of Missionary Work', 65; Völker, 'Missionare als Ethnologen', 204–207.
38 Loder-Neuhold, *Crocodiles, Masks and Madonnas*, 51–53.
39 Corbey and Weener, 'Collecting while converting'.

the universality of monotheism. He looked for ways to turn Catholic scholars into professional ethnologists and linguists and thus co-organized the *Semaine d'Ethnologie Religieuse* in Leuven, a series of conferences that started in 1912 and included participants from different Western and Southern European countries. While the focus of this summer school was not on conversion and the missionary apostolate, organizationally it can be considered a predecessor of the Leuven missiological weeks that began after World War I. Schmidt's followers were anthropologists as much as they were priests and trained missionaries. They were often sent out to do fieldwork among peripheral and foraging societies, because, according to Schmidt's theory, the 'most primitive' people were also those closest to creation and, hence, to the origins of monotheism.[40] During the pontificate of Pius XI (1922–1939), Schmidt achieved acceptance for anthropology in the Vatican. He took a leading role during the realization of the Vatican's missionary exhibition in Rome in 1925 and the subsequent founding of the Pontificio Museo Missionario-Etnologico in 1927. At his instigation, anthropology was incorporated into Catholic missionary training, for example at the missionary college established in Innsbruck in 1928, and at the college of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide inaugurated in 1932 in Rome.[41]

The Capuchins as collectors in Chile

These general developments of anthropology and its significance for Catholic missions took place during the period when the Bavarian Capuchins established and extended their mission museum in Altötting. But how did they compile their collection in practice? The impetus for collecting came from a friar in the Capuchin monastery in Altötting: Father Isidor Schmitt (1865–1932) became editor of the *Altöttinger Franziskusblatt* in 1901 and conceived the idea of creating a mission museum. In a manuscript kept at the Capuchin archive in Altötting, Schmitt relates that he considered the pilgrimage site quite a good choice for this undertaking, since it could provide a potential source of income for the support of the Bavarian province's mission among the Mapuche. With the permission of missionary procurator Father Engelbert Walter, Isidor Schmitt sent a letter to the Ap-

40 Gringrich, 'The German-Speaking Countries', 96–110; Courtois and Pirotte, 'Prélude. Louvain et l'ethnologie religieuse', 13–40; Vandenberghe, 'Beyond Charles Pierre', 152–154; Vanysacker, 'Une page oubliée', 183–195.

41 Vandenberghe, 'Entre mission et science'; Rohrbacher, 'Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik für den Papst'.

ostolic Prefect in Chile, Father Burkhart Englert (1864–1945), in which he asked for the consignment of adequate exhibits.[42]

While Schmitt only noted that boxes of objects arrived, but not how they were collected, two other sources offer some indication of how the Capuchins proceeded in doing so. Firstly, there is an inventory of displayed objects in the first permanent exhibition (1906–1910) in a hall belonging to the Marian Congregation of Men in Altötting. Besides taxidermy and herbarium specimens, the inventory includes a total of fifty-nine entries for ethnographic objects, of which two are described as having been given as a present to the Apostolic Prefect: a leather belt made by indigenous women and a small coffin that is claimed to have been made by 'an Indian in prison'.[43] The second source cited is the 'Crónica de la Misión de San Sebastián de Panguipulli' by Father Siegfried von Frauenhäusl (1868–1954). In March 1913, he reported the death of a *machi* whose widow sold two drums, a pipe, a horn and some stones to the mission for the sum of 25 pesos. The objects are said to have been in use by the shaman for the *machitun* healing ceremonies.[44] Both examples represent rather 'passive' ways of collecting. The idea that the Missionary Prefect received gifts seems quite plausible considering that the Mapuche probably perceived him as the head of Capuchins.

The case of the shaman's ritual objects is less clear. In his Chronicle, Frauenhäusl describes that nobody attended the shaman's funeral because they were afraid of demons that supposedly would surround the grave.[45] From this, one might infer that the objects sold to Frauenhäusl by the shaman's widow were also associated with supernatural powers that could potentially be dangerous to ordinary people. Another possibility, however, might be that the widow had decided to sell said objects due to personal distress and in order to make some money. It seems unlikely, however, that Frauenhäusl is to be identified as one of the main collectors of ethnographic objects, since there are indications that he dedicated himself first and foremost to lawsuits against Chilean colonists. Only when he had more 'free time' did he cooperate with his brothers on ethnographic projects. Frauenhäusl is, for example, named as a collaborator for a compilation of oral Mapuche texts, published by Félix José de Augusta in 1910, for which he recorded a number of songs and stories.[46] In a personal letter to the German linguist Rudolf Lenz (1863–1938) in Santiago, Augusta comments that he was not able to collect more Mapuche texts at this point in time but that maybe there would be a possibil-

42 ADKAÖ, III 14 12, Manuscript entitled 'Die Gründung und Erweiterung des Missionsmuseums' by Father Isidor Schmitt, n.d.; Haringer, 'Die ehemalige Chile-Missionsausstellung', 180.

43 ADKAÖ, IX 101 105, Indianer-Missions-Ausstellung in Altötting (c. 1906), 5, 8.

44 Frauenhäusl, *Chronik der Mission Sankt Sebastian von Panguipulli*, 353.

45 *Ibid*. 353.

46 Augusta, *Lecturas Araucanas*.

ity to do something, if Frauenhäusl were not so occupied with legal issues.[47] Even though Frauenhäusl only incidentally took the opportunity to collect said objects, which were given to the Prefect assuming that they would be sent to the mission museum in Altötting,[48] the shaman's objects and his biography were valuable for the Order's promotional purposes in Bavaria, as will be shown further on.

In another letter to Lenz, Augusta reveals that he dedicated himself not only to the Mapuche language, but also to collecting, though this activity concerned plants and not material culture: in the said letter, he comments on his plan to go on a botanical trip in order to get help for identifying plants he had already collected on a previous occasion.[49] Lenz mentioned Augusta's plant collecting in a speech about the Mapuche's situation in Chile which he gave in Santiago in 1918; he referred to it as an example demonstrating the indigenous language's rich vocabulary and so as evidence for the Mapuche's intellectual and cultural achievements.[50] The further history of Augusta's botanical collection is mentioned below, but another Capuchin missionary in Chile, Father Athanasius von Eglsee (1860–1945), studied Chilean flora much more extensively. His collections not only went to the mission museum in Altötting, but also to the Botanical Museum in Berlin-Dahlem and to the Botanical State Collection in Munich. Two species of moss were named after him and the Bavarian province highlighted his scientific contribution as such in a publication issued in 1929 for the supporters of the missions.[51]

Judging from the various friars' biographies, one might assume that Father Jerónimo de Amberga rather dedicated himself to collecting during his time in Chile from 1902 to 1921. He played an important part in developing an education program for the Mapuche.[52] In addition to the article mentioned above, which contains a lot of ethnographic descriptions, he published further articles in the *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. They reveal his interest in history and ethnography, as well as in material culture, but he does not make reference to collecting in any of these publications.[53]

47 ARL-UMCE, Sección III, Correspondencia recibida, Letter from Félix José de Augusta, 26 October 1910.

48 Frauenhäusl, *Chronik der Mission Sankt Sebastian von Panguipulli*, 353.

49 ARL-UMCE, Sección III, Correspondencia recibida, Letter from Félix José de Augusta, 1 September 1912.

50 Lenz, 'Die Indianerfrage in Chile', *Deutsche Zeitung für Chile*, 27 August 1918.

51 Arellano Hoffmann, Holzbauer and Kramer, eds., *Die Mapuche und die Republik Chile*, 479; Beck, *Die Mission der bayerischen Kapuziner unter den Indianern in Chile*, 14.

52 Arellano Hoffmann, Holzbauer and Kramer, eds., *Die Mapuche und die Republik Chile*, 484–485. Amberga called, above all, for turning the Mapuche into professional farmers by establishing, for example, an agricultural school in the center of the Araucanía referring also to alleged success of similar projects in the United States. See his articles 'Agricultura Araucana' and 'Educación Indígena en los Estados Unidos'.

53 For example Amberga, 'La epopeya de Boroa' and 'Una flauta de pan araucana'.

While there is currently no evidence which would indicate the Capuchins were more active collectors of material culture, it can reasonably be inferred from the number of objects displayed in Altötting that they actually were. And if they were, one must ask how they proceeded with their collecting activities. It is unlikely that the standard curriculum for missionaries in the decades before and after 1900 officially included courses in anthropology. Even though missiology established itself as a subject at German universities first in Protestant theology towards the end of the nineteenth century, it took until 1914 before Joseph Schmidlin (1876–1944) became the first tenured professor for Catholic missiology at the University of Münster.[54] That is why it seems far more likely that the Capuchins collected as amateurs or followed the instructions for the scientific collecting of ethnographic artifacts as they were issued in German by Adolf Bastian, and later by his successors at the Berlin museum.[55] Another possibility is that the Bavarian Capuchins came into close contact with Father Wilhelm Schmidt themselves. The Capuchins set up their missions among the Mapuche in 1896, which is more than two decades before Schmidt successfully implemented anthropology as part of the missionary training in the Vatican. But one might well suppose that he had an impact even before that time, since he lived in Sankt Gabriel near Vienna and was therefore linguistically and geographically close to Altötting. In fact, the Capuchin expert in the Mapuche language, Félix José de Augusta, published indigenous songs he recorded among the Mapuche in Schmidt's *Anthropos* journal as early as 1911.[56]

Another link between the Capuchins and the Societas Verbi Divini developed in Chile, when Martin Gusinde (1886–1969), who was close to Schmidt and famous for his ethnographic fieldwork among the indigenous groups of Tierra del Fuego, started to work with German archaeologist Max Uhle (1856–1944) at the Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile in 1912, and became head of its De-

54 Schmidlin's teaching assignment of History of Dogmatics and Patristics in Münster had already been extended to Mission in Science in 1910 upon suggestion of the Ministry of Culture. In the short time of German colonialism, missions were conceived as a national task, and the Catholics were ambitious to keep up with the Protestants (Collet, 'German Catholic Mission Science', 100–102). The Protestants had managed first to issue a periodical (*Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, 1874) with one of its co-editors, Gustav Warneck (1834–1910) being appointed the first chair of missions at the University of Halle in 1896 (Spindler, 'The Protestant Mission Study', 45). He considered science to be a sideline activity for missionaries (Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, 604). From the perspective of missiology, which evolved as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century with the development of theories about missionary ideas, with an expanding focus and inspiration by insights and methods from secular sciences, anthropology was just one among others such as historiography, geography, statistics or linguistics (Dujardin, 'Mission Research Revisited', 10).

55 Bastian, 'Allgemeine Begriffe der Ethnologie'. A second edition followed in 1888 and similar instructions later by Felix von Luschan in 1896 and by Bernhard Ankermann in 1914.

56 Augusta, 'Zehn Araukanerlieder'.

partment of Anthropology and Ethnology in 1916.[57] Towards the end of that year, he went on a research and collecting trip among the Mapuche and visited several Capuchin stations. He stayed for almost a month at the mission Saint Sebastian of Panguipulli with Father von Frauenhäusl and was supported by Capuchins when he visited more isolated Mapuche lands around the Villarrica volcano. He spent ten weeks in Arauco (north of the Capuchins' missions), where he put together an ethnographic collection, and he published an article about Mapuche knowledge of healing plants. Gusinde realized this ethnobotanical study with the help of Augusta's aforementioned plant collection, which he received from the latter as a gift.[58] All this happened before Gusinde traveled to Tierra de Fuego in 1918. In this context, it is likely that Capuchins introduced him to indigenous communities at least in certain places, and shared ideas and experiences with him. Gusinde may have learned about Mapuche culture via the Capuchins' direct experience, and may have got a model for ethnographic collecting from among them. Conversely, Gusinde could have told them about his professional experience from the Museo de Etnología y Antropología in Santiago and introduced them to Schmidt's *Kulturkreislehre*.[59]

Another, at least indirect, link between Father Wilhelm Schmidt and the Bavarian Capuchins can be found in an inventory of the mission museum in Altötting which was probably issued around 1930.[60] Its description of a display case with objects from Colombia mentions that Spanish Capuchins who worked there said the objects had been exhibited at the Vatican's missionary exhibition in Rome in 1925, and had been given as a present to the museum in Altötting by the Capuchin Order's general superior.[61] Although this link seems to have been of a more indirect nature (i.e. mediated by the superior), it should be asked whether the transfer of the ethnographic artifacts from Colombia was accompanied by information

57 Palma Behnke, *Fotografías de Martin Gusinde*, 51–53.

58 Frauenhäusl, *Chronik der Mission Sankt Sebastian von Panguipulli*, 364; Oyarzún, 'Crónica', 149; Gusinde, 'Medicina e Higiene entre los antiguos araucanos', 235. Unfortunately, Oyárzun, director of said museum and author of a short chronicle in the museum's journal, only states that Gusinde received 'efficient help' from the Bavarian Capuchins without any details. This 'help' surely included the handing over of Augusta's botanical collection.

59 For the time being, these questions remain unanswered. Further archival research is needed to explore the extent and the consequences of the exchange between Gusinde and the Bavarians. This research should start at the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural in Santiago, since it keeps Gusinde's Mapuche collection. The Anthropos Institute in Sankt Augustin, Germany, preserves some of Gusinde's written legacy, but unfortunately not from his time at the Museo de Etnología y Antropología.

60 ADKAÖ, IX 101 105, Verzeichnis der aus der südamerikanischen Indianer-Mission der bayerischen Kapuziner (Chile) stammenden Gegenstände in der Indianer Missions-Ausstellung in Altötting (c. 1930) (hereafter referred to as 'Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung').

61 Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung, 13. The Bavarian Capuchins were also present in Rome on the occasion of the Vatican's missionary exhibition, as will be shown further on.

about the exhibition-making in Rome. If not, it still is revealing with regard to the development of museums and their collections.

The items in Altötting

The origins of mission museums often go back to collections that emerged in connection with monastic libraries and were considered to be a useful supplement to the preparation of future missionaries. Their initial aim was to comprehensively represent the landscape and environment of the missionary zone for the use of future missionaries. Novices were able not only to read about the overseas regions where they would be sent after completing their training but also to see botanical and zoological specimens and ethnographic objects from the natural and cultural spaces in these regions. Whereas the early modern cabinets of curiosities of European monarchs and aristocrats were slowly replaced by specialized museums in the course of the long nineteenth century – a process which reflected the development of natural history and anthropology into separate, autonomous disciplines – missionary collections followed and maintained a holistic approach.[62]

A second step in the development of missionary collections was their opening to the public. The purpose behind this was, above all, promotional: the mission societies and orders wanted to inform visitors about their work and promote their cause in order to generate donations or even attract novices. In fact, the majority of missionary collections were established for missionary propaganda. Scientific collecting, research, and comparing artifacts and specimens were not the primary interests but rather a by-product of other activities; hence, most collections were not created systematically or to be comprehensive.[63]

62 Holthausen, 'Die besondere Situation missionsgeschichtlicher Sammlungen', 58. The Moravian Church takes a pioneering role here. Soon after commencing their missionary endeavours in 1732, they established a small natural history collection room at their theological seminar in Barby (today Saxony-Anhalt) and opened it to the public in 1757. In 1774, the administrator of the collection, Johann Jakob Bossart, issued one of the first instructions for scientific collecting in German: the 'Kurze Anweisung Naturalien zu samlen', which included comments on ethnographic artifacts (Nippa, *Ethnographie und Herrnhuter Mission*, 14–17). For ethnographic collecting by the missionaries of the Moravian Church, see for example Jensz, 'Collecting Cultures'.

63 Holthausen, 'Die besondere Situation missionsgeschichtlicher Sammlungen', 53–54. Concerning the German-speaking countries in particular, a recently published PhD thesis provides a basic historiography of thirty-one Catholic mission museums and their histories. The author differentiates these museums' intentions by subdividing those already mentioned and adding others such as 'commemorating past missionaries, founders, and martyrs' or the 'intention to publicly present the scientific study collection' (Loder-Neuhold, *Crocodiles, Masks and Madonnas*, 21, 286–297). Wingfield, 'Missionary Museums', gives a general outline of this kind of museums and also refers to museums, which were established overseas, as well as to museums

Does the collection of Altötting fall within the scope of this definition? When reading the museum's inventory from around 1930, the general impression is one of relative eclecticism. There were display cases with taxidermy specimens consisting of birds such as cormorants, flamingos and a condor, and mammals such as armadillos, a skunk and a puma.[64] Other display cases contained ethnographic objects, such as silver jewelry, pottery vessels and drinking horns, wickerwork, as well as bridles and riding gear.[65] Unfortunately, the inventory is not so exact as to allow the calculation of a precise number of objects, but the estimated number of natural specimens and ethnographic artifacts is at least 200 each. It was definitely a mixed collection, with exhibits from natural history and ethnography, and reflected the holistic approach mentioned earlier. Moreover, the collection was not limited to objects from Chile. In addition to the collection from Colombia, there were several objects from the islands of former German New Guinea in the South Pacific, where members from the Order's province of Rhineland-Westphalia had worked, and artifacts from the North American Cheyenne, which the museum had received as a gift from the Capuchins in Pennsylvania.[66] The collection furthermore contained objects one would probably not have found in the ethnographic museums of Munich, Stuttgart or Berlin at that time: Chilean coins and banknotes, Chilean schoolbooks, and samples of Mapuche children's handwriting and drawings – as proof of the Capuchins' engagement in schooling – as well as handicrafts by indigenous girls, and the friars' linguistic publications on the Mapuche language.[67] Thus, the collection in Altötting also comprised items that explicitly reflected cultural change as proof of their efforts for civilization – a common trait of mission museum collections.[68] The display of these objects indicates the propagandistic purpose of the museum and its orientation towards the visitors as possible donors and/or supporters. Nevertheless, it is possible that this same collection also served the preparation of future Capuchin missionaries.

It is a general problem that most mission museum collections were not documented according to museological standards. At least for missionary collections

at former mission stations that acquired the status of 'heritage sites'. For further information on missionary collections and museums see Wingfield, '"Scarcely more than a Christian trophy case"?' (on the Museum of the London Missionary Society); Jacobs, Knowles and Wingfield, eds., *Trophies, Relics and Curios?* (on missionary heritage including artifacts, photographs and archival documents); Jacobs, 'Inscribing missionary impact in Central Polynesia'; and Cannizzo, 'Gathering Souls and Objects'. Concerning missionary expositions see, for example, Gustafsson Reinius, 'Touring the Congo' and Hasinoff, *Faith in Objects*.

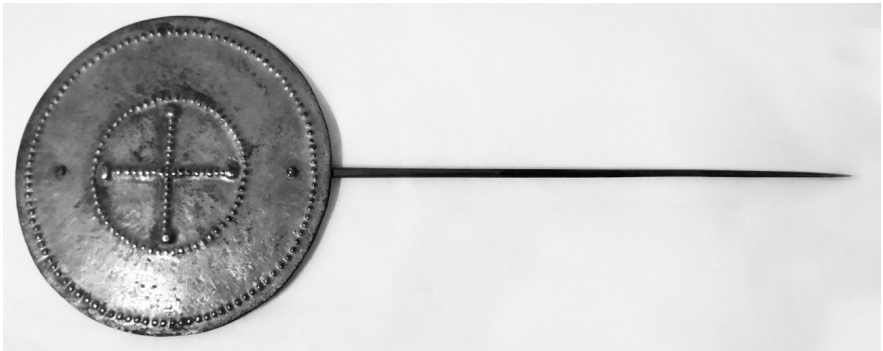
64 Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung, 8–9.

65 Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung, 9–11.

66 Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung, 10–12. For further information on the Capuchin missions in New Guinea see Hensel, 'Die rheinisch-westfälische Kapuzinermission in Mikronesien'.

67 Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung, 13–14.

68 Frese, *Anthropology and the Public*, 31.



1. *Tupu* (pin) from the Altötting Mapuche collection, currently kept at the Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich.
[Accession number 91-315 874]

in Germany, there are rarely entry books, modern databases and/or old index cards for individual objects, as is the case in public museums.[69] For this reason, an assessment of the collections must of course also include the artifacts themselves. In the course of a sample study, I had the opportunity to examine a dozen objects from Altötting at the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich.[70] Among articles of everyday use, there were also a few pieces of silver jewelry. Most of them were rather small and/or of lower quality when compared to items in other Mapuche collections. But there was one piece which stood out; it was a so-called *tupu*, a type of pin with a large round and sometimes decorated plate on its top, traditionally used by women for fastening textile garments (Figure 1).[71]

The point about this *tupu* from Altötting is that it is not made of silver; the metal it is made from is probably zinc or some type of a more industrial metal alloy. This is quite remarkable because although silver originally did not have a monetary value for the Mapuche, as a material it was associated with supernatural powers that granted protection and symbolized fertility. Silver jewelry was worn in ritual contexts and in representative events and the amount of silver worn and displayed on these occasions also expressed a person's social status.[72] Taking into

69 Holthausen, 'Fremde Welten'.

70 The research project on which this chapter is based is still at an early stage. The meaning and value of particular objects and artifacts in general from the Mapuche's perspective will be a key issue for investigating indigenous agency in the collecting process.

71 Mora Oliveira. 'El arte de trabajar los metales', 55–56. *Tupus* are considered to be among the oldest pieces of Mapuche silver jewelry; other forms were developed later. As far as their form is concerned, they are the only pieces that also exist in the silver jewelry production among indigenous populations in the Central Andes (Morris von Bennewitz, *Platería Mapuche*, 33).

72 Morris von Bennewitz, *Platería Mapuche*, 21, 51–52. Silver jewelry among the Mapuche was worn above all by women; historically, chiefs and other important men also adorned their horses' riding gear (Morris von Bennewitz, *Platería Mapuche*, 43).

account these aspects, it is very unlikely that Mapuche women would have used jewelry that was not made of silver, because zinc or other metals would not have provided their wearers with the qualities attributed to silver. One possible explanation for the existence of this *tupu* is therefore that it was made especially for the exhibition in Altötting. In this sense, the *tupu* would clearly be a transcultural product, a result of the specific encounter between the Mapuche and the Bavarian Capuchins. Sending a zinc *tupu* instead of a silver *tupu* to Germany would also be in line with the Capuchins' general endeavor to secure a livelihood for the Mapuche by not extracting more precious metal from them. And it would mean that the Capuchins explicitly commissioned a zinc *tupu* for the exhibition in Altötting or acquired it as a type of 'tourist art'.[73]

Finally, it is also interesting to look at what is *not* present in the ethnographic Capuchin collection. Pottery, vessels, wickerwork and silver jewelry are objects that can equally be found in the Mapuche collections of other ethnographic museums in Europe. A particularly special object, however, is part of the collection of the Musée du quai Branly in Paris: a so-called *che mamüll*. These anthropomorphic wooden statues, used in funerary rites and located at the places of burials, are often more than two meters high and, as a rule, clearly represent either a man or a woman. The story behind the *che mamüll* of the Paris museum is of interest because it belonged to the collection of the Belgian engineer Gustave Verniory (1865–1949), who worked from 1889 to 1899 in the Araucanía on extending the Chilean railway network, shortly before the Bavarian Capuchins must have started their collection.[74] It is also revealing as to the value of certain objects and their alienability for the Mapuche. Verniory relates in his personal account that he was eager to obtain the statue, which stood close to a newly constructed railway line, and how he stole it with the help of accomplices during the night. Erroneously, the Mapuche blamed somebody else for this 'profanation' and killed the wrongly accused man. Police investigation led to no result and, back in Brussels, Verniory wrote that he sometimes had a guilty conscience when contemplating the statue.[75] It is a telling anecdote considering that Verniory often speaks of Mapuche chiefs as his 'friends'

73 Helmke Miquel and Hoth de Olano assume that the Mapuche had no intention of exhibiting the pieces they created in a museum nor of producing things specifically for an exhibition (Helmke Miquel and Hoth de Olano, '"*Para el apoyo significativo de la misión araucana*"', 29). This assumption, however, fails to recognize the nature of ethnographic collections, which, in addition to presumably 'original' pieces, often contain commissioned works, such as scale models of large huts or boats. The Altötting collection also has a small model of a Mapuche canoe (accession number 91-315 973). In the event that the Mapuche nevertheless produced 'alternative' silver jewelry from zinc for their own use, the Capuchins' collecting strategy would have been characterized by consideration for the Mapuche's economic situation, as they acquired a product of lower material value.

74 Martin, Núñez-Regueiro and Peltier, 'Araucanie-Bruxelles-Paris'.

75 Verniory, *Dix années en Araucanie*, 402–403.

and that he learned their language. However, this seemed not to have prevented him from this crime. Altötting's collection did not include such a piece. The Capuchins were more respectful or at least, cautious when assembling artifacts.

Exhibition-making in Altötting

Bearing in mind that the Capuchins' collection was probably assembled for promotional purposes, the question can be asked whether the production of the historic exhibition in the museum reflected this purpose as well. Was there a major museum which might have served as a model for the Altötting exhibition? Most common, at international level, were exhibitions structured according to geographical classifications. Exceptions included the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, Great Britain, whose founder preferred a typological display of objects, intending to show the gradual technological evolution from simple to progressively refined artifacts.[76] In the German-speaking countries, Adolf Bastian, the founder of German ethnology, had envisioned the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin as a research center from the outset. Therefore, ethnographic museums focussed mainly on collecting, not on exhibiting.[77] The disregard for exhibiting in Germany began to decrease only after the turn of the century, when the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig took over the leading role: it departed from the geographical principle and developed comparative special exhibitions, for example on means of transportation. The *Kulturkreislehre* found its expression in the Cologne ethnographic museum, whose director put the focus on the cultural history of humankind.[78] The Munich ethnographic museum, geographically the closest to Altötting, went rather unnoticed by the public in the first years of its existence. This changed when Lucian Scherman (1864–1946) was appointed as its director in 1907. Not only did he increase the collecting activity, he also divided the collections into two sections: one for public display and one for research. Now the public could enjoy a display of carefully selected and neatly arranged objects, while researchers had to go to the stockroom. While Scherman preferred a basic exhibition structure that was based on geographical regions, he organized the exhibition production with aesthetic principles in mind. He also did so because Munich was an artistic hub, and Scherman met needs for a place where artists could study objects and practice.[79]

76 Bouquet, *Museums. A Visual Anthropology*, 79–80.

77 Noack, 'Die Welt im Kasten', 32–34. In fact, when the royal museum opened in 1886, parts of the collection could not be displayed since the latter had grown so massive in previous years (Bolz, 'From Ethnographic Curiosities to the Royal Museum of Ethnology', 187–188).

78 Noack, 'Die Welt im Kasten', 32–34.

79 Gareis, *Exotik in München*, 96–97, 105–108.

2. Two display cases in the Missionary Museum Altötting, c.1920.

However, only a part of the historic exhibition in Altötting matches these descriptions. The inventory cited above indicates that the taxidermy specimens in the collection were set up roughly according to biological classes (birds, mammals, insects), while ethnographic objects seem to have been arranged to their materiality (wood, metal, textile) or their function (vessels, clothing). Fortunately, in recent years, there have been surveys of graphic materials in different Capuchin archives that allow the Order's missions in Chile to be visualized. Among them are a few that also recorded the museum itself, which is why they constitute a very important source.[80] A photograph shows two display cases, whose content can be identified more accurately with the help of the inventory (Figure 2).[81]

80 Flores Chávez and Azócar Avendaño, '*Rulpachen ka wigkachen pu Mapuche*' draw on graphic material from the Historical Archive of the Diocese of Villarrica, from the Order's archive in Santiago, and from the Capuchin archive and central library in Altötting. A considerable part of the latter had been transferred to the library of the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt in Bavaria, where approximately 1,600 photographs have been digitized and are now available online at the library's media server: https://media.ku.de/47963 (12 December 2019).

81 Flores Chávez and Azócar Avendaño, '*Rulpachen ka wigkachen pu mapuche*', 250.

33rd display case:
Indian handicrafts. Woven straw plate on the very top.
1st tier: Above digging stick of the gold seekers, small basket made of a calf's head, small basket made of a dog's head, small basket made of calf's skin.
2nd tier: 5 different woven baskets, in the centre small basket made of an armadillo's armour, the carrying handle formed by the tail sticking in the mouth.[82]

Minor differences between the written and visual sources may result from the fact that occasionally individual objects were temporarily lent to other exhibitions or were used at events from which they did not return in the same condition due to mishandling or accidents. In the course of time, other objects might have replaced them. In any case, the arrangement of artifacts seems to have been guided primarily by two types of objects: vessels for storage or transport in the left display case and weapons in the right display case, with a few other objects in between. Both display cases are crammed with objects, there is almost no space left, and none of the objects is given more prominence than the others, for instance by being placed at the center of the display case or at some distance from the other objects. This kind of arrangement is strongly reminiscent of descriptions of the packed exhibition in the royal ethnographic museum in Berlin; its collection was split into a public exhibition and a research collection only in 1926.[83] Compared to the institution in Berlin, the museum in Altötting handled an insignificant number of objects, but it is likely that it did not have a dedicated stockroom, and that therefore the complete collection was put on display.

Whereas the presentation of ethnographic artifacts might have not been very elaborate, the taxidermy specimens were arranged in imitated landscapes that a father named Rainer made of bark, wood and green felt. An artist painted South American landscapes onto the back panels of the display cases, and the museum displayed more than 100 photographs hanging from the ceiling. From 1913 onwards, the museum included a *Kaiserpanorama*, a round wooden box with an electric light inside: it allowed visitors to look at fifty different photographic glass plates which depicted cities, landscapes and scenic views from the mission field.[84] Which pictures exactly were on display in the museum is not clear, but it is interesting that they fulfilled other purposes. They were also used for the production of postcards that could be acquired for alms, and they found their way into the Order's propaganda and publications such as the *Altöttinger Franziskus-Kalender*.[85]

82 Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung, 10–11.
83 Bolz, 'From Ethnographic Curiosities to the Royal Museum of Ethnology', 188.
84 Haringer, 'Die ehemalige Chile-Missionsausstellung', 183–185; Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung, 15.
85 Flores Chávez and Azócar Avendaño, '*Rulpachen ka wigkachen pu mapuche*', 47.

Moreover, a set of nearly 100 pictures could be lent for presentation in club houses.[86]

To make its production livelier, the museum also showed three dioramas with wooden life-size figurines made by a carver. They are described in the inventory as dating from around 1930. One diorama showed a *machi* and its description corresponds clearly to a historic photograph (Figure 3).[87] 'Indian sorceress with handdrum and magic stone in her jewelry on the magic tree, from which she makes her spells and lets herself fall down at the end, as if [she were] flying. The Indians catch her.'[88] This basic description corresponds roughly to actual characteristics of Mapuche shamans, the majority of whom were (and still are today) women. They use drums to go into trance and allegedly establish a connection with supernatural beings, and then they ascend a tree trunk with carved steps. Towards the end of their trance, they let themselves fall down and are caught by the people attending and assisting with the ceremony.[89] The wooden figurine in the photograph wears items that – except the feathers – can be found in ethnographic Mapuche collections today.[90] Its presentation can be compared with a historical photograph of an unknown author, which was used for illustrating the Apostolic Prefect's article about the traditional Mapuche healing ceremony.[91] The exhibition-makers in Altötting probably used it as template for the design of their figurine. Said picture shows three female *machi*, each of them dressed similarly, also wearing feathers (supposedly of a greater rhea) as a headdress and holding a drum. A few differences might have been due to presentational considerations by the exhibition-makers, for example they could have opted to show as much silver jewelry as possible on the figurine.

As mentioned above, elements of traditional Mapuche religion and beliefs were also covered in articles in the Order's periodicals when addressing their European audience. It is clear that the Capuchins were fully aware of the appeal of these phenomena. The objects that Frauenhäusl had acquired from a male *machi*'s widow in 1913 were announced in the monthly journal *Altöttinger Franziskusblatt*

86 ADKAÖ, IX 101 105, Indianer-Missions-Ausstellung in Altötting (c. 1906), 15.

87 Flores Chávez and Azócar Avendaño, '*Rulpachen ka wigkachen pu mapuche*', 251.

88 Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung, 6. Original: 'Indianische Zauberin mit Handtrommel und Zauberstein in ihrem Schmuck auf dem Zauberbaum, von wo aus sie ihre Zaubereien macht und sich zum Schluß, gleichsam fliegend, herunterfallen läßt. Die Indianer fangen sie auf.'

89 Schindler, *Bauern und Reiterkrieger*, 65–71.

90 The figurine's facial expression is worth special consideration: since an artist made the figurine, it could be interesting to compare the *machi* with his other works in the future. It is possible that he usually produced figurines for biblical representations and/or traditional European motifs. Hence, he would have had to rely on written accounts of shamanism and perhaps on photographs.

91 Beck, 'Die Krankenheilung (Machitun) bei den Araukanern'. The picture is also reproduced in Arellano Hoffman, Holzbauer and Kramer, eds., *Die Mapuche und die Republik Chile*, 508.

3. Figure of a machi, Missionary Museum Altötting, c.1920.

as exhibits in a missionary exposition in 1914 in Munich. This 'Missions-Ausstellung' would display for a week primarily what 'friends and benefactors' of the mission in Chile had donated and manufactured in the course of a whole year. In addition, it would also show different things from the mission itself, such as 'Chilean animals' or 'woven quilts', but also the 'entire bequest of a pagan sorcerer', which contained 'the magical stones, the magical drum and the like'.[92] Only three months later, the same journal presented a short biography of the *machi* Julian Nahuel, drawing on information written down by Frauenhäusl in his chronicle; in it, Nahuel was described as a recognized *machi* with details about the Mapuche terms of his magical powers and their German translation, but also as a drunkard and despised individual who allegedly died because of the malicious action of an envious colleague.[93] When comparing the information in the mission chronicle and the German article, it is striking that the latter has been revised significantly in literary terms by elaborating on the bad character traits and behavior of the deceased and on his agonizing death.

Returning to the mission museum in Altötting, next to the Mapuche shaman, there were two further dioramas. One of them was placed in display cases 5 and 6 and described as follows: 'Life-size Indian group in front of the hut. The Capuchin missionary gives religious instruction to the family. Background: wall painting: Lake Villarrica with snow-covered volcano of the same name'.[94] The other diorama in display case 7 was captioned as follows: 'Indian hut with fireplace and cauldron, on the roof a wild cat with a captured bird. At the entrance to the hut, the Indian baby leans in the carrying frame, which the mother usually carries on her back. In front of the hut Chilean goose, mallard, giant duck, opossum'.[95]

At first glance, a historical photograph seems to correspond to the dioramas of display cases 5 and 6, because the 'missionary' and the 'Indian family in front of the hut' are clearly present (Figure 4).[96] But the background painting does not seem to depict the volcano, and the description of display case 7 includes a 'wild cat with a captured bird', which can be seen on the roof of the hut in display cases 5 and 6. One possible explanation might be that the diorama in cases 5 and 6 extended to the right into case 7, but then the same hut would have been mentioned in the captions twice, and only once with reference to the 'Indian baby [...] in the

92 *Altöttinger Franziskusblatt*, 15, 6 (1914), 136.

93 *Altöttinger Franziskusblatt*, 15, 9 (1914), 201–202.

94 Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung, 6. Original: 'Lebensgroße Indianergruppe vor der Hütte. Der Kapuzinermissionär erteilt der Indianerfamilie Religionsunterricht. Hintergrund: Wandgemälde: Villarikasee mit schneebedecktem Vulkan gleichen Namens.'

95 Verzeichnis Missions-Ausstellung, 6–7. Original: 'Indianerhütte mit Feuerung und Kochkessel, auf dem Dach Wildkatze mit erbeutetem Vogel. Am Hütteneingang lehnt das Indianer-Wickelkind im Traggestell, welches die Mutter gewöhnlich auf dem Rücken trägt. Vor der Hütte Chilenische Gans, Spiegelente, Riesenente, Beutelratte.'

96 Flores Chávez and Azócar Avendaño, '*Rulpachen ka wigkachen pu mapuche*', 249.

4. Diorama depicting a Capuchin friar imparting religious instructions to a Mapuche family, Missionary Museum Altötting, c.1920.
[xxx]

carrying frame' leaning at the entrance. Another possibility is that the design of the dioramas, for some reason or other, had been changed.

Religious instruction by a missionary was also the image that the Bavarian Capuchins decided to present on at least two other occasions, as can be seen in photographs that documented the Capuchins' participation in the *Katholikentag* in Munich in 1925 and the Vatican's missionary exhibition in Rome in the same year.[97] The latter was accompanied by an article about the exhibition in more general terms and the Capuchin order's contribution to it in particular. Regarding the Bavarian province's section on Chile, it mentions the diorama as a highlight, along the entire exhibition in Rome, and explains that it represents a 'still pagan' family, as demonstrated by an animal skull on a rod.[98] The author states that, at the time, there were many fewer 'pagan Indians' left than in the beginning, but that the region would remain a mission for several decades to come, because con-

97 *Altöttinger Franziskus-Kalender*, 20 (1925), 51.
98 Walter, 'Missionsausstellung im Vatikan', 134–135.

version could not be considered accomplished 'as long as the Indians do not have their own priests'.[99]

The presentation of these dioramas is interesting in itself, because this kind of scenic production is something that does not seem to have been common among ethnographic museums at the beginning of the twentieth century. In Germany, it was the Städtisches Museum für Natur-, Völker- und Handelskunde in Bremen (today the Übersee-Museum), which opened in 1896, that integrated this type of representation in its exhibitions. The museum housed three different collections – on natural history, ethnography and trade – and its founding director Hugo Schauinsland (1857–1937) wanted his museum to address a wide audience: its exhibitions were to offer comparative material for expert colleagues, ideas for merchants and an opportunity for the people to educate themselves. This is why Schauinsland opted for the integration of *Schaugruppen* (groups of life-size figurines and their dwellings, which represented different groups of people from around the world going about their daily life), and of *Lebensgemeinschaften* (groups of taxidermy specimens in landscapes which imitated their natural habitat). These dioramas were placed in the museum building's central courtyard in order to attract visitors.[100]

This vivid manner of representation through dioramas and life-size figurines was most likely inspired by the world exhibitions, colonial exhibitions and commercial ethnographic exhibitions that emerged during the latter half of the nineteenth century. These events were intended to entertain visitors with visual representations of various natural and cultural spaces from all over the globe.[101] In Germany, the last quarter of the century saw entrepreneurs such as Carl Hagenbeck (1844–1913) develop the concept of small-scale ethnographic exhibitions from the past into logistically sophisticated, easy to transport, detailed and dramaturgically well-thought-out spectacles. For these, ethnic troupes were hired that toured all over Europe and presented themselves in zoos, amusement parks and exhibitions, as well as at fairs or in theatres. In these *Völkerschauen*, or human zoos, the troupes were usually expected to give performances, such as dances, music or fights, and to carry out activities from their 'daily life' in their 'villages'.[102] Non-European cultures were clearly found fascinating, but, significantly, the cultivation of this fascination and the particular depiction also marked a difference and helped produce and consolidate the Europeans' self-image as culturally superior.[103]

99 *Ibid*., 135. This last statement is consistent with the direction of the papal calls for more serious efforts to create an indigenous clergy, as formulated in *Maximum Illud* (1919) and *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926) (Egger and Gugglberger, 'Missionsräume', 8–9).

100 Ahrndt and Scholz, 'Was wurde aus der "Ruhmeshalle des bremischen Handels"?', 67.

101 Hodeir, 'Decentring the Gaze at French Colonial Exhibitions'; Dreesbach, *Gezähmte Wilde*.

102 Thode-Arora, 'Commercial Ethnographic Exhibitions: *Völkerschauen*'.

103 Hodeir, 'Decentring the Gaze at French Colonial Exhibitions'.

The potential of such vivid representations surely must have been very appealing to museums that were looking for strategies to attract a wider audience. Hence, it is not surprising that museum curators tried to capture and capitalize on this potential by creating dioramas with life-size figurines. Why should Father Isidor Schmitt not have turned to this measure in Altötting, if the original purpose of the mission museum was, in principle, promotional, and if the exhibition was meant to convince visitors to give donations to the Capuchins? In fact, the exhibition in Altötting was not the only one whose creators took recourse to the imitation of supposedly 'real'-life situations of foreign cultures. The exhibitions of the Protestant Basel Mission from Switzerland can serve as an example which has already been studied: in 1860, the Basel Mission had started to build up an ethnographic collection for promotional purposes. Their first public exhibition opened in Basel in 1908: it included a Cameroonian village road complete with several houses, which had been constructed by an African man, a missionary's former language assistant. Visitors could also admire a huge 'fetish' and learn about the harm and violence that were said to come from the secret societies associated with it and to pose a threat to people's lives. Such depictions served to illustrate the negative consequences of African 'superstition' and to emphasize the relevance of the Basel Mission's civilizing task, as well as their own modernity.[104] This ethnographic exhibition attracted many visitors. When the mission society realized what an effective means for promoting its religious cause among the masses the exhibition was, they began to organize touring exhibitions to several cities in Switzerland and southern Germany. The administration invested a lot of money to create scenes that made its exhibitions look appealing to visitors and appear as 'authentic' as possible. Having said that, they set no great store by truthful accounts about indigenous culture given by their personnel – as long as the exhibitions were well attended. Apart from illustrating, in their view, exotic and superstitious cultural practices, the exhibitions' narrative included examples of successful conversions to Christianity and of the adoption of allegedly civilized behaviors.[105] This ambivalent depiction of indigenous culture is a common feature of missionary ethnography in general: it portrayed indigenous groups as 'pagan', 'wild' and 'primitive', but acknowledged the presence of universal human traits in these groups as well and, above all, their potential to leave the wildness behind. Otherwise, the missionary project would have been pointless.[106]

That this ambivalence was also present in the Capuchins' mission museum in Altötting can be demonstrated by comparing the two dioramas in Figures 3 and 4. Figure 3 shows a shaman in traditional clothing as a symbol of the Mapuche's

104 Rathschiller, "'Die Zauberei spielt in Kamerun eine böse Rolle!'", 243–246.
105 *Ibid*., 251–253, 256–257.
106 Nielssen, Okkenhaug and Skeie, 'Introduction', 9–10.

pagan culture. The overall impression given by her outward appearance, her posture and her facial expression is not menacing, but Western visitors would have perceived it as clearly exotic. In contrast, the religious instruction depicted in Figure 4, with a family in front of a hut, wearing ponchos, calmly following the friar's explanations, and surrounded by a few animals, must have reminded Catholic pilgrims in Altötting almost of a nativity scene.[107] The narrative reflected in these two dioramas seems to confirm the conclusions drawn by Flores Chávez and Azócar Avendaño from their analysis of the Bavarian Capuchins' visual discourse (as present in the photographs taken in their mission stations): this discourse was constructed clearly from a perspective of power and an ethnocentric and colonialist ideology, though without the level of symbolic violence inherent in other pictures of the period (e.g. photographs of physical anthropology or criminology, which also portrayed indigenous people). Nevertheless, the Capuchins' discourse implied a negative evaluation of the 'Other', since it was based on an ideology of modernity and civilization that associated indigenous alterity with stereotypes such as 'wild', 'exotic' and 'natural'.[108] Both parts of the overall image – wildness represented by shamanism and progress towards 'civilization' as suggested by religious instruction – were present in the mission museum in Altötting and also in short temporary exhibitions in Munich, as shown above. The fact that the Bavarian Capuchins opted to show only the religious instruction as the central element of their section at the missionary exhibition in the Vatican might be due to the competitive situation among the other congregations showing their missionary achievements as well.

Perspectives

The present chapter outlined the scope of the Bavarian Capuchins' ethnography as a case study by exploring questions related to their collecting activity in Chile and to their exhibition-making for a European public in the early twentieth century. While the analysis of the historic forms of ethnographic representation in the context of their dedicated mission museum, and compared with other exhibitions, has been revealing with regard to their general discourse, the Capuchins'

107 Helmke Miquel and Hoth de Olano also comment on the diorama which showed this scene of religious instruction, but hold the view that the depiction of the Chilean landscape, the clothing of the figures and the taxidermy specimens would have been perceived as 'exotic' by German museum visitors (Helmke Miquel and Hoth de Olano, '"*Para el apoyo significativo de la misión araucana*"', 27–28). In my opinion, the selection and the arrangement of the figures were more significant in this scene and intended to suggest something familiar. An 'exotic' impression would have been better achieved with other figures in other situations, for example by depicting kinship groups or rituals that were unfamiliar to Europeans.

108 Flores Chávez and Azócar Avendaño, '*Rulpachen ka wigkachen pu mapuche*', 59.

collecting methods still have to be investigated more thoroughly: questions remain about their academic and personal backgrounds, as well as networks that might have shaped their way of acquiring and handling ethnographic artifacts. These questions have to be formulated bearing in mind the primarily propagandistic orientation of the museum, which could have had an impact on the friars' collecting in Chile: were the missionaries instructed to actively collect mainly 'spectacular' objects or objects that could serve to illustrate seemingly 'exotic' cultural practices? At least the shamanic objects acquired by Frauenhäusl incidentally and the biography of their former owner turned out to be valuable and appealing material from the exhibition-makers' point of view, whereas the significance of the related cultural practices was downplayed in the Capuchin contributions to the debate on integration of indigenous people in Chile. The example of the zinc *tupu* seems to suggest that the decisive criterion for collecting was the exhibition, while it was not so important whether the pieces were 'original', as long as they were vivid enough.

Apart from the activities of missionaries as collectors, future research will also have to examine the indigenous selection process that preceded the Capuchins' collecting: what were the Mapuche's criteria for selling, exchanging or giving away particular objects? Which value did particular objects have for them, and under what circumstances were they willing to part with them? If the Capuchins (and other collectors) searched for particular objects, one must also consider the possibility that the Mapuche recognized a specific demand and began to produce on purpose what was expected from them. In terms of method, apart from archival research, it will be indispensable to examine the entire collection thoroughly as it is kept today at the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich. Such an examination will make possible a better understanding of the artifacts that underwent a highly selective process and came to be the empirical evidence for epistemic processes our scientific knowledge is based on.

REFERENCES

Archival sources

ADKAÖ (Archiv der Deutschen Kapuzinerprovinz, Altötting).

ARL-UMCE (Archivo Rodolfo Lenz – Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación, Santiago de Chile).

Secundary literature

Amberga, Jerónimo de, OFMCap. 'Estado intellectual, moral y económico del araucano'. *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, VII (1913) 11, 5–37.

Amberga, Jerónimo de, OFMCap. 'Educación Indígena en los Estados Unidos'. *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, XVII (1916), 21, 194–202.

Amberga, Jerónimo de, OFMCap. 'La epopeya de Boroa'. *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, XVIII (1916) 22, 57–82.

Amberga, Jerónimo de, OFMCap. 'Agricultura Araucana'. *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, XXI (1917) 25, 54–80.

Amberga, Jerónimo de, OFMCap. 'Una flauta de pan araucana'. *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, XXXVII (1921) 41, 98–100.

Andratschke, Claudia. 'Provenienzforschung in ethnologischen Sammlungen: Umgang mit einem heiklen Erbe'. In: *Missionsgeschichtliche Sammlungen heute. Beiträge einer Tagung*. Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 2017, 65–76.

Ankermann, Bernhard. *Anleitung zum ethnologischen Beobachten und Sammeln*. Berlin: Reimer, 1914.

Ahrndt, Wiebke, and Markus A. Scholz. 'Was wurde aus der "Ruhmeshalle des bremischen Handels"?'. *Von der Weltausstellung zum Science Lab. Handel – Industrie – Museum, Tagungsband zur Jahrestagung von ICOM Deutschland 2016, ICOM Deutschland – Beiträge zur Museologie*, 6 (2017), 65–74.

Arellano Hoffmann, Carmen. 'Die "irrigen Meinungen, die … in der Hauptstadt … in Umlauf sind". Zur interkulturellen Wahrnehmung bei *wingka* und Mapuche'. In: Carmen Arellano Hoffmann, Hermann Holzbauer and Roswitha Kramer, eds. *Die Mapuche und die Republik Chile. Pater Siegfried von Frauenhäusel und das Parlament der Mapuche 1907 in Coz Coz*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006, 109–148.

Arellano Hoffmann, Carmen, Hermann Holzbauer, and Roswitha Kramer, eds. *Die Mapuche und die Republik Chile. Pater Siegfried von Frauenhäusel und das Parlament der Mapuche 1907 in Coz Coz*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006.

Augusta, Félix José de, OFMCap. *Gramática Araucana*. Valdivia: Imprenta Central J. Lampert, 1903.

Augusta, Félix José de, OFMCap. 'Missionstätigkeit des H.P. Joseph Kathan O.Cap. von Augsburg in Wapi'. *Altöttinger Franziskus-Kalender*, 2 (1907), 72–77.

Augusta, Félix José de, OFMCap. *Lecturas Araucanas (Narraciones, costumbres, cuentos, canciones etc.) con la cooperación de Fray Sigifredo de Fraunhäusl*. Valdivia: Imprenta de la Prefectura Apostólica, 1910.

Augusta, Félix José de, OFMCap. 'Zehn Araukanerlieder'. *Anthropos*, 6 (1911), 684–698.

Augusta, Félix José de, OFMCap. *Diccionario Araucano-Español y Español-Araucano*. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1916.

Bastian, Adolf. 'Allgemeine Begriffe der Ethnologie'. In: Georg Neumayer, ed. *Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Bedürfnisse der kaiserlichen Marine*. Berlin: Oppenheim, 1875, 516–533.

Bastian, Adolf. *Der Völkergedanke im Aufbau einer Wissenschaft vom Menschen und seine Begründung auf ethnologische Sammlungen*. Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1881.

Beck, Guido, OFMCap. 'Die Krankenheilung (machitun) bei den Araukanern'. *Seraphisches Weltapostolat des heiligen Franz von Assisi*, 1 (1925), 281–283.

Beck, Guido, OFMCap. *Die Mission der bayerischen Kapuziner unter den Indianern in Chile. Freunden und Förderern der Indianermission gewidmet von Guido Beck von Ramberg, Titularbischof von Mastaura und Apostolischer Vikar von Araukanien*. Altötting, 1929.

Bolz, Peter. 'From Ethnographic Curiosities to the Royal Museum of Ethnology. Early Ethnological Collections in Berlin'. In: Manuela Fischer, Peter Bolz and Susan Kamel, eds. *Adolf Bastian and his universal archive of humanity. The origins of German anthropology*. Hildesheim et al.: Olms, 2007, 173–190.

Bouquet, Mary. *Museums. A Visual Anthropology*. London-New York: Berg, 2012.

Buschmann, Rainer. *Anthropology's Global Histories. The German Ethnographic Frontier in New Guinea, 1870–1935*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009.

Cannizzo, Jeanne. 'Gathering Souls and Objects. Missionary collections'. In: Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, eds. *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*. London: Routledge, 1998, 153–166.

Centlivres, Pierre. 'Des "instructions" aux collections: la production ethnographique de l'image de l'Orient'. In: Jacques Hainard and Roland Kaehr, eds. *Collections passion. Exposition du 5 juin au 31 décembre 1982*. Neuchâtel: Imprimerie Paul Attinger SA, 1982, 33–61.

Collet, Giancarlo. 'German Catholic Mission Science. Comments on the Time of its Commencement'. In: Carine Dujardin and Claude Prudhomme, eds. *Mission & Science. Missiology Revised Missiologie Revisitée, 1850–1940*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015, 99–100.

Coña, Pascual. *Lonco Pascual Coña ñi tuculpazugun – Testimonio de un cacique mapuche. Texto dictado al padre Ernesto Wilhelm de Moesbach*. 8th ed. Santiago: Pehuén Editores, 2006.

Corbey, Raymond, and Frans Karel Weener. 'Collecting while converting: missionaries and ethnographics'. *Journal of Art Historiography*, 12 (2015), 1–14.

Courtois, Luc, and Jean Pirotte. 'Prélude. Louvain et l'ethnologie religieuse: Des Semaines d'ethnologie religieuse de Louvain aux Semaines de missiologie'. In: Frédéric Laugrand and Olivier Servais, eds. *Du missionnaire à l'anthropologue: Enquête sur une longue tradition en compagnie de Michael Singleton*. Paris: Karthala, 2012, 13–40.

Dreesbach, Anne. *Gezähmt Wilde. Die Zurschaustellung "exotischer" Menschen in Deutschland 1870–1940*. Frankfurt am Main-New York: Campus, 2005.

Dujardin, Carine. 'Mission Research Revised. Missiology as a Project of Modernity and a Contemporary Form of Apologetics'. In Carine Dujardin and Claude Prudhomme, eds. *Mission & Science. Missiology Revised Missiologie Revisitée, 1850–1940*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015, 9–21.

Egger, Christine, and Martina Gugglberger. 'Missionsräume'. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 24 (2013) 2, 5–20.

Flores Chávez, Jaime. 'La ocupación de la Araucanía y la pérdida de la platería en manos mapuches. Finales del siglo XIX y primeras décadas del XX'. *Revista de Indias*, LXXIII (2013) 259, 825–854.

Flores Chávez, Jaime, and Alonso Azócar Avendaño. '*Rulpachen ka wigkachen pu mapuche': az nentulelu pu Kapuchinu patiru Mapuche Mapu mew*. '*Evangelizar, civilizar y chilenizar a los Mapuche': fotografías de la acción de los misioneros capuchinos en la Araucanía*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2017.

Förster, Larissa, Iris Edenheiser, and Sarah Fründt. 'Eine Tagung zu postkolonialer Provenienzforschung – Zur Einführung'. In: Larissa Förster, Iris Edenheiser and Sarah Fründt, eds. *Provenienzforschung zu ethnografischen Sammlungen der Kolonialzeit. Positionen in der aktuellen Debatte*. Berlin: Humboldt-Universität Berlin, 2018, 13–36.

Frauenhäusl, Siegfried von, OFMCap. 'Chronik der Mission Sankt Sebastian von Panguipulli. Erstes Buch (1904 – 1924)'. In: Carmen Arellano Hoffmann, Hermann Holzbauer and Roswitha Kramer, eds. *Die Mapuche und die Republik Chile. Pater Siegfried von Frauenhäusel und das Parlament der Mapuche 1907 in Coz Coz*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006, 293–381.

Frese, Hermann Heinrich. *Anthropology and the Public: The Role of Museums*. Leiden: Brill, 1960.

Gareis, Sigrid. *Exotik in München. Museumsethnologische Konzeptionen im historischen Wandel am Beispiel des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde in München*. Munich: Anacon, 1990.

Gingrich, Andre. 'The German-Speaking Countries'. In: Fredrik Barth et al., eds. *One discipline, four ways: British, German, French, and American anthropology*. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005, 59–153.

Gingrich, Andre, and Werner Zips. 'Ethnohistorie und Historische Anthropologie'. In: Bettina Beer and Hans Fischer, eds. *Ethnologie. Einführung und Überblick*. 6th ed. Berlin: Reimer, 2006, 273–294.

Guevara, Tomás. *Psicolojia del pueblo araucano*. Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1908.

Gusinde, Martin SVD. 'Medicina e Higiene entre los antiguos araucanos'. *Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile*, 1 (1917), 87–120; 177–293.

Gustafsson Reinius, Lotten. 'Touring the Congo. Mobility and Materiality in Missionary Media'. In: Anders Ekström, Solveig Jülich, Frans Lundgren and Per Wisselgren, eds. *History of Participatory Media. Politics and Publics, 1750–2000*. London: Routledge, 2011, 81–98.

Habermas, Rebekka. 'Mission im 19. Jahrhundert. Globale Netze des Religiösen'. *Historische Zeitschrift*, 287 (2008), 629–679.

Habermas, Rebekka, and Richard Hölzl, eds. *Mission global. Eine Verflechtungsgeschichte seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*. Cologne-Weimar-Vienna: Böhlau, 2014.

Haringer, Christian. 'Die ehemalige Chile-Missionsausstellung der bayerischen Kapuziner in Altötting'. *Oettinger Land*, 25 (2005), 178–189.

Harries, Patrick. 'Anthropology', In: Norman Etherington, ed. *Missions and Empire*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, 238–260.

Hasinoff, Erin. *Faith in Objects. American Missionary Expositions in the Early Twentieth Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Helmke Miquel, Ignacio, and Christiane Hoth de Olano. '"*Para el apoyo significativo de a misión araucana*". El Museo de los Capuchinos bávaros en Altötting (1906–1932)'. *Revista TEFROS*, 20 (2022) 2, 9–43.

Hensel, Silke. 'Die rheinisch-westfälische Kapuzinermission in Mikronesien'. In: Silke Hensel and Barbara Rommé, eds. *Aus Westfalen in die Südsee. Katholische Mission in den deutschen Kolonien*. Berlin: Reimer, 2018, 86–103.

Hodeir, Catherine. 'Decentring the Gaze at French Colonial Exhibitions'. In: Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin, eds. *Images and Empires. Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, 233–252.

Holthausen, Tanja. 'Die besondere Situation missionsgeschichtlicher Sammlungen'. In: *Missionsgeschichtliche Sammlungen heute. Beiträge einer Tagung*. Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 2017, 53–63.

Holthausen, Tanja. 'Fremde Welten. Eine Bestandsaufnahme missionarischer Sammlungen'. *Ordenskorrespondenz*, 63 (2022) 3, 244–247.

Jacobs, Karen. 'Inscribing missionary impact in Central Polynesia. Mapping the George Bennet collection (1821–1824)'. *Journal of the History of Collections*, 26 (2014) 2, 263–276.

Jacobs, Karen, Chantal Knowles and Chris Wingfield, eds. *Trophies, Relics and Curios? Missionary Heritage from Africa and the Pacific*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015.

Jensz, Felicity. 'Collecting Cultures. Institutional motivations for nineteenth-century ethnographical collections formed by Moravian missionaries'. *Journal of the History of Collections*, 24 (2012) 1, 63–76.

Kraus, Michael. 'Perspectivas múltiples. El intercambio de objetos entre etnólogos e indígenas en las tierras bajas de América del Sur'. *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos* (2014) [online].

Kraus, Michael, Ernst Halbmayer and Ingrid Kummels, eds. *Objetos como testigos del contacto cultural. Perspectivas interculturales de las poblaciones indígenas del alto río Negro (Brasil/Colombia)*. Estudios Indiana 11. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2018.

Lenz, Rudolf. 'Die Indianerfrage in Chile', *Deutsche Zeitung für Chile*, 27 August 1918.

Livne, Inbal. 'The Many Purposes of Missionary Work: Annie Royle Taylor as Missionary, Travel Writer, Collector and Empire Builder'. In: Hilde Nielssen, Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Karina Hestad Skeie, eds. *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011, 43–70.

Loder-Neuhold, Rebecca. *Crocodiles, Masks and Madonnas. Catholic Mission Museums in German-Speaking Europe*. Studia Missionalia Svecana 121. Uppsala: Department of Theology, 2019.

MacDonald, Sharon, Henrietta Lidchi, and Margareta von Oswald. 'Introduction. Engaging Anthropological Legacies toward Cosmo-optimistic Futures?'. *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research*, 5 (2017), 95–107.

Martin, Angèle, Paz Núñez-Regueiro, and Carine Peltier. 'Araucanie-Bruxelles-Paris: la collection Gustave Verniory au musée du quai Branly. Témoignages de dix années passées au Chili'. *Gradhiva*, 12 (2010), 218–227.

Mignolo, Walter D. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity. Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham-London: Duke University Press, 2011.

Mora O., Héctor. 'El arte de trabajar los metales'. In: S. Inostroza, Jorge Edo and Héctor Mora Oliveira, eds. *Tesoros de la Araucanía. Colección Raúl Morris von Bennewitz, Plata de la Araucanía*. Temuco: Imprenta Telstar, 1986, 52–66.

Morris von Bennewitz, Raúl. *Platería Mapuche*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Kaktus, 1992.

Nielssen, Hilde, Inger Marie Okkenhaug, and Karina Hestad Skeie. 'Introduction'. In: Hilde Nielssen, Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Karina Hestad Skeie, eds. *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011, 1–22.

Nippa, Annegret. *Ethnographie und Herrnhuter Mission. Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut. Katalog zur ständigen Ausstellung im Völkerkundemuseums Herrnhut*. Dresden: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, 2003.

Noack, Karoline. 'Die Welt im Kasten: Zur Geschichte der Institution "Völkerkundemuseum" im deutsch-sprachigen Raum'. In: Iris Edenheiser and Larissa Förster, eds. *Einführung in die Museumsethnologie*. Berlin: Reimer, 2019.

Noggler, Othmar, OFMCap. *Vierhundert Jahre Araukanermission. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der bayerischen Kapuziner (ab 1896)*. Schöneck: Administration der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1973.

Noggler, Othmar, OFMCap. '450 Jahre Araukanermission. 100 Jahre Missionsarbeit der bayerischen Kapuziner'. In: Hermann Holzbauer, ed. *Sage nicht: ich bin zu jung … 100 Jahre Mission der Bayerischen Kapuziner bei den Araukaner-Indianern in Chile*. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1996, 69–105.

Oyarzún, Aureliano. 'Crónica'. *Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile*, 1 (1917), 147–149.

Palma Behnke, Marisol. *Fotografías de Martin Gusinde en Tierra del Fuego (1919–1924). Imagen, materialidad, recepción*. Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado.

Penny, H. Glenn. *Objects of Culture. Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*. Chapel Hill-London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Rathschiller, Linda. '"Die Zauberei spielt in Kamerun eine böse Rolle!" Die ethnographischen Ausstellungen der Basler Mission (1908–1912)'. In: Rebekka Habermas and Richard Hölzl, eds. *Mission global. Eine Verflechtungsgeschichte seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*. Cologne-Weimar-Vienna: Böhlau, 2014, 241–264.

Rohrbacher, Peter. 'Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik für den Papst: Österreichische Missionsexperten und der Vatikan 1922–1939'. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 54 (2012), 583–610.

Sarr, Felwine, and Bénédicte Savoy. *Rapport sur la restitution du patrimoine culturel africain. Vers une nouvelle éthique relationnelle*. http://restitutionreport2018.com/sarr_savoy_fr.pdf (15 September 2021).

Schindlbeck, Markus. 'The art of collecting. Interactions between collectors and the people they visit'. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 118 (1993), 57–67.

Schindler, Helmut. *Bauern und Reiterkrieger. Die Mapuche-Indianer im Süden Amerikas*. Munich: Hirmer, 1990.

Scholz, Andrea. 'Tejiendo nuevos enlaces: la revitalización de una colección etnográfica por la plataforma Compartir Saberes'. *Mundo Amazónico*, 9 (2018) 1, e64354.

Schorch, Philipp, Conal McCarthy, and Eveline Dürr. 'Introduction: conceptualizing Curatopia'. In: Philipp Schorch and Conal McCarthy, eds. *Curatopia. Museums and the future of curatorship*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019, 1–16.

Spindler, Marc. 'The Protestant Mission Study. Emergence and Features'. In: Carine Dujardin and Claude Prudhomme, eds. *Mission & Science. Missiology Revised Missiologie Revisitée, 1850–1940*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015, 39–52.

Stocking, George W. *After Tylor. British Social Anthropology 1888–1951*. London: Athlone, 1995.

Thode-Arora, Hilke. 'Commercial Ethnographic Exhibitions: *Völkerschauen*'. In: Prem Poddar, Rajeev S. Patke and Lars Jensen, eds. *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literatures – Continental Europe and its Empires*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008, 227–228.

Tomalin, Marcus. '"No connection or cooperation"? Missionaries and anthropologists on the Pacific Northwest Coast'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 15 (2009), 833–852.

Van Broekhoven, Laura. 'Yesterday's Knowledge, Tomorrow's Future. Setting up Community Consultations at the NME, Leiden'. In: Laura Van Broekhoven, Cunera Bujis and Pieter Hovens, eds. *Sharing knowledge and cultural heritage: First Nations of the Americas*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2010, 139–160.

Vandenberghe, An. 'Entre mission et science. Le recherché ethnologique du père Wilhelm Schmidt SVD et le Vatican (1900–1939)'. *Le Fait Missionaire*, 19 (2006), 15–36.

Vandenberghe, An. 'Beyond Charles Pierre. The Emergence of Belgian Missiology Refined'. In: Carine Dujardin and Claude Prudhomme, eds. *Mission & Science. Missiology Revised Missiologie Revisitée, 1850–1940*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015, 151–159.

Vanysacker, Dries. 'Une page oubliée dans l'histoire des Semaines de missiologie de Louvain. Les origines et les débuts au théologat des Pères de Scvheut en 1923 et 1924'. In: Mathijs Lamberigts and Ward De Pril, eds. *Louvain, Belgium, and Beyond. Studies in Religious History in Honour of Leo Kenis*. Louvain: Peeters, 2018, 183–195.

Verniory, Gustave. *Dix années en Araucanie, 1889 – 1899. Édition et présentation par Agèle Martin & Paz Núñez-Regueiro*. Rennes: CoLibris édition, 2012.

Völker, Harriet. 'Missionare als Ethnologen. Moritz Freiherr von Leonhardi, australische Mission und europäische Wissenschaft'. In: Reinhard Wendt, ed. *Sammeln, Vernetzen, Auswerten: Missionare und ihr Beitrag zum Wandel europäischer Weltsicht*. Tübingen: Narr, 2001, 173–218.

Von Luschan, Felix. 'Instruktion für ethnographische Beobachtungen und Sammlungen in Deutsch-Ostafrika'. *Mittheilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, 9 (1896), 89–99.

Walter, Gonsalvus, OFMCap. 'Missionsausstellung im Vatikan'. *Seraphisches Weltapostolat des heiligen Franz von Assisi*, 1 (1925), 5–9, 68–74, 132–136.

Warneck, Gustav. *Evangelische Missionslehre. Ein missionstheoretischer Versuch. Mit einer Einführung von Prof. Dr. Thomas Schirrmacher*. 2 vols. Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 2015 [Original: Gotha 1892–1903].

Wingfield, Chris. 'Missionary Museums'. In: Gretchen Buggeln, Crispin Paine and S. Brent Plate, eds. *Religion in Museums. Global and Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Bloomsbury: London, 2017, 231–238.

Wingfield, Chris. '"Scarcely more than a Christian trophy case"? The global collections of the London Missionary Society museum (1814–1910)'. *Journal of the History of Collections*, 29 (2017) 1, 109–128.

‘Benefactors of Humanity’?

Monuments for Missionaries in the Belgian Public Space

IDESBALD GODDEERIS

Since 2012, a statue on a public square in Antwerp’s Wilrijk district has become controversial. It represents Father Constant De Deken (1852–1896), a local missionary who had worked in China and Congo in the late nineteenth century, but depicts him with a kneeling African worshipper. Local artists and left-wing councilors, often with migrant roots, considered the statue’s composition ‘colonial’ and ‘racist’, especially because the white missionary seems to be resting his leg on the Congolese’s back. In May 2015, the district mayor installed an information plaque with some details about Father De Deken’s life, the international context of European overseas expansion, and the telling final sentence that ‘the statue, erected in 1904 to honor Constant De Deken, gives expression to the then relations between Europeans and Africans in the Congo Free State.’ However, this could not calm the protest. In 2018, the statue was the subject of an interactive art project, during which the Ghanaian sculptor Ibrahim Mahama made a replica in the symbolic material of black rubber, which has since been displayed in several museums. During the Black Lives Matter demonstrations of June 2020, several political parties held meetings at the statue, visual artists projected a picture of chained Congolese and the message ‘White silence = violence’ on the wall behind the statue, and anonymous people poured red paint over De Deken’s head (Figure 1).[1]

The campaign against De Deken’s statue was not an isolated phenomenon in Belgium. On the contrary, it took place within the context of a series of actions against colonial heritage in the public space, which had started shortly after the turn of the century, following Adam Hochschild’s book and Peter Bate’s documentary on King Leopold II and the Congo Free State.[2] Initially, the actions solely

1 Goddeeris, *Missionarissen*, 24–28.

2 Hochschild, *King Leopold’s ghost*; Bate, *Congo*.

targeted the king, but gradually they also addressed other statues, folkloric traditions and mainstream mindsets.[3] De Deken's statue, however, is the only monument of a missionary that has been contested in Belgium.

The protest does not come out of nowhere: Belgium has a huge number of markers for colonial figures in the public space. The American historian Matthew Stanard has convincingly demonstrated that they result from a deliberate propaganda campaign between the 1920s and 1950s that sought to rehabilitate Leopold II and his Congo Free State and to legitimate the colonial project of Belgian Congo.[4] He made a detailed list of monuments in Belgium linked to the country's colonial past. It contains 442 monuments, plaques, streets and tombs, 309 of which he could confirm the existence of. Only twenty-one of them refer to missionaries.[5]

However, the Belgian public space has many more markers for missionaries. In a Dutch-language monograph published in 2021, I examined the commemoration of missionaries in Flanders – the northern, Dutch-speaking region of Belgium – and included a list of 323 different markers for 194 different individual missionaries: 167 names of streets, avenues, squares and parks; seventy-two plaques; forty-two statues (nineteen of which are inside a religious building); eleven busts; twenty-four other monuments; five chapels; and two other markers. The conclusion of this survey was unexpected: Flanders has more than twice as many places of memory for missionaries as for lay colonials.[6]

These markers are spread over 130 cities and municipalities (i.e. 43.3 percent of Flanders' 300 cities and municipalities). This number is boosted by the popular missionary Jozef De Veuster, alias Father Damien (1840–1889), who in 1873 settled in the leprosy colony of Molokai, Hawaii, and died from the disease in 1889.[7] Damien was beatified in 1995, canonized in 2009, and elected 'The Greatest Belgian of all time' in 2005.[8] Even if we exclude nineteen of the 130 localities in the list because they only have a Father Damien street, still 37 percent of Flemish cities and municipalities have a monument, commemorative tablet or street dedicated to a missionary.

3 Goddeeris, 'Postcolonial Belgium'; Goddeeris, 'Colonial Streets and Statues'.

4 Stanard, *The Leopard*.

5 Digital appendix: https://lup.be/pages/digital-appendix-the-leopard-the-lion-and-the-cock (1 July 2021). It lists following markers for missionaries: Cambier and De Deken (both a monument and two streets), Pellens and Roelens (both a monument and one street), Lenselaer, Van Wing and Vertenten (each a monument), and Hardy (a plaque). In addition, missionaries are mentioned on collective memorials in Borgerhout, Geraardsbergen, Hasselt, Vielsalm and Pâturages. Stanard also includes two street names in Etterbeek, the *Rue des Pères Blancs* and the *Rue Cardinal Lavigerie*. He has regularly updated this list, inter alia after the publication of Godddeeris, *Missionarissen*.

6 Goddeeris, *Missionarissen*. All markers are also online at https://kadoc.kuleuven.be/missionarissen-straatbeeld.

7 Pennie, 'Blessed Damien'; Stewart, *Leper Priest of Moloka'i*; De Volder, *The spirit of Father Damien*.

8 DS 4 November 2011. In French-speaking Belgium, Father Damien was ranked third, after Jacques Brel and King Baudouin (*La Dernière Heure*, 21 December 2005).

1. Projection near the statue of Father De Deken in Wilrijk, June 2020. [© Dolf Van Sprengel]

This chapter will take a closer look at the commemorative monuments (i.e. statues, busts and figurative sculptures) of missionaries in the Belgian public space, thus excluding street names and commemorative tablets, as well as statues, plaques and chapels within private spaces (schools, churches, mission houses and cemeteries). The annex to this chapter lists fifty-nine monuments for missionaries, which constitutes a representative selection. The chapter only discusses monuments in Belgium; my monograph also elaborates on those established abroad, mostly in their former mission areas.

The chapter is built around three sets of questions. Firstly, where and when were monuments erected? Which types of missionaries were commemorated: what was their gender and mission destinations? Secondly, how were the inaugurations and other celebrations organized? Who initiated them and why? Thirdly, what were the narratives used during those celebrations and, above all, how did they evolve over time?[9]

9 Connecting to other studies on the perception of missionaries, which have, however, not focussed on the public space: Ceuppens and De Mul, 'De koloniale verbeelding'; Delisle, *De Tintin*; Dujardin, 'Van pionier tot dienaar'; Langhendries, 'The missionary'; Vints, 'Damiaan'.

This chapter relies on an abundance of sources. The annex has been elaborated from various websites, such as the inventory of immovable heritage in Flanders, and a wide range of internet publications.[10] Belgian media, which has been digitized prior to 1950 through BelgicaPress at the Royal Library of Belgium KBR, was read in search of articles on missionaries and statues. Not surprisingly, the newspapers with the highest numbers of hits are the Flemish Catholic newspapers *Het Nieuws van den Dag* and *Gazet van Antwerpen*.[11] For the 1950s to 1990s, only *Gazet van Antwerpen* is digitally available in particular libraries, such as the Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library and the Antwerp University Library. For the period from the 1990s onwards, all major Belgian newspapers were checked through Go-Press Academic.

Erection

The oldest missionary memorial is not included in the survey since it is not in the public space. This statue of Father Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), the famous Jesuit astronomer at the court of the Kangxi Emperor, was carved in the 1770s and is located in the garden of Rooigem Castle, then owned by the Bruges episcopate and now private property. Part of a Chinese pavilion, it was not the kind of public monument that would become typical from the nineteenth century onwards.[12]

One can therefore consider the statue of another Jesuit Father, Pieter Jan De Smet (1801–1873), who worked for fifty years in the United States, to be what kickstarted the tradition of erecting monuments for missionaries. This statue was inaugurated in 1878, barely five years after his death, and stands on a central square in his hometown, Dendermonde. In the following decades, other municipalities followed suit and erected monuments to native missionaries. Leuven installed a Father Damien statue in 1894, five years after his death (he was born in the nearby village of Tremelo, but entered his congregation in Leuven). Wilrijk did so in 1904 for the earlier discussed Constant De Deken, who had died in 1896; Pittem in 1913 for Ferdinand Verbiest, 225 years after his death; and Moorslede in 1929 for the Jesuit Father Constant Lievens (1856–1893), who in the 1880s had evangelized tribal villages in British India and played a key role in the expansion of the Ranchi mission.[13] According to a journalist in 1928, the latter 'should not be

10 See the sources mentioned in the annex. Also relevant are some earlier studies: Tanghe, *Hun stem* and Tanghe and Van Belleghem, *Hun stem*; Pipeleers and Snoeks, *Limburgse martelaren*; and Nijs, *De ware helden*.

11 De Bens, *De pers*. *Het Nieuws van den Dag* in 1966 merged with *Het Nieuwsblad*.

12 https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/77513; http://zulle.brugsebuurten.be/Detijdvantoen/RooigemenpaterVerbiest.

13 See the chapter by Rinald D'Souza in this edited volume.

second to Verbiest, De Smet and Damien. As a missionary, he is perhaps greater. And still, he had remained without a statue'.[14] Lievens was the only missionary to be honored with an equestrian monument, which required better technology and more bronze, and consequently can be considered the apogee of this first generation of monuments (Figure 2).

These five missionaries eventually grew out to become 'national heroes'. They have street names all over Belgium, including in places they do not have a direct link with.[15] Father Damien received a statue in his birth village of Tremelo in 1963, on the occasion of the centenary of his departure to Hawaii, and in several other cities and municipalities around the turn of the century in the context of his beatification in 1995 and canonization in 2009. This recognition also stretched further than the public space. Verbiest, De Smet and Father Damien are included in *The Country's Glory*, an iconic series of 550 colored drawings on Belgium's past made between 1949 and 1961.[16] In the early 1960s, three of these five missionaries were the subject of biographical comics albums by the famous comics author Jef Nys (1927–2009). Their iconic titles established the nicknames of these missionaries for the following decades: *The Great Black-Robe* (De Smet), *The Giant of Bengal* (Lievens), and *The Great Pioneer* (De Deken). De Smet and Verbiest also featured French-language Belgian comics.[17]

Jef Nys also made a fourth album, *The Trek to China*, about Théophile Verbist (1823–1868), the founder of the (first Belgian) congregation of Scheut (CICM), who can equally be considered a missionary with national fame. Verbist has several statues at the (former) mission houses of Scheut, for instance in Leuven, Kortrijk and Anderlecht, but only the latter is visible from the street and included in the annex. It was presumably made on the occasion of the return of his mortal remains in 1931 (cf. infra) and the creation of a funerary chapel, which was demolished in 1974.[18]

After the inauguration of Lievens' monument in 1929, new statues were erected for other missionaries. In 1938, the city of Mechelen created a monument for the brothers Theotimus (1867–1904) and Fredericus (1872–1904) Verhaeghen,

14 GvA 2 September 1928.

15 De Smet in Lokeren; Lievens in Leuven, Lokeren and Roeselare; Verbiest in Antwerp, Edegem, Hasselt, Lanaken, Leuven and Lokeren; and, especially, Father Damien in twenty-nine places in Flanders (see Goddeeris, *Missionarissen*, 166–198), but also the Brussels-Capital Region (Evere and Woluwe-Saint-Pierre) and in Wallonia (Braine-le-Comte and Mouscron). Father Damien is also worshipped in chapels in bilingual or French-speaking Belgium, again both in Brussels (the St. Anna church in Koekelberg and the St. Peter church in Uccle) and Wallonia (e.g. in Anvaing and Basse-Wavre).

16 Huens and Vanderkelen, *Nos gloires*; Huens and Vanderkelen, *'s Lands glorie*, 207–208, 314 and 323–324. The series also include Joris Willems (see below), Louis Hennepin (who has no statue in Belgium) and missionaries in general.

17 Delisle, *De Tintin*, 85ff. and 165ff.

18 Coomans and Luo, 'Mimesis', 513–514 and 522; GvA 9 April 1962.

two Franciscans who were killed in China in 1904. In the early 1950s, four new statues were put up for missionaries who had recently died. Father Victor Roelens (1858–1947) was the first, long-serving vicar apostolic in Upper Congo, from 1895 to 1941. Father Jozef Raskin (1892–1943), a missionary to China between 1920 and 1934, was executed by the Nazis for his participation in the resistance. Petrus Vertenten (1884–1946) had served in Dutch New Guinea from 1910 to 1925 and in Belgian Congo from 1927 to 1939. Lastly, the brothers Hubertus (1872–1951), Julianus (1879–1922), Marinus (1881–1931) and Eliseus (1888–1980) Adons had all been missionaries in China.[19]

Whereas the first statues had been cast in bronze after models sculpted by artists with a national reputation,[20] the mid-twentieth century saw the rise of monuments in stone. They were either in a modernist style (Verhaeghen and Adons) or portrayed the missionary in a seemingly contemplative way (Vertenten and Raskin, who is actually figured just before being shot by Nazis, his hands bound in his back). There was an important exception, though: the bronze statue of Roelens planting a giant cross in Belgium's African colony (Figure 3).

A more important difference is that no missionary for whom a monument was erected in the mid-twentieth century has reached a similar nation-wide fame as those honored earlier in the public space. Attempts were made, though. Vertenten was also labeled with an evocative epithet, 'The Saviour of the Kaja Kajas', and Raskin in the 1990s received broader attention after his niece and then media figure Brigitte Raskin published a non-fiction novel about his life and legacy.[21] However, neither of them have street names or other markers outside of their places of origin or residence.

In the mid-twentieth century, some missionaries who had died in the Congo Free State were used in the propaganda campaign to rehabilitate Leopold II. Across the country, monuments were erected to honor the Congo pioneers who perished before 1908, and some of them – for instance in Geraardsbergen and Hasselt – included missionaries. However, more monuments appeared in the 1960s and 1970s, commemorating 'martyrs' who died in the violence after Congolese inde-

19 Ardooie and Hamme were Roelens' and Vertenten's native cities; Aarschot was the place where Raskin had been registered since 1911 (GvA 18 October 1951).

20 Charles Auguste Fraikin (De Smet), Constantin Meunier (Father Damien), Jean Hérain (De Deken), Jacques de Lalaing (Verbiest), and Josuë Dupon (Lievens). Later monuments were made by, inter alia, Tony Luc Blickx (Raskin, GvA 30 June 1951), Willy Kreitz (Vertenten, GvA 13 February 1951), Frans Tinel (Roelens, GvA 9 August 1952) and Jan Boedts (Damien in Tremelo, GvA 5 October 1963).

21 Raskin, *De eeuw van de ekster*. Raskin was a historian who worked as a journalist, since 1984 was a regular guest on the television program *Namen Noemen*, and in 1989 won an important award with her debut novel and then became a full-time writer. See her biography on https://www.brigitteraskin.be/leven/.

pendence.[22] The most iconic is the Kongolo Memorial in Gentinnes, a village in the province of Walloon Brabant. The monument was conceived immediately after the murder of twenty Spiritan Fathers in 1962 and was inaugurated together with a large memorial chapel in 1967. The honor wall contains 216 bronze names, including those of eighty-one Belgian and seventy-five foreign Catholic clergymen and women, and thirty Protestants killed in Congo between 1960 and 1965.[23] Similarly, the Crosiers built a monument to their twenty-three murdered confreres in Runkst, near Hasselt in 1970. In addition, at least thirteen municipalities did the same for their native sons killed in Congo.[24]

These more recent monuments have different styles. Many were built in concrete or metal and let the figurative and symbolic dominate. In Pittem, a 'phoenix' was supposed to represent the resurrection. In Lindelhoeven, a large stone pointing upwards to Christ and eternal life was flanked by two smaller stones standing for the two local martyred missionaries. Some missionaries' portraits were carved in bas-relief; others were small photograph like on a grave. It does not seem to be a coincidence since these monuments functioned as empty tombs for bodies that had never been found.

Gradually, statues for other missionaries appeared again. In 1976, Ghent placed a statue to Pedro de Gante (c.1480–1572), which was a replica of a gift from Mexico to the province of East Flanders.[25] In 1981, the 'Eskimo Father' Franz Van de Velde (1909–2002) himself attended the inauguration of a memorial stone placed in his native village of Landskouter. Amaat Vyncke (1850–1888) was given a bust in 1988 in his former parish of Dudzele. A year later, the roundabout at Father Damien's birthplace was decorated with a work of art consisting of two large hands, one of a leper pulling himself up on that of Damien. Both Vyncke's and Damien's monuments were erected on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of their death.

Obviously, missionaries continue to intrigue: around the turn of the millennium, the number of newly built monuments further increased. At least five were installed in the 1990s, seven in the first decade of the twenty-first century, and another five between 2011 and 2020. Most of the honored missionaries had died not long before. Two had worked in East Asia: Jozef Boutsen (1903–1970) in China and Clement Lemmens (1923–1974) in Indonesia. Three others had earned their praise in Congo: Edgar Cuypers (1919–2008), Gustave Bouve (1902–1989) and Urbain Morlion (1894–1985) – the latter two, together with the Leuven philosophy professor Albert Dondeyne (1901–1985), were part of a monument that the mu-

22 On the commemoration of martyrs, see Goddeeris, 'Belgian Monuments of Colonial Violence'.

23 Vanysacker, *Vergeten martelaars*, 12–13, 27 and 201–202.

24 Nossegem, Borchtlombeek, Opitter, Vielsalm, Eversel, Pittem, Ooigem, Ardooie, Koersel, Lindelhoeven, Overpelt, Neerpelt and Paal.

25 Nijs, *De ware helden*, 37–39.

nicipality of Lo-Reninge erected to the memory of its three Monseigneurs. Martyrs also continued to receive memorial stones: Désiré Pellens (1920–1962), who had been murdered in Congo, and Serge Berten (1952–1982) and Alfons Stessel (1929–1994) who both perished in Guatemala.

In addition, statues were erected for missionaries who had died much earlier. Adriaan Willems alias Joris van Geel (1617–1652) wrote the first dictionary of a Bantu language. Jan Mallet (1870–1900) was murdered during the Boxer Uprising. Paul Goethals (1832–1901) was the first archbishop of Calcutta. Marie-Louise De Meester (1857–1928) had founded the congregation of the Missionary Sisters of De Jacht in 1910. And the Jesuit Jozef Van Wing (1884–1970) can be regarded as one of the most important missionary-ethnologists of the Belgian Congo.

Finally, new monuments were erected soon after the canonization of two missionaries. Sister Amandina (1872–1900), who had been beheaded by Boxers and canonized along with 119 other martyrs in China exactly a century later, was venerated in her native village Schakkebroek (Herk-de-Stad). The same happened with Father Damien, beatified in 1995 and canonized in 2009. Unlike Amandina's, however, Damien's veneration happened both in his native village of Tremelo and in a multitude of municipalities and parishes across the country.[26]

The style of the new monuments of the past fifty years returned to old characteristics. The abstract figures of the 1960s and 1970s once more made way for portraits that again focussed on the missionary, even though they were not always realistic and also allowed for artistic interpretations (especially with Damien). Some statues returned to the bronze of the first monuments, but combined with the humane profile of the 1950s: Pedro de Gante protects a child; in several monuments, Damien stands above lepers who are kneeling or lying down. Some monuments depicted missionaries with attributes: Van Geel and Goethals hold a crucifix; Bouve has an African hut in his hands. Over time, statues became smaller and the pedestals lower. The idea may have been to bring the missionaries closer to the people, but this could also relate to the price. Likewise, there were more busts and memorial stones with an engraved portrait than (more expensive) statues, and the latest statues for Father Damien were made in cheaper materials, such as wood and metal.

In sum, the annex lists fifty-nine different monuments, twenty-five of which are for Congo missionaries. This may seem a lot, but especially pioneers who died before 1908 (five monuments) and 'martyrs' who were killed after the 1960s (fifteen monuments) are glorified in the public space. It is also striking that Congo is not the destination of Belgium's most celebrated missionaries: only De Deken had been there, but was mostly famous for his journey in Tibet, whereas De Smet had worked in the United States, Father Damien in Hawaii, Lievens in British India,

26 For instance Wilrijk, Aarschot, Lochristi, Koekelberg and Oostmalle erected statues in the public space, and many more parishes in churches.

and Verbiest in China. Moreover, no missionary from Ruanda-Urundi, a former German colony which became a League of Nations mandate under Belgian control in 1922, is celebrated in the public space. All things considered, it is obvious that missionaries were not a prominent part of colonial propaganda, which instead put forward King Leopold II, explorers and soldiers.

China stands out with a total of about 800 Belgian missionaries active in China, and ten monuments.[27] This ratio is higher than the 1,100 Belgian missionaries who worked in British India and who are memorialized in only three monuments,[28] and in relative numbers it is even double the amount of Congolese missionaries - according to recent estimations, a total of almost 10,000 Belgian missionaries worked in Congo.[29] Like for Congo, the high number of honored China missionaries is due to martyrs: four monuments refer to missionaries who were assassinated. Others had returned home and achieved fame in Belgium for different reasons: Raskin as a World War II hero and Boutsen as an anti-communist. The erection of monuments for Raskin and the Adons brothers in the early 1950s may also relate to the Korean War, although the sources do not explicitly state this.

The most celebrated missionary is Father Damien with twelve monuments, five of which are in his birthplace Tremelo. Women are far less acknowledged, in spite of the fact that there were almost as many missionary sisters as there were fathers and brothers.[30] Only two female missionaries are revered with a monument: De Meester and Amandina. Similarly, the role of brothers is not mirrored in the public space: there is only one monument (De Kegel). Apparently, the common image of missionaries is dominated by the father. But even within this group, things are unbalanced. Martyrs in particular have received monuments (in addition to those in Congo and China, also two assassinated in Guatemala). Some of Belgium's most important missionaries are not represented in the public space, for instance Raphaël de la Kethulle de Ryhove, alias Tata Raphaël (1890-1956), who has several markers in Kinshasa, or Sœur Emmanuelle (1908-2008), who has several streets in France. Others have only limited recognition, such as Placide Tempels (1906-1977), who has a street name in Hasselt; Vincent Lebbe (1877-1940), who has a plaque in the cathedral of Ypres; and Gerard Van Caloen (1853-1932) and Jean-Félix de Hemptinne (1876-1958), both of whom received a marker in their Benedictine abbey of Zevenkerken.

27 Standaert, 'The Jesuit presence'; Coomans, 'Unexpected Connections', 270. The ten monuments are in Pittem, Anderlecht, Mechelen, Aarschot, Runkst, Vlijtingen, Dilsen, Hechtel, Schakkebroek and Tielt.

28 Vints, '"Vier moet branden"', 100 - inter alia more than 500 Jesuits in Bengal and Chota Nagpur, 150 Capucincs in Punjab, about fifty Carmelites on the Malabar coast, more than seventy Filles de Croix and forty Ursulines in Bengal, almost 150 Sisters of Charity in Punjab, and more than 150 'De Jacht' sisters. The three monuments are in Moorslede, Kortrijk and Roeselare.

29 Vints, 'Congo', 115.

30 Vanysacker, 'Les missions', 263.

This strong bias also explains why certain congregations are better represented than others. The Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (twelve monuments) stands out in particular, but this is solely caused by Father Damien. The Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Scheut Fathers) has many monuments (nine) as well, which is especially due to its China and Guatemala martyrs, and its early involvement in Congo. The Franciscans have relatively speaking the highest number (six), again due to China martyrs. Interestingly, the unequal distribution cannot be explained by differences between congregations with more regional identities (e.g. the Jesuits, who have different provinces for Northern and Southern Belgium; five monuments) and more 'united' ones (e.g. Scheut), or between Belgian missionaries who belonged to foreign congregations (e.g. the White Fathers; two monuments) and those who entered Belgian congregations.

The monuments are not equally spread over the country: whereas the annex lists only two in Brussels, two in Wallonia, six in the provinces of East Flanders and Antwerp and eleven in the one of Flemish Brabant, there are thirteen monuments in the sole province of West Flanders and nineteen in Limburg. This discrepancy has several explanations. West Flanders and Limburg, the two most peripheral provinces of the Flemish part of Belgium, are more rural and Catholicism was more deeply rooted there. They may have yielded more missionaries, but they were also more receptive to monuments for missionaries, either because they were ruled by Christian Democrats or because these villages did not have other heroes to put in the limelight. Moreover, there may have been a cascade effect, neighboring municipalities inspiring each other.[31]

Celebration

In the late nineteenth and the majority of the twentieth century, newspapers covered the unveiling of missionary monuments as well as their functioning as places of memory at later moments. In this way, they tell us a lot about the celebration of missionaries. Just like the aforementioned typologies and styles of monuments, important evolutions took place over time.

Initially, the erection of new statues led to great festivities. The inauguration of Father Verbiest's statue in Pittem in 1913 consisted of a pontifical mass, a parade of eighty societies with 7,000–8,000 participants, a festive song presented by a choir of 500 people, speeches, and a stage play written for the occasion and per-

31 In Limburg, especially the northwest of Limburg has monuments (Pelt, Hechtel-Eksel, Leopoldsburg, Beringen and Heusden-Zolder), but also Herk-de-Stad and Nieuwerkerken may have inspired each other in 2005–2012. In West Flanders, half of the monuments are in the neighboring places Pittem, Ardooie, Roeselare and Moorslede.

formed several times in the subsequent week.[32] The installation of Lievens' statue in Moorslede in 1929 was celebrated with a special *Lievens cantata*, a mission exhibition and a historical parade with plays and floats that presented the dispersal of the apostles, the Christianization of the County of Flanders, the first local saints, the most famous Belgian missionaries, the important stages in Lievens' life, and the creation of his statue.[33]

The monuments later served as sites of new and similar celebrations. The centennial of De Smet's departure to the United States and the fiftieth anniversary of his death gave his hometown Dendermonde a reason to organize a mission exhibition in 1923 that was solemnly opened with a cantata and the blast of trumpets from the church tower.[34] In 1932, De Smet again made the headlines when sixty Native Americans affiliated with the German circus Sarrasani paid a visit to Dendermonde. They were spectacularly dressed up with feathered war bonnets and ribbon skirts in a mediatized event that was orchestrated by the town, the church, missionary institutions and the circus itself.[35] The twenty-fifth anniversary of Father Damien's death in 1914 was postponed due to the outbreak of World War I and eventually took place at the thirty-fifth anniversary, inter alia with the performance, by a choir of 300 men, of the festive song that had been written ten years earlier.[36]

Some of Belgium's grand missionaries were even more superbly glorified by returning their mortal remains to their home country. The body of Théophile Verbist, the founder of the Scheut Fathers, was repatriated from China to Belgium in 1931, that of Father Damien sailed from Hawaii in 1936, and in 1952 Constant Lievens was relocated from a collective Jesuit grave in Heverlee to a more graceful tomb in Leuven. These translations, which were often part of a campaign of beatification, were highly mediatized. The coffins of the missionaries lay in state and were greeted by shuffling crowds, were subsequently moved from one church to another in different cities for numerous funeral services, and were eventually reburied after days of mourning and praising. The cortège of Théophile Verbist was so long that 'the whole street was filled with Scheut fathers and seminarians'.[37] The pall of Father Damien was welcomed in Antwerp by King Leopold III and hailed by huge crowds on its way to Leuven and during stops in his native Tremelo, the ad-

32 HNvdD 10 August 1913 and 12 August 1913.
33 HNvdD 13 August 1929.
34 GvA 31 August 1923; HNvdD 7 September 1923 and 11 September 1923. The mission exhibition had earlier been showed in Charleroi and Ostend.
35 GvA 26 January 1932 and 27 January 1932. Some images of the visit are available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GK0QAy7UoAQ.
36 HNvdD 15 July 1924 and GvA 15 July 1924.
37 GvA 4 May 1931, 7 May 1931, 8 May 1931 (with a picture of the cortège), 11 May 1931 and 20 February 1982.

jacent Werchter where he went to school, etc.[38] The celebration of Lievens started off in his former school, the junior seminary of Roeselare, where the 'Lievens fire' – after his motto 'fire must burn' – was hallowed and then transported by 120 'zouaves' to Heverlee, where the body was exhumed. These 'zouaves' also accompanied the float in an evening torch march to Leuven, and held the guard of honor for the whole night. On the next day, there was a mass 'mission show' with 500 secondary school students, a new *Lievens cantata*, a theatre performance, speeches, and a procession to his new mausoleum.[39]

Similar ingredients were used for the consecration of the new monuments in the early 1950s. The inauguration of Vertenten's statue went together with an exhibition, concert, historical parade and open-air show about the 'headhunters of Papua', including religious music based on indigenous motifs from the Equatorial Province in Belgian Congo.[40] On the occasion, the Belgian Dutch-language radio broadcast several special programs about Vertenten, notably as part of 'Flanders sends out its sons', a special series on missionaries.[41] Similarly, the unveiling of Roelens' statue in Ardooie was preceded by several radio programs and consisted of a newly composed Roelens cantata performed by 400 singers, a parade of 800 participants and thirteen floats.[42] The Adons monument in Hasselt was dedicated with a mission exhibition and a historical parade of thirty-six groups.[43] The inauguration of the Raskin statue in Aarschot in 1953 was labeled 'a ceremony that will be ranked as one of the historical dates for this provincial town'.[44]

As such, these events were not that exceptional. On the one hand, the exhibitions, statues and historical parades recall the various festivals stemming from nineteenth-century nationalism to fête local heroes and/or historical milestones on national holidays or around anniversaries.[45] The celebrations of missionaries, obviously, were more flavored with Catholic faith and liturgy and shared common elements with pilgrimages, bishop enthronements or holy days. Reburial of bodies occurred not only with missionaries, but also with other priests who were subject to devotion.[46]

38 HNvdD 9 January 1936, 3 May 1936, 4 May 1936 and 5 May 1936.
39 GvA 27 May 1952 and 9 June 1952. The reburial was part of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his death in 1943, which could not be fêted due to World War II.
40 GvA 1 September 1951, 6 September 1951 and 10 September 1951.
41 GvA 14 August 1951 and GvM 4 September 1951
42 GvA 5, 9 and 16 August 1952.
43 GvA 17 August 1953.
44 GvA 17 October 1953.
45 Verschaffel, 'Aanschouwelijke Middeleeuwen'; Janssens, *De Belgische natie viert*.
46 For instance with Valentinus Paquay ('het Heilig Paterke van Hasselt' in 1926; see Buckinx-Luykx, *Verborgen grootheid*) and with Adolphe Petit SJ (in Drongen in 1938; see Jaspers, 'De grafkapel', 394).

2. The monument for Constant Lievens in Moorslede.
[© Freddy Mutombo]

Moreover, inaugurations and commemorations were not the only occasions when missionaries were put in the spotlight. Newspapers regularly covered the departure, death or return of missionaries.[47] They also announced new books, lectures and mission exhibitions.[48] Missionary bishops who visited their homeland or died abroad received a public tribute, such as a requiem mass in the theatre or a parade through flagstone streets to the house where they were born, which would be decorated for the occasion.[49] From the 1920s onwards, common missionaries also once in a while came back to Belgium for rest and medical checks. On that occasion, they gave lectures in their native places and preached in neighboring parishes. Such events were often organized by their congregations in order to stimulate fundraising and vocations. For the same purpose, a 'mission month' took place every October, bringing together a series of activities and culminating in one particular 'mission Sunday'.[50]

In other words, celebrations around statues were part of a well-designed and effective mobilization and propaganda for mission activities.[51] Speakers called on the audience to aid or even join the missions, and most events were followed by other campaigns, such as a students' mission day in Dendermonde in 1923, a meeting of 'zealots of the foreign missions', and representatives of student mission societies from several European countries, the US, China and the Dutch Indies.[52] Associations such as the Eucharistic Crusaders collectively attended the function and youngsters enjoyed a discount on train travel.[53] Adults were encouraged to contribute financially, either by depositing a sum of money or by purchasing a book.[54] But here, too, the youth were also called on. In order to fund the erection of Roelens' statue, the Catholic Student Action (KSA) went from door to door across West Flanders to sell a portrait of Roelens. In addition, a house trailer that

47 HNvdD 19 July 1927 and HNvdD 2 July 1946 (examples of the departure of missionaries), HNvdD 20 January 1935 (decease) and HNvdD 15 April 1947 (return). I did not conduct a systematic search, but came across such communications because they were on the same page as articles on statues or street names.

48 HNvdD 10 November 1938 and GvA 13 November 1951 (new books), HNvdD 9 October 1938 (lecture) and GvA 5 October 1959 (the opening of a mission exhibition, which was labeled as 'the most remarkable mission manifestation ever in our country').

49 GvA 2 February 1952 (a requiem mass for Mgr. De Smedt in Sint-Niklaas), DS 24 December 1935 (a welcome party to Mgr. Callewaert in Marke, Kortrijk) and GvA 28 April 1952 (idem for Mgr. Geeraerts in Melsbroek).

50 Some programs of mission months: HNvdD 27 September 1946 and GvA 22 October 1955.

51 Vints, 'La propagande'; Cleys et al., 'België in Congo'.

52 HNvdD 11 September 1923, 12 July 1929 and 20 July 1929.

53 GvA 8 August 1929.

54 HNvdD 31 August 1928 (Lievens); GvA 30 June 1951 (Raskin), 4 July 1952 (De Deken), 4 August 1952 and 19 August 1952 (Roelens).

was converted into an exhibition traveled to high schools 'so that all Flemings will see it as their national duty to help raise that statue!'[55]

The campaigns were coordinated by special committees that mostly consisted of clergymen with executive power and politicians, sometimes on a local scale,[56] but at other times with the archbishop, senators, MPs and ministers and even under the patronage of the king.[57] The scope and turnout of the festivities indeed differed. The inauguration of De Deken's statue in 1896 was still modest, with speeches by the governor, officers from the colonial and the Belgian armies, and the mayor.[58] The parties in the 1910s and 1920s already attracted more prominent people, such as two ministers and several senators and MPs in Pittem in 1913 and one minister, the Jesuit superior Father Włodzimierz Ledóchowski and the general president of the Davidsfonds – a Catholic organization promoting Flemish culture – in Moorslede in 1929.[59] Above all, the ceremonies in the early 1950s were enlivened by high Catholic dignitaries: the former Minister of Public Health Alfons Verbist gave the eulogy for Théophile Verbist in 1951, the incumbent Minister of the Colonies André Dequae panegyrized De Deken in 1952, the two again gave speeches during the festival of Roelens in 1952, and Queen Elisabeth attended the revelation of the Adons monument in 1953.[60] Other typical guests of honor were bishops,[61] envoys,[62] fellow missionaries and relatives of the revered missionary: initially siblings or entire groups, later an individual cousin or great-nephew.[63] Newspapers also noted the presence of people from the country the fêted missionary had worked in, such as a missionary and a Chinese boy, both in Chinese dress, for Verbiest; an Indian seminarian for Lievens in 1929; the first Ranchi bishop of Indian descent, Mgr. Niclas Kujur, likewise for Lievens in 1952; and the recently ordained Rwandan Mgr. Aloys Bigirumwami, the first African bishop in a Belgian colony, for Roelens in August 1952.[64]

55 GvM 3 April 1952 and GvA 15 May 1952.

56 In the case of Roelens and Adons in the early 1950s: GvA 16 September 1929 (a notary); GvM 3 April 1952 (the Ardooie mayor) and 15 January 1953 ('some prominent figures in Hasselt').

57 At the reburial of Father Damien: HNvdD 9 January 1936, and for the hundredth birthday celebration of De Deken: GvA 16 June 1952.

58 GvA 2 August 1951.

59 HNvdD 12 August 1913 and 13 August 1929. Also see Palagiano, 'Pio Xi e p. Włodzimierz Ledóchowski Sj'.

60 GvA 6 September 1951, 18 June 1952, 16 August 1952 and 17 August 1953.

61 The local one, but also the missionary and – for De Smet – diaspora episcopacy (HNvdD 11 September 1923). At the Roelens festival, there were nine bishops (GvA 13 and 16 August 1952).

62 For instance of China for Verbiest in 1913, of the US for De Smet in 1923, and of the US and France for Raskin in 1951 (but not of the UK, as GvA 18 October 1951 noted).

63 Siblings of Lievens in 1929, eighteen family members of De Smet in 1923, and individuals for De Deken in 1952.

64 See the references in the previous footnotes and GvA 27 May 1952 (Lievens), 16 June 1952 (De Deken) and 9 August 1952 (Roelens).

In the 1960s and 1970s, these celebrations faded. A last important event was the inauguration of a new statue for Father Damien in his native village Tremelo in 1963, on the occasion of the centenary of his departure to Hawaii. Just as in the previous decades, local politicians and a national television celebrity had launched the idea and triggered fundraising campaigns with door-to-door collections. The festival itself was attended by a representative of King Baudouin, former Prime Minister Gaston Eyskens, and Father Damien's eighty-year-old niece. It consisted of a mass and *Te Deum*, an academic session, a historical parade staging the most important moments from Father Damien's life, and a flower tribute at the statue.[65] However, this was the last event of this kind for almost two decades. The 1960s and 1970s indeed seemed to ignore missionary statues. Undoubtedly both the growing secularization and, in particular, the decolonization account for this silence. Belgium still paid attention to its missionaries, but focussed on the Congo martyrs from the early years after independence. In 1973, on the 350th birthday of Ferdinand Verbiest, his native Pittem created a monument for Jozef Vandenbroucke and Marie-Juliana Vandendriessche, who had been killed in Congo in 1964 and 1965. Remarkably, *Gazet van Antwerpen* wrote only one article on Verbiest in the entire year of 1973.[66]

In the 1980s, the interest in grand missionaries rose again. In 1983 a new stage play on Father Damien toured throughout Belgium to mark the twentieth anniversary of Damiaanactie/Action Damien, an NGO named after him.[67] Also in 1983, Verbiest's 360th birthday was commemorated with a Davidsfonds meeting (*gouwdag*), a jubilee mass broadcast on television, a youth day, four different exhibitions, a new book, and a new performance of the play from 1913.[68] The third centenary of his decease in 1988 was recalled with the publication of his writings, the issue of a special stamp, a new expo, concerts, an academic session, and a Verbiest evocation on the inauguration of his restored statue, which was attended by prominent Flemish Catholic politicians.[69] Four years earlier, De Smet's statue had also been renovated and unveiled in the presence of the mayor of De Smet, a small city in South Dakota, US. This happened in a more modest way than the Verbiest commemoration, but still went along with the presentation of a new book by a fellow Jesuit, an exposition and the involvement of the Davidsfonds.[70]

65 GvA 5 October 1963, 31 October 1963 and 4 November 1963.

66 GvA 6 October 1973. Similarly, the inauguration of the Pedro de Gante statue in Ghent was only covered in a small article (GvA 1 July 1976; the celebration of the original statue in Mexico received more attention in GvA 12 February 1976).

67 GvA 27 July 1983.

68 GvA 30 September 1983.

69 GvA 28 January 1988 and 27 June 1988: the Western Flemish governor, the Flemish minister-president Gaston Geens and the Belgian prime minister Wilfried Martens.

70 GvA 24 August 1984 and 28 August 1984

In 1989, a one-off historical parade in Tremelo on the occasion of the centenary of Father Damien's passing attracted, according to the sources, 70,000 spectators.[71] The celebration in Wilrijk for the centennial anniversary of De Deken's death in 1996 – with an exposition, the restoration of the statue and an open-air show – recruited only 300 people, but this would have been mainly due to the bad weather.[72]

In the twenty-first century, the limelight continued to be shone on Belgium's most iconic missionaries, for instance on the occasion of the establishment of a new devotion center for Constant Lievens in Moorslede in 2006, the rebuilding of Wilrijk's central square and the relocation of De Deken in 2009–2012, the canonization of Father Damien in 2009, and the centenary of the inauguration of Ferdinand Verbiest's statue in 2013.[73] Both the kick-off and the conclusion were celebrated with popular festivals that consisted of elements including the decoration of the city with dozens of flags, an open-air picture exhibition, an outdoor mass, a floral tribute at the statue, an evocation of the missionary's life, a theatre walk through re-enacted historical scenes, a concert or other performances, a torchlight procession, and a firework show. Interestingly, the celebrations were also commercialized via the launch of culinary products, including alcoholic beverages.[74] The Damien events in Tremelo in particular were attended by dignitaries: King Albert II participated in the 2009 celebration of his canonization and the US ambassador in the one in 2015; in this way they compensated for the local frustration when Pope John Paul II cancelled his visit in 1994 for health reasons and in the following year beatified Damien in Brussels instead of in Tremelo.[75]

Exhibitions became more professional. In 1993, an exposition that was organized in Moorslede, in the house where Lievens was born, on the occasion of the centenary of his death, became a permanent Lievens Museum in a former convent two years later, and in 2018 moved to the central church, where a Lievens devotion center had been created in 2006.[76] The municipality of Pittem turned some former office space that had become vacant after the construction of a new administrative center into a Verbiest visitor center, which opened in April 2010.[77] De Smet is being given permanent attention in the Dendermonde city museum,

71 HBvL 30 May 1995.

72 GvA 15 July 1996, 20 September 1996 and 23 September 1996.

73 The latter two even triggering off a Damien year and a Verbiest year: HLN 31 March 2006; HLN 28 February 2009; HLN 24 January 2011; GvA 19 April 2012; HN 16 October 2009; HLN 15 December 2009; HN 6 April 2013; another Damien festival was in October 2015 (HLN 12 October 2015).

74 'Ferre beer' after Ferdinand Verbiest, Lievens wine, and the dark beer Sterke Damiaan (Strong Damien), made in Lochristi as the connecting thread of the Damien festivities in that year (cf. infra). HLN 7 June 2014; HN 5 September 2013; HN 5 July 2014.

75 GvA 30 April 1994 and HBvL 30 May 1995.

76 KvWV 30 March 2012 and 12 October 2018; HN 18 February 2006.

77 KvWV 24 December 2009; HN 6 April 2010; KvWV 5 November 2010.

but was also the subject of two temporary exhibitions in Dendermonde and one in Ghent in 2016.[78] The house where Damien was born in Tremelo was already a museum in the interwar period, but has recently expanded with a newly built adjacent 'experience center', which opened in 2017.[79] Similarly, the Amandina Museum in Schakkebroek was established after her canonization in 2000.

Congregations or other ecclesiastical institutions were sometimes involved in these celebrations, such as the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary with Damien and the diocese of Bruges and the Jesuits with Lievens. In both cases this has to do with campaigns to have the missionary in question beatified or canonized. At the same time, non-ecclesiastical actors also participated. Local authorities, for instance, wanted to put their city or municipality in the spotlight. They were even the driving force behind the commemorations of Verbiest and De Smet.

Similar conclusions can be drawn regarding the many new statues erected over the past half-century for lesser-known missionaries. Sometimes the church was involved. For instance, Omer Tanghe, the head of the diocesan mission center Kontinenten in the province of West Flanders, was an important trendsetter. He not only wrote many books about missionaries, but also initiated the erection of new statues.[80] Congregations and former missionaries, on the other hand, appear much less frequently. Parishes were more important, and the adoration of missionaries went together with fundraising for contemporary mission projects.

Cities and municipalities, however, played a much greater role than church institutions and often partly financed the creation of new statues.[81] They did not always have a religious agenda, and the councils of Tremelo (1963), Oosterzele (1981), Dudzele (1988) and Lochristi (2014) had coalitions without Christian Democrats.[82] Joris van Geel was given a statue in 1994 because the municipality of Westerlo was celebrating its thousandth anniversary.[83]

The initiative to pay tribute to a missionary did not always come from clergy or politicians. Usually citizens or family members of the honored missionary launched these ideas. Relatives were involved in the construction of the statue for De Meester in Roeselare, the bust for Van Wing in Herk-de-Stad and the monument for Cuypers in Nieuwerkerken.[84] Parents, brothers and sisters of course also participated in the remembrance of martyrs for the rest of their lives. But also later, (grand-)cousins or (grand-)nieces and nephews encouraged the celebration, for

78 GvA 18 June 2012; HN 4 March 2016. The preparation of both exhibitions had started before the decision in Saint Louis. See also: Vints and Holsbeke, 'The Call of the Rockies' and the blog http://www.pjdesmet.be.

79 DS 4 May 1936; HLN 12 October 2015; Belga 17 May 2017.

80 Tanghe and Van Belleghem, *Hun stem*, 17; Nijs, *De ware helden*, 47.

81 For instance in Hechtel (HBvL 28 June 2000) and Neerpelt (HLN 16 January 2002).

82 Nijs, *De ware helden*, 36 and 45.

83 *Ibid*., 40.

84 *Ibid*., 40 and 63; HN 16 June 2008; HN 11 April 2012.

instance by writing a book about their relative.[85] In addition, friends or neighbors could play a pivotal role.[86] In Wilrijk, a street committee began preparations for a new statue for Father Damien.[87]

Even more important were local history clubs. It is not surprising that amateur historians show a great fascination for missionaries, who are a concrete study object, with a clear link to local history and at the same time an international dimension that broadens the horizon. Moreover, missionaries lend themselves perfectly to local historical research since the different phases and relocations in their lives can easily be reconstructed through institutional sources. Their many adventurous stories and exotic testimonies can be quoted literally from letters and other ego-documents. Local circles disseminated their knowledge about missionaries not only through publications, but were often the driving force behind new markers in the public space.[88]

Most of these relatives, friends and amateur historians fit a common profile. They were locally rooted, had reached a certain age and shared a traditional view of society. Their initiatives to erect statues for missionaries were not coordinated, unlike the campaign for colonial monuments and commemorative plaques in the interwar period and the 1950s, but came about spontaneously. Yet they are so numerous and the circumstances in which they came about show so many similarities that one can speak of a social phenomenon. Missionaries help older people cope with the rapid changes in society. Their commemorations are forms of 'glocalization': an interweaving of 'global' and 'local' that has been used since the 1990s to adapt globalization to one's own society and culture.[89]

In terms of format, the celebrations of local missionaries resembled those of their colleagues being celebrated on a national level. Local festivities went together with speeches and a mass, and were regularly enlivened by guests from the missionary's host country.[90] In addition, a temporary exhibition was often opened or a new book presented.[91] The turnout, however, varied, and pictures found online immediately give an idea of the small scale of local inaugurations.[92]

85 For instance for Raskin (see above), but also for Karel Bellinckx (HN 25 February 2014; Moons, *Karel Bellinckx*).

86 For instance in Oosterzele (Nijs, *De ware helden*, 39) and Neerpelt (HLN 16 January 2002).

87 See the proceedings of the 'Bureau' of the District of Wilrijk (14 and 21 December 2009) and of the District Council (25 March 2010).

88 For instance in Dilsen (HBvL 17 May 1995), Hamme (GvA 2 October 2009) and Nieuwerkerken (HN 11 April 2012). More examples: Nijs, *De ware helden*, 62–64.

89 Roudometof, 'The Glocal'.

90 E.g. an African choir from Brussels at M. Vanduffel's and T. Schildermans' celebrations (HBvL 2 January 2012).

91 The most recent example: HBvL 9 October 2021.

92 E.g. https://www.internetgazet.be/pelt/50-jaar-geleden-werd-pater-pellens-vermoord.aspx; https://nnieuws.be/artikel/inhuldiging-gerestaureerd-kruisbeeld-sluis.

Discourse

Celebrations did not significantly change over time, but discourses did, although there is also continuity in several fields. Initially, missionaries were especially praised because of their proselytization successes. Father Damien 'had shown innumerable souls the way to heaven' and Constant Lievens 'in the course of six years helped an entire race out of the greatest misery, baptized 27,000 pagans with his own hand, and brought more than a hundred thousand Indians in the lap of the Holy Church'.[93] For this purpose, these missionaries had traveled to the most remote and unsettled places. Pieter Jan De Smet 'preached the teaching of Christ in heathen and savage regions, amidst the greatest hardship and danger' and Petrus Vertenten worked 'among the most primitive tribes, head hunters and cannibals in the true sense of the word'.[94] In doing so, they gave up their own life for their higher purpose. Father Damien was certain that 'the inexorable disease would cut him down' and Father Lievens died at the age of thirty-seven because 'he had worked himself to the bone for the souls'.[95] Next to their love of God and of their fellow men, their magnanimity, simplicity and readiness to make sacrifices fascinated as well. So did their perseverance: Constant Lievens 'met a lot of opposition' to his plans and Petrus Vertenten 'defied all setbacks with unshakable tenacity and obstinate persistence'.[96] Constant De Deken combined all of these qualities: 'modesty', 'stubbornness and assiduousness', 'temperament', 'resolution', and the 'urge to adventure'.[97]

Missionaries were selected and represented as individuals. This is striking, not only for the contrast with the abstract collective masses they converted, but also because Christianization and missions were very much collective enterprises. The focus on concrete individuals has undoubtedly to do with their exemplary function: 'From his grave, Father Damien calls out to the adolescents: "O, don't be deluded by the sigh of amusement and sensuality, but be men and women who strive for a higher ideal, devote yourself to the salvation of souls."'[98]

The praise of missionaries regularly reached mythical proportions. Mgr. Victor Roelens was labeled 'the noble bishop', 'the great colonial', 'the modern Saint Amandus', and 'the giant of Congo who for 55 years applied the best of his brilliant strengths to the civilization and conversion of the indigenous'.[99] Some exaggerations also strained the objective truth. Pieter Jan De Smet was 'the benefactor of

93 HNvdD 15 July 1924 and 31 August 1928.
94 HNvdD 11 September 1923 and GvA 13 February 1951.
95 HNvdD 9 January 1936 and 27 April 1929.
96 HNvdD 27 April 1929 and GvA 10 September 1951.
97 GvA 23 June 1952.
98 HNvdD 15 July 1924.
99 GvA 19 April and 15 May 1952.

humanity', 'the greatest civilizer of his time', and 'the most popular man in America'.[100] Constant Lievens 'triggered a tremendous movement of conversion, which in short time can turn it into a Catholic country.'[101] Constant De Deken was 'the first European who crossed Tibet' and 'made himself a worldwide reputation'.[102]

These superlatives have not completely disappeared in the last decades. A 1996 newspaper still recalled De Deken's worldwide fame and the Flemish minister of Internal Affairs Geert Bourgeois called Lievens 'the leader of a people without rights'.[103] Yet, all in all, the tone clearly softened over time. More recently, missionaries have been praised for other characteristics. In 1988, the then Belgian prime minister Wilfried Martens hailed Ferdinand Verbiest as 'an extraordinarily versatile scholar', 'a diligent and unselfish missionary' and 'a bridge builder between East and West'.[104] The Leuven mayor Mohamed Ridouani in 2019 called Father Damien 'somebody who did a lot of good things and stands as a symbol for connection, solidarity and engagement'.[105] Ridouani is member of the Socialist Party and of Moroccan descent, but this does not impede him from paying homage to a Catholic icon. Earlier, there had been more polarization: the glorification of Father Damien's earthly remains in 1936 had led to some critical comments in the socialist newspaper *Vooruit*, which the Catholic newspaper *Het Nieuws van den Dag* strongly censured as 'riff raff' and 'swine prose'.[106] In the late nineteenth century, liberals in Dendermonde and liberals and socialists in Leuven had even opposed the erection of statues to Pieter Jan De Smet and Father Damien, which they saw as a celebration of Catholicism. As a consequence, the latter's statue was erected in a less central location in Leuven.[107]

100 HNvdD 7 September 1923.

101 HNvdD 27 April 1929. It is unclear whether 'it' relates to India or to the region he was active in. But even if the latter, one should not exaggerate the Christian character: according to the *Census of India* of 2011, less than 5 percent of the state of Jharkhand is Christian.

102 GvA 14 February 1952. The 1889–1890 expedition of Gabriel Bonvalot and Prince Henri d'Orléans, which De Deken joined as translator, is not even mentioned in MacGregor, *Tibet*. It is discussed though in Dabbs, *History*, 92–93, and the maps in that book also show the relevance of the expedition, which was the first to cross Chinese Turkestan and Tibet. Yet De Deken and his fellow travelers were not the first Europeans to travel through Tibet. The Jesuits Johann Grueber (from Austria) and Albert d'Orville (born in Brussels and a traveling companion of Verbiest, but hardly known in Belgium) stayed two months in Lhasa in 1661–1662 on their way from Beijing to Agra, and Ippolito Desideri lived in Lhasa and other places in Tibet between 1716 and 1721.

103 GvA 15 July 1996 and HN 2 October 2012.

104 GvA 27 June 1988.

105 HN 1 October 2019.

106 HNvdD 6 May 1936, 7 May 1936 and 10 May 1936.

107 Nijs, *De ware helden*, 18–19. The Catholics wanted to put the statue on Hogeschoolplein, but the liberal mayor erected it in the City Park and his liberal successor in 1907 complied with the demand of the socialists to move it to the St. Jacob parish, where it still stands today.

Recently, local missionaries have also been lauded for other reasons than the virtues with which missionaries had originally been credited. Edgard Cuypers 'built many schools, founded a center for disabled people and eventually became the chaplain of the UN prison in Tanzania [... where he] worked for a fair process and a dignified treatment of these detainees'.[108] Pedro de Gante 'appeared to be more than a "conqueror of souls" and was concerned about the fate of the local population. He learned the language of the Aztecs to communicate with his Indians [i.e. the inhabitants of the Veracruz region]. Pedro built churches and chapels and provided schools, hospitals, boarding schools and printers.'[109] But again, overstatement is never far away: 'He also made a reputation as the founder of American studies.'[110]

In other words, missionaries have now been praised for their development work rather than for proselytization. This new view has followed the general narrative – and colonial policy lines – since World War II that replaced the older concept of civilization.[111] In the context of missionaries, it emerged a little later, from the 1960s onwards, so after the political decolonization of Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. The fundraising for Father Damien's statue in Tremelo in 1963 was linked to the fight against leprosy: newspapers interviewed leprosy specialists and hospital directors, while the initiators of the statue promised to pay the remaining money to the Damien Foundation (Damiaanactie/Action Damien), which the next year became a permanent NGO, one of the major development aid organizations in Belgium.[112] In the following years, many organizations were created in support of missionaries and their development projects. They occasionally also benefitted from celebrations of missionary monuments.[113] Conversely, when in 2014 the village of Lochristi near Ghent was awarded the title of 'Damien village' for its exceptional commitment to the Damien Foundation, it celebrated this event with the erection of a new Damien statue.[114]

Religion seemed to have shifted to the background, but this is only partly true. Even today, people still attribute certain 'miracles' to missionaries. A woman in 2011 commissioned a wooden statue of Father Damien because she was convinced both she and her daughter owed their lives to him.[115] Similarly, the phenomenon

108 HBvL 4 June 2012.
109 HN 7 November 2009.
110 HLN 8 November 2008.
111 Vanthemsche, 'Le Congo'.
112 De Bruyn and Van de Poel, 'Van hulp naar gelijkwaardig partnerschap?', 112–113.
113 For instance the Mgr. Goethals Health Centre in Calcutta at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of Goethals's statue (KvWV 13 October 2006).
114 DS 26 July 2014 and https://www.vbs-lochristi.be/damiaanfilm/.
115 GvA 6 May 2011. The article also explains how another 'private' statue was not religious, and only a tribute.

of translation of bodies and the veneration of relics did not come to an end either. In 1993, most of Constant Lievens' remains were moved to Ranchi, India, on the occasion of the centenary of his death; two years later, a hand of Damien was returned to Hawaii. It is true that these events did not cause the same mass veneration as in the 1930s and 1950s. Moreover, the translations now went in the opposite direction, from Belgium to the former mission country. However, in 2006 the bishop of Bruges put Lievens's right hand, which he had kept in Belgium since 1993, in a new shrine in the church of Moorslede.[116] This was part of a campaign for the beatification of Lievens, which began in 2001 but has yet to be finalized.

Next to Father Damien, Pedro de Gante had been beatified in 1988,[117] and Amandina of Schakkebroek was canonized in 2000. However, unlike Father Damien, neither case made headlines in Belgian newspapers. Interestingly, this had been no different when Amandina was beatified in 1946. Despite her being the first Belgian modern missionary and so far the only Belgian female missionary to receive that honor, a Catholic newspaper in 1946 only wrote eight short articles about the event, which were, except for one, never published on the first page.[118] This confirms the gender bias and the male dominance observed above, but also illustrates the local identity of many missionaries. As a matter of fact, Amandina did not receive much fame outside of her native Herk-de-Stad.

Other missionaries have also been associated with their hometown. When Hamme inaugurated Vertenten's statue, the comparison was made with De Smet in Dendermonde and with Edward Poppe (1890–1924), another popular priest, in Moerzeke. When the organizing committee announced the erection of a monument to Victor Roelens, it bracketed the missionary together with all of Ardooie's famous sons.[119] This identification could also have a provincial dimension. The governor of the province of West Flanders called Ferdinand Verbiest 'both in descent and in character a typical West Fleming' and Limburg regularly highlighted its own missionaries.[120]

As frequent was the connection of missionaries with Flemish nationalism. Damien was called 'a great figure of the tough Flemish race', Vertenten was added 'to the row of grand mission heroes in which Flanders is so rich', and Lievens received 'a royal tribute, worthy of Catholic Flanders'.[121] A 1956 homage album entitled (translated from Dutch) *Victory Hymn from Christian Flanders: Epopee*

116 DM 1 April 2006; DT 3 June 1995.
117 Kerknet 3 July 2019.
118 HNvdD 4 and 26 September 1946, 23 October 1946, 19, 20, 24 and 25 November 1946, and 2 December 1946. See also 13 May and 2 June 1947 for the celebration, inter alia with a new book, a parade and a stage play.
119 GvA 10 September 1951 and 19 April 1952; also GvM 3 April 1952.
120 GvA 27 June 1988 and HBvL 11 July 2000 and 17 June 2019.
121 HNvdD 9 January 1936, GvA 10 September 1951 and 27 May 1952.

of Flemish Missionaries had a front cover with the Yser Tower – a major place of memory of Flemish nationalism – flanked by a soldier with a gun and a missionary with a cross.[122] Some celebrations of missionary memorials had explicit connections with the Flemish Movement. Lievens was regularly linked to his classmate Albrecht Rodenbach and his teacher Hugo Verriest, all of the so-called 'Wonder Class' of 1876, as well as to Guido Gezelle, who wrote his obituary.[123] At the Ferdinand Verbiest festivities of 1913, it was Frans Van Cauwelaert – at that time one of the three 'crowing cocks', in other words the advocates of the Dutchification of the University of Ghent – who gave the eulogy, and Cyriel Verschaeve – who in World War I and World War II was one of the most prominent Flemish nationalists to collaborate with the German occupier – who authored a stage play. Both during the parade and after the eulogy, the Flemish anthem was performed.[124]

However, at the same time, Belgium was also highlighted. In 1913, the streets of Pittem flaunted Belgian flags and the unveiling of Verbiest's statue itself took place to the music of the Belgian national anthem.[125] During the function for Damien in 1924, the Belgian tricolor and the papal yellow-white adorned the streets of Leuven.[126] When his body returned to Belgium in 1936, he was given a 'national tribute, which unites all Belgians, without any distinction'.[127] The glorification of Raskin after World War II even had an explicit Belgian character, since he had been executed by the Nazis for his underground resistance and, consequently, 'died for his fatherland'.[128]

Last but not least, missionaries were also connotated with the colonial project. This happened especially with Constant De Deken and Victor Roelens, who both worked in Congo. Yet at festivities for other missionaries, Congo was also never far away. At the Verbiest celebration of 1913, Frans Van Cauwelaert 'gave a special tribute to our missionaries in Congo, who in the most remote corners look after victims of the terrible sleeping sickness and nurse them with endless love'.[129] During the ceremonies at the return of Damien's body, both the cities of Antwerp and Leuven were decorated with Belgian as well as colonial Belgian Congolese banners.[130]

Belgian Congo was no longer referred to after the independence of Congo in 1960, but the worldview and language sometimes remained colonial. When martyrs were commemorated, one never asked about their murderers' motives and

122 Pil, *Zegezang*.
123 HNvdD 27 April and 13 August 1929.
124 HNvdD 10 and 12 August 1913.
125 HNvdD 12 August 1913.
126 HNvdD 15 July 1924.
127 HNvdD 9 January 1936.
128 With his last shout 'Long live Belgium. Long live the king': GvA 30 June 1951.
129 HNvdD 12 August 1913.
130 HNvdD 3 and 4 May 1936.

only highlighted their method: 'brutal' and 'bestial' in Congo, and 'horrible' and 'cowardly' in China.[131] The Boxers were time and again called 'a secret sect'. It was as late as 2020 that the biographer of another missionary who was assassinated in China, Father Georges Robberecht (1875–1904), understood that 'just as we also have movements that oppose foreign interference, this happened there as well' (although he attributes the decline of the Chinese Empire to natural disasters rather than to Western expansionism).[132] In 1996, an actor dressed up as Constant De Deken told the audience about his travels to China and Congo. He 'did not hide his words of disgust towards the Chinese: "they stand gaping at me in groups of twenty, blow out smoke in my face, and put their yellow hands on my body." Black people sometimes also had to take the rap for it, although the missionary later also spoke with praising words about "those who are strong as a horse" and "deserve one's interest".'[133] Similarly, the Lievens Museum in Moorslede shows fragments of the biographical movie from 1952 without any contextualization of the colonial mindset.[134] And when the municipality of Nieuwerkerken in 2011 announced that it would commemorate Edgar Cuypers (1919–2008), a regional newspaper noted that the latter 'was buried as he wanted, amidst his little n*'.[135]

Conclusion

Missionaries are widely celebrated in the Belgian public space, as the fifty-nine monuments listed in the annex show. Flanders in particular honors its missionaries: my recent monograph lists more than 300 street names, statues, commemoration plaques and other markers for missionaries in almost half of the 300 Flemish cities and municipalities. This fascination is still very much alive: over the past twenty years, new memorials or streets emerged at an average of more than one a year. Famous missionaries – such as Father Damien, Constant De Deken, Pieter Jan De Smet, Constant Lievens and Ferdinand Verbiest, and possibly also Théophile Verbist – remain in the spotlight with festivals and recently established or renovated museums.

Of course, one should not overestimate the impact of their presence. Whereas Constant De Deken had received a statue in 1904, *Gazet van Antwerpen* half a century later observed that '[t]he familiarity with the figure of De Deken does certainly not correspond to his civilizing work as explorer and missionary'.[136] Even

131 HBvL 21 August 1993 and 31 January 2014; HN 24 August 2000 and 4 November 2009.
132 KvWV 27 March 2020.
133 GvA 23 September 1996.
134 About the movie: GvM 13 October 1952.
135 HBvL 7 May 2011.
136 GvA 16 June 1952.

3. Statue of Victor Roelens in his birth place Ardooie.
[© Freddy Mutombo]

local authorities and media appeared to be less informed than one would expect. In 1984, the De Smet committee did not know that there was a remote city named after De Smet in South Dakota, and *Gazet van Antwerpen* in 1988 wrongly added a picture of the Scheut father Théophile Verbist to an article on the festivities for the tricentenary of the death of the Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest.[137] Hence, it does not come as a surprise that a recent survey of fifty youngsters walking by the statue of De Smet in Dendermonde showed that none of them knew who the man was.[138] Even King Filip honestly admitted, a year before he ascended the throne, that he never had heard of De Smet.[139]

Yet this unfamiliarity does not negate the fact that missionaries continue to fascinate. This is also visible in other fields than the public space. Over the past few years, numerous journalists have traveled in missionaries' footsteps to reconstruct their journeys or interview the last generation on the ground, and have subsequently written books or made television documentaries about their experience.[140] The Flemish public television broadcast an eight-episode series of interviews with elderly missionaries in 2012. David Van Reybrouck's stage play *Missie* ('Mission'), a monologue by a fictitious missionary, won several awards and has been staged for more than ten years.[141] Several public figures in interviews have stated that they see themselves as missionaries and identify with their commitment and zeal: apart from Van Reybrouck, for instance also Paul De Grauwe, former MP for the Liberal Party and currently professor at the London School of Economics, and Marleen Temmerman, former senator for the Socialist Party and current collaborator with the World Health Organization on the health and rights of women and children.[142]

In other words, diverse segments of society tend to look at missionaries in positive terms. Missionaries are admired as adventurous trailblazers, as humble individuals who renounced a comfortable life and opposed power structures, as committed social workers who introduced education or health care, or as unselfish martyrs who gave their own life for a higher purpose. However, this admiration is quite unidimensional. The criticism that Matthew Stanard gave of David Van Reybrouck's play actually applies to the representation of missionaries in Flanders in general: 'Absent from Vanneste's monologue is any self-questioning about his fundamental mission, or self-doubt as to the Christian presence in central Af-

137 GvA 24 August 1984 and 28 January 1988.
138 HN 4 March 2016.
139 Van den Broeck, *Waarom*, 56.
140 E.g. Raspoet, *Reizigers*; van den Broeck, *Waarom*; Hauben and Rinckhout, *De helden van Arnout*; Peeters, *De mensengenezer*.
141 https://www.davidvanreybrouck.be/?q=nl/content/missie; Langhendries, 'The missionary'.
142 DM 1 December 2007 (Van Reybrouck); DT 10 March 2018 (De Grauwe); HBvL 30 January 2016 (Temmerman).

rica, or reflections on the connection between imperialism and missionizing, or praise for African cultures.'[143] Similarly, the way in which Father Damien is ubiquitously praised to the skies for his fight against leprosy fundamentally conflicts with scholarly views on the history of Hawaii and leprosy.[144]

The acclamation of missionaries – both in the public realm and beyond – is remarkable. On the one hand, missionaries were regularly attacked in the course of the twentieth century, for instance in the first decades of the colonization of Congo or in the first critical historical studies of the Congo Free State that appeared in the 1980s.[145] However, in the twenty-first century there seems to be amnesia about these former charges. The severed hands, not the 'chapel farms' (*kapelhoeven*), have remained icons of the early colonial regime. Criticism of missionaries could have fitted into the secularization process or into the current mental decolonization, but apparently fails to connect to them. The decolonization of the Belgian public space has been an issue for more than fifteen years, but missionaries have remained completely out of the picture, apart from De Deken's statue. In Mechelen, for instance, an information plaque was added to the Congo monument, but the statue of the Verhaeghen brothers – 'Franciscans Martyrs [in] China' – has remained undisputed.[146] Similarly, restitution debates have so far primarily targeted the AfricaMuseum in Tervuren, and do not address temporary expositions of missionary collections or the treasures of non-European artifacts that missionaries had brought to Belgium and that are now kept in monasteries, missionary houses and professional institutions.[147] The one and only reason for which individual missionaries are occasionally condemned for is sexual abuse,[148] but this is part of an entire campaign that addresses broad segments of society, including art and sport, and ignores the particularities of mission, which, being far from hierarchy and social control, may have facilitated sexual abuse even more.[149] In recent years, there was also the issue of the treatment of metis children who had been separated from their African mothers and taken to Belgium, but this was a

143 Stanard, *The Leopard*, 220.

144 Moblo, 'Blessed Damien'; Edmond, *Leprosy and Empire*; Tayman, *The Colony*; Goddeeris, *Missionarissen*, 130–135. On the reactions in response to and media coverage of the latter publication, see Goddeeris, 'Kerk en dekolonisering'.

145 E.g. by the socialist leader Emile Vandervelde and by the historian (and former colonial official and diplomat) Jules Marchal, who under the pseudonym of A.M. Delathuy not only wrote about Leopold II, but also published three volumes on missionaries in the Congo Free State (see Goddeeris, 'Les missionnaires', 312–313).

146 HLN 23 May 2019. Strikingly, the Verhaeghen monument was still celebrated in 2010, on the occasion of the renovation of the square, and first and foremost praised for its artistic value (HN 12 March 2010).

147 Stanard, *The Leopard*, 49–50 and 198; Van Beurden, 'Le colonisateur', 374–376. An example of a recent exhibition is *Mayombe*. See https://www.mleuven.be/nl/mayombe.

148 Goddeeris, *Missionarissen*, 111–114.

149 Mak, Monteiro and Wesseling, 'Child Separation'.

very particular case for which not only the Church apologized, but also the Belgian prime minister on behalf of the entire state.[150]

Several reasons can account for this common consent. First, there is no historical distance yet: some missionaries are still alive, others are still fresh in many memories, and this last generation of missionaries is projected onto the entire group and stretched into the nineteenth century. The family bonds strengthen these connections: many people had an uncle who was a father, or an aunt who was a sister. Second, missionaries combine a global dimension with a local one, and in this way may serve as sources of pride for an older generation of 'autochthonous' Flemings that long for bygone times and simultaneously seek to emphasize the global perspectives missionaries cherished – in their own way – in that past. Other imperial agents also do so, but missionaries are more ambivalent figures, combining aspects of colonialism, paternalism, the civilizing mission, superiority, and sometimes also racism, with faith, generosity, engagement and criticism of secular colonial power.[151] As a consequence, missionaries are less appropriate arguments in postcolonial debates, and are rather seen in a religious context. Of course, religion could also go together with violence – for instance the destruction of other beliefs belittled as paganism or superstition, or the aggressive competition with Protestant missionaries – but this polarization dates from earlier periods and has been eclipsed by the memory of postwar missionaries. A third and final reason connects to this: whereas society before the 1960s was divided on the theme of religion, there was much less polarization and debate afterwards.

150 Stanard, *The Leopard*, 251 and Etambala, 'La communauté', 216.

151 From the Jesuit Arthur Vermeersch in 1906 (Goddeeris, 'Les missionnaires', 313) to several more recent examples in Stanard, *The Leopard*, 109 and 142.

Annex: list of monuments for missionaries in Belgium

Abbreviations

AA	Augustiniani ab Assumptione (Congregation of the Augustinians of the Assumption; Assumptionists)
CICM	Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae (Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; Scheut Fathers)
CSSp	Congregatio Sancti Spiritus (Congregation of the Holy Spirit; Spiritans/Holy Ghost Fathers)
CSsR	Congregatio Sanctissimi Redemptoris (Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer; Redemptorists)
FMM	Franciscaines missionnaires de Marie (Franciscan Sisters Missionaries of Mary)
ICM	Immaculati Cordis Mariae (Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; De Jacht Sisters)
MAfr	Missionarii Africae (Missionaries of Africa; White Fathers)
MSC	Missionarii Sacratissimi Cordis (Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus)
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Order of Friars Minor; Franciscans)
OFMCap	Ordo Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum (Order of Friars Minor Capuchin)
OMI	Congregatio Missionariorum Oblatorum Beatae Mariae Virgini Immaculatae (Congregation of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate; Oblates)
OSC	Canonici Regulares Ordinis Sanctae Crucis (Canons Regular of the Order of the Holy Cross; Crosiers)
SCI	Congregatio Sacerdotum a Sacro Corde Iesu (Congregation of the Priests of the Sacred Heart; Dehonians)
SG	Institutum Fratrum instructionis christianae a Sancto Gabriele (Institute of the Brothers of Christian Instruction of Saint Gabriel; Montfort Brothers of St. Gabriel)
SJ	Societas Iesu (Society of Jesus; Jesuits)
Sec. cl.	Secular clergy
SSCC	Congregatio Sacrorum Cordium (Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary; Picpus Fathers)
ZvMI	Zusters van Maria Ingelmunster (Sisters of Mary Ingelmunster)

Dendermonde, 1878: **Pieter Jan De Smet** SJ (1801–1873; 1821–1873 US) [https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/48241]

Sluis (Mol), 1891: **Franciscus Wuyts** [Sec. cl.] (1825–1891; 1853–1891 US) [HN 16 September 2016 and https://nnieuws.be/artikel/inhuldiging-gerestaureerd-kruisbeeld-sluis]

Leuven, 1894: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (1840–1889; 1863–1889 Hawaii) [https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/206408]

Hechtel (Hechtel-Eksel), after 1900: **Gerard Jehoel** CICM (1872–1900; 1899–1900 Congo) and **Jan Mallet** CICM (1870–1900; 1896–1900 China)) [https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/80466]

Wilrijk (Antwerp), 1904: **Constant De Deken** CICM (1852–1896; 1881–1891 China, 1892–1894 and 1895–1896 Congo) [GvA 2 August 1951]

Pittem, 1913: **Ferdinand Verbiest** SJ (1623–1698; 1659–1698 China) [Tanghe, *Hun stem in steen*, 92 and https://id.erfgoed.net/erfgoedobjecten/211772]

Moorslede, 1929: **Constant Lievens** SJ (1856–1893; 1880–1892 India) [https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/214947]

Anderlecht, 1931 / after 1974: **Théophile Verbist** C.I.C.M. (1823–1868; 1865–1868 China) [Coomans and Luo, 'Mimesis, Nostalgia and Ideology', 513ff.]

Mechelen, 1938: **Fredericus (born Emmanuel) Verhaeghen** OFM (1872–1904; 1903–1904 China) and Mgr. **Theotimus (born Jozef Petrus) Verhaeghen** OFM (1867–1904; 1894–1904) [HN 12 March 2010 and http://mechelen.mapt.be/wiki/Gebroeders_Verhaeghen]

Geraardsbergen, 1949: **Jules Van Trimpont** CICM (1869–1903; 1901–1903 Congo) [information plaque near the monument]

Aarschot, 1951: **Jozef Raskin** CICM (1892–1943; 1920–1934 China) [GvA 30 June 1951]

Hamme, 1951: **Petrus Vertenten** MSC (1884–1946; 1910–1925 Dutch New Guinea, 1927–1939 Congo) [GvA 13 February 1951 and https://id.erfgoed.net/erfgoedobjecten/85367]

Ardooie, 1952: Mgr. **Victor Roelens** MAfr (1858–1947; 1891–1947 Congo) [https://id.erfgoed.net/erfgoedobjecten/207946]

Hasselt, 1952: **Gustave Hendrix** CSsR (1875–1902; 1900–1902 Congo) [http://stadsmus.mmtools.eu/images/dbimages/docs/keik027.pdf]

Runkst (Hasselt), 1953: **Eliseus (born Leopold) Adons** OFM (1888–1980; 1918–1951 China) and his three brothers, also missionaries in China [HBvL 11 July 2000]

Nossegem (Zaventem), after 1962: **Jean Lenselaer** CSSp (1923–1962; 1951–1962 Congo) [https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/40910/teksten]

Tremelo, 1963: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above) [https://www.tremelo.be/product/1786/6-standbeeld-damiaan-kerk-tremelo]

Borchtlombeek (Roosdaal), after 1965: **Bernard (born Frans) De Kegel** SG (1925–1965; 1950–1965 Congo) [no written sources retrieved about the precise year of establishment]

Opitter (Bree), after 1965: **Alfons (Fons) Kuypers** OSC (1925–1965; 1951–1965 Congo) [no written sources retrieved about the precise year of establishment]

Vielsalm, after 1965: **Clément Burnotte** SCI (?–1964; ?–1964 Congo) [no written sources retrieved about the precise year of establishment]

Eversel (Heusden, Heusden-Zolder), 1966: **Jozef Beckers** OSC (1916–1965; 1945–1965 Congo) [Pipeleers and Snoeks, *Limburgse martelaren*, 194]

Gentinnes (Chastre), 1967: **216 victims of the violence in Congo after 1960, including 81 Belgian Catholic missionaries** [Vanysacker, *Vergeten martelaars*]

Runkst (Hasselt), 1970: **23 Crosiers killed in Dakwa (1964), and Buta (1965)** [Nijs, *De ware helden van ons Rooms katholieke landeke*, 37]

Pittem, 1973: **Jozef Van den Broucke** OFM-Cap (1933–1965; 1960–1965 Congo) [https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/211744]

Ooigem (Wielsbeke), 1974: **Marie-Thérèse Vandorpe** ZvMI (1926–1964; 1954–1964 Congo) [https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/89567 and Tanghe, *Hun stem in steen*, 86]

Ardooie, 1976: **Roger t'Jaekens** CSSp (1927–1962; 1958–1962 Congo) [https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/208108 and Tanghe, *Hun stem in steen*, 28]

Gent, 1976: **Pedro de Gante (born Pieter van der Moere)** OFM (c.1480–1572; 1523–1572 New Spain (Mexico)) [https://www.gent-geprent.com/straten-van-gent/straten-a-m/straten-f/fratersplein]

Koersel (Beringen), 1977: **Karel Bellinkx** SCI (1913–1964; 1947–1964 Congo) [Moons, *Karel Bellinckx*, 263]

Lindelhoeven (Overpelt, Pelt), 1978: **Theo Schildermans** CSSp (1933–1962; 1961–1962 Congo) and **Michel Vanduffel** CSSp (1921–1962; 1946–1962 Congo) [Nijs, *De ware helden van ons Rooms katholieke landeke*, 38]

Vlijtingen (Riemst), 1979: **Bruno (born Niklaas) Van Weert** OFM (1894–1929; 1923–1929 China) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mQi5AzNALk0]

Overpelt (Pelt), 1980: **Chris Vandael** SCI (1929–1964; 1958–1964 Congo) [Pipeleers and Snoeks, *Limburgse martelaren*, 174]

Landskouter (Oosterzele), 1981: **Franz Van de Velde** OMI (1909–2002; 1937–1987 Canada) [odis.be]

Dudzele (Bruges), 1988: **Amaat Vyncke** MAfr (1850–1888; 1881–1888 Congo) [GvA 6 August 1988]

Tremelo, 1989: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above) [https://www.tremelo.be/10-standbeeld-de-zelfgave]

Koekelberg, 1994: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above) [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/May_Claerhout]

Oevel (Westerlo), 1994: **Joris van Geel (born Adriaan Willems)** OFMCap (1617–1652; 1651–1652 Congo) [Nijs, *De ware helden van ons Rooms katholieke landeke*, 40]

Wilsele (Leuven), after 1994: **Alfons Stessel** CICM (1929–1994; 1955–1985 Congo, 1986–1994 Guatemala) [no written sources retrieved about the precise year of establishment]

Dilsen (Dilsen-Stokkem), 1995: **Gabriël (born Jozef) Boutsen** OFM (1903–1970; 1929–1945 China) [HBvL 17 May 1995]

Kortrijk, 1996: Mgr. **Paul Goethals** SJ (1832–1901; 1878–1901 India) [KvWV 13 February 2006]

Roeselare, 1999: **Marie-Louise De Meester** ICM (1857–1928; 1897–1905 India, later also Philippines and Antilles) [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marie-Louise_De_Meester]

Hechtel (Hechtel-Eksel), 2000: **Jan Mallet** CICM (1870–1900; 1896–1900 China) [HN 24 August 2000]

Schakkebroek (Herk-de-Stad), 2000 (?): **St. Amandina of Schakkebroek (born Maria-Pauline Jeuris)** FMM (1872–1900; 1899–1900 China) [no written sources retrieved about the precise year of establishment]

Neerpelt (Pelt), 2002: **Désiré Pellens** CSSp (1920–1962; 1946–1962 Congo) [HLN 16 January 2002]

Heppen (Leopoldsburg), 2004: **Clement Lemmens** CICM (1923–1974; 1958–1974 Indonesia) [HBvL 21 August 2004]

Herk-de-Stad, 2005: **Jozef Van Wing** SJ (1884–1970; 1911–1945 Congo) [http://blog.seniorennet.be/kanton/archief.php?ID=3]

Lo (Lo-Reninge), 2005: Mgr. **Gustave Bouve** CSSp (1902–1989; 1929–1975 Congo) and Mgr. **Urbain Morlion** MAfr (1894–1985; 1939–1985 Congo) [information contained in the monument proper]

Tremelo, 2005: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above) [https://www.tremelo.be/product/2170/13-damiaan-de-grootste-belg-gemeentehuis]

Kortrijk, 2006: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above) [https://www.kuleuven.be/thomas/page/damiaan/]

Tremelo, 2009: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above) [HN 27 August 2009 and https://www.tremelo.be/product/2169/11-standbeeld-damiaan-damiaan-museum]

Paal (Beringen), 2010: **Robert Carremans** OSC (1910–1965; 1937–1965 Congo) [DS 18 June 2010]

Wilrijk (Antwerp), 2010: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above) [GvA 11 May 2010 and https://bryckaert.wordpress.com/2010/05/03/inhuldiging-pater-damiaan/]

Aarschot, 2012: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above) [HN 14 May 2012 and http://www.kunstsmidse.be/pagina15.html]

Menen, 2012: **Serge Berten** CICM (1952–1982; 1975–1982 Guatemala) [HN 21 October 2012]

Nieuwerkerken, 2012: **Edgard Cuypers** AA (1919–2008; 1950–2008 Congo) [information contained in the monument proper]

Tremelo, 2013: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above) [GvA 6 May 2011 and https://www.tremelo.be/15-standbeeld-damiaan-damiaanbrug]

Lochristi, 2014: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above) [HN 5 July 2014]

Tielt, 2015: Mgr. **Benjamin Christiaens** OFM (1844–1931; 1872–1900 China) [Verbeke, *Cha-Tse-Ti 1904*, 121]

Zutendaal, 2021: **25 missionaries from Zutendaal** [HBvL 9 October 2021]

Oostmalle (Malle), ?: **St. Damien of Molokai (born Jozef De Veuster)** SSCC (see above)

REFERENCES

Media sources

DM: *De Morgen*, 1998–.
DS: *De Standaard*, 1998–.
DT: *De Tijd*, 1988–.
GvA: *Gazet van Antwerpen*, 1891–.
HBvL: *Het Belang van Limburg*, 1993–.
HLN: *Het Laatste Nieuws*, 1998–.
HN: *Het Nieuwsblad*, 1998–.
HNvdD: *Het Nieuws van den Dag*, 1885–1950.
KvWV: *Krant van West-Vlaanderen*, 2005–.

Other published sources and secondary literature

Bate, Peter. *Congo: White King, Red Rubber, Black Death*. TV movie, 1h24m. 2002.

Buckinx-Luykx, Antoinette Elisabeth. *Verborgen grootheid: leven van de Eerbiedwaardige Pater Valentinus Paquay O.F.M., 'Het heilig Paterke van Hasselt'*. Mechelen: Sint-Franciskusdrukkerij, 1980.

Butlin, Robin A. *Geographies of Empire: European Empires and Colonies c.1880–1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Ceuppens, Bambi, and Sarah De Mul. 'De koloniale verbeelding van Congo: over Missie van David Van Reybrouck'. *Rekto:Verso*, 34 (2009), 12–13.

Cleys, Bram, Jan De Maeyer, Carine Dujardin, and Luc Vints. 'België in Congo, Congo in België: weerslag op de missionering op de religieuze instituten'. In: Vincent Viaene, David Van Reybrouck and Bambi Ceuppens, eds. *Congo in België: koloniale cultuur in de metropool*. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2009, 147–165.

Coomans, Thomas. 'Unexpected Connections: The Benedictine Abbey of Maredsous and Christian Architecture in China, 1900–1930s'. *Revue Bénédictine*, 131 (2021) 1, 264–299.

Coomans, Thomas, and Wei Luo. 'Mimesis, Nostalgia and Ideology: The Scheut Fathers and Home-Country-Based Church Design in China'. In: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, ed. *History of the Catholic Church in China. From its Beginning to the Scheut Fathers and 20th Century. Unveiling Some Less Known Sources, Sounds and Pictures*. Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2015, 495–522.

Dabbs, J.A. *History of the Discovery and Exploration of Chinese Turkestan*. The Hague: Mouton, 1963.

De Bens, Els. *De pers in België: het verhaal van de Belgische dagbladpers gisteren, vandaag en morgen*. Tielt: Lannoo, 2001.

De Bruyn, Tom, and Jan Van de Poel. 'Van hulp naar gelijkwaardig partnerschap? De Belgische ontwikkelingssamenwerking en India'. In: Idesbald Goddeeris, ed. *Het wiel van Ashoka. Belgisch-Indiase contacten in historisch perspectief*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013, 103–121.

Delisle, Philippe. *De Tintin au Congo à Odilon Verjus: Le missionnaire, héros de la BD belge*. Paris: Karthala, 2011.

De Volder, Jan. *The spirit of Father Damien: the leper priest, a saint for our times*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2010.

Dujardin, Carine. 'Van pionier tot dienaar. Profiel van de Belgische missionaris in historisch perspectief (1800–1989)'. In: Robrecht Boudens, ed. *Rond Damiaan. Handelingen van het colloquium n.a.v. de honderdste verjaardag van het overlijden van pater Damiaan, 9–10 maart 1989*. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1989, 114–187.

Dujardin, Carine. *Missionering en moderniteit: De Belgische minderbroeders in China 1872–1940*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996.

Edmond, Rod. *Leprosy and Empire: a Medical and Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Etambala, Mathieu Zana. 'La communauté congolaise en Belgique: un « effet secondaire » involontaire de la domination coloniale?'. In: Idesbald Goddeeris, Amandine Lauro and Guy Vanthemsche, eds. *Le Congo colonial. Une histoire en questions*. Waterloo: Renaissance du Livre, 2020, 201–219.

Goddeeris, Idesbald. 'Postcolonial Belgium: the Memory of the Congo'. *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 17 (2015) 3, 434–451.

Goddeeris, Idesbald. 'Colonial Streets and Statues: Postcolonial Belgium in the Public Space'. *Postcolonial Studies*, 18 (2016) 4, 397–409.

Goddeeris, Idesbald. 'Les missionnaires, une dimension plus humaine de la colonisation?'. In: Idesbald Goddeeris, Amandine Lauro and Guy Vanthemsche, eds. *Le Congo colonial. Une histoire en questions*. Waterloo: Renaissance du Livre, 2020, 309–325.

Goddeeris, Idesbald. *Missionarissen: geschiedenis, herinnering, dekolonisering*. Leuven: LannooCampus, 2021.

Goddeeris, Idesbald. 'Belgian Monuments of Colonial Violence: the Commemoration of Martyred Missionaries'. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 24 (2022), 4, 586–603.

Goddeeris, Idesbald, 'Kerk en dekolonisering'. *Journal of Belgian History / Belgisch tijdschrift voor nieuwste geschiedenis / Revue belge d'histoire contemporaine, 52 (2022) 4, 147–152.*

Hauben, Arnout, and Eric Rinckhout. *De helden van Arnout. In het spoor van acht vergeten Belgen*. Antwerp: Polis, 2017.

Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's ghost: a story of greed, terror, and heroism in colonial Africa*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.

Huens, Jean-Léon, and Auguste Vanderkelen, *'s Lands glorie. Een geïllustreerde geschiedenis van België*. Tielt: Lannoo, 2015.

Huens, Jean-Léon, and Auguste Vanderkelen. *Nos gloires: Une histoire illustrée de la Belgique*. Brussels: Editions Racine, 2015.

Janssens, Jeroen. *De Belgische natie viert: de Belgische nationale feesten 1830–1914*. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2001.

Jaspers, Patrik. 'De grafkapel van pater Adolphe Petit'. In: Johan Decavele, Jan De Maeyer, Patricia Quaghebeur and Paul Trio, eds. *De Oude Abdij van Drongen: elf eeuwen geschiedenis*. Drongen: Oude Abdij, 2006, 594–598.

Johnson, Nuala C. 'Mapping monuments: the shaping of public space and cultural identities'. *Visual Communication*, 1 (2002) 3, 293–329.

Labov, William. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

Langhendries, Maarten. 'The missionary: figure of reconciliation with the colonial past in Flanders (2007–2012)'. *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire/ Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis*, 97 (2019) 3, 751–771.

Langhendries, Maarten, and Reinout Vander Hulst. 'Les soins de santé, fleuron de la colonisation belge?'. In: Idesbald Goddeeris, Amandine Lauro and Guy Vanthemsche, eds. *Le Congo colonial. Une histoire en questions*. Waterloo: Renaissance du Livre, 2020, 327–335.

Levinson, Sanford. *Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998 / 2nd ed., 2018.

MacGregor, John. *Tibet: A Chronicle of Exploration*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.

Mak, Geertje, Marit Monteiro, and Elisabeth Wesseling. 'Child Separation. (Post)Colonial Policies and Practices in the Netherlands and Belgium'. *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 135 (2020) 3–4, 4–28.

Markowitz, Marvin D. *Cross and Sword. The Political Role of Christian Missions in the Belgian Congo, 1908–1960*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1973.

Mitchell, Katharyne. 'Monuments, Memorials, and the Politics of Memory'. *Urban Geography*, 24 (2003) 5, 442–459.

Moblo, Pennie. 'Blessed Damien of Moloka'i: The Critical Analysis of Contemporary Myth'. *Ethnohistory*, 44 (1997) 4, 691–726.

Moons, Lieve. *Karel Bellinckx. Leven en werk*. Hasselt: self-published, 2014.

Nemec, Birgit, and Florian Wenninger, eds. 'Zur Benennung und Umbenennung von Straßen im internationalen Vergleich'. *Zeitgeschiche*, 46 (2019) 1, 7–169.

Nijs, Julie. *De ware helden van ons Rooms katholieke landeke. Monumenten van missionarissen in België*. Unpublished MA thesis, KU Leuven (supervisor: I. Goddeeris), 2016.

Nys, Jef. *De grote zwartrok*. Ghent: Het Volk, 1960.

Nys, Jef. *De reus van Bengalen*. Ghent: Het Volk, 1960.

Nys, Jef. *De trek naar China*. Ghent: Het Volk, 1961.

Nys, Jef. *De grote voortrekker*. Ghent: Het Volk, 1964.

Palagiano, Sergio. 'Pio Xi e p. Włodzimierz Ledóchowski Sj, Xxvi Preposito Generale della Compagnia di Gesù, nelle carte dell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu: un excursus archivistico'. *Quaderni Della Brianza*, 43 (202,1) 483–510.

Peeters, Koen. *De mensengenezer. Roman*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2008.

Pil, Walter. *Zegezang van het Kersten Vlaanderen: epos der Vlaamse missionarissen*. Gijzegem: Uitgave der Paters Oblaten, 1956.

Pipeleers, Ludo, and Leon Snoeks. *Limburgse martelaren. Geloofsgenoten ook voor deze tijd*. Hasselt: Wereld-Missiehulp, Stelimo and Missio-Limburg, 2000.

Raskin, Brigitte. *De eeuw van de ekster: een Belgisch levensverhaal*. Leuven: Kritak, 1994.

Raspoet, Erik. *Reizigers in God. De missionarissen van Scheut*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 2001.

Roudometof, Victor. 'The Glocal and Global Studies'. *Globalizations*, 12 (2015) 5, 774–787.

Stanard, Matthew. *The Leopard, the Lion, and the Cock. Colonial Memories and Monuments in Belgium*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2019.

Standaert, Nicolas. 'The Jesuit presence in China (1580–1773): a statistical approach'. *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 13 (1991), 4–17.

Stewart, Richard. *Leper Priest of Moloka'i: The Father Damien story*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000.

Tanghe, Omer. *Hun stem in steen. Westvlaamse missionarisroute. Monumenten, gedenkstenen, begraafplaatsen, straatnamen en biografische gegevens van Westvlaamse missionarissen*. Tielt: Lannoo, 1984.

Tanghe, Omer, and Doenja Van Belleghem. *Hun stem in steen. Westvlaamse missionarissenroute. Monumenten, gedenkstenen, begraafplaatsen, straatnamen en biografische gegevens van Westvlaamse missionarissen*. Bruges: Tabor, 1996.

Tayman, John. *The Colony. The harrowing true story of the exiles of Molokai*. New York: Scribner, 2006.

Van Beurden, Sarah. 'Le colonisateur belge a-t-il créé, détruit ou volé l'art congolais?'. In: Idesbald Goddeeris, Amandine Lauro and Guy Vanthemsche, eds. *Le Congo colonial. Une histoire en questions*. Waterloo: Renaissance du Livre, 2020, 373–384.

van den Broeck, Karl. *Waarom ik de Indianen wil redden – Op zoek naar het kruis van Sitting Bull*. Antwerp: Polis, 2016.

Vanthemsche, Guy. *La Belgique et le Congo: l'impact de la colonie sur la métropole*. Brussels: Le Cri édition, 2010.

Vanthemsche, Guy. 'Le Congo, une colonie « en voie de développement » ?'. In: Idesbald Goddeeris, Amandine Lauro and Guy Vanthemsche, eds. *Le Congo colonial. Une histoire en questions*. Waterloo: Renaissance du Livre, 2020, 197–207.

Vanysacker, Dries. 'Les missions belges et néerlandaises au cours des 19e et 20e siècles'. *Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire*, 53 (1997) 4, 241–270.

Vanysacker, Dries. *Vergeten martelaars. Missionarissen in het oog van de Simba-opstand in Congo, 1964–1966*. Leuven-The Hague: Acco, 2015.

Verbeke, Eddie. *Cha-Tse-Ti 1904*. Tielt: Heemkundige kring De Roede, 2020.

Verschaffel, Tom. 'Aanschouwelijke Middeleeuwen: historische optochten en vaderlandse drama's in het negentiende-eeuwse België'. *Theoretische geschiedenis*, 26 (1999) 2, 129–148.

Vints, Luc. 'Damiaan, een beeld van een missionaris'. In: Robrecht Boudens, ed. *Rond Damiaan. Handelingen van het colloquium n.a.v. de honderdste verjaardag van het overlijden van pater Damiaan, 9–10 maart 1989*. KADOC Studies 7. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1989, 189–217.

Vints, Luc. 'La propagande missionnaire. Presse – photographie – cinéma'. In: *Le Face-à-Face des Dieux. Missionnaires luxembourgeois en Outre-Mer*. Bastogne: Musée en Piconrue, 2007, 77–84.

Vints, Luc. '"Vier moet branden". Belgische missionarissen in India'. In: Idesbald Goddeeris, ed. *Het wiel van Ashoka. Belgisch-Indiase contacten in historisch perspectief*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013, 83–102.

Vints, Luc. 'Congo en de katholieke kerk (1885–1960)'. In: Els De Palmenaer, ed. *100x Congo. Een eeuw Congolese kunst in Antwerpen*. Kontich: BAI, voor het MAS Antwerpen, 2020, 114–119.

Vints, Luc, and Mireille Holsbeke. 'The Call of the Rockies. Tentoonstelling over Pieter Jan De Smet en de Indiaanse tragedie'. In: *Cultureel Jaarboek Provincie Oost-Vlaanderen 2015–2016*. Ghent: Provincie Oost-Vlaanderen, 2017, 122–129.

About the Authors

Leah Abayao is Associate Professor of History at the University of the Philippines Baguio and former Director of the Cordillera Studies Center. She received her B.A. Social Sciences major in Anthropology and History, M.A. in Social Development Studies and her PhD in History. She writes on ethnohistory, indigenous and local knowledges, worldviews, cultural and religious traditions. For more than a decade, she has worked on and written about the Belgian CICM archival materials and papers on the Philippine Cordilleras.

Edem Afoutou is a priest from the Congregation of the Eudists fathers. He is an anthropologist trained at the University of Laval in Canada. He serves as an associate professor at the University of Lomé and at the Regional Institute for Higher Education and Research in Cultural Development (IRES-RDEC). As the executive director of the Mgr Dosseh Foundation, he offers various formations on the topics of culture, inculturation and critical interculturality.

Jennifer Bond is a Lecturer at University College London. She is a historian of modern China with a focus on gender, education, religion, and diplomacy in the Republican era. Her articles have been published in the *Journal of Women's History*, *Twentieth Century China*, and *Global Studies Quarterly*. Bond is the author of *Dreaming the New Woman: An Oral History of Missionary Schoolgirls in Republican China* (Oxford University Press, 2024). She is the co-founder of the China Academic Network on Gender (CHANGE), a transnational interdisciplinary network for researchers working on gender in China.

Leon Bouwmeester has a background in psychology, space theory and architecture. As a doctoral student at KU Leuven, his research focusses on the missionary history, the indigenization and modernization of Catholic church architectures in Taiwan in the postwar period.

Thomas Coomans is professor of architectural history and heritage conservation at the University of Leuven. He teaches at the Department of Architecture and at the Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation, an international and multidisciplinary advanced master program in conservation of monuments and sites. His present research focuses on architectural transfers between Europe and East Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially the construction of churches by western missionaries together with Chinese craftsmen (1840s-1940s) and the creation of an inculturated sino-christian architectural style (1920s-30s). He has been assistant professor at The Chinese University of Hong Kong and visiting professor at The Peking University Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences. He is a member of ICOMOS international scientific committee on shared built heritage.

Rinald D'Souza is a doctoral candidate at the Department of History, Leuven. He has previously worked as a researcher at the Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Goa. He is co-editor of the volume *Public History of Goa: Evolving Politics, Culture and Identity* (2019). He researches on Christianity in Modern South Asia, and the cultural role and practices of religion in the production of social identities, specializing in Jesuit history and the indigenization of the Ranchi Jesuit Province.

Idesbald Goddeeris is professor of history at the University of Leuven. He teaches courses on colonial history, history of Poland, and history of India. His research mainly focuses on the relationship between Western en non-Western societies, cultures and political regimes. He particularly examines this by means of the history of migration, European identities, transnational social movements, East-West and North-South contacts, development aid, and postcolonial memories. He has published extensively on the colonial history of Belgium and Congo.

Paola Granado is a linguist and educational scientist. She holds a PhD from Université Lumière Lyon 2 (Laboratoire ECP Education, Cultures, Politiques) with a doctoral thesis on music teaching in the Jesuit missions in Moxos (Bolivia). Her research interests include linguistics, music education, ethnomusicology, colonialism and Jesuit missions in South America. She is also an experienced singer, having performed in Bolivia, North America, Africa and Europe.

Karen Jacobs is Associate Professor at the Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas, University of East Anglia. She has worked on various international research projects, focusing on the arts of West Papua, Polynesia and Fiji, and material heritage of British missions in the Pacific region. Her research resulted in exhibitions and publications. Exhibition projects include 'Pacific Encounters: Art and Divinity in Polynesia 1760-1860' (Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, 2006; Museé du quai Branly, 2008), and 'Art and the Body' (Fiji Museum, 2014). Book projects include 'Collecting Kamoro' (Jacobs 2012), 'Trophies, Relics and Curios? Missionary Heritage from Africa and the Pacific' (Jacobs, Knowles & Wingfield 2015) and 'This is not a Grass Skirt' (Jacobs 2019)."

Markus A. Scholz is an anthropologist and historian working on collections of ethnographic artifacts from Latin America and their significance for the history of science and the history of Christian missions. During his studies in Historical Ethnology and Romance Philology, he focused on the Mapuche culture in Chile, and his PhD in history dealt with the Franciscan missions in colonial Peru. He worked at the Übersee-Museum Bremen, where he participated co-curated the permanent exhibition on the Americas and specialized in issues of material culture. Since 2022, he has been a research associate at the Institute for Global Church and Mission at the Sankt Georgen Graduate School for Philosophy and Theology in Frankfurt am Main, where he carried out a pilot project on missionary collections. His current project, which is funded by the German Lost Art Foundation, concerns "Mission beyond homeland and colonies: German Catholic Missions in Latin America in the 19th and 20th Centuries".

Naziru Yahaya Shuaibu holds a bachelor and a master in history from Bayero University, Kano and a Postgraduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) from the University of Maiduguri. He works as a lecturer at the Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso College of Advance and Remedial Studies in Tudun Wada, Kano-Nigeria. He teaches and publishes on education, religious pluralism and interfaith relations in colonial and post-independance Nigeria.

Jonas Van Mulder is a cultural historian and heritage curator. He holds a PhD from the University of Antwerp with a doctorate on late medieval and early modern religious culture. He currently curates heritage projects and exhibitions that engage with the international collection of KADOC. He has worked and published on missionary and colonial history, film and photography.

Dries Vanysacker is associate professor at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, KU Leuven and coordinator of the Research Unit 'History of Church and Theology'. He is in charge of the operational editing of the *Index Religiosus*. International Bibliography of Theology, Church History and Religious Studies (IR) and acts as assistant secretary and editorial staff member of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique. Louvain Journal of Church History* (RHE) and the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. He is also member of the board of the Louvain series *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* and vice-chairman of the Comitato belga di Storia del Risorgimento (CHBR), sezione belga dell'Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento italiano. He wrote extensively on mission history, and religion and sports.

Colophon

Final editing
Jonas Van Mulder, KADOC-KU Leuven

Copy editing
Winand Van Meerbeek, KADOC- KU Leuven
Luc Vints, KADOC-KU Leuven

Language editing
Rebecca Bryan

Lay-out
Alexis Vermeylen, KADOC-KU Leuven

KADOC-KU Leuven
Documentation and Research Centre on Religion, Culture and Society
Vlamingenstraat 39
B - 3000 Leuven
https://kadoc.kuleuven.be

Leuven University Press
Minderbroedersstraat 4
B - 3000 Leuven
http://lup.be

For centuries, Christian missions have intervened in local religious communities, practices and ideas across the globe, generating encounters between Indigenous and Western cultures that have ranged from hostile confrontation to intercultural osmosis. While primarily intended as a strategy for evangelisation, forms of inculturation also led to the emergence of new hybrid cultural and religious expressions. These creative processes were rarely unidirectional; instead, they involved reciprocal cultural transactions in which local communities exerted significant agency.

Cross-Cultural Heritage deepens our understanding of the intricate relationships between missions and missionised communities. These are reflected in the material and immaterial legacies of missionary histories in various contexts in South America, Africa, Asia, the Pacific and Europe. Often, they remain deeply rooted in landscapes, memories and practices today.

Jonas Van Mulder is a research associate and curator at KADOC Documentation and Research Centre on Religion, Culture and Society of KU Leuven.

Thomas Coomans is a full professor of architectural history and built heritage conservation at KU Leuven and director of the Advanced Master in Conservation of Monuments and Sites (RLICC), at the Faculty of Engineering Science.

Dries Vanysacker is professor of history of Church and Theology at KU Leuven and head of the Study and Documentation Centre Capuchins in the Low Countries.

Leuven Studies in Mission and Modernity # 4

KU LEUVEN KADOC

ISBN 978-94-6270-443-5

9 789462 704435