The 36th colloquium of CREDIC (Center of Research and Exchange on the Diffusion and Inculturation of Christianity) within the ecumenical spirit was organized in partnership with the divinity school of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Neuendettelsau, city of about 7,500 inhabitants located about 40 km south-west of Nuremberg in Germany. The 2015 colloquium situated the mission question in the historical context of the commemorations of the Great War 1914–1918. The issues were centered on the German missions: their liquidation and resilience during and after the Great War with the later hardships of the Nazi period (1933–1945). The colloquium discussed the impact of the Great War on German missions both protestant and catholic as well as on the young overseas churches. The new developments headed towards Protestant intensification of international and intercontinental cooperation and Catholic strengthening of internationalization.

This present report aims at conveying some events and important ideas of this academic encounter. Several of the papers presented cast light on the historical presence of the Society of the Divine Word on the mission stage during and after the Great War.


1 The CREDIC, founded in 1979 in Lyon (France), provides a fruitful platform of academic exchange for historians, theologians, and anthropologists, as well as persons actively working in mission and engaged in research within the field of mission studies.

2 On this place in 1854, Wilhelm Löhe, pastor of the Lutheran Church, founded an institute for deaconesses and sent pastors to North America, Australia, New Guinea, Brazil, and the Ukraine. Today, this Center EineWelt for partnership, development and mission of the Evangelical-Lutheran church in Bavaria keeps relationships with Lutheran partner churches in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific. See https://mission-einewelt.de.

3 The proceedings are due to be published.
The sessions of the colloquium were piloted by the science board consisting of Bernadette Truchet, Annie Lenoble-Bart, Marc Spindler, and Gilles Vidal. The president of the CREDIC, Bernadette Truchet, welcomed all the participants. Of the 30 assembled scholars, half came from France, the others from Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Australia, Poland, Germany, Cameroon, Congo and Togo.

A Typology of German Missions

On the following day, Marc Spindler, professor emeritus from the University of Leyden and Utrecht (Netherlands)\(^4\) and founding member of CREDIC, in his introduction outlined in general the typology of German missions of double reality: Catholic under the authority of the Holy See and Protestant with a more decentralized structure and strong inclusion in the political fabric of Germany. He referred to Fr. Joseph Glazik’s distinction of three types of catholic religious congregations as to the degree of involvement in the mission activity, in which the Society of the Divine Word emerges as exclusively missionary. The Great War expanded to overseas territories and was devastating for German missions.

The Conference of Berlin (1884–1885) enabled Germany to secure a series of colonies:\(^5\) The case studies presented at the Colloquium referred to the German missions in the German colonies, whence the missionaries were expelled in the aftermath of the Great War, and their missions heavily hit by confiscation of the mission property. The reflection addressed also Germany’s reaction to the expulsion of its missionaries. Prof. Spindler cited two important voices in this question: Fr. Alfons Väth SJ, the chief editor of the important mission magazine “Die katholischen Missionen,” pointed to the indifference towards the plight of the German Catholic mission, and Paul Natorp (1854–1924), the most prominent philosopher in Germany at the turn of the last century, who advocated the idea of Germany’s “World Vo-

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\(^4\) He teaches and supervises interdisciplinary projects of research on the institutions and Christian theologies of Africa, Madagascar and beyond in their connection with the contemporary ecumenical and missionary movements.

\(^5\) Germany acquired: German East Africa (today’s Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and part of Mozambique), German South-West Africa (today’s Namibia) and German West Africa (Togo, Cameroon), South-East Asia (Tsingtao in China), Pacific Area with German Micronesia (Northern Solomon Islands, Mariana Islands, Caroline Islands, Palau, Nauru, Marshall Islands, German Samoa) and German New Guinea along with Bougainville Island.
cation” (1918). The Germans were scandalized by the harsh measures undertaken by the victorious countries in regard to their missions, since on principle the missionaries weren’t soldiers and in case of war the missions should be excluded from the political game. Some of them after returning to their homeland wrote books about their missionary experience, like the Lutherans: Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965)—medical missionary in Gabon—or Bruno Gutmann (1876–1966)—a missionary and ethnographer in East Africa. Indeed, the studies on the German missions of the interwar period (1919–1939) are still soberly advanced.

Already the General Act of the Berlin Conference on West Africa, dating from 26 February 1885, guaranteed (no. 11) the principle of religious freedom (protection for all missions: scientific, humanitarian and religious), so that the missions of all denominations were to receive a special protection in case of a war. Also the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 had declared the transnational character of mission. After the Great War, the Germans were declared unworthy to enter the League of Nations and the German missions as the auxiliary of colonialism. Only Germany’s entry into the League of Nations in 1926 facilitated the resumption of German missionary activities overseas, except in the territories controlled by France.

**Roman Encyclicals on Mission**

Prof. Catherine Marin, professor of mission history at the Institut Catholique in Paris, presented in the first paper “From *Maximum Illud* to *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1919–1926)” how the Great War induced the Holy See to launch a new missionary course in the two above-mentioned mission encyclicals to revive the Catholic mission.

The main guidelines of the new missionary impulse of *Maximum Illud* (1919) and *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926) were: overcoming of nationalism, formation of native clergy, preparation of colonized popula-

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9 The heroic death for the fatherland was compared to Christ’s death on the cross and the German nation was considered to be God’s chosen people. Many theologians were not merely staunch nationalists, but also warmongers, who enthusiastically welcomed the war against “materialistic England, inflated by its own obscurity,” “the irreverent and morally depraved France” and “land-hungry Russia.” These stereotypes, which were repeated like prayer wheels by Catholics and Protestants alike, had a devastating effect on the credibility of Christian theology and churches. See E. Spohni/Chr. Saueri, “War zeal, nationalism and unity in Christ: evangelical missions in Germany during World War I,” [in:] http://www.scielo.org.za/pdf/she/v35n2/05.pdf [accessed March 8, 2016].
tions for legitimate independence and return to the model of the primordial apostolic communities of faith (Acts of the Apostles). The Holy See in the years after the Great War emphasized three main orientations: 1. the overcoming of the nationalistic antagonisms, exacerbated during the war, which impaired significantly the Christian universalism; 2. the frontal actions in favor of the formation of local clergy. In fact, the idea had been long on the agenda of the church but in practice often neglected. Now, the formation of native clergy was of vital importance for the simple reason of personnel shortages in the missions after the expulsion of German missionaries; 3. the urgent need of a change in the mentality of the missionaries closed in the trenches of their religious congregations and treating missions as their own property instead of serving the church. 7

The directives from Rome were already going to prepare the church for the prospect of future rebellions of the colonized populations. Behind the new mission strategy stood Benedict XV, the pope of the Great War, who in that very difficult time understood the urgency to act. As a trained diplomat, he was deeply aware of the international situation and well informed on the situation of the catholic missions. This great defender of the universal mission of the Church under the aegis of Rome recognized the importance of a long-sighted action to renew good relationships with Russia (creation of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, 1917) and to strike good relations with the new countries that emerged on the post-war map of Europe. He was efficiently supported by some great exponents and executors of the mission cause: Card. Willem Van Rossum, the Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide (1918–1932), Fr. Paolo Manna, PIME, missionary in Myanmar and founder of the Missionary Union of Priests and Religious; Msgr. Giovanni Battista Montini (later Paul VI) and Celso Costantini, the first Apostolic Delegate to China (1922). Rome particularly emphasized the missionary development in China with the consecration of six Chinese bishops in

7 The conclusive sentence of Maximum Illud taken from the gospel of Luke (5:4): “Put out into deep water,” was indicative for the missionary subjects. The text of the encyclical was firm and coherent. The bishops as guides are responsible for the introduction of the reform by promoting the zeal in the communities. The missionaries have to break with the ghetto mentality by favoring collaboration with the neighboring vicariates. Maximum Illud called nationalism a disgraceful plague that infects the apostolate. A missionary should be mindful of the words from Psalm 14: Forget your country and the house of your father.... The priority was given to the formation of missionaries who should learn well the local languages and study missiology. A missionary should be a man of high culture, strive after virtues and be a man of God (from the paper presented by Prof. Catherine Marin at the Colloquium).
Rome (1926). The new regional seminaries were to secure a higher quality of formation of the native clergy. The Holy See asked the expelled German missionaries to move elsewhere, especially to Asia, in order to open new seminaries. The expelled German Divine Word missionaries from Togo were sent to Indonesia to found such a seminary there.

Prof. Catherine Marin also spoke of the difficulties of the Society of the Divine Word regarding the internalization of the new papal mission directives. She claimed that in the light of her research, the missionaries of that Society did not appreciate the encyclical *Maximum Illud*. Only with the election of the new Superior General, Fr. Wilhelm Gier (1920), the situation changed since he embraced fully the spirit of *Maximum Illud*. In China, a Divine Word missionary from the U.S. was appointed as superior of the mission, so that the German missionaries were subjected to his authority. Overall, the new mission strategy aimed at depoliticizing the mission, which in the case of China meant reducing the impact of the French Protectorate.

**White Fathers in Eastern Africa**

The next speaker, Vincent Verbrugge, the Director of the “Nationaal Tabaksmuseum”8 in Belgium and lecturer at Leuven University, presented: “One missionary Institute for the universal vocation under the German influence: the example of the White Fathers in the Vicariate Apostolic of Unyanyembe and Tanganyika (1913–1917).” As an international Society, the German and French White Fathers worked together. In 1914, half of the Society’s members stayed in German East Africa. They were mostly French (only 5% Germans) and spoke French in the mission houses, so the mission was seen as French. With the outbreak of the Great War every missionary was drafted into the army of his respective country. The scarce and bad relationships with the German colonial authorities became a problem. However, the Vicar Apostolic of Unyanyembe, Fr. Henry Leonard (1912–1927), a Lorrainer9 but grown up in the German-speaking

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8 Vincent Verbrugge (*1956) is a historian and director of the National Tobacco Museum in Wervik. He is the author of a series of popularizing publications around the rich tobacco culture.

9 Most of Lorraine has a clear French identity with the exception of the northeastern part of the region, today known as Moselle, which is historically German-speaking. In 1871, Bismarck annexed about a third of today’s Lorraine to the newly-formed German Empire following the Franco-Prussian War. This disputed third has a culture not easily classifiable as either French
part of the region, was bilingual. He felt German of nationality, but French of heart. He was able to adapt to the new war situation. In East Africa many White Fathers were Alsatians who knew Alsace under the German Empire. When the Belgian and English authorities took over the former German territory, Leonard kept good relations with them and was the contact person for the missionaries. The governor of the region settled in one part of the mission house, adjacent to the room of Msgr. Leonard. Msgr. Leonard was accused by Belgians and English of being pro-German. When the Germans took over the region, the French missionaries were denied contact with others confreres in Congo. The missionaries left in the mission stations contributed to the tranquility amid the local population. Msgr. Leonard emphasized the unity between the church and the state for the cause of the faith, in vain to be searched in the previous time. Vincent Verbrugge in his final conclusion stated:

- The German provincial (Fraubart) did not undertake action to increase the German missionary presence in German East Africa.
- The supreme superior of German East Africa did not meet the German sensibility.
- The largest part of missionaries in German East Africa were Alsatians.
- Due to the war, the soldiers who were familiar only with the church of their region became more universal.

**Missions in Rwanda and Cameroon**

The German East African colonial territory was covered also by the next paper presented by Gerard van ’t Spijker. The former Dutch missionary of Rwanda both before and after the genocide graduated in Cultural Anthropology at the Free University of Amsterdam and later taught at the Higher Institute of Windesheim, Zwolle, at the University of Utrecht and in Yaoundé. In his paper he presented: “The activities of the Bethel Mission in Rwanda (1907–1916),” analyzing the ties between the colonial power and the missionaries. German and Belgian policies (since 1916) were based on the concept of indirect rule which sought to administer colonies through existing structures of power. Colonial administrators mistakenly believed that

or German, since both Romance and Germanic dialects are spoken there. Like many border regions, Lorraine was a patchwork of ethnicities and dialects not mutually intelligible with either standard French or German.
the power in Rwanda was organized primarily along ethnic lines, and thus they instituted policies that subjugated the Hutu and favored the Tutsi, whom they saw as the natural rulers. The missionary activities of the Bethel Mission in Rwanda (1907–1916) were taken over by a Belgian Protestant Society. The old German missionaries Ernest Johanssen and Rönicke were denied a return to Rwanda.

Prof. Jaap van Slageren\(^{10}\) from the Protestant University of Brussels in Belgium brought us to Cameroon in the next paper on “The war of 1914–1918 in Cameroon and the consequences of the departure of the Germans for the Church and country of Bamoun.” Located in the highlands of Western Cameroon, the Bamoun country was evangelized in 1906 under the reign of King Njoya, first by the Evangelical Mission of Basel and then by the Evangelical Missionary Society of Paris. On 10 March 1916 the last German garrison in Cameroon surrendered and the Allies took control over the colony. The Basel Mission Society transferred its mission to the French Calvinist Paris Mission Society in 1916. Jurisdictional and doctrinal quarrels broke out between European and African clergy. In 1922 the French missionaries banned the main Baptist minister, the highly charismatic Adolf Lotin Same. His followers demanded the end of colonial rule. In fact, the mission was disorganized and only in 1919 the Mission Society of Paris adopted Cameroon as its eighth mission. The missionaries tied to the colonial power demanded to preserve their specificity and independence of action, mainly in the domain of education.

**Missionary Enterprises in China**

The last speaker of the day, German historian Rolf G. Tiedemann surveyed “The German Missionary Enterprise in China 1914–1949.” The author of the very helpful reference work *Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China* (2009) has been visiting and lecturing regularly in China. Presently, he is Professorial Research Associate of the University of London (The School of Oriental and African Studies—SOAS, China Institute) and focuses his research on the history of the Boxer Uprising in China and its consequences, 1900–1902. He underlined that the first organized presence of the German Catholic missionaries in China started with the arrival of the missionaries

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\(^{10}\) Jaap van Slageren, a member of CREDIC, is pastor emeritus in the Netherlands. From 1963 to 1974, he worked in Cameroon as missionary, historian and teacher. The pastor of a parish in Amsterdam lectures missiology and the religious sciences at the Protestant Theological Faculty in Brussels. He was the secretary of the National Council of Missions in the Netherlands.
from Steyl in Southern Shandong (1882). This international Society based in Steyl/Netherlands had Dutch and Austrian missionaries as its first non-German members. Saint Joseph Freinademetz from the Ladin-speaking part of Tyrol, then in Austria, was the pioneer of that mission.

The organized Protestant presence started earlier in the middle of the 19th century with the arrival of the Basel, Rhenish and Berlin Missionary Societies. Prof. Tiedemann in the presentation of the German Catholic Societies working in China before and after the Great War named: the Franciscans in North Shandong (1904), the Dominicans (1912), Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Issoudin (1927), Missionaries of the Divine Savior (1921) and Capuchins in Kansu (1922). Due to the surplus of German missionaries after the Great War, some were reassigned to China: the Benedictine Congregation of St. Ottilien to Manchuria and the Society of Jesus to Hubei in North China (1939). There was also a collection of male auxiliary institutes and several Franciscan female congregations, assigned to the male Franciscan missions. The German missionaries were expelled from Hong Kong. The German territory of Tsingtao was captured by the Japanese and the work of German missionaries interrupted. The situation in Central China was different where the Chinese allowed the German missionaries to work since their activity had a very important cultural dimension, e.g. teaching of the German language. The British and French demanded the expatriation of all German missionaries in 1919.

In 1890 the German Divine Word Missionaries obtained the German religious protection, but Bishop Anzer wanted that to encompass also the Chinese Catholics. When the German government refused this since they were not German citizens, Bishop Anzer threatened to return under the French Protectorate. Ultimately after the Great War, the intervention of American bishops and the Holy See prevented the total repatriation of the German missionaries from China. Eventually, money became an important factor so that the Holy See heeded the American bishops who materially supported the China mission whereas the Germans were heavily hit by article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles.11 The internationally recognized German missi-

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11 Article 438 delivered a heavy blow to the German missions, depriving them of the right to property and its administration. Mission property was to be administered by the local authorities along with a council composed of Christians whose members were also hostile to the German Catholic cause. Thus the fruit of a long-time Catholic missionary work would pass into the hands of “heretics.” The Treaty of Versailles resolved that the German missionaries couldn’t return to the former colonies. This triggered outrage.
ologist from Alsace, Joseph Schmidlin, called it the complete destruction of the Catholic missions. However, due to the Great War and the shortage of missionary personnel the internationalization of the China Mission was pursued. In the case of the Divine Word Mission it was tied to the influx of American SVDs who eventually received their own mission territory in 1938. Some missions had their headquarters in China. The transfer of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith from Lyon to Rome enabled a more equitable distribution of funds. Moreover, the German missionaries found among the Chinese a more positive reception since the Chinese like the Germans shared the same fate, victimized by the Treaty of Versailles in favor of the Japanese (in Shandong). China was in chaos at that time and the missionaries became preferred mediators in the local conflicts. The Divine Word bishop of Southern Shantung, Augustin Henninghaus, carried out the reform program initiated by Maximum Illud that provided for the transfer of power to the Chinese.

“EineWelt” Mission Center and the Augustana Faculty

The first working day of our Colloquium was concluded in the late afternoon with a guided tour through the Neuendettelsau Mission Center EineWelt. We could visit an interesting mission exhibition dedicated to the territories of activity of the Lutheran Church of Bavaria. The small museum constructed within 12 years is not conceived as a classical mission museum but as a place of mission formation and learning. Every year about 4,500 to 5,000 visitors, mainly school and senior groups, visit the exhibition. Three women employed as educationalists conduct the tours and formation classes for the different groups. The exhibition is divided into four sections: Papua New Guinea, Asia, Latin America, and Africa, which encompass selected artifacts from areas of mission involvement in order to bring closer the big problems and challenges to which the Church is expected to give a prophetic answer.

The first section entitled “Between Tradition and Modernity” deals with Papua New Guinea in its transformation process from a rural to the modern urban society. The second section presents Asia, the birthplace of major world religions, where the strongly missionary-oriented churches work in an area with scarce Christian presence (less than 10% of the global population of the continent). There Christian faith is faced with the need of testimony and dialogue to create an atmosphere of trust and a good disposition toward Christianity. Asia also faces the problem of deforestation and exploitation of the natural resources. The third section on Latin America casts light on
the divide between the poor and rich based on Brazil's favelas where
the dreams of the children (e.g. boys dreaming of becoming famous
footballers) and young people clash with the harsh reality. The rapid-
ly spreading new Neo-Pentecostal movements seduce people with the
theology of success that bypasses reality (the theology of the cross).
The last section in the tour speaks about Africa. The most spectacu-
lar artifact there is an original bus from Nairobi with a video clip
showing the journey through Nairobi. The bus stop symbolizes the
place of decisions in front of many competing churches claiming to be
the only true church and trying to be attractive (prosperity churches)
for the simple reason to survive.

The second day of our Colloquium was introduced by welcoming
words of Prof. Dr. Christian Strecker, the Rector of the Augustana
Divinity School in Neuendettelsau. He spoke of the inception of Au-
gustana in 1947 as an outcome of the church's struggle with National
Socialism upon a decision by the Provincial Synod of the Evangelical-
Lutheran Church in Bavaria. In 1949, the Divinity School moved,
quite symbolically, into the abandoned barracks of a former Wehr-
macht ammunition factory. Over the years the Augustana was ex-
tended by several buildings, including the architecturally fascinating
round chapel and shell-shaped library. With its charm, the compound
of the Divinity School remains as one of the few real campus univer-
sities in Germany with the right to award independently doctoral
degrees and habilitations (1990). It is officially recognized on a par
with theological faculties at state universities and prepares students
to become pastors in the various regional churches in Germany. Prof.
Markus Mülke accompanied our group as a guide through the various
campus buildings of the Lutheran Augustana University. Our walk
in the middle of a wooded park in the countryside was concluded in
the evening in the university canteen where we got an opportunity to
chat with the local students.

Mission History

Our session continued in the university hall of Augustana Faculty
with the first talk on mission cartography. In the absence of Jean
Michael Vasquez, the author, Mr. François Bart read his paper on
“Mission and Cartography. The German cartography at the service of
the mission.” Jean Michael Vasquez, doctor of history and holder of a
degree in geography from the Institute of Political Studies in Lyon as
recognized cognoscente of relations between geography, mission and
colonization, stressed in his paper the importance of studying histori-
cal maps. It is a very interesting and useful occupation to study the
old maps of the German colonies, but it needs to be done in depth. The maps are not neutral. On the contrary, they serve the underlying ideology which is particularly interested to use them for its own purposes. The study of mission cartography sensitizes to the issue of mission as a space which differs from colonial cartography.

The next paper of the Australian historian Regina Ganter presented “The German Pallottines in Australia.” Professor Ganter, Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, specializes in interactions between indigenous, Asian and European peoples in Australia. Because of the War the German Pallottines who worked in Northern Australia (Beagle Bay, since 1901) were replaced by the English Redemptorists in 1916. As of 1924 the German Pallottines were granted visas and in 1935 they were able to open a College in Melbourne.

A paper of Fr. Flavien Nkay Malu, professor of anthropology and history from Congo, prompted great interest. He presented a very detailed and “mysterious” topic about “The ‘Myth of the Germans’ in the anti-sorcery and chiliastic cults of Congo during the interwar years.” Flavien Nkay Malu graduated from the University Lumière-Lyon 2 with a dissertation on the history of the Christianization of the Ding People in Congo. He asked how specific ideological conceptions influence people in their socio-religious mentality. Maria Leopard, Lukosi and the “Mission of Blacks” led a common fight against the Belgians, their colonizers. But, interestingly, they tried to replace them by other colonizers, called djamami, that is the Germans. They admired the Germans for their solidity and strength and believed that they would arrive in order to release them from the Belgian colonization. Eventually, the German defeat in the Second World War brought this imaginary to an end. In Belgian Congo, Maria Moï instigated the first large-scale revolt in 1915, calling for the departure of the white oppressors and the return of the days of equality among men and the laws of the ancestors (or djamami = Germans). Prof. Nkay Malu outlined three main points: 1. the conception of German intervention by this movement; 2. the nature of the movement and why the Germans were at its very heart; 3. who put the Germans in the center? The Lukosi located in the region of Bandundu in 1924 expanded the movement toward the South and since 1932 introduced a symbolic speaking snake as their protector which was to expel the whites, the cause of disharmony. In this movement Christianity

12 His dissertation “La Croix et la chèvre : les Missionnaires de Scheut et les Jésuites chez les Ding orientaux de la République Démocratique du Congo (1885–1933)” was sustained at the University Lumière-Lyon 2 on 29 June 2006.
blended with the local culture. Under the influence of the prophecy, Lukosi transformed into the movement of the “Mission of Blacks,” founded by Simon Mpadi in 1939. Maria Leopard and Lukosi’s cult was centered around the charm (each has his own charm which can be individual or collective) that served to protect against witchcraft. The charm transformed into the cult and then into the chiliastic movement of the Mukosi. Thus the anti-witchcraft movement became anti-colonial and the Germans were seen as a charm against the colonial evil of the Belgians. They were the expected ancestors who will emerge from the Sea in order to combat the bad ancestors: the Belgians. The specific and historical circumstances helped to coin the German Myth. During the Great War some of the Congolese soldiers who were sent to Cameroon after their return spoke about the strong Germans who defeated the British and Belgians. In the discussion the question emerged how it should be possible that one colonial mentality was to be replaced by another. In his reply the speaker recalled the ancient rule: the enemy of my enemy is my friend.

Mission in Togo

In the afternoon session, Fr. Andrzej Miotk, SVD, provided a case-study research into “The collapse of the SVD Togo Mission (1914–1921)” focusing on three stages: the Anglo-French occupation (1914–1917); the expulsion and internment of the SVD missionaries (1917–1918) and the definitive loss of the SVD Togo Mission (1918–1921). The investigation, based on archival sources of the SVD Generalate Archives in Rome (AG SVD) traced the unfolding of events within the international efforts to save the mission in the thriving Protectorate of Togo. Throughout the two dozen years of the Divine Word Mission-

13 The story of German East Africa in the First World War was essentially the history of the colony’s military commander, General Paul Emil von Lettow-Vorbeck. This vibrant officer spent the war harrying the forces of the British Empire, tying down with his band of 3,500 Europeans and 12,000 native Askaris and porters a British/Imperial army 40,000 strong, which was at times commanded by the former Second Boer War commander Jan Smuts. One of his greatest victories was the Battle of Tanga (3-5 November 1914), where von Lettow-Vorbeck beat a British force more than eight times the size of his own. Lettow-Vorbeck’s guerilla campaign compelled Britain to commit significant resources to a minor colonial theatre throughout the war and inflicted upwards of 10,000 casualties. Eventually the weight of numbers, especially after forces coming from the Belgian Congo attacked from the west (battle of Tabora) and dwindling supplies forced Lettow-Vorbeck to abandon the colony. He withdrew into Mozambique, then into Northern Rhodesia where he agreed to a ceasefire three days after the end of the war, on receiv-
aries’ involvement in Togo (1892–1914), 76 fathers, 33 Brothers and 52 Holy Spirit Sisters worked there. They founded in the model colony of Togo 11 main stations and 160 outstations. In 1914, the missionaries administered 13 churches with two splendid gothic cathedrals: Sacred Heart in Lomé and Holy Spirit in Palimé. Alongside the ordinary sacramental ministry and catechesis, they focused on 180 elementary schools and two high schools with the assistance of 228 native teachers and catechists as well as on the formation of Christian families.

The collapse of the SVD Togo Mission driven by rampant nationalism was brought about by the expulsion of its 53 missionaries in seven groups within three months. The last three missionaries along with Pro-Vicar Fr. Anton Witte were deported from Togo on 10 January 1918, leaving 22,128 Catholics and 1,236 catechumens without pastoral care. They ended up as prisoners of war at internment camps: transitory at first at the Alexandria Palace in London and then permanently on the Isle of Man. Their fate was the result of violations of previous international agreements which had guaranteed freedom to the Christian missions. Even if the expelled German missionaries were pervaded by a deep spirit of patriotism, they were first and foremost religiously motivated men and knew how to distinguish between their religious mandate and any political involvement. Though there may have been individual cases of national prejudice, on the whole the SVD Togo missionaries were free of any nationalist chauvinism. In the end, they wound up as victims of the political entanglements. They were released from internment within the year due to the urgent actions of their Superior General, Fr. Nikolaus Blum (1909–1919). He was able to use all possible and relevant channels of action on the international scene. The Togo missionaries, though affected deeply by the loss of their dear Togo mission, accepted the course of events in a truly apostolic spirit as well as new assignments, mainly to the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). Subsequent attempts to regain the Togo mission failed due to the vengeful policies of France and England, encapsulated in the Treaty of Versailles which deprived the missions of significant apostolic forces. More than 1,000 German missionaries, including 130 Divine Word Missionaries, were thus excluded from mission territories as victims of political calculations.

On the third day of the colloquium (3 September 2015) Pierre Trichet, a member of the Society of African Missions (SMA) who works in the General Archives in Rome, presented his paper. The former missionary of Ivory Coast and journalist spoke of the Catholic mission in Togo (1914–1922) under the title “The missionaries
change, the local community remains. The Catholic mission in Togo from 1914 to 1922.”

His research based on the SMA archival sources and that of the *Propaganda Fide* organically completed the previous paper. Trichet pointed to the basic study on the Togo mission by Karl Müller, SVD, whose dissertation “Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Togo” was published in 1958. He highlighted the friendly relationship between the Divine Word Missionaries and the Society of African Missions in Togo within the context of two different models of colonial rule of English and French in Togo. After the expulsion of the SVD missionaries, different attempts were made to revive the mission. In 1918, the Society of African Missions took over provisionally the administration of the Togo mission under the Apostolic Administrator Msgr. Ignace Hummel, SMA, the Vicar Apostolic of Gold Coast. The Superior General SMA, Fr. Chabert, visited Steyl in February 1920 while the natives of Togo were still hoping for the comeback of the German Divine Word Missionaries. But Fr. Chabert knew that the comeback of the German missionaries to Togo was hopeless. The only station that suffered no interruption in missionary presence was that of Lomé: 3 SMA priests arrived in Lomé in the days following the departure of the SVDs and three Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Apostles (OLA) arrived in the months that followed the departure of the German Sisters. All the other stations were left empty for two to three years. Bishop Hummel informed Fr. Bodems, SVD, on 3 April 1920 that he had asked the Governor of the Gold Coast in Accra to allow the comeback of German Divine Word Missionaries, but heard that: *Non possumus.* Thus, on 11 January 1921, the *Propaganda Fide* entrusted the Togo Mission to the Society of African Missions with Fr. Jean-Marie Cessou as the Apostolic Administrator: *Salus animarum suprema lex.* In the same year, the Holy See appointed Fr. Jean-Marie Cessou, SMA, as the Apostolic Administrator of French Togo and in 1923 made him Vicar Apostolic with residence in Lomé whereas a missionary of Nigeria, Msgr. Augustine Herman, was appointed Vicar Apostolic for the British Togo with residence in Keta (called from now on Lower Volta). Both were young and very dynamic mission superiors.

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14 The original title of the paper: “Les missionnaires changent, la communauté locale demeure. La mission catholique du Togo de 1914 à 1922.”

15 The congregation known in French as *La Congrégation Notre-Dame des Apôtres* was founded in 1876 by Fr. Augustin Planque (SMA).

16 The Apostolic Administrator Cessou reported on 4 November 1921 the juxtaposition of the mission personnel of the Divine Word Mission in 1917 (22,128 baptized, 41 fathers, 15 brothers, 29 sisters) with the present of the Lyon missionaries (25,000, 14 fathers, 6 brothers, 10 sisters).
During the last session on Thursday, 3 September, Mme Odile Napolala, professor of History at the University of Kara in Togo, also discussed the Togo Mission in the paper: “The Great War and Its Impact on the Catholic Mission Policy in Togo 1919–1939.” The Germans in Togo were defenseless against the British and French without an army of their own and so capitulated within two weeks on 26 August 1914. Thus ended the German colonial adventure in Togo, initiated in 1884. In January 1918, the last SVD missionaries left the Togo mission orphaned. Unlike the Protestants, especially the Bremen Mission, which started to form a native clergy since 1880, the Catholic mission of the Society of the Divine Word didn’t produce any indigenous priests. In this respect the Protestants were far ahead. Nevertheless, there was among SVDs a sparse attempt in this direction which met with little comprehension in the ranks of their confreres.17

With the new mission strategy of the encyclical *Maximum Illud* (1919), Pope Benedict XV gave a new impulse for the formation of an indigenous clergy. His recommendations were reinforced by his successor, Pius XI, in the encyclical *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926). Prof. Odile Napolala argued that the Lyon Missionaries drew lessons from the ordeal of the Great War and made the formation of Christians their priority. The directives of the encyclical *Maximum Illud* resonated in the activities of many other Catholic congregations. The vigorous Apostolic Vicar, Msgr. Cessou, with all forces promoted the formation of a native clergy starting from the schools. Of 228 teachers and catechists in service of the Divine Word Missionaries at the end of 1913 only 34 remained. The Apostolic Vicar stated that first Christians were needed and then priests would follow. The attempts to form the local clergy succeeded, seeing that in 1927 there were 14 seminarians in the intervicarial seminary of Ouidah/Dahomey and the first priest of the vicariate, Fr. Kwakumé, was ordained on 22 September 1928, playing a big role in the church of Togo. Afterwards followed four more ordinations and Fr. Gbikpi was sent to Rome where he graduated in theology. The First World War led to a new strategy of *Maximum Illud* which was implemented à la lettre in Togo.

17 Bro. Jacobus Basten SVD left to posterity a valuable source: *Memoirs and Experiences of an Old African* in two volumes of 460 pages in all (the third volume also forms part: *From the Letters of African Missionaries*, 242 pages). Based on personal experiences in Togo, he was interested in the big problems of the mission: the language study, the schools, the relation to the government and to the Protestant mission. See: *Togo-Memoiren* AF SVD, Rome, 45.532-45.534.
German Heritage

Dr. Gilbert Dotsé Yigbe, a Togolese Germanist at the University of Lomé, a former student at the Humboldt University in Berlin, presented a very interesting study about the German Africanist Diedrich Hermann Westermann (1875–1956). Westermann carried out extensive linguistic and anthropological research in the area ranging from Senegal eastwards to the Upper Nile. As a missionary of the Protestant North German Mission Society, also known as the Bremen Mission, he covered in his linguistic publications a wide range of African languages, particularly that of the Ewe people. When the Bremen missionaries decided to undertake their missionary work in the region of what is today the Volta Region, they knew that proficiency in the local language would be key for their work. The missionaries wanted to teach and write in one language, so they formalized various dialects of Ewe into one language with grammar and writing. Diedrich Westermann, the first European who spoke Ewe, was instrumental in the normalization of Ewe that became the most widely spread language in the Togoland colony. As a matter of fact, Westermann wrote a number of books on Ewe: an anthology of texts, short stories, traditions of the Ewe people, and he compiled a grammar. The crowning achievement was the final edition of the dictionary German-Ewe and Ewe-German in 1954. His studies were also very useful both for the missions and for the needs of the colonial administration. He claimed that Germany had not only the right to defend its colonies but also to extend them. He considered Africa as a European task and was in favor of the separation of races. In his ideological construction, the Africans needed to stay under the umbrella of the superior European race to develop. But at the same time Europeans became a point of reference for Ewe nationalism and for the unification of the Ewe people in Togo and Ghana. He applied the German concept of Volks for the creation of an Ewe national identity against the French policy of assimilation. On the surface, members of the colonial administration and missionaries did not share the same goals. The aim of the former was to most effectively exploit local resources, whilst the latter wanted to spread the Word and establish Christian churches. Westermann advocated an evangelical, independent church of the Ewe. Eventually, the colonialists and missionaries, apart from sharing the same language, benefited from each other in fulfillment of their goals.

Prof. Tata Padabo Kélèm from the department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Kara in Togo presented the last paper on Togo. He spoke about the socio-cultural heritage of the German mission and colonization with the emphasis on the nostalgia
for Germany existing to date in Togo—the former “Musterkolonie” (model colony). Togolese used to show it in order to separate themselves from the French. People used to say: “The Germans are diligent and what a pity that the German colonial period is over.” Departing from the reality of the society as a historical entity in transformation, colonialism and mission aimed at transforming the society and its culture. There are still architectural reminders of that German colonial era: neo-gothic cathedrals (Lomé and Kpalimé), the governor’s palace in Lomé (built between 1898 and 1905, which served temporarily as the seat of the Togolese government); Lomé’s old and 350 meters long jetty from 1904, which enabled the ships to unload their cargo directly into the city. Prof. Kélém pointed to the great role of mission schools (about 90% of all students in the Gold Coast were enrolled in mission schools throughout the colonial period). So practically the only schools in Togo were the mission schools. Until now the people admire German discipline and sense of order even if it included corporal punishment, with the well-known and dreaded “twenty-five and one for the Kaiser.” Well-known is also the German contribution to linguistic and ethnological studies. In Togo we find German names and streets named after famous Germans like the street of Franz Josef Strauß, the long-time prime minister of Bavaria and personal friend of the president of Togo, Gnassingbé Eyadéma. Until now, the Togolese call the Protestants Bremen Church. Germany is still present in Togo and the Togolese are somehow seduced by the German genius which is reflected in the big interest for German language and culture. The Goethe Institute in Lomé (since 1961) organizes cultural programs, offers German courses (presently 20 scholarships), runs a library and supports teaching German at schools and at the University of Lomé. As I could verify, in Togo the German language is taught at grammar schools as a compulsory elective subject and third foreign language, after French and English. Some 100,000 Togolese speak German and approximately 67,000 students at Togo’s schools are taught German by around 350 teachers of German. There are approximately 1,200 students enrolled at the University of Lomé’s German Department.

**After Mission**

Within the last session of the CREDIC colloquium on 4 September three papers were presented. As first spoke Dr. Emmanuel Tchum-tchoua, chairman of the department of Universal History at the University of Duala in Cameroon. His talk “Living after the Mission: The Experience of Friedrich Ebing, Former Missionary of Cameroon”
was a reflection based on the biographical study of an old missionary of the Basel Mission Society in Cameroon. The Society named after the Swiss city was founded in 1815. The first missionaries were sent to Africa in the 1820s, but due to illness their presence was not truly felt until the 1840s. They also started a mission in Cameroon in 1886. After the outbreak of the Great War, in September and October 1914, German missionaries including those of the Basel Mission were interned by the allies and held as prisoners of war until 1915 and then sent back to Switzerland and Germany. The Paris Mission took over work in the Basel Mission’s absence, however, in 1925 the Basel missionaries returned and limited their work to the British part of Cameroon.

Dr. Tchumtchoua presented the missionary life of Friedrich Ebding in Cameroon in four stages, starting with his arrival there in 1901. In the following year, Ebding married and the couple eventually had six children. Apart from doing some journeys in the South-Western region of Cameroon he dedicated himself to education among the Duala. He was a teacher in the local Duala language and in German and built the first German school in central Cameroon financed from Germany. His studies in Duala language and culture fructified with many publications. In the book “The German Colonial Romance between the Wars” he encapsulated his personal remembrances and denounced colonialism. His German correspondence was destroyed when the French stepped in and imposed a ban on the German language. In the final conclusive remarks, the speaker underlined that many of the German missionaries were pro-Nazi; their approach was characterized by a mostly paternalistic approach to the people but it was not devoid of genuine examples of friendly relationships with the locals; Friedrich Ebding had a deep knowledge and command of the Duala language.

The next speaker, Gilles Vidal, professor of the History of Christianity in Modern Times at the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Montpellier, sketched the figures of two missionaries: “Maurice Leenhardt and Georg Vicedom. Two Intertwined Destinies of Missionaries in the Interwar Period.” His were itineraries of two missionary pioneers: the French Maurice Leenhardt (1878–1954) who served with the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society in New Caledonia (1902–1926) and the German Georg Vicedom (1903–1974) who took up a pioneer mission service in the highlands of central New Guinea (1929–1939). Vicedom received training in the seminary of Neuendettelsau and additional ethnological preparation at Hamburg University. Leenhardt distinguished himself by outstanding contributions to cultural anthropology and missiology. Also as professor of primitive
religions at the Sorbonne (1942) and founding director of the French Institute of Scientific Research in Oceania in Nouméa (1947), he contributed to a more realistic approach to “the primitive people” as human subjects with rights and creators of complex cultural systems. Moreover, he affirmed the fact that God for the “primitive people” is not just an import but revealed himself to them. He warmly believed in evangelical catholicity.

Georg Vicedom, forced by war to return to Germany, became a leading figure at the mission headquarters in Neuendettelsau where he was a leading teacher of missiology (with publications: *Missio Dei* and *Actio Dei*) and researcher (with a massive ethnological survey of the Mbowamb tribe in New Guinea [3 volumes, 1943]). Later his studies centered around the biblical foundation of missions and he became known for his interpretation of *Missio Dei* with its theocentric emphasis in mission theology. After presenting the itineraries of the two missionaries, the speaker focused on their similarities and differences. Both were patriots and affected by the consequences of the Great War. For instance, Vicedom while in the seminary which was suspended was forced to work in the field along with other seminarians for economic reasons. After arrival in the mission both were preceded by other missionaries. Both had a good knowledge of the language and local culture and in their mission methodology collaborated with evangelists (for Catholics: catechists) and the tribal chiefs. The missionaries had to deal both with a hostile European colonial presence, exploiting the local population, and with the competitive Catholic presence. Both were also supported in their work by their wives. But they digested their own experiences in different ways. Leenhardt with the progress of his scientific formation distanced himself from the church while Vicedom, on the contrary, became very much ecclesiastic and conservative. For him the truth was non-negotiable by his biblicism. Even if they came from different generations and backgrounds and received various academic formations, they distinguished themselves by the great love for the native people whom they treated with big patience. Vicedom suffered a lot because of the pagan mores of the people, but bore with great patience their polygamy and dances.

The last speaker, the mentor of the Symposium, Prof. Marc Spindler, presented: “The Dynamics of the German Missiology 1913–1939.” He gave a general overview of the essential developments by both the Protestants and Catholics. He focused on two flagship personalities in the unfolding of Protestant and Catholic missiology: Gustav Warneck (1834–1910) and Josef Schmidlin (1876–1944), the founder of Catholic missiology, who refused the salute *Heil Hitler* and was de-
nounced by his students. He ended his days in the “Sicherungslager” Schirmeck-Vorbrück near the concentration camp of Struthof in Alsace. Over the whole period, both the Catholic and Protestant missionary activity was wide apart and competitive. Protestants and Catholics were closed in their denominational bastions and ghetto mentality. Prof. Marc Spindler focused his exposition around five points: 1. the status quo of missiology in 1913; 2. the missiological production over this period; 3. the crisis and the response; 4. the dropouts from the missionary scene; 5. the balance at the International Missionary Conference in Tambaram (1938).

Gustav Warneck was the pioneer of missiology as an academic discipline with a great impact on the Catholics. He created many institutions promoting the cooperation in missions and dealt with missiological topics in the monthly journal Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift (1874ff.). While teaching at the University of Halle (1896–1908), he worked out the first systematic mission theology “Evangelische Missionslehre” (1892–1903), embodied in the Christianization of people. He defended Christianity with the firm conviction of being the superior religion. One just had to explain this to people from other religions. In his view, mission is addressing the non-Christians, but shouldn’t consist in conversion or propagation of the faith. It has to announce the Gospel and appreciate the global development of people in cultural, economic and institutional terms. His view opposed the famous Catholic missiological schools of Louvain (Pierre Charles SJ, 1883–1954) with planting the church as the main goal of mission and of Münster (Josef Schmidlin) emphasizing conversion. He also wrote a history of Protestant missions, with an annex about Catholic and Orthodox missions. In opposition to American Protestant missiologists, he supported a gradual, patient mission—Deus providet.

Prof. Josef Schmidlin, influenced by Warneck, founded the Chair of Missiology at the University of Münster (1914) and the missiological journal Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft (1911). The Catholic and Protestant missiological production was massive despite the limits imposed by the Great War. One example of that is the historic work of Fr. Robert Streit, OMI. As mission librarian, bibliographer and close collaborator of Schmidlin, he started the 30-volume bibliography of Catholic Missions Bibliotheca Missionum. Prof. Spindler also mentioned the second important missiological center in Austria. Its leading representative was Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt from the Society of the Divine Word, known as the founder of the famous international journal Anthropos (1906). He was entrusted by Rome with the organization of the World Missionary Exhibition for the Holy Year 1925,
converted later into the Lateran Mission Museum. At the time of the Depression mission was also affected. The response to the crisis was the affirmation that mission is a question of substance and not of finances—*Missio Dei*.

Speaking about the dropouts of the missionary scene, the speaker pointed to two very important names: Richard Wilhelm (1873–1930), the German sinologist and Protestant pastor in Tsingtao who opened up to the West the vast spiritual heritage of China and translated the great philosophical works from Chinese into German. Richard Wilhelm was one of the first to realize the value of Chinese thinking to bridge the great gap between the two cultures. As the second dropout was named Jakob Wilhelm Hauer (1881–1962), the German Indologist and religious studies writer of the Basel Mission who founded the German Faith Movement. This movement sought to move Germany away from Christianity to a religion based on Germanic paganism and Nazi ideas. Finally, Spindler considered the balance of the big assembly of Tambaram. Two representative missionaries, Bruno Gutmann and Christian Keysser, advocated a church grounded in the cultural and racial characteristics of a people and that conversion should be collective and respect the cultural identity of the people.

**Concluding**

The Colloquium under the effective leadership of Marc Spindler and Gilles Vidal provided the participants with an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the history and culture of German Franconia. This occurred in the frame of the unforgettable guided tour to the most populous city of Middle Franconia: Nuremberg. In an enjoyable and friendly atmosphere we visited the old town concluding in a typical inn of Franconia. During the guided tour, Dr. Markus Mülke introduced us to the regional particularities of the three Franconias with their various cultural characteristics dependent on the religious landscape. In Nuremberg, the old free imperial city and the center of German Renaissance with the great artist Albrecht Dürer, we could admire the Protestant churches of St. Sebaldus with the symbolic reliquary and the imposing St. Lorenz. Then, in the very heart of the city, we visited a colorful market with the adjacent Catholic church of Our Lady, where once was the Jewish ghetto. We saw the remarkable Heilig Geist Spital (of 1332) and from afar the huge complex of the “Melanchthon Gymnasium,” where the *Praeceptor Germaniae* of the Lutheran Reformation implemented his educational system. There was also an account of the Nazi Nuremberg—“the most German of all cities”—where Hitler staged six giant-
tic Nazi party rallies. The allies did not spare the city, especially the old town was reduced in 90% to rubble and ash. Justifiably, they also selected this city for the historical trial of the International Military Tribunal (1945–1946) to sentence 22 of the leading Nazis.

During the colloquium in Neuendettelsau CREDIC also held its General Assembly. All participants were invited to the next, the 37th, colloquium of CREDIC in Paris (2016), dedicated this time to “Men and Women in the Mission between Confrontation and Sharing.”

Participants of the 36th CREDIC Colloquium in Neuendettelsau