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Selling the Mission: The German Catholic elite and the educational migration of African youngsters to Europeⁱ

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In coverage of the 35th General Assembly of German Catholics held in Freiburg im Breisgau from 2-6 September 1888 a handful of local and regional newspapers remarked upon the presence of two young Africans among the guests.ⁱⁱ The youngsters, Mbange Akwa from Douala, Cameroon and Dagwe from Liberia, had been brought to Freiburg by Father Andreas Amrhein. Amrhein was the founder of the Benedictine Mission Society, based at St Ottilien near Munich, where the youngsters were being educated. He was a proponent of Catholic involvement in the German colonial project and the fledgling mission had already sent its first missionaries to German East Africa the previous year. During the Assembly Mbange and Dagwe were photographed alongside Ludwig Windthorst, the prominent politician and leader of the Catholic Centre Party, who, according to reports, was to take on the role of their godfather.ⁱⁱⁱ Following the establishment of an overseas empire in 1884 he became increasingly vocal in calling for Catholics to be granted permission to missionize in the new German territories. In open and closed sessions of the Assembly he condemned the continuing practice of slavery, particularly in Africa. For Windthorst one means of combatting this was through the spreading of Christianity and he took the opportunity to reiterate his message of the necessity for Catholic access to the overseas colonies.^{iv} This latter task would require new missionary houses being established in Germany to train suitable missionaries, but it was one which he believed was worth pursuing. As visible proof of both the rewards and legitimacy of missionary efforts he referred to Mbange and Dagwe and the great strides they were making at St Ottilien under missionary instruction: 'You have seen the two lads, who have been brought to us from Bavaria; I have spoken with the

youngsters and I was astounded how far they have already advanced. We can clearly see that the *Neger* are capable of developing (*bildungsfähig*), and because they are our fellow men, because, like all of us, they have God given souls we must do everything to make them see the light of the Gospel.^{iv}

The presence of these African youngsters in Freiburg reflected the growing involvement of Catholic institutions in German colonialism in general. In the aftermath of the *Kulturkampf* - Bismarck's attack on the Catholic Church in Germany, participation in the colonial project provided German Catholics with an opportunity to find favour with the state in demonstrating both their loyalty and their patriotism. Indeed, in his attempts to gain permission to create a Benedictine order in Germany Amrhein had successfully impressed upon the authorities his willingness to work closely with the state in spreading German culture in Africa.^{vi} Working in the colonies also enabled Catholic missions to compete with Protestant ones in the winning of souls and the civilising of indigenous populations, which in turn meant that they could join in the fight to combat Islam. For German Christian missionaries the threat of Islam was deemed to be particularly acute in German East Africa (Tanzania), where the small Muslim population occupied a privileged status.^{vii} In Cameroon too Catholic missionaries blamed Islam for holding back the moral and spiritual development of the colony's population.^{viii}

At the same time, the presence of Mbangé and Dagwe at the General Assembly was linked to a side effect of colonialism in practice - the evolving migration flow of Africans to Germany. Catholic involvement in this movement and, by extension, African education in Europe was underpinned by a belief in the need to culturally and morally 'raise' non-

European populations to European levels. At the same time young African visitors were soon employed in missionary practices which were used to publicly and privately promote Catholic missionary work at home in order to secure support, both financial and political, for ventures abroad from amongst the Catholic elite of Germany and Austria. This article focuses on the ways in which these African students were used to promote and legitimate missionary enterprise. This allows for an analysis of domestic missionary promotional practices as well as of evolving representations of colonial Africans during the Imperial period. As will be demonstrated, as part of missionary celebration of success, these Catholic trained Africans were held up as evidence that, through missionary guidance, Africans could be civilised, an issue of discussion which was debated throughout much of the colonial period. In Catholic propaganda they personified an image of the civilised African, who was devout, intellectually capable and hard-working. This offered a counterpoint to the more prevalent negative representations of blacks.

Since the pioneering works of Sander Gilman and Rheinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand on representations of blacks in German culture there has been increasing research carried out in this area.^{ix} Much of this has demonstrated that while these representations were continually evolving pre-1914, for the most part they reinforced a notion of black inferiority and European superiority.^x In satirical magazines, contemporary advertising and colonial publications Germans routinely encountered infantilised or wild Africans while panopticons and ethnographic exhibitions featured black participants performing the role of the primitive and savage Other. Catholic missionaries, too, employed such representations to further distinguish mission educated Africans from their contemporaries. Nonetheless, a consideration of Catholic mission representations helps to emphasize that images of black

people were not fixed and that positive counter images were also generated in Imperial Germany; albeit, in this case, partly for strategic reasons.

At the same time looking at why and how Catholic missions were involved in supporting African educational migration allows an insight into how missions promoted their activities to a home audience. Much of the existing literature on German missionary practices focuses on endeavours overseas, particularly the complexity of interactions with indigenous populations and/or colonial regimes.^{xi} As yet, however, little attention has been paid to domestic propaganda strategies.^{xii} This contrasts with work on British missionary enterprises which have demonstrated how imperialism and the civilising mission interacted with changing notions of Britishness.^{xiii} A number strategies employed by British missions to win favour at home were also utilised by the German Catholic missions. These included the staging of public events featuring non-European converts and the heavy use of missionary publications and memoirs.

From the outset it is important to stress that it is not being suggested that the young Africans under discussion were wholly instrumentalised. While the missionaries and their charges were involved in, at times, ambivalent interactions, the relationships that ultimately developed were not necessarily exploitative and they could be mutually beneficial. Further, this migration to Europe was not forced; rather migration opportunities were frequently sought after by elite Cameroonian (and other African) families as a source of political prestige and in the anticipation that their children could gain a form of 'cultural capital' - a knowledge of Germany, the German language, and practical skills, all of which would provide them with influence within the colonial hierarchy. Before concluding, therefore, the

article will also consider what this episode can tell us about the experiences of the migrants themselves, their opportunities for self-representation, and their relationship to the Catholic Church.

The evidence used in this article is primarily drawn from the example of the Pallottine Mission to Cameroon. The order had been formed in Rome in 1835 by the Italian priest Vincent Pallotti. Partly on account of the *Kulturkampf*, it was not until the early 1890s that a branch was established in Germany, primarily with the purpose of missionizing in Germany's new overseas territories. Of all the German-based Catholic missions present in Africa, the Pallottines were the most active in supporting African migration. Reference will, however, also be made to the Benedictine mission, which was the first Catholic mission to provide a home for African migrants. The article employs a combination of printed, private, and visual materials found primarily in the Pallottine mission archive. This includes missionary correspondence with African students, missionary memoirs, and substantial material from contemporary Catholic missionary publications.

Colonial Migration - an Overview

Although no exact figures exist it is likely that in the period from high colonialism to the outbreak of the First World War several thousand men and women of African descent from various regions of Africa and from further afield such as Haiti and the United States were present in Germany. The vast majority were transients, typically personal servants or entertainers - frequently performers in ethnographic exhibitions, whose stay in Europe was limited. A large proportion of these migrants came from Germany's newly established African protectorates of Togo, German East Africa and, to a lesser extent, Namibia.

Numerically dominant amongst this population of German colonial subjects were, however, young Cameroonians, in particular young men from Douala.^{xiv} Elite Duala families involved in this migration were long accustomed to social interaction with European businessmen, visitors, missionaries and settlers, up to and including marriage.^{xv} Prior to the onset of German colonial rule they already had an established history of sending children to Europe to be educated as a means of gaining political prestige and influence. Throughout the colonial period migration for educational purposes was a key motivational factor and the involvement of the missions in this movement eventually enabled other indigenous elite families to educate their children in Germany. Almost all of the colonial African and Cameroonian migrants who arrived in Germany were men or boys. In part this was due to the gendered structure of many of the African population groups involved in this migration, in which women were afforded only a limited role out with the domestic sphere.^{xvi}

Although the various religious mission societies played the dominant role in educating indigenous population groups in Cameroon, during the first decade of German colonial rule (1884-1894) the German colonial authorities proved essential in supporting and organizing educational visits to Germany. The largest European mission, the protestant Basel Mission, stood resolutely against Africans being brought to Europe. Its committee took the popular view (soon to be held by the colonial administration) that a period of stay in Europe usually led to the moral corruption of Africans.^{xvii} In contrast just under a dozen youngsters spent time in Berlin between 1893 and 1908 sponsored by the much smaller Baptist Mission.^{xviii} The involvement of Catholic missions in the education of Africans in Germany began by accident rather than design. When the returning engineer Friedrich Schran brought three Cameroonian youngsters back to Germany with him in 1888 he was able to place one,

Mpundu Akwa son of the Duala notable King Akwa, in a Catholic school in Rheindahlen.^{xix} He was less successful in finding a place for the other two boys. Schran, himself a Catholic, turned to Amrhein and the Benedictine Mission Society in Türkenfeld and asked for the boys to be taken in. At that moment in time the Benedictines were the only Catholic mission society active in Africa with a motherhouse in Germany. The youngsters, Mbange Akwa and Joseph Timba, both from Douala, were welcomed with open arms. They would later be joined by Dagwe and the East Africa Hassi.

The residual after effects of the *Kulturkampf* meant that up until 1890 no German Catholic missionaries were present in Cameroon. Thanks partly to the efforts of Windthorst and the Centre Party the Pallottine Mission was granted a right to missionize in the territory. This was on condition that its workers be German citizens and that its executive authority remain in the colony, rather than being controlled by the Vatican in Rome.^{xx} Heinrich Vieter was appointed by Pope Leo XIII as Apostolic Prefect for the Cameroon mission and the first eight missionaries arrived in Cameroon in October 1890. Like the Benedictines the Pallottines similarly understood the importance of spreading German culture as well as simply evangelizing.^{xxi} This was likely partly a response to the impact of the *Kulturkampf*, but men such as Vieter were also nationally minded.^{xxii} From the beginning the Pallottines put an emphasis on education, whether through schools or vocational training as a means to win converts and to demonstrate their patriotism. Their strategic adoption of German as the language of instruction in their schools, contrasted with the rival Basel mission, and successfully won them favour with the authorities.^{xxiii} Equally, young Cameroonians were targeted by the Pallottines because of their belief that it would be far harder to convert adults on account of the prevailing practice of polygamy in the protectorate.^{xxiv} For the

Pallottines, like the Baslers, polygamous relationships excluded individuals from receiving baptism.

Pallottine involvement in educating young Africans soon extended beyond Cameroon. Once the mission was given state permission to establish a base in Germany its motherhouse in Limburg an der Lahn became a more logical destination than St Ottilien for Cameroonians migrating under the auspices of the Catholic mission.^{xxv} And; within a year of its opening in 1892 the first four youngsters had arrived. Yet for much of the German colonial period the mission suffered from a chronic lack of funds and missionaries, which greatly hindered them in their endeavours. Raising funds from private donors was an absolute necessity for the Pallottines and as we will see later they employed inventive means to do so.

Educational Migrants and Mission: Push and Pull Factors

From 1888 to 1916 sixteen Africans, fourteen from Cameroon, aged from around six to sixteen years old arrived to spend time being educated or trained at the Catholic mission houses; four were based at St Ottilien, the others were at Limburg. On at least one occasion missionary plans to bring further Cameroonian youngsters to Limburg were blocked by Vieter because of a lack of funds.^{xxvi} On behalf of the colonial authorities, the Pallottines were also involved in recruiting African members of their mission, who were to serve as language assistants at the Seminar for Oriental Languages in Berlin - a sign of the positive relationship the mission enjoyed with the authorities.^{xxvii} Of all the educational migrants only one, Katharina Atangana, was a young woman.^{xxviii} The Cameroonians were all from elite families as was the Liberian Dagwe, while the Sudanese Hassi was a rescued slave.^{xxix} Early Cameroonian arrivals came from Douala, Kribi and Toko (Marienberg), while later

visitors came from Bali and in Katharina's case, Yaoundé; all either areas of importance to the Catholic missionizing enterprise or areas into which they hoped to expand.

In the case of the Cameroonians their migration to Germany was at the request and likely also the expense (at least in part) of their parents. A contract from April 1893 between the Duala notable Fred Mukuri and the Pallottine missionary Georg Walter committed Mukuri to paying for the travel costs to and from Germany for his son Mundi ma Lobe, as well as living costs of 300-400M a year.^{xxx} This was a considerable sum given that a German worker earned an average of just over 650 Marks in 1890.^{xxxi} In return the mission was to provide Mundi with a decent elementary education as well as training in unspecified business branches of the mission. This likely meant that he would undertake an apprenticeship as a craftsman; later arrivals in Limburg were trained in trades such as shoemaking and carpentry.^{xxxii} These were elements of the 'cultural capital' and training skills parents anticipated that their children would gain in Germany, which would be of benefit to them upon their return. Mukuri anticipated that his 10-year-old son would spend seven years with the Pallottines and a later letter sent to Limburg, inquiring as to his son's behaviour and progress, demonstrates the importance he, like other parents, placed on this period of education.^{xxxiii} For the missions the emphasis on learning a trade was also about instilling a work ethic in the youngsters. Keeping them busy, according to a member of the Pallottine mission, was 'a good means of relieving them of the innate penchant for doing nothing and lazing around.'^{xxxiv}

The continuing impact of the *Kulturkampf* meant that the education that the St Ottilien youngsters received was initially subject to close scrutiny. In an 1889 report to State

Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Herbert von Bismarck, the then Governor of Cameroon, Julius von Soden, expressed regret that 'from a denominational viewpoint' no protestant institution was willing to take them in. He was, however, comforted by the fact that they were in 'good Christian hands'.^{xxxv} A further report sent to Bismarck from the Imperial Prussian Embassy in Munich vouched for Amrhein's character and stressed that the youngsters would not be subjected to a one-sided dogmatic education.^{xxxvi} Instead, as in Limburg the focus was on practical skills and Mbange Akwa and Timba both undertook apprenticeships as baker and shoemaker respectively.^{xxxvii} These reports appear to have allayed all fears concerning their education and it is noticeable that by the time the first youngsters arrived in Limburg in 1892 neither the administration in Cameroon nor the authorities in Germany expressed any concern about them being trained in a Catholic institution. Whether this was a reflection of the generally positive relationship between the Catholic missions and the German administrations in the colonies or of improving Catholic-state relations in Germany itself is unclear.

Supporting the educational migration of elite Africans brought a number of advantages for the Pallottines. All the European missions were dependent on the goodwill of indigenous leaders in order to set up a base among local populations; to gain access to land, buildings and people. It was in the small town of Toko near the Sanaga River and fifty kilometers south of Douala that the Pallottines had one of their first successes in being granted space to construct a school. The local leader, King Toko, from whom the land was purchased, was eventually persuaded to send two of his sons to the school and one, Andreas, was sent to Germany shortly after.^{xxxviii} In March 1905, when the mission was looking to make inroads amongst the Grassland Bali population, Vieter stressed to superiors the importance of

responding positively to a request that three grandsons of the influential paramount Garega be educated in Limburg.^{xxxix} As Vieter noted these boys would be the future leaders of the Bali and if the Pallottines did not accede to the request, rival missions would jump at the chance. The request itself had been made through the Catholic banker and founding member of the West African Plantation Society Max Esser, with whom Garega had already established a fruitful economic partnership.^{xl} As a further incentive to support Garega's request, Esser offered to gift the mission substantial amounts of land in and around Victoria where a catechist school and chapel could be built. The three Bali youngsters duly arrived in Limburg months later.

Additionally, in order to sustain success, given their shortage of manpower and financial resources, it was clear for the Pallottines in particular that they would need indigenous teachers and preachers who could support them in their proselytising efforts. It was hoped that the training of youngsters in Limburg and St Ottilien would create lifelong bonds to the Catholic Church and that the youngsters would serve the church in some capacity up their return. Vieter argued that a reasonably good upbringing of the Bali youngsters in Germany would ultimately serve to introduce Christianity to the region. With time, however, a further potential advantage also began to appear - that of utilising educational migrants as a potential propaganda resource in order to secure funds.

Ceremony and Spectacle

Amrhein's decision to take both Mbangé and Dagwe with him to the Freiburg General Assembly could be described as a publicity stunt designed to promote the importance of Catholic missionary work as well as to demonstrate the early fruits of missionary labour to

members of the Catholic elite who were in attendance. From the late 1880s until the immediate pre-war period both the Pallottines and Benedictines utilised African migrants at a variety of public and private events in order to promote the significance and success of their work as well as to celebrate the abilities of their African students. In January 1906, for example, to mark the Kaiser's birthday the Pallottines held a patriotic festival at their motherhouse. The main speaker, Father Romuald Laqua, took as the focus of his address precisely the issue as to whether it was possible to civilise Africans and to educate them to be loyal German subjects.^{xli} Drawing on reports of missionaries and civil servants Laqua told the 'large' and 'select' audience that this was certainly achievable. According to a local newspaper report, as visible proof of Laqua's conviction the Cameroonian youngster and Pallottine student Martin Mbange then followed and in 'faultless' German he proceeded to congratulate the Kaiser on his birthday in the name of his catholic kinsmen in Cameroon.^{xlii} He described to the audience in detail how the festival would be celebrated in his homeland before finishing with a poem in his native language of Duala, which he translated into German. It would not have been lost on the listeners that Martin was soon to return to Cameroon to work as teacher in the service of the Pallottines; a job which would require him to educate the next generation of Africans to be loyal colonial subjects.^{xliii} The festival, therefore, served to both underscore Catholic patriotism and to reinforce the message of the importance of the mission's work. This was further reiterated by the final speaker Father Kolb. Raising awareness of missionary success was also a means of seeking financial support from the privileged audience.

Greater public spectacle was reserved for ceremonies marking religious milestones in the lives of the young Africans. These ceremonies were frequently carried out by senior

members of the Catholic Church, a sign of the weight placed on them. Of equal significance, prominent Catholics were won over to play the role of the youngsters' godparents. Having requested entry into the Catholic faith, on 6 January 1889 Mbange Akwa's baptism, the first of an African convert to Catholicism to take place in Germany, was held to mark the Festival of the Three Kings.^{xliv} It was so well-attended that it had to be moved from the Benedictines' own chapel to the larger, nearby parish church. Amongst those in attendance was the writer Emilie Ringseis, Mbanga's godmother. The Ringseis family was part of the Munich Catholic intellectual elite and both Emilie and her sister Bettina, also a writer and poet, were benefactors of the Benedictine mission.^{xlv} Also present was Windthorst, who fulfilled his promise to be godfather to the Cameroonian. Mbange was baptised Andreas Ludwig Maria Johann, taking on the names of the founder of St Ottilien, Amrhein, Windthorst's Christian name and the name of Ringseis' father, along with the name of Mary, mother of God. The ceremony was performed by the Vatican ambassador Giovanni Battista Guidi and even Pope Leo XIII in Rome was sent a report of the event. Timba, Dagwe, and Hasi - the other youngsters at St Ottilien, soon followed Mbange in requesting baptism. Their ceremonies were similarly spectacular and also clear, displays of missionary success.^{xlvi} Hasi's baptism was carried out by another Vatican ambassador, Antonio Agliardi, in a 'packed' Theatinerkirche in Munich and in front of a 'distinguished audience'; his godfather was the Royal Chamberlain Karl Graf von Drechsel-Deufstetten.^{xlvii}

Religious ceremonies celebrated in Limburg were no less impressive. On 3 November 1893 Mundi ma Lobe was baptised in Limburg cathedral by the canon Wilhelm Tripp.^{xlviii} In front of a large audience composing members of all 'classes and confessions' he asked to take the name Franz Peter Claver. Mundi's choice of name served not only to honour his godfather,

the District Administrator (*Landrat*) Graf Franz von Brühl, but also the Jesuit Saint Peter Claver (1580-1654) who had recently been canonised in recognition of his work among slaves and people of African heritage in present day Colombia. Given the continued ban on Jesuits throughout the German empire, the choice of name must have been provocative. At the same time it linked in with a longer Catholic tradition of work among people of African heritage. Once again the baptism attracted a number of influential members of Germany's Catholic elite which also included Mundi's godmother Franziska Gräfin von Hatzfeldt, wife of the senior military official Colonel General von Loë. The occasion enabled Tripp to stress the intellectual abilities of the Cameroonian youngsters in Limburg as well as their spiritual development. Mundi proceeded to demonstrate both by delivering his profession of faith in German. Just over seven months later the Pallottines invited friends and financial supporters of the mission to celebrate Josef Mandene and Peter Mungilis' first Holy Communion in their chapel.^{xlix} This too was a well-attended event and over the course of the day a number of the mission's supporters took the opportunity to personally congratulate the two boys.

The missionaries were aware of the impact that the young Africans' presence had on those they came into contact with. The St Ottilien youngsters often accompanied missionary representatives to private meetings with members of high society. This was specifically with the intention of demonstrating the value of missionary work and challenging 'the myth that blacks were half-monkeys, incapable of being civilised.'^l During such encounters the youngsters were expected to be well behaved, well-dressed and display good table manners. A retrospective report suggests that dignitaries were duly impressed by the behaviour and mastery of the German language that the Africans displayed.^{li} In particular, the prominent

politician and Chairman of the Bavarian Council of Ministers, *Freiherr* Johann von Lutz, was said to have greatly enjoyed meetings with them.^{lii}

Publicity and Propaganda

Over the course of the nineteenth century a central means of promoting European overseas missionary enterprise to a domestic audience was through the production of periodicals.

These were used to justify efforts, garner support and to appeal for funds.^{liii} Both the Benedictines and the Pallottines were quick to realise the value of the printed word. Public events at which the African students were present were reported on in detail in publications like the Benedictines' *Missionsblätter* and the Pallottines' *Stern von Afrika* as well as its half-yearly reports. Updates on their progress was a further means of propaganda, which enabled the missions to reach an audience extending beyond those who actually came into contact with them. This coverage was aimed at benefactors, supporters, and friends of the missions of all ages. Only those who made a financial contribution to the Cameroon mission, starting at a minimum of 2 Marks a year in 1894, received a copy of *Stern*, which already had a monthly distribution of 10 000 copies by the end of the same year.^{liv} Pallottine publications in particular stressed the importance of giving charity. Their pages regularly featured articles with titles such as 'What value do missionary alms have before God?' or articles which provided stories of the financial sacrifices individuals were prepared to make for the Cameroonian mission.^{lv} Invariably details as to how readers could contribute were to be found in the various publications and there were many ways and means this could be done. For example, while members of the Catholic elite acted as godparents for Cameroonians in Germany, ordinary Catholics could be godparents to converts in Cameroon itself or they could provide baptismal presents for new converts. According to a list from

November 1895 the recent convert Peter Tonguanjaka's godmother was to be the widow Engel in Bernkastel, Rhineland.^{lvi} This was more than simply about giving 'alms'; it served to produce one-to-one relationships (mainly imaginary) that implied a level of empathy. The message was clear; everyone and anyone could help and great spiritual rewards awaited those that did so.

Missionary publications also contributed to the development of representations of black people. Stories about the youngsters typically emphasised that it was only through the work of the mission that they were rescued from heathenism and ignorance.^{lvii} A report on Mundi ma Lobe's baptism claimed that he was now free from the 'curse of God' unlike his contemporaries in Cameroon who remained in darkness.^{lviii} Indeed, regularly Cameroon and Africa in general was depicted as a godless place or as one dominated by Islam.^{lix} Bringing the word of God to Africa required great sacrifices on behalf of the missionaries. In turn, this required financial sacrifice on behalf of readers. Here, more typical negative depictions of primitive and childlike Africans were deployed. For readers, however, Mundi and his companions, served as an example of what could be achieved through missionary work, resource permitting; not only had he dedicated his life to God, but he and the other Limburg youngsters were showing intellectual promise under Pallottine guidance. Thus, through conversion the youngsters were spiritually saved and through missionary education they were civilised. Images and stories about the Limburg youngsters were not only publicised in Pallottine materials, but they were also published in other Catholic missionary journals as a further means of broadcasting the Pallottines' work. *Echo aus Afrika*, issued by the Austrian based mission the Sisters of the Holy Petrus Claver, brought news about Mundi's upcoming

baptism.^{lx} Given his chosen baptismal name the article called upon readers to contribute funds for either a small baptism present or to support his further education.

Benedictine publications similarly publicised the intellectual and spiritual development of the St Ottilien youngsters. For example, an 1889 article from *Heidenkind* - a publication aimed at young Catholics - praised the academic progress in reading, writing and maths, the hunger to learn, studiousness, and especially the attention and assiduousness in religious instruction demonstrated by the African students.^{lxi} The article concluded that the youngsters' behaviour could serve as a good example for many German children. This notion that the behaviour of African youngsters, both those in St Ottilien and Limburg, could provide an example for Germans, both young and old, was repeated in a couple of articles.^{lxii} Later articles kept readers up to date about the great strides Mbangé Akwa was making in his apprenticeship as a baker, Timba's ability to make shoes all by himself, and Dagwe's work experience with a local company.^{lxiii} In addition, readers were informed how devout the youngsters were.

Visible evidence of the transformation the youngsters were undergoing was provided in the form of photographs of them in European dress. **(IMAGE 1: Limburg Youngsters)** In the colonial arena European style clothing distinguished members of the European missions from their contemporaries, although increasingly in places such as Douala it also became a form of fashion.^{lxiv} For the domestic audience, however, for whom these images were intended here was further proof of the ability of the missions to save and civilise. Such photographs clearly contrasted with more dominant representations of black people. Ethnographic exhibitions frequently featured semi-naked black participants in what was

promoted as 'traditional dress'. As proof of the Africans' intellectual development, *Stern von Afrika* intermittently reproduced examples of their written work in German. Its pages featured letters and essays, composed by the students both during and after their time in Limburg.^{lxv} Editorial comments typically stressed that such work had not been edited and they invited readers to judge for themselves the progress made by students. A private letter from Andreas Toko from 1900 was accompanied by the following comments: 'The reader might like to see from this [the letter] that the black race is clearly capable of being educated, but only if this is started correctly.'^{lxvi}

Toko wrote of his return to Cameroon, alluding to the parable of the lost son when describing reaching his village: 'And I was treated as a son, who had been lost for a long time, but was now found again.' An eight day celebration was held to mark his return. Readers were informed that 'At the end of March I joined up again with the mission and I am now working in the school of my compatriots.' He concluded: 'I put my faith completely in the hands of God, who will direct everything in a wondrous manner...Your grateful former student.' Toko's choice of words and the content of his letter demonstrated his commitment to the church. In turn this served to help reinforce the image of missionary success, which the Pallottines were promoting; suggesting that the time, money and effort spent on his education had paid off.

Published letters from Toko's contemporary Josef Mandene to missionaries in Germany similarly demonstrated that Africans trained in Limburg remained active within the mission.^{lxvii} In his early letters Mandene chose to write about his family life and working as a teacher in the mission's schools.^{lxviii} While this likely began as private correspondence, it is

clear that he was aware that his words were being reproduced in *Stern* and there was a shift in the tone, content, and language he employed. In subsequent letters he made emotional appeals for aid and expressed his frustration at the lack of resources to support the missionary cause in general. This not only suited Pallottine propaganda purposes, but it provided Mandene with a forum to appeal directly to *Stern* readers, asking them for financial contributions or equipment for school children in his own district of Marienberg. 'I suppose there must be people in Germany who do not believe what the missionaries write about the mission in *Stern von Afrika* otherwise they would provide more support for this.'^{lxi} In a further letter he asked for readers to provide musical instruments for his school, pleading: 'Where are the good people in Germany? Do they not want to help the mission anymore?'^{lxx}

Perhaps unsurprisingly in all these reports there was little mention of the more negative experiences that many other contemporary Africans encountered while in Germany such as prejudice, isolation, heavy handed control from European guardians, and frustrated expectations. Instead, the articles typically offered a distinctly one-sided and idealistic view of their experiences, progress and personalities. This was underlined in a later commentary on the coverage of the St Ottilien youngsters by the Benedictine Father, Dominicus Enshoff.^{lxxi} Following Mbange Akwa's death in 1932 a special article about his life was being planned by the Pallottines for whom Mbange had worked once back in Cameroon.^{lxxii} Enshoff had known the Africans at St Ottilien personally and he was asked to produce material for the article. He suggested that earlier stories about them were not always objective and that they had painted an overly idealised picture. In particular, coverage in *Heidenkind* was described as being a 'typical example of the propagation of myth-making'

and he argued that Mbangé was being projected as a hero. Although Enshoff's personal recollections, which were partly reproduced in a further commemorative article, also emphasised the youngsters' considerable abilities, especially those of Mbangé, he was less guarded in expressing his opinions.^{lxxiii} As a new member of the order Enshoff recalled taking his place at the dinner table next to the Africans and he remembered being put off his food by their body odour. He commented that 'it required a special self-exhortation not to find this preliminary test (sitting next to the Africans) too difficult'. He immediately qualified this remark by claiming that he soon became accustomed to the smell. Mbangé's ability to make bread, praised in *Heidenkind*, was downplayed, while Dagwe was deemed to be self-confident, with a tendency to ignore anything that did not interest him. More critical were Enshoff's recollections of Timba who he dismissed as being 'conniving' and of a 'dubious' character. Needless to say such critical comments were not reproduced in contemporary coverage.^{lxxiv}

Nonetheless, a number of these articles can also be read as more than simply propaganda and examples of patronising paternalism. They evince a genuine sense of pride in the abilities and progress toward church-defined goals made by the young Africans as well as the genuine affection that missionaries had for their charges. This can best be seen in a moving report on the death of the Bali youngster Josef Sama, entitled 'The first Catholic from the Bali tribe'.^{lxxv} **(IMAGE 2: Sama)** Sama died of tuberculosis in 1907 after two years in Limburg and the article expressed great sadness at his early death. It hints at Sama's suffering during his illness and praises his religious conviction; he had requested and received baptism shortly before succumbing to his illness. The author reported that those present as Sama received Holy Communion, days before his death, were moved to tears.

Undoubtedly, sections of the article are written in idealised manner; the strength of Sama's faith is stressed throughout and this is contrasted with the 'heathen environment' from which he came. Indeed, initially the Pallottines had delayed in granting Sama his wish to be baptised, a cause of great distress to the youngster, in case he recovered enough to return to Bali. They were concerned that in the 'sorry state of his homeland', where there was no Catholic mission, his faith would soon lapse. The author also made a point of mentioning the generosity of an unnamed sponsor (likely Max Esser), whose money had helped pay for the education of Sama and his 'brothers'. As a sign of the genuine fondness the missionaries had for him it is worth noting that while Sama was buried in the town cemetery, when the Pallottines' own cemetery was opened years later, he was reburied there along with another dozen members of the mission.

Paul Ndumbe-Kone, Heinrich Vieter's 'Pupil'

Perhaps one of the most remarkable examples of young Africans participating in propaganda campaigns can be seen in the fundraising activities of the head of the Pallottine Mission in Cameroon, Heinrich Vieter. Over the course of 1903-04 Vieter undertook a propaganda tour of German-speaking Europe and beyond in order to raise awareness and, more importantly, badly needed funds for Pallottine efforts in Cameroon. During this he was accompanied by the 10-year old Duala Paul Ndumbe Kone who, in private meetings with Catholic Europe's elite, served as proof of both Pallottine endeavours and African abilities.

Vieter returned to Germany in September 1903 with Paul, a member of the mission, who had undergone preparatory training for his visit to Germany. A month later the pair was in Rome for the second meeting of the General Chapter of the Pallottine Congregation, where

Vieter reported on the progress of the Cameroon mission. His position within the Congregation was embattled. He was keenly aware of the acute personnel and financial problems the mission faced in Cameroon.^{lxxvi} As a consequence he had stood resolutely against plans to expand Pallottine missionary interests to Australia. This had brought him into conflict with sections of the Pallottine and papal hierarchy. His decision to take Paul to Rome with him could be read as a publicity stunt, in a similar vein to Amrhein's appearance in Freiburg with Mbangwe and Dagwe. Paul personified the success of missionary work, but he also served as an example of the importance of committing further resources to the mission in Cameroon.

Vieter and Paul were invited for a private audience with Pope Pius X which was arranged specially by the Vatican *Propaganda Fide*, the Congregation of the Holy See responsible for missionary activity. This was organized in order to enable Vieter to tell the Holy Father about the mission's work. His thoughts on the meeting, written immediately afterward, depict an intimate audience during which the Pope dispensed with all ceremonial formalities and showed a keen interest in missionary activities.^{lxxvii} Vieter spoke of the disappointments and successes of the Pallottines in Cameroon, and their hopes for the future, while Pius X praised missionary efforts and sacrifices. Vieter took the opportunity to stress the severity of the financial difficulties the Pallottines continually faced: without the contribution of alms by German Catholics the mission would not be able to continue its good work and it would have been bankrupt long since. At his request, Pius X blessed the mission's donors, while also regretfully making clear that the *Propaganda Fide* was not in a position to provide financial support. The Pope was also greatly interested in Paul's development. He took Paul's head in his hands and asked whether Paul was baptised and

well behaved. Before leaving, both Paul and Vieter were presented with small gifts from the Holy Father and both were allowed the honour of kissing the Pope's hand and feet.

It is impossible to know what impact, if any, this audience had on securing future papal support for the Pallottine mission, but Vieter's report suggested that the Pope was both impressed by Pallottine efforts and that he genuinely wanted to see them succeed. Vieter's successor Franziskus Hennemann later described Pius X as an 'eager supporter' of the mission.^{lxxviii} The audience ended with Pius X expressing a desire to meet Vieter again to hear more about the mission. Just over a year later the mission's status was raised to an Apostolic vicariate and Vieter was named the first Bishop of Cameroon. Although it is unlikely that there was a direct causal link between this and Vieter and Paul's visit, Pius X was ultimately responsible for confirming this elevation.

Paul also accompanied Vieter through southern Germany, Switzerland and Austria and his presence appears to have been of benefit during a visit to Vienna, in helping Vieter to gain access to and support from members of the Austrian royal family. Princess Valerie, daughter of the Emperor, donated money and gave the pair lunch, while Princess Maria Josepha of Saxony, mother of the future Austrian Emperor Karl I, provided them with use of her carriage, donated a small sum to the mission, and also invited the pair to lunch.^{lxxix} She was apparently so fond of Paul that she had him spend several afternoons in her company. During this time she painted his portrait, though Paul was not impressed with the result!^{lxxx}

Maria Josepha commanded her court lady Countess Zamoyska to provide help in the form of letters of recommendation to other European royals. She also provided Vieter with stamped

addressed envelopes to send to potential sponsors.^{lxxxix} In these Vieter placed brief appeals for financial help. The letters themselves were written on headed paper featuring an image of Vieter, sitting, and Paul standing behind him, hands on Vieter's chair, wearing European dress.^{lxxxii} **(IMAGE 3: Vieter and Paul)** The composition clearly reinforces power hierarchies and is reminiscent of similar images from the period depicting colonial officials with their servants.^{lxxxiii} The caption below described Paul as Vieter's pupil. On the reverse side of the paper was a brief introduction to Cameroon and a history of the Pallottine mission's work; emphasising the sacrifices made by missionaries - the loss of lives, through tropical diseases, and the costs entailed trying to combat this. Vieter had apparently decided upon the use of the headed paper following advice from a Jesuit colleague.^{lxxxiv} Here was a more exploitative and strategic use of the young Cameroonian in the service of the mission.

While Vieter was successful in securing small contributions on almost all stops of his tour, overall the funds accumulated only amounted to a meagre sum. It is telling that in letters to colleagues in Limburg he wrote that he felt the time and effort expended was for little gain.^{lxxxv} The elevation in the status of the Pallottine Mission and Vieter's confirmation as Bishop of Cameroon in December 1904 must have been at least some consolation. An 'incomparable celebration' was staged in Limburg cathedral a month later to mark the occasion, which was attended by high ranking members of the Catholic clergy as well as sponsors of the mission.^{lxxxvi} Amongst all the key speakers at the event was Paul who in 'clear, fluent German' told a 'spirited welcoming poem'.

African Youngsters in the Service of the Mission

The available archival material provides little first-hand evidence about these African youngsters' experiences of Germany or how they felt about being presented in both public and private as 'civilised Africans' to white audiences. This contrasts with recent work on African participants in ethnographic exhibitions in Germany which has demonstrated how some black men and women developed strategies of self-representation to 'stage their own personalities' for white audiences, even within the racialised confines of such exhibitions.^{lxxxvii} Most of the written materials the African students have left behind were produced after their return to Africa and relate more to their continued work within missionary circles. It is, however, worthwhile taking into consideration the ages of the youngsters, some of whom were as young as six upon arrival, and it may be suggested that they might not have known or have cared about the way they were, at times, being instrumentalised, or even that they were willing participants.

According to Enshoff, Timba, Mbangé, and Dagwe looked forward to the 'good things' associated with public and private appearances - wearing good clothes and eating good food; this was incentive enough for them to 'make an effort'. And; if they did not behave as expected they were to stay at home for the next meeting. There is also a sense that youngsters themselves liked challenging existing perceptions about black people by demonstrating their abilities and seeing the surprise of their audience. When Mbangé was asked to talk in his mother tongue he instead chose to impress guests with his command of the German language.^{lxxxviii} For the young Africans, their period of stay in Europe offered up new opportunities and excitement, which included such appearances. On his tour with Vieter, Paul Ndumbe 'soon had a good friend in every town' the pair stopped in and for Paul one of the highlights of visiting Vienna was playing with the 9-year-old Archduke Maximilian

Eugen.^{lxxxix} At the same time his constant comparing of 'beautiful Cameroon' to 'dark Germany', which drove Vieter to distraction, is suggestive of homesickness.^{xc}

Correspondence with friends and family back home helped somewhat to combat this, so did the friendships that the youngsters struck up with one another. Surviving private letters suggest that back in Cameroon the youngsters continued to keep in touch.^{xc}

The bonds formed in Germany between the youngsters and their missionary guardians also appear to have been strong. This is demonstrated particularly by the unpublished letters that they sent back to Germany to missionaries and friends. Four years after leaving Germany Andreas Toko wrote with a sense of 'longing' to his former mentor in Limburg, Father Kugelmann, that he 'would still very much like to see Germany again, and if it is possible, to continue my education.'^{xcii} Later he congratulated Kugelmann on his appointment as Rector General of the Pallottine Society.^{xciii} Josef Fomban wrote to his 'dear Godfather', thanking him for his 'dear letter' and telling him of the progress he was making at the Pallottine seminary in Cameroon. As a further sign of affection he signed himself off as 'Your grateful black son'.^{xciv} Mundi ma Lobe, who graduated to the Pallottines' seminary in Ehrenbreitstein near Koblenz, wrote back to Limburg that 'my heart is really very sad and I miss home (Limburg)'.^{xcv} In contrast to the comfortable and caring atmosphere in Limburg and the strong relationships he had developed there, Mundi was shocked by the use of physical force and verbal abuse to keep older students in line at the seminary.

Almost all of the Catholic mission-educated migrants who returned to Africa pre-1914 remained, at least initially, within Catholic missionary circles; working as teachers in local missionary schools, translators for the mission or undertaking further study at missionary

seminaries. Reintegrating into the strict racial hierarchy of the colonial setting was, however, not easy nor was combining traditional customs and practices with the religious commitment expected by the mission. Toko, a committed Catholic, was concerned that while many of his brothers and sisters were now baptised his father remained a heathen; King Toko wanted to be baptised, but he was unwilling to restrict himself to having just one wife.^{xcvi} After working as a teacher in a mission school Peter Mungeli broke with the Pallottines because they would not sanction his polygamous relationship.^{xcvii} Timba too, had a strained relationship with the Pallottines. He temporarily left the mission and spent time in prison before apparently returning to the fold.^{xcviii} Vieter had high hopes of Toko becoming the first Cameroonian priest.^{xcix} At times Toko himself was unsure of this and he felt more comfortable in the role of teacher.^c Like Sama, however, he died before he could fulfil his potential. Nonetheless, over the longer term, several of the educational migrants like Andreas Mbangé dedicated their lives to the dissemination of the Catholic message.

Conclusion

Catholic involvement in African educational migration to Germany during the Imperial period was conceived of originally as a means of disseminating the Catholic message in Germany's new overseas African territories. From the very beginning, however, it was clear to the Benedictines and the Pallottines that the presence of the youngsters stirred popular interest. There was already a degree of staging to the arrival of the first youngsters in Limburg with 'a large crowd of curious onlookers' greeting them at the local train station just after midnight and walking them to the mission house which was decorated with wreaths, flags and paper lanterns to mark the occasion.^{ci} The missions sought to mobilise this interest as a means of propagating and legitimising the importance of missionary work

to a domestic audience. At public and private events and ceremonies and in the pages of missionary publications the youngsters were presented as visible proof that Africans could be civilised, through missionary guidance, and that at a basic level they could appropriate German cultural norms. In doing so the missions hoped to secure both political and financial support from amongst German-speaking Catholics. While members of the elite had more readily access to the youngsters thanks to their status and their contributions, ordinary Catholics could, through missionary coverage, engage in an imagined relationship. This was not simply about propaganda, however, and it is clear that the missionaries themselves were proud of their students' achievements. Coverage of these was a way of raising public consciousness about African abilities and challenging existing stereotypes of the primitive or savage African, which were more prevalent in German culture. This demonstrates that notions of blackness were not fixed and that the colonial encounter offered scope for more positive responses to interactions with black people. For elite African families and the youngsters themselves the mission offered a possible migration route to Germany and ready-made positions within Catholic institutions awaited the youngsters upon return to the colony. Negotiating a relationship with their guardians and the Catholic Church in these challenging circumstances was not easy, but the available archival material suggests that relationships were largely positive. For some it was the beginning of a life dedicated to the Church. And; once the Pallottines were forced to leave Cameroon during the First World War it was men like Mbange and Mandene who kept up the Catholic missionary cause and kept Catholic mission schools running in the absence of European missionaries.

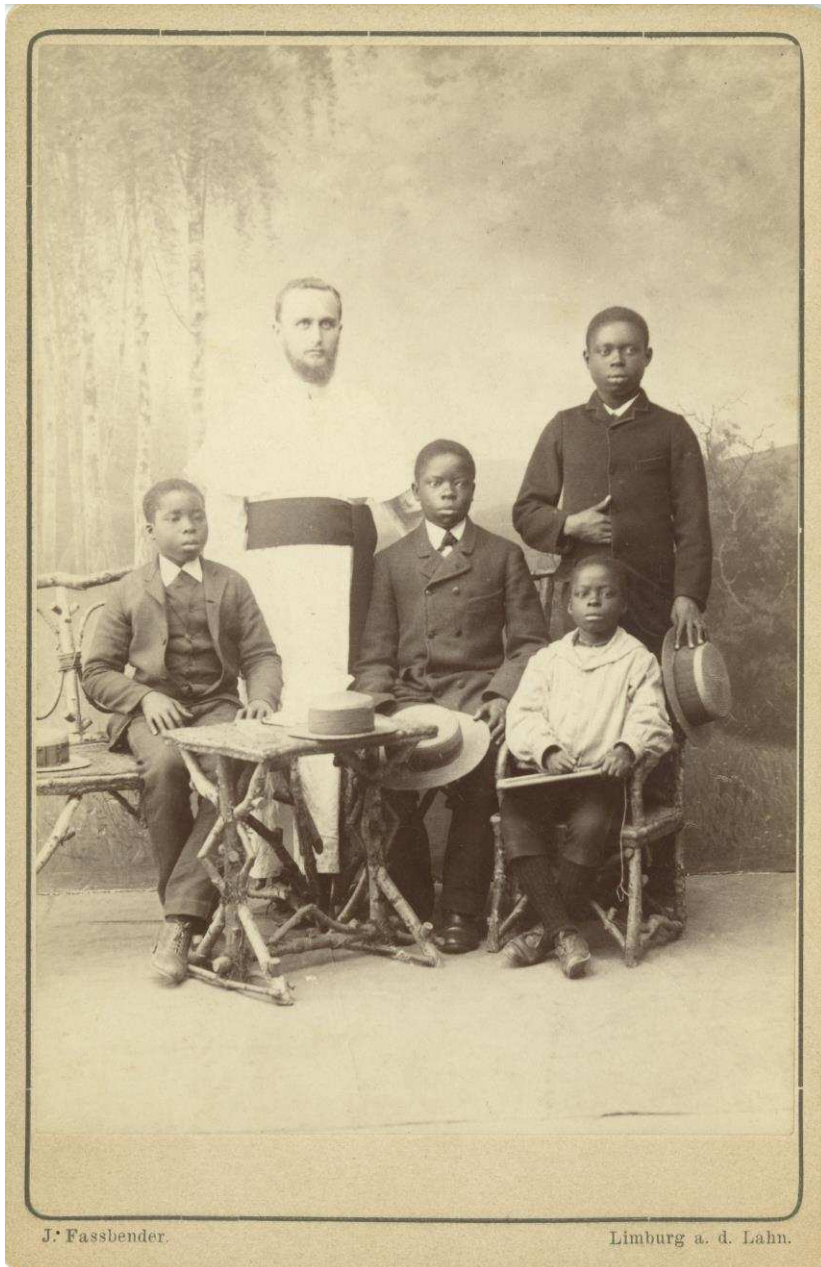


Figure 1: Pastor Georg Walter with Cameroonian students. Left to right, Mundi ma Lobe, Peter Mungili, Josef Mandene and Andreas Toko (sitting).
Source: Provinzarchiv der Pallottiner, Limburg an der Lahn (PAP), U.k.-200379. Reproduced in *Halbjähriger Bericht*, 1 (1893), n.p.



Figure 2: Josef Sama, 'Der erste Katholik aus dem Bali-Stamm (Kamerun)'.
Source: *Stern von Afrika*, 14, 8 (1907), p. 123.



Figure 3: Heinrich Vieter with Paul Ndumbe, Original Image 1904. Source: PAP, URL.3 1.1.

ⁱ I would like to thank friends and colleagues Peter Cain, Barbara Bush, Niels Petersson, Laura Tabili and Eve Rosenhaft for their helpful comments on various versions of this article. I am also grateful to the comments of the anonymous *German History* reviewers for their constructive criticism. Georg Adams of the Pallottine missionary archive in Limburg patiently dealt with my requests for documents and he was extremely helpful in providing photographic material. Katharina Müller also assisted in hunting down material. Finally, I am indebted to the Leverhulme Trust for their support for the migration history workshop at Sheffield Hallam University on 10th May 2013 at which this paper was first presented and discussed.

ⁱⁱ See reports in *Breisgauer Zeitung*, 8 September 1888; *Freiburger Zeitung*, 12 September 1888, p. 3; *Staufener Wochenblatt*, 13 September 1888, p. 1.

ⁱⁱⁱ The image is reproduced in Eduard Hüsgen, *Lüdwig Windthorst. Sein Leben, sein Wirken* (Cologne, 1911), p. 296.

^{iv} For Windthorst's speeches see, 'Dritte geschlossene General-Versammlung' and 'Vierte öffentliche General-Versammlung', both in *Verhandlungen der XXXV. General-Versammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands zu Freiburg im Breisgau vom 2. bis 6. September 1888* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1888), pp. 185-88, 316-33.

^v 'Vierte öffentliche General-Versammlung', p. 327.

^{vi} Amrhein to The Minister of Religious and Educational Affairs, Freiherr von Lutz, 18 December 1884, reproduced in Father Kevin Haule, 'Mission und *Kolonialherrschaft*: With Special Reference to the German Benedictine Missions in Southern Tanzania', workshop paper on the 100th Anniversary of Maji Maji War, Wuppertal 5 November 2005, available at http://www.majimaji.de/download/Themen/Maji/2005_11_6_Wuppertal_Haule.pdf, accessed 17 March 2014.

^{vii} Armin Owzar, 'The Image of Islam in German Missionary Periodicals, 1870-1930: A "Green Peril" in Africa', in Felicity Jenz and Hanna Acke (eds.), *Missions and Media: The Politics of Missionary Periodicals in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Stuttgart, 2013), pp.133-50. Also, Holger Weiss, 'German Images of Islam in West Africa', *Sudanic Africa*, 11 (2000), 53-93.

^{viii} 'Die Nothwendigkeit der Christianisierung Kameruns', *Halbjähriger Bericht*, 1 (1893), p. 1.

^{ix} Sander L. Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany* (Boston, 1982); Rheinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (eds.), *Blacks and German Culture: Essays* (Madison, 1986).

^x Among many others see, David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge MA, 2011); Jeff Bowersox, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire: Youth and Colonial Culture, 1871-1914* (Oxford, 2013); Frank Oliver Sobich, *"Schwarze Bestien, rote Gefahr": Rassismus und Antisozialismus im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006); Volker Langbehn (ed.), *German Colonialism, Visual Culture, and Modern Memory* (London, 2010). On ethnographic exhibitions see, Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 2001).

^{xi} Amongst others see, Ulrich van der Heyden and Heike Liebau (eds.), *Missionsgeschichte, Kirchengeschichte, Weltgeschichte. Christliche Missionen im Kontext nationaler Entwicklungen in Afrika, Asien und Ozeanien*, (Stuttgart, 1996); Ulrich van der Heyden and Holger Stoecker (eds.), *Mission und Macht im Wandel politischer Orientierungen Europäische Missionsgesellschaften in politischen Spannungsfeldern in Afrika und Asien zwischen 1800 und 1945* (Stuttgart, 2005). Aside from a short biographical piece on Mbange Akwa work on the involvement of Catholic missions in sponsoring African migration is non-existent. Jean-Paul Messina, *Des temoins camerounais de l'evangile: Andre Kwa Mbange (1873-1932), Pius Otu (1892-1971), Joseph Zoa (1895-1971)* (Yaoundé, 2001).

^{xii} A recent exception to this is, Jenz and Acke (eds.), *Missions and the Media*.

^{xiii} Amongst others see, Alison Twells, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792-1850. The 'Heathen' at Home and Overseas* (Basingstoke, 2009); Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford, 1999); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects. Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Oxford, 2002); Gareth Griffiths, "'Trained to Tell the Truth": Missionaries, Converts, and Narration', in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire: The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 153-72.

^{xiv} This article has been developed from a larger project into the lives of Cameroonian migrants and their children in Germany in the period 1884-1960 now published as Robbie Aitken and Eve Rosenhaft, *Black Germany: The Making and Unmaking of a Diaspora Community* (Cambridge and New York, 2013). On the basis of this research the names and biographical information about over 700 Africans have been recovered: over a third of these originally came from Cameroon.

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- ^{xv} On the precolonial and colonial role of the Duala as intermediaries in European-African relations see Ralph Austen and Jonathan Derrick, *Middlemen of the Cameroons Rivers. The Duala and their Hinterland c. 1600-c. 1960* (Cambridge, 1999).
- ^{xvi} See, Lynn Schler, 'Writing African Women's History with Male Sources: Possibilities and Limitations', *History in Africa*, 31 (2004), pp. 319-33.
- ^{xvii} See Robbie Aitken, 'Education and Migration: Cameroonian Schoolchildren and Apprentices in Germany, 1884-1914', in Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke and Anne Kuhlmann (eds.), *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact* (New York, 2013), pp.223-5; Aitken and Rosenhaft, *Black Germany*, pp. 43-53.
- ^{xviii} Ibid. Also, Eduard Scheve, *Die Mission der deutschen Baptisten in Kamerun (West-Afrika) (von 1884 bis 1901)* (Kassel, 1901).
- ^{xix} Vandenesch Government and School Advisor to the Princely Government President Pilgrim, 27 December 1889, Bundesarchiv Berlin (hereafter BArch) R1001 5571, pp. 41–2
- ^{xx} Kenneth J. Orosz, *Religious Conflict and the Evolution of Language Policy in German and French Cameroon, 1885-1939* (New York, 2008), p. 36
- ^{xxi} Jonas N. Dah, *One Hundred Years Roman Catholic Church in Cameroon (1890-1990)* (Owerri, Nigeria, 1989), p. 9.
- ^{xxii} See, Heinrich Berger, *Mission und Kolonialpolitik: Die katholische Mission in Kamerun während der deutschen Kolonialzeit* (Immensee, Switzerland, 1978), pp. 209-10.
- ^{xxiii} Orosz, *Religious Conflict*, chapter 2.
- ^{xxiv} Berger, *Mission und Kolonialpolitik*, p. 180.
- ^{xxv} On the establishment of the mission house, see Alexander Holzbach, 'Kamerun, Limburg und die Pallottiner', *Informationen für Religionslehrer*, 1 (1988), pp. 10-11.
- ^{xxvi} Heinrich Vieter, '*Die Jugend ist unsere Zukunft*'. *Chronik der katholischen Mission Kamerun, 1890-1913. Band 1.1*, edited Norbert Hannappel (Friedberg, 2011), p. 75.
- ^{xxvii} Vincent Tsala and Joseph Ayisi were both recruited by the Pallottine missionary Hermann Nekes to teach in Germany. On the Seminar see, Sara Pugach, *Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814-1945* (Ann Arbor, 2012).
- ^{xxviii} For more on Katharina Atangana see, Aitken and Rosenhaft, *Black Germany*, pp. 182-5.

^{xxxix} On Hassi see the Imperial German Consul in Milan to the Imperial Chancellor von Caprivi, 1 November 1890, BArch R1001 5571, p. 97.

^{xxx} Contract between Fred Mukuri and P. Walter, 5 April 1893, ZAPP (Zentrales Archiv der Pallottiner Provinz, Limburg), Sig. A.11-313.

^{xxxix} Figure from Gerd Hohorst, Jürgen Kocka, and Gerd Ritter (eds.), *Sozialgeschichtliches Arbeitsbuch II* (Munich, 1978 ed.), pp. 107-8.

^{xxxii} Joseph Fomban and Max Ndifon who were both educated at Limburg are listed as 'cobblers' in the Hamburg Passenger Lists for their return journey to Cameroon; Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 volume 192, p. 1907. Also; Contract between the Pallottine Mission and the Cameroonian Native, Eduard Owane, 24 August 1916, ZAPP, Sig. A.11-297.

^{xxxiii} Fred Mukuri to dear reverend, 6 September 1893, ZAPP, Sig. A.11-313.

^{xxxiv} 'Ankunft eines Missionars aus Kamerun', *Halbjähriger Bericht der katholischen Mission in Kamerun*, 2 (1893), p. 6.

^{xxxv} Von Soden to Herbert von Bismarck, 23 April 1889, BArch 5571, pp. 10-11.

^{xxxvi} Imperial Prussian Legation, Munich to Herbert von Bismarck, 25 July 1889, BArch R1001 5571, pp. 21-2.

^{xxxvii} *Ibid.*

^{xxxviii} Vieter, *'Die Jugend ist unsere Zukunft'*, Band 1.1, p. 34.

^{xxxix} Vieter to Kopf, 7 March 1905, ZAPP, Sig. A.11-286.

^{xl} On Garega's relationship with Esser, E.M Chilver and Ute Röschentaler (eds.), *Cameroon's Tycoon: Max Esser's Expedition and Its Consequences* (New York and Oxford, 2001).

^{xli} Coverage in, 'Können Schwarzen in unseren Kolonien zu treuer Anhänglichkeit an Kaiser und Reich erzogen werden', *Halbjährlicher Bericht*, 26 (1906), pp. 11-12.

^{xlii} *Nassauer Bote* quoted in *ibid.*

^{xliii} That Mbange did take up a teaching post in Douala is confirmed in Franziskus Hennemann, *Werden und Wirken eines Afrika-Missionars* (Limburg (Lahn), 1922), p. 15. For an image of Mbange amongst his pupils see, Anon, *An der Südküste Kameruns; Skissen und Plaudereien aus dem Leben der Schwarzen. Von einem Pallottinermissionar* (Limburg (Lahn), 1914), p. 43.

^{xliv} 'Die Taufe dreier Neger in St Ottilien', *Missionsblätter*, 1 (1888/1889), pp. 586-91

^{xlv} Dale A. Jorgenson, *The Life and Legacy of Franz Xaver Hauser: A Forgotten Leader in the Nineteenth-Century Bach Movement* (Carbondale, 1996), p. 123; Matilda Handl, *Faith-Filled Foremothers: Missionary Benedictine Pioneer Sisters* (Sankt Ottilien, 2012), pp. 20, 33.

^{xlvi} 'Die Taufe zweier Negerknaben in St Ottilien', *Heidenkind*, 1 (1889), p. 181.

^{xlvii} See the report in *Norddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 October 1890, copy in BArch, R1001 5571, p. 98.

^{xlviii} 'Im Missionshaus zu Limburg', *Halbjährlicher Bericht, Juli 1893 bis Dezember 1893*, 2 (1893), p. 2.

^{xlix} 'Die erste heilige Communion der Negerknaben Josef und Peter', *Halbjährlicher Bericht, Juli 1893 bis Dezember 1893*, 2 (1893), pp. 2-3.

^l Dominicus Enshoff to Hermann Nekes, 19 October 1932, ZAPP, Sig. A.11-297.

^{li} *Ibid.*

^{lii} In his role as Minister of Religious and Educational Affairs Lutz had been involved in the drafting and implementing of various aspects of the *Kulturkampf*. His engagement with the order hints at an improvement in the relationship between the Catholic Church and the state in Bavaria. Indeed, he played a role in securing the Benedictines for German East Africa. Hans Joachim Niesel, 'Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen in Deutsch Ostafrika 1890–1914' (Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1971), p. 41; Holger Gast, Antonia Leugers, August H. Leugers-Scherzberg, Uwe Sandfuchs, *Katholische Missionsschulen in Deutschland, 1887–1940* (Bad Heilbrunn, 2010), pp. 23–4.

^{liii} Felicity Jenz and Hanna Acke, 'Introduction', in Jenz and Acke (eds.), *Missions and Media*, pp.9-15, here p.9.

^{liv} Announcement of publication of *Stern von Afrika* (hereafter *Stern*) and financial contribution, in *Halbjährlicher Bericht, Juli bis Dezember 1894*, 4 (1894), p. 10; Statistic in *Stern*, 7/1 (1894), p. 50.

^{lv} For examples, 'Welchen Werth hat das Missions-Almosen vor Gott', *Stern*, 3/1 (1894), pp. 18-19; 'So belohnt Gott das Almosengeben', *Stern*, 5/1 (1894): 6-7; 'Ein Wort aus Herzensgrund an unsere verehrten Beförderer und Mitglieder', *Halbjährlicher Bericht, Dezember 1894 bis Juni 1895*, 5 (1895), pp. 2-3

^{lvi} List of donors, *Stern*, 3/3 (1895), p. 32.

^{lvii} See the comments of Gareth Griffiths on the importance of missionary publications in winning over home audiences, Griffiths, "'Trained to Tell the Truth'", p.154. Also, Festus Ugboaja Ohaegbulam, *Towards an Understanding of the African Experience* (Lanham: MD, 1990), pp. 161-2.

^{lviii} 'Im Missionshaus zu Limburg'.

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- ^{lix} As examples see, 'Die Nothwendigkeit der Christianisierung Kameruns'; Dr. R. Grundemann, 'Islam oder Christenthum in Westafrika', *Stern*, 3/3 (1896), pp. 20-21. Also, Owzar, 'The Image of Islam'.
- ^{lx} 'Verschiedenes: Unser Bild', *Echo aus Afrika*, 9 (1893), pp. 85, 91.
- ^{lxi} 'Die Taufe zweier Negerknaben in St Ottilien', *Heidenkind*, 1/23 (1889), p. 181
- ^{lxii} 'Die Taufe dreier Neger in St Ottilien', p. 589; 'Im Missionshaus zu Limburg'.
- ^{lxiii} A summary of the content of the various articles on the St Ottilien youngsters is found in, Enshoff to Nekes, 19 October 1932.
- ^{lxiv} See critical comments in 'Brief des P.G. Walter', 27 September 1899, *Stern*, 11/6 (1899), pp.171-4.
- ^{lxv} Examples of letters from Toko in *Stern*; 2/8 (1901), p. 29; 8/9 (1902), p. 124; Examples of essays in *Stern*: 'Aus unserer Kameruner Mappe', 1/17 (1910): 11-12, written by Josef Fomban; 'Aufsätze von Missionsschülern', 2/19 (1912), pp. 46-8, written by Josef Sama.
- ^{lxvi} 'Brief des schwarzen Andreas Toko', *Stern*, 2/8 (1901), p. 29.
- ^{lxvii} Curiously the letters written by Mandene make no mention of the fact that he was educated in Limburg.
- ^{lxviii} 'Brief des Katecheten Joseph Mandene in Malimba', *Stern*, 2/11 (1904), p. 30.
- ^{lxix} 'Aus einem Brief des schwarzen Lehrers Joseph Mandene in Marienberg an den Hochw. Herr P. General', *Stern*, 6/11 (1904), p. 91
- ^{lxx} 'Brief des Joseph Mandene', *Stern*, 8/11 (1904), pp. 125-6.
- ^{lxxi} Enshoff to Nekes, 19 October 1932, ZAPP, Sig. A.11-297.
- ^{lxxii} Hermann Nekes, 'Vierzig Jahre im Dienste der Kamerunmission. Zum Tode des schwarzen Lehrers Andreas Mbange', *Stern der Heiden*, 39/12 (1932), pp. 317-23.
- ^{lxxiii} Some of Enshoff's comments were reproduced in, Hermann Nekes, 'Andreas Mbange und seine Gefährten', *Stern der Heiden*, 40-1 (1933), pp. 4-14.
- ^{lxxiv} Enshoff to Nekes, 19 October 1932.
- ^{lxxv} 'Der erste Katholik aus dem Bali-Stamm (Kamerun)', *Stern*, 8/14 (1907), pp. 123-5.
- ^{lxxvi} See Vieter's reflections on his relationship with the Pallottiner hierarchy and with the mission back in Limburg as well as a later commentary on this in Vieter, '*Die Jugend ist unsere Zukunft*', pp. 186-90, 231-40 (volume 1); pp. 391-4 (volume 2).
- ^{lxxvii} Vieter to P. General, 4 November 1903, ZAPP, Sig. A.11-286.

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- ^{lxxxviii} Hennemann, *Werden und Wirken*, p. 161.
- ^{lxxxix} Vieter to Rector Kolb, 14 June 1904, ZAPP, Sig. A.11-286.
- ^{lxxx} Vieter, *'Die Jugend ist unsere Zukunft'*. *Band 1*, p. 195.
- ^{lxxxix} Vieter to Kolb, 14 June 1904.
- ^{lxxxii} As an example see, *ibid.*
- ^{lxxxiii} For a well-known example see the undated image of Karl Peters with an unknown servant available at <http://goo.gl/oOHgqJ> (accessed 6 June 2014).
- ^{lxxxiv} Vieter to Rector Kolb, 25 May 1904, ZAPP, Sig. A.11-286.
- ^{lxxxv} *Ibid.*, and Vieter to Kolb, 14 June 1904.
- ^{lxxxvi} 'Die Erhebung unserer Kameruner Mission zum Apostolischen Vicariat', *Stern von Afrika*, 1 (1905), pp. 17-22.
- ^{lxxxvii} See Albert Gouaffo, 'Prince Dido of Didotown and "Human Zoos" in Wilhelmine Germany: Strategies for Self-Representation under the Othering Gaze', in Eve Rosenhaft and Robbie Aitken (eds.), *Africa in Europe: Studies in Transnational Practice in the Long Twentieth Century* (Liverpool, 2013), pp. 19-33, here p. 19; also Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, pp. 30-4.
- ^{lxxxviii} Enshoff to Nekes, 19 October 1932.
- ^{lxxxix} Vieter to Kolb, 28 April 1904, ZAPP, Sig. A.11-286.
- ^{xc} Vieter, *'Die Jugend ist unsere Zukunft'* *Band 1*, pp. 186-7, 195; Vieter to Kolb, 28 April 1904.
- ^{xc} Andreas Toko to Herr Superior (Kugelmann), 22 September 1903, ZAPP, Sig.A.11-313; Joseph Fomban to Fr. Seiwert, 7 October 1910, ZAPP, Sig.A.11-297.
- ^{xcii} Toko to Herr Superior (Kugelmann), 22 September 1903.
- ^{xciii} Toko to Kugelmann, 24 December 1903, ZAPP, Sig.A.11-313.
- ^{xciv} Joseph Fomban to dear godfather, 6 December 1907, ZAPP, Sig.A.11-297.
- ^{xcv} Franz Mukuri (Mundi ma Lobe) to unknown, 19 June 1896, ZAPP, A.11-313.
- ^{xcvi} Toko to Herr Superior, 22 September 1903.
- ^{xcvii} Vieter, *'Die Jugend ist unsere Zukunft'* *Band 1*, p. 56.
- ^{xcviii} Nekes, 'Andreas Mbangé und seine Gefährten', p. 12.
- ^{xcix} Vieter, *'Die Jugend ist unsere Zukunft'* *Band 1*, p. 310.

^c Toko to Herr Superior, 22 September 1903.

^{ci} 'Ankunft eines Missionärs aus Kamerun', *Halbjähriger Bericht*, 2 (1893), p. 6.