Adam Jones and Geert Castryck

4 Mission Spaces in German East Africa: Spatial Imaginations, Implementations, and Incongruities against the Backdrop of an Emerging Colonial Spatial Order

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Protestant and Catholic missions throughout German East Africa were in conflict over their spaces of missionary activity. Solving the conflict involved reaching agreement on dividing lines, but the spatial conflict was not only territorial. Differing and evolving conceptions of missionary space were at least as important. Catholic missionary societies had agreed with one another on spheres of influence, and so had Protestant ones. Between Catholics and Protestants, however, the contention was less about demarcating territory than about the spatial implications of freedom of religion, claims of precedence, the establishment of mission stations, modes of occupying places, the role and authority of local leaders, or the national affiliation of the missionaries. The conflicts were waged locally, in different parts of German East Africa, but also involved larger scales of operation. For instance, while on the local level in the area around Neu-Langenburg (present-day Tukuyu) the colonial administrator mediated between Catholic White Fathers and Protestant Moravian missionaries, the mission headquarters in Europe addressed the imperial government in Berlin in an attempt to ensure that a favourable outcome be imposed from the metropole. Meanwhile, the government of German East Africa as well as colonial advisors in Germany tried to keep an overview of the different disputes across the protectorate. And although the role of African leadership and communities is largely absent in the sources, it is clear if one reads between the lines that both camps were in fact attempting to interact with, attract, convert, "win" African people. It is significant that a struggle to convince people was played out as a struggle over space: concerning conceptions of space, spatial demarcations as well as different spatial scales.

In this chapter we identify spatial formats that were at play in the encounter of missionary societies and orders with Africa, with colonialism, and with other missions in German East Africa. By focusing on the spatial strategies – or perhaps, less consciously, spatial practices – of missionaries in the early colonial African context, we attempt to break up the binary of the colonizers and the colonized, with their, at times, incongruent spatial conceptions and projects. At the same time, we address the diversity of spatial concepts, interactions, frames of reference,

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and scales of operation amongst missionaries, both within German East Africa and, in comparison, with other African-European colonial contexts.

We use the term "spatial formats" to signify specific understandings of space that are shared by historical agents and underpin their spatial actions, as a consequence implementing these spatial formats and thereby strengthening the shared understanding that informs subsequent spatial action. In other words, once a specific conceptualization of space is sufficiently shared to underpin spatial actions and gain self-fulfilling and reproducing capacity, we can speak of a spatial format. Moreover, different spatial formats coexist, and if they happen to strengthen one another and exist in relation to one another, the ensuing constellation of spatial formats forms a spatial order. It is important to acknowledge both that a constellation of shared conceptualizations provokes a certain stability and that spatial formats and orders are nevertheless contingent and under constant pressure. It is likewise important to realize that different spatial orders, as constellations of different spatial formats, can exist side-by-side and in conflict with one another. In the setting under scrutiny, a globally active colonial spatial order gradually prevailed, but encountered alternative conceptualizations and constellations throughout the period concerned and continued to be contested as well. Against the background of this gradually established, temporarily stable, yet always contingent colonial spatial order, we focus on missionary space, which was part and parcel of the colonial spatial order, yet also at odds with it in certain regards. Like colonial spaces in general, missionary spaces were particularly intertwined with the agency of African leaders and converts, and sometimes stood in a tense relationship with other missionary, colonial, or indigenous spatial formats.

We dedicate a first section to spatial analyses that have already been made for surrounding missionary contexts in colonial Africa in general, in the Congo Free State / Belgian Congo, and in Southern Africa, asking whether the conceived, perceived or lived missionary spatialities in other parts of Africa can also be observed in German East Africa. The next section evokes the wide-ranging missionary spaces in German East Africa in interaction with other relevant spatial orders in the area and era, all of them increasingly challenged to relate to a gradually encroaching colonial spatial order. In this section, we also deal with the evolution over time, including the dissolution of the German colony and the return of Germans to Tanganyika Territory after World War I. The final section examines the Catholic-Protestant disputes with which we opened this chapter, positioning the spatial formats discussed in the previous sections within a broader constellation of inter-missionary, colonial, and African-European encounter. In our conclusion, we assess how mission spaces in German East Africa relate to existing analyses of missionary spaces in other parts of the African-European colonial world.

Conceptions of Missionary Space

Spatial approaches to missionary history in Africa are rare, but not new. Whether addressing the specificity of missionary space, spatial imaginations, disputes or models, or the different spatial scales at play in the missionary enterprise, we can relate to existing research as well as to emic spatial visions or practices of missionary agents in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Christine Egger and Martina Gugglberger have coined the idea of missionary spaces (*Missionsräume*),[1] implying that missionary spaces should not be lumped together with colonial or religious spaces, but merit attention as a distinct category. They highlight the spatial entanglements on local, regional, and global scales that characterize missionary spaces. Linda Ratschiller and Karolin Wetjen take this idea further in their 2018 book on entangled mission (*verflochtene Mission*), in which the inherent transregional – in casu African-European – character of mission history is put forward.[2] Situating missionary history in one interconnected African-European space is far removed from nineteenth-century visions that projected European spatial imaginations on Africa. Yet we must not forget that our present-day African-European transregional analyses in fact reinterpret the actions of people who saw their environment, their challenges, their missions in relation to spatial visions of their own, which may have been quite different from ours. It is worthwhile not only to reinterpret how entangled missionary spaces were, but also to uncover which spatial imaginations were employed by contemporary missionaries themselves.

A telling example from 1844 concerns the German missionary Ludwig Krapf, who worked in East Africa on behalf of the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society and had a remarkable vision of how missionary space might be extended across Central Africa:

> A look at the map of Africa shows that there is a distance of about 900 hours between the Eastern and Western coast of this continent. [Would it not be] possible that the hearts of the Christians at home might be induced to feel the responsibility which lies on them for the conversion of Africa [?] [. . .] Let us place 6 missionaries at every hundred hours' distance, and we shall be able to occupy the whole continent from East to West with the small number of 54 messengers of peace. Let us send out annually 6 of them and the whole space may be filled up in 9 years; or if there be means, let us send out annually 6 from the East and the same number from the West, when the whole central Africa will

1 C. Egger and M. Gugglberger, "Editorial: Missionsräume / Missionary Spaces", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 24 (2013) 2, pp. 5–20.

2 L. Ratschiller and K. Wetjen (eds.), *Verflochtene Mission. Perspektiven auf eine neue Missionsgeschichte*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2018.

> hear the message of salvation proclaimed in a much shorter period. Six missionaries if once being on the spot, would cost about 3 or 4000 German crowns per year [. . .]. We would have three stations at a 100 hours' distance, each station occupied by two and two. [We] would under the blessing of God disseminate the seed of everlasting life far around, [. . .] supported by a native African agency. Liberated slaves who are on the coast from the Interior would be [. . .] a material help. [. . .] [A] friendly understanding between several missionary institutions may be formed for realising the great object, without sacrificing either their independent principles or funds. [. . .] [T]he way from Mombas[sa] [. . .] is open as far as Djagga [= Chaga country, Kilimanjaro]; and the first year's demand of 6 missionaries has a field ready for them. We can place two on the immediate coast, two others at Taita, a town situated on a high mount, 3 or 4 days' journey from here, and the rest at Djagga, where they will be able to make inquiries of the countries beyond.[3]

Krapf's optimistic vision is symptomatic of an early way of imagining missionary space in terms not of territory but of logistical lines or chains. What mattered to him at this pioneering stage was what concerned all book religions interested in expansion: the need to keep lines of communication open. Although he referred repeatedly to "missionaries", he knew that his vision could only be realized if, as in the recent CMS project in what is now southern Nigeria, by which he was clearly excited, African Christians played a pivotal role. However, almost half a century was to pass before steps were taken to evangelize the region about which Krapf had written.

In other parts of Africa, evangelization was already well underway by this time. Missionary spatial strategies to position themselves in relation to existing African spatial orders were decisive for the imposition of a missionary dominance in certain places. This argument is developed by the Comaroffs, describing the impact of the London Missionary Society upon the Tswana of what is now South Africa. In their view the "spatial anatomy" of the Tswana in the early nineteenth century had consisted of a "nucleus" or "town" surrounded by concentric circles in which the circles furthest from the centre constituted "the wild". Through the "long conversation" with the missionaries, however, the centre was seized by the latter and Christianity "insinuate[d] itself into the moral landscape" of the Tswana. The missionaries then tried to "reconstruct Tswana settlements after the model of the idealized English village, a rectangular grid of square cottages and enclosed gardens".[4] Although the Comaroffs say that they failed in this, they point out that by the late nineteenth century the "Tswana house" had doors, windows and fences

3 Church Missionary Society Archive (Birmingham University Library), B/OMS/C A5 M1, Krapf (Mombasa) 13 August 1844 to CMS secretary. We are indebted to Delphine Froment for drawing our attention to this source.

4 J. Comaroff and J.L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, vol. 1, *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991, pp. 201–204.

and, in order to accommodate bulky furniture, no longer had internal walls. This example shows a combination of scales from the Tswana spatial order to the architecture of the house, which in turn relates to idealized spatial formats taken from England.

Moving closer to the time and space we are concerned with in this chapter, David Maxwell shifts the focus to African missionaries and the spatial meaning of their missionary work in the Congolese Katanga and Kasai regions at the beginning of the twentieth century.[5] Maxwell traces the itineraries of former slaves who had been liberated and converted in Angola, and thereupon returned to their regions of origin as evangelical missionaries. He thus adds another dimension to the importance of the line of communication mentioned above. On one level, African missionaries kept the line of transmission open, passing on modern, cosmopolitan, and above all universal and redemptive messages into Luba and Lunda areas. On another level, the communication line was temporally and spatially bidirectional as these African missionaries "returned" to their homeland, which had been politically and spiritually disrupted by colonization during their absence. The experience of exile, liberation and salvation, the embodied connection of different places, and their acquired skills of communication (both literacy and language) made them the perfect interpreters to spread the missionary message. In so doing, they significantly contributed to a new spatial order in the region, on the one hand plugging into modernizing and urbanizing centres of industrial and transport workers, on the other hand building a chain of mission stations reaching into hitherto relatively isolated areas. The integration into and the spread of a colonial or modern (spatial) order were in this case the work of missionaries beyond the control of the colony and to some extent beyond the direct control of the Church.

The undermining and destruction of previous orders was obviously something Christian missionaries not only resolved, but also actively carried out. In the period just before the demarcation of German East Africa, the Catholic White Fathers (*Missionnaires d'Afrique*) deployed a strategy in the Lake Tanganyika region that was military as much as it was missionary. When the White Fathers arrived in the area in 1879, the African-Arab caravan traders' control over the area was at its height, and involved a process of incipient territorialization.[6] From the beginning, the White Fathers on the one hand depended on African-Arab authorization and

5 D. Maxwell, "Remaking Boundaries of Belonging: Protestant Missionaries and African Christians in Katanga, Belgian Congo", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 52 (2019) 1, pp. 59–80.

6 G. Castryck, "Bordering the Lake: Transcending Spatial Orders in Kigoma-Ujiji", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 52 (2019) 1, pp. 109–132.

protection, and on the other considered them to be their slave trading opponents. In this context of ambivalence and animosity, the White Fathers sent out lay and ordained missionaries, who had gained military experience as Papal Zouaves during the Italian wars of the 1860s. This military background was reflected in the spatial organization of mission stations on the western shore of the lake, where the missionaries erected moats and palisades as defensive structures.[7] Lavigerieville (today Kibanga, South Kivu), the mission station named after the founder of the White Fathers, was nothing more or less than a militarily organized location for liberated and converted slaves. Whereas liberated slaves were the protagonists of spatial reorganization in Maxwell's study, in the case of the early White Fathers at Lake Tanganyika liberated slaves were encapsulated in the spatial strategies of military missionaries.

To be sure, the creation of military or defensive structures was not the only spatial strategy of Catholic missionaries in the wider region. In their analysis of "changing spatial strategies" in the Kasai region (Congo), Bram Cleys and Bruno De Meulder have argued that in the two decades before 1914 the Scheut Fathers adhered to a strategy involving sedentarization of African converts, "settling and fixing a place" and the imposition upon the landscape of a "geometrical order" based upon a hierarchical model centred on the autarkic mission settlement with a "majestic road pattern" radiating from its centre (Figure 4.1). This utopian Catholic strategy, they write, was "to a large extent unconscious" but "mentally [. . .] connected to the medieval image-guide of the Christian abbey".[8]

In its stead there emerged in the 1920s a strategy in which the roads themselves began to serve as the "natural place" of mission, turning the missionary into "a nomad who travels around among the people he wants to convert". Cleys and De Meulder show how both strategies related to Belgian colonial rule: "duplicating" the administrative posts established by the colonial authorities, the missionaries created "an archipelago of enclaves, a group of autonomous and isolated settlements distributed over a heathen environment". However, with the introduction of the motorcar and motorcycle the roads gained new significance

7 See, for instance, A. Shorter, "Joubert, Leopold Louis", in: *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, 2003, https://dacb.org/stories/democratic-republic-of-congo/joubert-leopold (accessed 22 March 2019). For a military understanding of the mission station, see K. Stornig, *Sisters Crossing Boundaries: German Missionary Nuns in Colonial Togo and New Guinea, 1897–1960*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013, pp. 166–167. Thanks to Karolin Wetjen for drawing our attention to this argument.

8 B. Cleys and B. De Meulder, "Imagining a Christian Territory: Changing Spatial Strategies in the Missionary Outposts of Scheut (Kasai, Congo, 1891–1940)", in: F. Demissie (ed.), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contesting Histories*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, pp. 201–238, at 208, 212–213, 220.

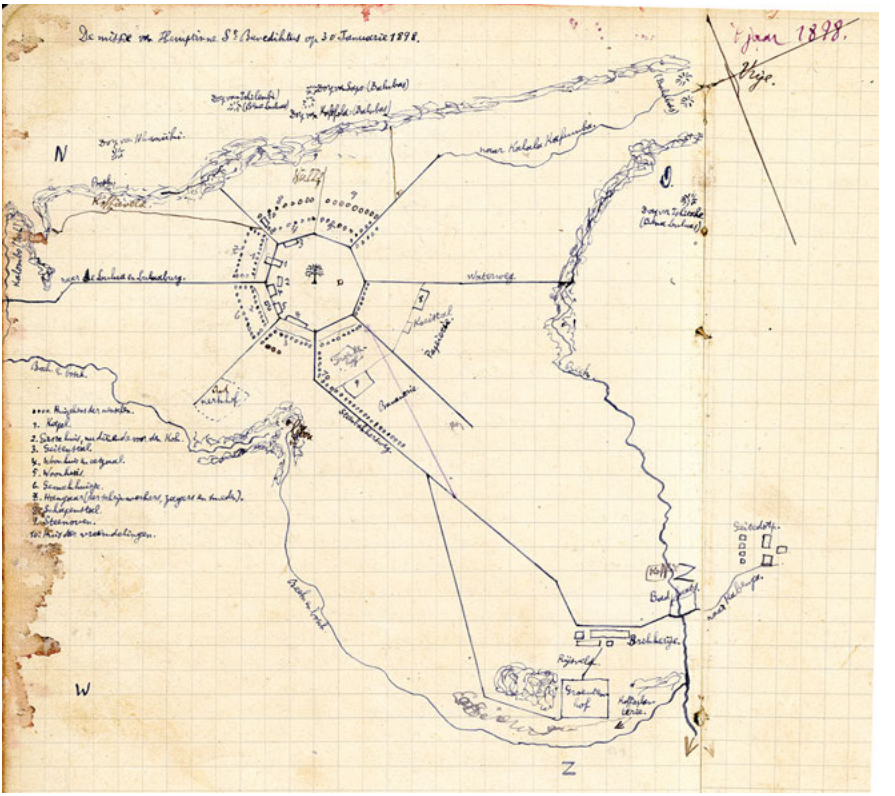


Figure 4.1: Plan of the Catholic mission station Hemptinne, Kasai (Congo): Repro KADOC-KU Leuven, Archives of Scheut, 1898.

regarding both the mode of evangelization and the economic activities of the mission. At the same time, rivalry with Protestant missions stimulated the Scheut Fathers to make their own network denser and even to "plug" it into the network of a mining company. The result was that by the 1930s the missionary who had initially "settled himself on a fixed place amidst a native milieu that was perceived as fluid, chaotic and constantly on the move" was superseded by "the missionary who moved around in this domain". Moreover, Cleys and De Meulder conclude, by the 1930s the missionaries "no longer strove for an autonomous realm but conceived their missionary space as part and parcel of the deploying colonial space".

To what extent can these different spatial imaginations and their implementations, the different scales and connections at play, serve as a basis for understanding what took place in German East Africa? Did space matter to all Christian

missionaries, either consciously or unconsciously? Were missionaries in Central Africa primarily interested in creating "enclaves" or in crossing boundaries?

Missionary Spaces in German East Africa

Although most German missionary societies arrived in East Africa only in the 1890s, i.e. after German colonial rule had been proclaimed, the colonial spatial order was then still in the making. The societies premised their activities on existing spatial formats and developed new ones, as did the African societies among whom they worked. The result was a palimpsest of coexisting spatial imaginations and practices, which became part of and gradually constituted a colonial spatial order. Colonial processes of spatialization for instance led to the creation of colonial posts and centres, administrative districts, transport and communication infrastructure (Figure 4.2) the infrastructure and organization of tax collection, labour recruitment and mineral exploitation, and were premised on the generation of revenue and – especially until about 1908 – violence.

This colonial spatial logic confronted – but also relied on – indigenous spatial formats which had been determined to some extent by the physical landscape (mountains, rivers), but also by kinship groupings (clans, lineages), linguistic differences and ethnicity (on a very local level, and only in some regions), and the power or charisma of Big Men, including warlords and chiefs. In some places, processes of territorialization were well underway. Here too, of course, physical violence could play a role in the shaping of space.[9]

By the outbreak of the First World War at the latest, ethnographers (some of whom were also missionaries or colonial officials) had become a third group of space-makers. They divided space primarily in terms of "tribes", based on a clear-cut spatial imagination, which they enacted upon spatial and social reality (Figure 4.3).

Missionaries formed a further context in which space was imagined, conceived, and made. This did not happen in isolation, but stood in interaction with colonial district making, indigenous spatial formats, practices and responses, the emerging dominant frame of tribalization to name but a few of the most obvious

9 I. Kopytoff (ed.), *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987; G. Maddox, J. Giblin, and I.N. Kimambo (eds.), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania*, London: James Currey, 1996.

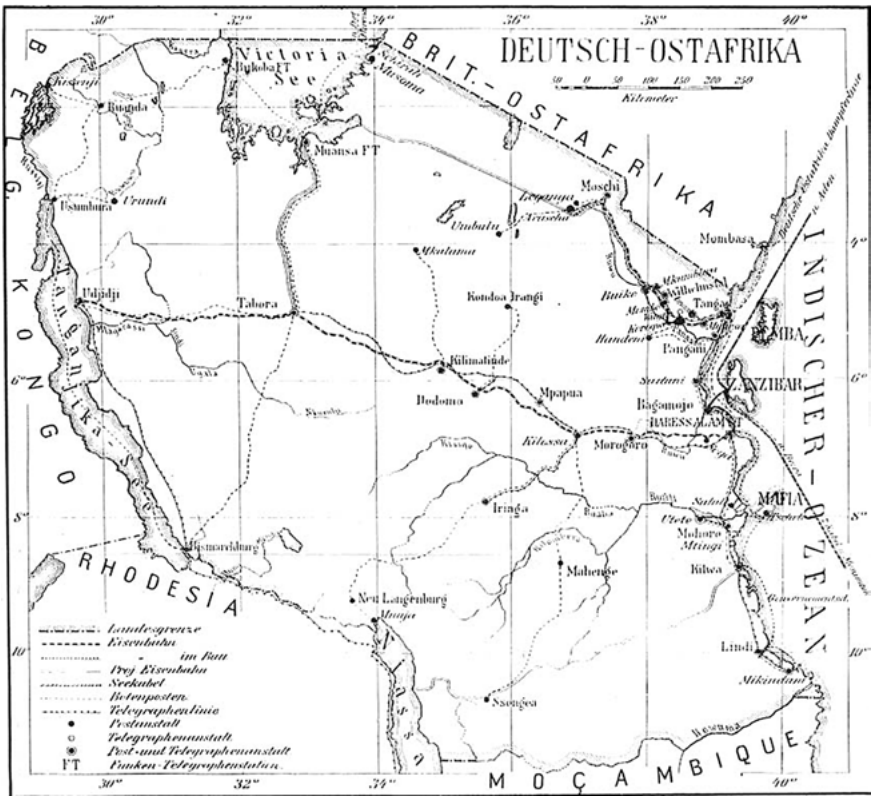


Figure 4.2: Post- und Telegraphenwesen – Deutsch Ostafrika: H. Schnee (ed.), *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, vol. 3, Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920, p. 96.

imbrications.[10] For missionaries, the prime distinction was between Christian, Muslim and "Heathen" space, but they might also distinguish between different Christian denominations and different degrees of "being Christian". As mission stations and schools were created in the 1890s and 1900s, Christian denominations developed a sort of network, but also collided with the networks of other denominations, made territorial claims, were entangled with unfolding ethnic – then "tribal" – processes of spatialization and delineation. In theory, missionary space presupposed a binary division between Own and Other, combined with the

10 G. Castryck, "Introduction – The Bounds of Berlin's Africa: Space-Making and Multiple Territorialities in East and Central Africa", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 52 (2019) 1, pp. 1–10.

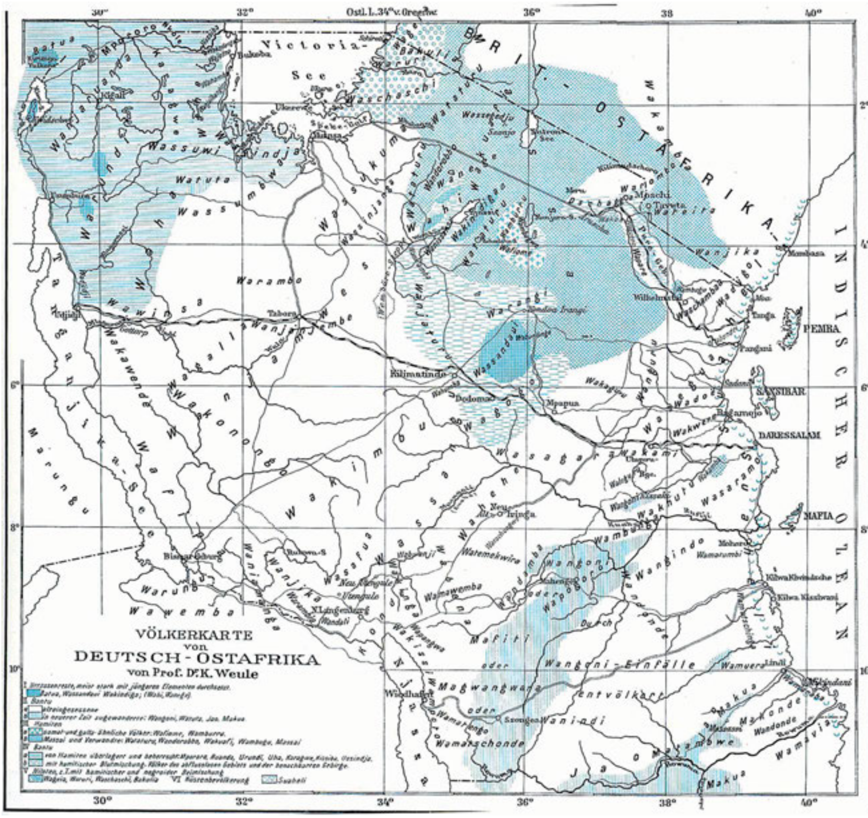


Figure 4.3: K. Weule, “Völkerkarte von Deutsch-Ostafrika”: H. Schnee (ed.), *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, vol. 1, Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920, p. 392.

perceived obligation to expand the Own at the expense of the Other. In practice, however, things were never quite that simple.

Is it possible to generalize at all about mission space, when each person experiences and conceives of space differently? Other contexts or groups of space-makers or spatial entrepreneurs existed, in many cases impossible to detect in the historical record. It is possible, for instance, that women tended to conceive of space differently from men – whether they were Europeans or Africans.[11] Women involved in missionary work had left behind them the familiar space of “home” in

11 D.L. Hodgson, *The Church of Women: Gendered Encounters between Maasai and Missionaries*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.

order to "open up", "move around in" or "carve out" new female spaces in Africa. In some cases, these spaces were physical (chapels, hostels, and other architecture), in others they had more to do with "devout domesticity".[12]

In the following, we highlight missionary spatial conceptions based on bounding or territorializing space, on spatial expansion, on building and architecture, on mobility and bridging distance, and on mapping. It will become clear how different dimensions of missionary spatialization became entangled in disputes between Catholic and Protestant missionaries.

Bounding Missionary Spaces

Protestant missions had brought varying notions of space to Africa. Whilst some expanded their influence from a coastal enclave in all directions, converting individuals without necessarily encompassing the communities in which they lived, others sought to create "pure" communities, as isolated as possible from the potentially corrupting influences of European commerce or colonial administration, as well as from Islam. Their religious communities had done the same in Europe: the Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine (Moravian Brethren), for instance, had since the eighteenth century spread within Germany by establishing new villages, where – at least until the First World War – the whole population belonged to the same denomination, simply inbreeding or incorporating newcomers. Often a relatively isolated valley was chosen deliberately for this purpose – a spatial strategy later adopted in Africa. As Oskar Gemuseus recollected towards the end of his life, in the early 1890s missionaries had yearned for "a little parish [of people] living somewhat isolated from the rest of the population, with the missionaries as their fathers on mission land", not unlike the above-mentioned evangelical missionaries in Katanga.[13]

Some Catholic missions, too, initially tried to establish "closed Christian villages" on land owned by the mission, separate from the rest of the community, as

12 D. Gaitskell, "Home and Away: Creating Female Religious Space for 20th-Century Anglican Missions in Southern Africa", in: A. Jones (ed.), *Religious Space and the Shaping of Gender Encounters in African Christianity* (= *Comparativ* 17 [2007] 5/6), pp. 36–54.

13 Unity Archives – Moravian Archives Herrnhut, Gemuseus Papers, Folder 5 Nr. 9, "Aufbau und Organisation einer heidenchristlichen Gemeinde und Frage ihres Lebens", typewritten lecture, 1940. Also see Maxwell, "Remaking Boundaries".

in Madibira, Tosamaganga, and Kurasini (near Dar es Salaam).[14] However, as one report noted in 1914:

> The method whereby the Christians are spatially separated from the Heathen und settled in villages of their own has been abandoned everywhere where Christianity has reached a large number of people and the Christians are no longer tempted to abandon their faith, since the Heathen no longer see any detriment when their relatives convert to Christianity. There are still Christian villages near Daressalam, where the ransomed slaves are accommodated. Besides, through the progressive adoption of Christianity Christian or predominantly Christian villages come into existence around every mission station automatically.[15]

Modern maps showing whole areas under the sway of one denomination, rather like small colonies, mask not only the plurality of religious beliefs within a given area, but also the historical manner in which such areas emerged. By contrast, a century ago missionary atlases, such as Grundemann's *Neuer Missions-Atlas aller evangelischen Missionsgebiete* (1903), rightly placed the emphasis on a set of mission stations rather than a particular "field" (Figure 4.4 and 4.5).

Missionary expansion never really adhered to a plan compiled in Europe, and the factors determining its course seldom lay exclusively in the hands of Europeans. In most cases the prerequisite for the establishment of a new outstation was the mobility of African Christians, whose interaction with non-Christians in areas they happened to visit prepared the soil (to use a Christian metaphor) for exploratory contacts. The "popular evangelism" of "the first African interpreters of the Gospel" led to situations where, as in western Kenya, the first missionaries "found local catechists and Christian homesteads already in place before they arrived".[16] Missionary space was unique in relying mainly upon Africans for its expansion. Although the representatives of European colonial power likewise employed African intermediaries, their influence was seldom so explicitly ideological.

Factors of Expansion

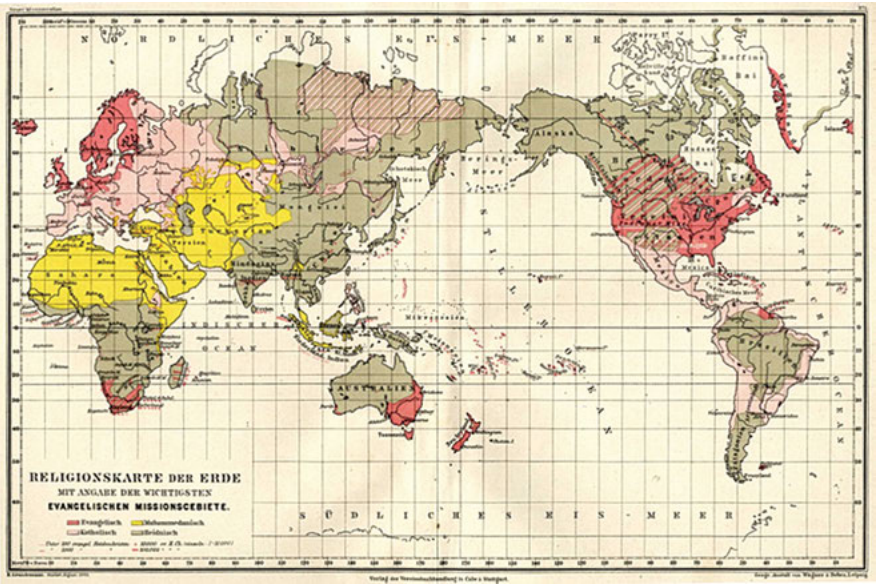
What determined the directions in which this expansion took place? Clearly, questions of language and ethnicity were of importance;[17] but it should not be

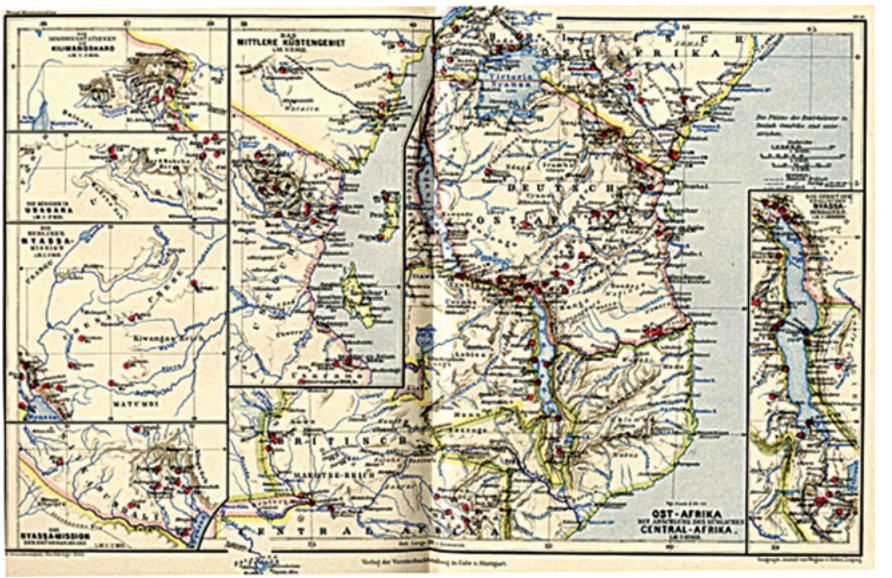
14 Archive of the Arch-Abbey of St. Ottilien, Z.1.08, Spreiter, Annual report for 1911.

15 Archive of the Arch-Abbey of St. Ottilien, Z.1.08, Severin 1 March 1914, Annual report for 1913.

16 T. Spear, "Toward the History of African Christianity", in: T. Spear and I. Kimambo (eds.), *East African Expressions of Christianity*, Oxford: James Currey, 1999, pp. 3–24, at 7.

17 See, for instance, the border agreement between the O.S.B. (Benedictines) and the Berlin Mission, 4 July 1909 (German Federal Archives, Berlin-Lichterfelde [hereafter BArch], R 1001/862,





Figures 4.4 and 4.5: R. Grundemann, *Neuer Missions-Atlas aller evangelischen Missionsgebiete mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Missionen,* 2nd edn, Calw: Verein der Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1903.

assumed that missions were able to decide simply to evangelize a particular linguistic / ethnic group. Rather, as Patrick Harries and others have shown, missions initially found themselves confronted with a "spectrum of dialects", and it was not until they themselves had taken up translation and educational work that clear-cut languages began to emerge, to which ethnic labels (albeit still ambivalent) could eventually be attached.[18] Moreover, in what is now southeastern Tanzania, ethnic discourse and ethnocentric history remained mainly limited to the few persons with a mission education. As Felicitas Becker has written with reference to the early twentieth century,

> In the discursive space elsewhere occupied by [themes like ethnicity, ethnocentric histories, or territorial claims] villagers in southeastern Tanzania reinvented themselves as coastal and Muslim people. The coast was closer than the colonial state, and *uungwana*, being of the coast, mattered more than ethnic affiliation.[19]

Dealing with another region of what is now Tanzania where Christianity made more headway in the early twentieth century, Justin Willis has shown how Bondei ethnicity, far from being inherited from the distant past, emerged out of a dialogue between a group of Africans whose political identity was under threat and a British missionary, who needed a nation to convert and allowed himself to be manipulated by his converts.[20]

An important decision that mission societies had to make in the German period was whether to collaborate with the colonial choice of Swahili, a language closely associated with Islam, as the language for government service and hence for education.[21] Although some gave zealous priority to local languages as an essential step towards the creation of a *Volkskirche*, producing dictionaries even for dialects and translating parts of the Bible, by 1910 most had accepted the colonial policy in order to gain official support for their educational work.

In addition to language and ethnicity, physical geography and vegetation influenced decisions concerning the location of mission stations. Today's visitors – even those with the advantage of a four-wheel drive – are often surprised

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"Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 2: 27 October 1908–17 July 1912).

18 P. Harries, "The Roots of Ethnicity: Discourse and the Politics of Language Construction in South-East Africa", *African Affairs* 87 (1988), pp. 25–52.

19 F. Becker, *Becoming Muslim in Mainland Tanzania, ca. 1800–2000: The Spread of Islam beyond the Indian Ocean Coast*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2008, p. 97.

20 J. Willis, "The Makings of a Tribe: Bondei Identities and Histories", *Journal of African History* 33 (1992), pp. 191–208.

21 Cf. M. Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, pp. 108ff.

how inaccessible the locations chosen for early mission stations were. The Leipzig Mission began work in East Africa in the footsteps of the ousted Church Missionary Society. Quite the reverse of Leipzig's own topography, the Leipzig missionaries were firmly committed to the mountain landscape of Kilimanjaro, Mount Meru and the Pare Hills: *Am Fuße der Bergriesen Ostafrikas* ("At the Feet of the Mountain Giants of East Africa") was the title Johannes Schanz chose for his history of the mission (1912), and the cover of the book emphasised this mountain landscape (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6: Cover of J. Schanz, *Am Fuße der Bergriesen Ostafrikas*, Leipzig: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1912.

Yet the mountains existed in symbiosis with the plains, and although some missionaries identified themselves proudly with "our Chaga" of the mountains, work in the vicinity of Mount Meru brought them into contact with the Maasai living near Arusha (Figure 4.7), and even before the German missionaries

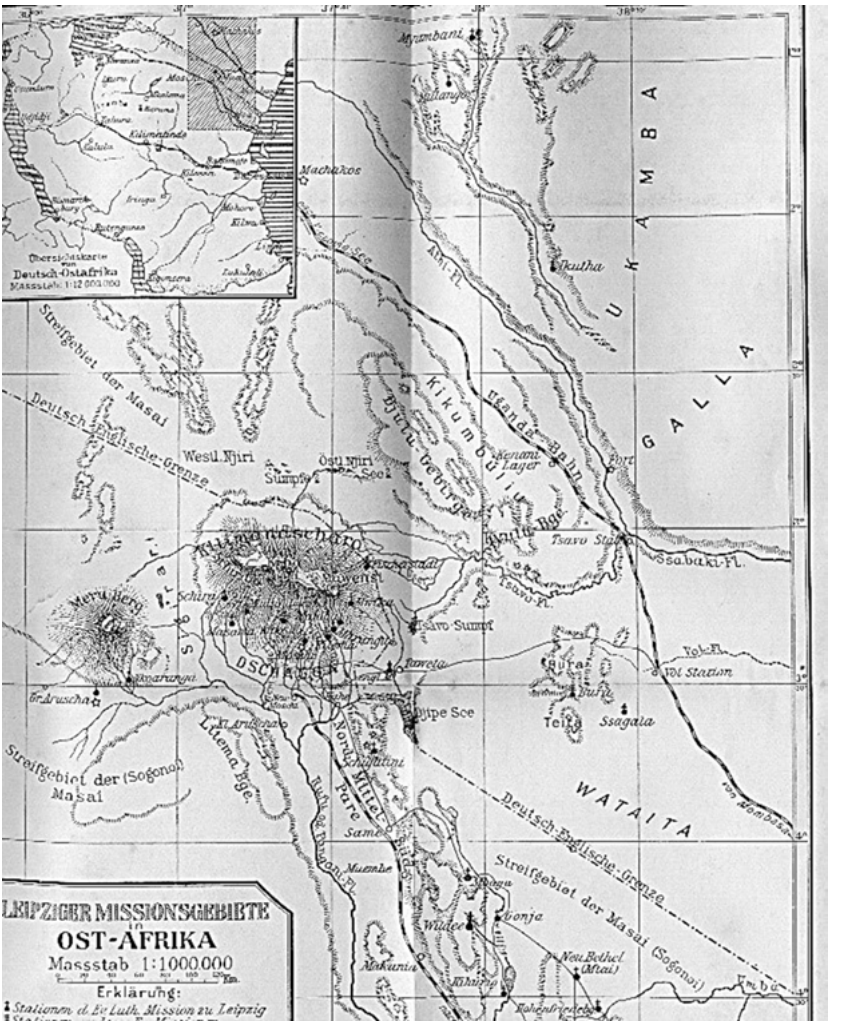


Figure 4.7: Map of the Leipzig mission field: Schanz, *Am Fuße der Bergriesen Ostafrikas*, Leipzig: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1912.

returned in 1925 it was decided to extend the "steppe mission" into Maasai country.[22]

The Moravians too eventually chose a mission field which encompassed highly contrasting landscapes. Oskar Gemuseus considered this variety of landscapes so important that he proposed what Marcia Wright has called "a kind of climatic determinism", contrasting the vegetation and culture on either side of the watershed:

> An important cultural divide separat[es] our whole missionary field into two entirely different units. To the west is a dry steppe with decidedly marked dry and rainy seasons, to the east and south much damp fog [with] torrential tropical rains lasting for weeks [. . .] In the west the tribes [. . .], cautious of manner and speech, cling to the old and are not easily influenced. In the east and south the Nyakyusa and their relatives [. . .] are lively in manner and speech, open to innovation and admittedly subject to evil [as well as good] influences.[23]

This Moravian preference for interacting with the "lively", "open" Nyakyusa of the damp mountains vis-à-vis their neighbours in the dry plains echoed the thinking of contemporary Leipzig Lutherans with regard to the "intelligent", "innovative" Chagga of Kilimanjaro. Here too we find a binary division of space: not between Own and Other, but between those Africans open to change (including not only mission Christianity but also certain forms of capitalism) and those among whom the majority were more "reserved". Yet this dichotomy was not quite as simple as it might seem. For one thing, the trouble with the Maasai – from the missionary point of view – was not just that they lived in the plains and were conservative in their attitudes, but also that they practised transhumance, in itself an obstacle to the swift spread of any book religion.[24] (The struggle with transhumance and nomadism is, of course, a major topos in the Old Testament itself.) Moreover, different missionaries perceived indigenous "conservatism" differently: some wanted to eradicate all forms of "heathenism", including dancing and initiation rites, whereas others, such as Bruno Gutmann of the Leipzig Mission or Traugott

22 K. Groop, *With the Gospel to Maasailand: Lutheran Mission Work among the Arusha and Maasai in Northern Tanzania 1904–1973*, Abo: Abo Akademi University Press, 2006.

23 O. Gemuseus, *Sakalija Mwakasungula*, Hamburg: Appel, 1953, p. 12: as translated in: Wright, *German Missions*, p. 26. Similar reflections, probably from the late 1930s, may be found in an unpublished document: Unity Archives – Moravian Archives Herrnhut, Gemuseus Papers, Folder 13 Nr. 9, "Völker u. Stämme".

24 Cf. Hodgson, *Church of Women*.

Bachmann of the Moravian Mission, stressed the need to retain elements of indigenous culture.[25]

As Sally Falk Moore has remarked with regard to Catholics and Lutherans on Kilimanjaro, "in the effort to sustain itself, the mission had to become an enlarged and transformed version of a Chagga household with gardens". From the mid-1890s onwards the missionaries planted bananas, vegetables and coffee, in some cases using school pupils as labourers.[26] In one sense this represented an appropriation of a spatial model that had existed before the arrival of the missionaries. On the other hand, coffee cultivation was new, perhaps even introduced by the missionaries, so that we may regard the resulting space as the product of an entanglement which went far beyond agricultural production.

One additional criterion for the direction in which a mission expanded might be the quest for a definable space where there could be no ambiguity. Inhabitants of the Moravian town of Rungwe, for instance, recall today that in the missionary period suspension from attending communion (*Kirchenzucht*) meant having to move one's residence to the other side of the stream – an expensive undertaking, and one that embodied a degree of social exclusion.[27]

Building and Architecture

Certainly, mission stations, including their characteristic buildings, were considered by all parties to constitute a special kind of space:

> [T]heir chapels, residences, dormitories, schools, dispensaries, gardens [. . .] stand in great contrast with their immediate surroundings. In the confrontation of Europeans with African ways of life these stations have been for the missionaries a refuge, a symbol of achievement and a home; for the Africans they have been strongholds of alien ways from religion to agriculture, an intrusion.[28]

The special place of the mission station involved paying special attention to erecting buildings, architectural design, and spatial planning. We have seen above

25 Cf. K. Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture: Conservative German Protestant Missionaries in Tanzania 1900–1940*, Leiden: Brill, 1996.

26 S.F. Moore, *Social Facts and Fabrications: "Customary" Law on Kilimanjaro, 1880–1980*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 103. See also R.B. Munson, *The Nature of Christianity in Northern Tanzania: Environmental and Social Change, 1890–1916*, Lanham: Lexington, 2013.

27 We are indebted to Michaela Unterholzner for this information.

28 C.C. Park, *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion*, London: Routledge, 1994, quoted in: Gaitskell, "Home and Away", p. 41.

how this affected the Scheut mission station, the military logic of the White Fathers' mission station along Lake Tanganyika, and the evolution of Tswana architecture in South Africa. Can it be assumed that a similar process took place in German East Africa?

While it is true that so-called traditional Chagga or Maasai houses were circular and that today almost all houses are rectangular (with rectangular doors and windows), it cannot be taken for granted that this is a result of the missionary encounter. We are not convinced that this was a direct result of what the Comaroffs call the "bourgeois schedule" of the missionaries. The first rectangular houses to be photographed in the Leipzig and Herrnhut mission fields were referred to as "Swahili houses", and we have photographs of church elders' houses which were still circular in the 1930s (Figure 4.8 and 4.9). Spatial evolutions in mission stations do not stand in isolation.

Figure 4.8: "Ndelelao's hut, Moshi style", http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15799coll123/id/63658/rec/1.

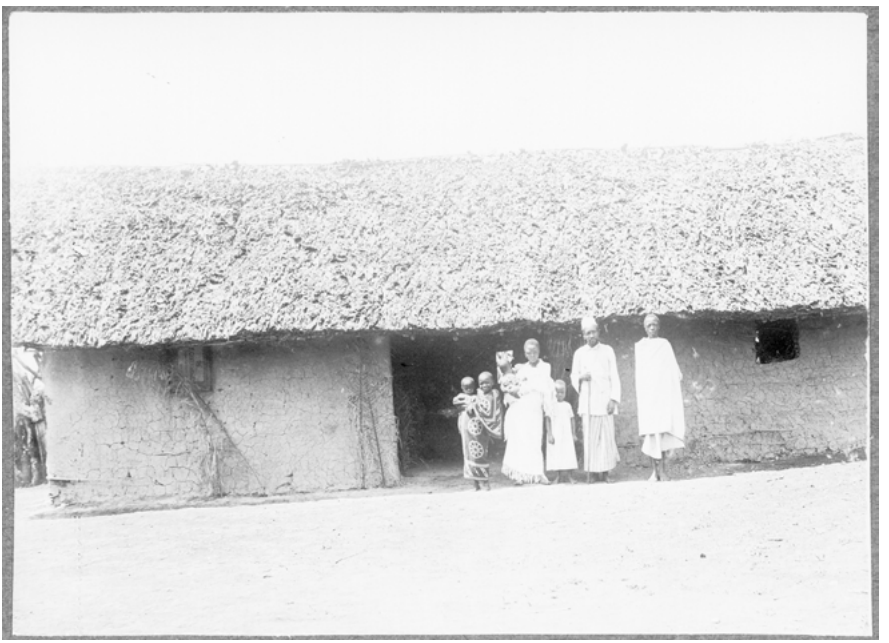


Figure 4.9: "Swahili house", Mamba 1901–1910: http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15799coll123/id/30319/rec/4.

Another form of architecture which embodied spatial conceptions was the tombstone, a European innovation which had very few equivalents in African cultures. In his book on space in German Southwest Africa (today's Namibia), J.K. Noyes argues that for European settlers tombstones might serve to organize subjective, social and geographical space: the white crosses defined "a position from which traces of death become meaningful"; they tied this position to a geographical space and – in some cases – marked the grave as a place where "order" had been created by German labour.[29] It is striking that the missionary archives for Tanzania contain hardly any photographs of African burial places but do have photos of missionary graves. The Leipzig Mission, for example, has no less than ten photographs of the grave of the two missionary martyrs killed at Akeri on Mount Meru in 1896, taken between 1900 and 1940.[30] Picturing these sites

29 J.K. Noyes, "Gazing on Native Spaces", in: Idem, *Colonial Space: Spatiality in the Discourse of German Southwest Africa 1884–1915*, Chur: Harwood Academic, 1992, pp. 196–214.

30 There are also numerous verbal descriptions and photographs in books: see, for instance, J. Schanz, *Am Fuße der Bergriesen Ostafrikas*, Leipzig: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1912, pp.

primarily addressed a European audience, more receptive to the heroization of martyrdom than present-day Europeans might be willing to acknowledge.

Covering and Bridging Distance

While most missionaries were tied more or less to one place, from which they or their evangelists "radiated" into the neighbourhood,[31] a few were more mobile, and in the course of time this mobility increased. The Moravians stationed a missionary along the railway line between Morogoro and Tabora from 1910 to 1912, in order that he might, using his knowledge of Kinyamwesi, evangelize the workers building the railway as it extended.[32] The result, however limited in scope, must have been a "mobile congregation" similar to those witnessed by Gabriel Klaeger in present-day Ghana:

> What distinguishes this mobile congregation from a congregation in the ecclesiastical sense is that the former gathers merely on a temporary, unintentional and arbitrary basis, while the latter forms a principally religious body and – at least ideally – a community of choice, which appears to be more homogeneous. However, some travellers' communities excel at being quite corporate, even spiritually and ritually.[33]

Jan-Bart Gewald has argued with reference to what is now Namibia that the introduction of the motor car in the 1920s and 1930s on the one hand greatly reduced physical distances, enabling missionaries to reach another mission station within hours rather than days, yet on the other greatly increased the *social* distance between missionaries and most of the African population by making it possible to drive past someone without even greeting him or her.[34] Elsewhere the same author, writing with two colleagues, has suggested that motor cars had a different

50–52; M. Weishaupt, *Ostafrikanische Wandertage. Durch das Gebiet der Leipzig Mission in Deutsch-Ostafrika*, Leipzig: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1913, p. 100. For a historical archaeologist's study of Moravian graveyards in the Caribbean, see M. Wood, "Mapping the Complexities of Race on the Landscape of the Colonial Caribbean, United States Virgin Islands, 1770–1917", *Historical Archaeology* 46 (2012), pp. 112–134.

31 Wright, *German Missions*, p. 151.

32 Unity Archives – Moravian Archives Herrnhut, MD 1543: Bahnmission.

33 G. Klaeger, "Religion on the Road: The Spiritual Experience of Road Travel in Ghana", in: J.-B. Gewald, S. Luning, and K. van Walraven (eds.), *Speed of Change: Motor Vehicles and People in Africa 1890–2000*, Leiden: Brill, 2009, pp. 212–231, at 221.

34 J.-B. Gewald, "Missionaries, Hereros, and Motorcars: Mobility and the Impact of Motor Vehicles in Namibia before 1940", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 35 (2002) 2/3, pp. 257–285.

effect, making it easier for Africans and others to cross boundaries not just physically, but also in their thinking and behaviour:

> With the tendency to traverse language barriers as well as social and cultural boundaries, the motor vehicle gave birth to new ways of looking at the world and new relations that required different forms of cosmological understanding. The myriad of new images and views shaped ideologies that, of necessity, transcended local socio-cultural arrangements, something that accounted to a certain degree for the extensive spread of Christianity in the twentieth century. Interpersonal relationships and responsibilities were transformed by people's increased mobility.[35]

Both ideas are highly plausible as hypotheses; but given the paucity of sources written by Africans in this period, they can only be verified from the perspective of the missionaries themselves (cf. Figure 4.10).

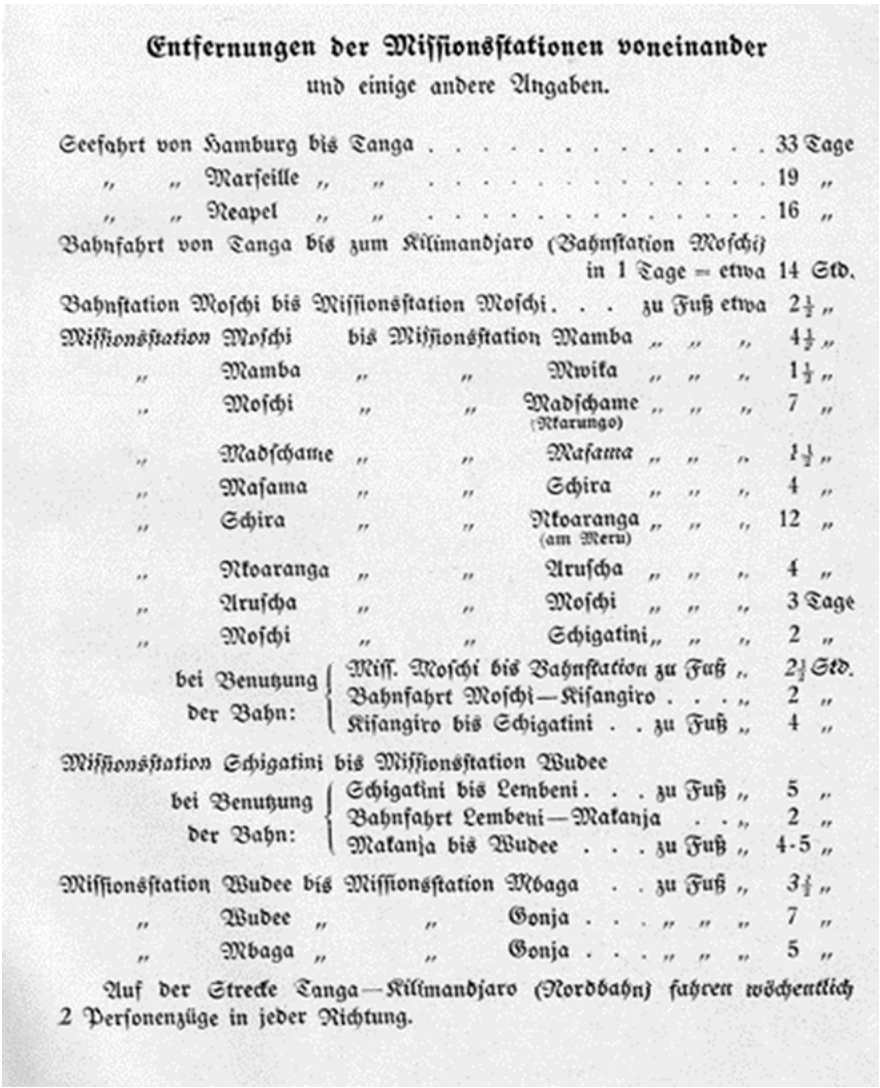
Missionary Mapping

Let us return to the question of the extent to which space mattered to missionaries. One way of answering it is to look at the maps they produced.[36] For the relatively small mission field Nyasa (north of Lake Malawi) the archive in Herrnhut includes no less than five maps produced between 1904 and 1908 by the superintendent Theodor Meyer. In addition to the physical landscape and roads or paths linking the mission stations they indicate "places for preaching" (*Predigtplätze*), language areas and exploratory journeys made.

However, as maps primarily indicate territory, significant places and perhaps lines of communication, they tend to blend out essentially different conceptions of space. It is therefore interesting to look at those maps that deal with the

35 J.-B. Gewald, S. Luning, and K. van Walraven, "Motor Vehicles and People in Africa: An Introduction", in: Idem (eds.), *Speed of Change*, p. 9.

36 Critical literature on colonial mapmaking takes apart the authorship of maps. Noyes argues that whereas European explorers initially relied upon African guides, they employed maps as a strategy to erase this dependence and incorporate the guides' knowledge into universal knowledge (*Colonial Space*, pp. 196–214). See also K. Fritsch, "'You Have Everything Confused and Mixed Up . . . !' Georg Schweinfurth, Knowledge and Cartography of Africa in the 19th Century", *History in Africa* 36 (2009), pp. 87–101; K. Jahn and U. Wardenga, "Wie Afrika auf die Karte kommt: Das Beispiel Georg Schweinfurth", in: G. Castryck, S. Strickrodt, and K. Werthmann (eds.), *Sources and Methods for African History and Culture: Essays in Honour of Adam Jones*, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2016, pp. 137–161; A. Jones and I. Voigt, "'Just a First Sketchy Makeshift': German Travellers and their Cartographic Encounters in Africa, 1850–1914", *History in Africa* 39 (2012), pp. 9–39.



Entfernungen der Missionsstationen voneinander
und einige andere Angaben.

Seefahrt von Hamburg bis Tanga					33 Tage
„ „ Marseille „ „					19 „
„ „ Neapel „ „					16 „
Bahnfahrt von Tanga bis zum Kilimandjaro (Bahnstation Moschi) in 1 Tage = etwa					14 Std.
Bahnstation Moschi bis Missionsstation Moschi				zu Fuß etwa	2½ „
Missionsstation Moschi	bis Missionsstation	Mamba		„ „ „	4½ „
„ Mamba	„ „	Mwika		„ „ „	1½ „
„ Moschi	„ „	Madschame (Nkarungo)		„ „ „	7 „
„ Madschame	„ „	Masama		„ „ „	1½ „
„ Masama	„ „	Schira		„ „ „	4 „
„ Schira	„ „	Nkoaranga (am Meru)		„ „ „	12 „
„ Nkoaranga	„ „	Aruscha		„ „ „	4 „
„ Aruscha	„ „	Moschi		„ „ „	3 Tage
„ Moschi	„ „	Schigatini		„ „ „	2 „
bei Benutzung der Bahn:	Miss. Moschi bis Bahnstation			zu Fuß „	2½ Std.
	Bahnfahrt Moschi—Kisangiro			. . „	2 „
	Kisangiro bis Schigatini			. . zu Fuß „	4 „
Missionsstation Schigatini bis Missionsstation Wudee					
bei Benutzung der Bahn:	Schigatini bis Lembeni			. . zu Fuß „	5 „
	Bahnfahrt Lembeni—Makanja			. . „	2 „
	Makanja bis Wudee			. . zu Fuß „	4-5 „
Missionsstation Wudee bis Missionsstation		Mbaga		. . zu Fuß „	3½ „
„ Wudee „ „		Gonja		. . „ „ „	7 „
„ Mbaga „ „		Gonja		. . „ „ „	5 „

Auf der Strecke Tanga—Kilimandjaro (Nordbahn) fahren wöchentlich 2 Personenzüge in jeder Richtung.

Figure 4.10: Distances between the Leipzig Mission stations: Schanz, *Am Fuße der Bergriesen*, p. xi.

"delimitation" (*Abgrenzung*) of "spheres of interest" between Protestant and Catholic missions, and to question what they show and what they hide.[37]

Missionary Contentions about Space

The General Act of the Berlin Congo Conference of 1884–85 stipulated that there was to be freedom of religion and of missionary activity within the area defined as the "conventional Congo Basin", to which German East Africa belonged. The German Protectorate Legislation (*Schutzgebietsgesetz*) reaffirmed this principle. Nevertheless, missionary claims and disputes were played out territorially, somehow transferring the colonial principle of effective occupation to missionary spheres of influence. The technology of mapping was used as a claim-making device in these disputes. It should be noted that Superintendent Meyer of the Moravian Mission was embroiled in a fierce conflict with the Catholic White Fathers in the period in which he produced the abovementioned maps.

Protestant missions avoided "poaching" in the spheres of influence of other Protestant missions. However, the Protestant archives contain at least as many complaints about the aggressive spread of Catholic orders as they do about the encroachments of Islam. This may be seen in what Marcia Wright calls a "strategy map" of 1902 by the Berlin missionary Martin Klamroth, indicating "Catholic advances" from all directions except those of Lake Malawi and the Moravian mission field (Figure 4.11).[38]

For an illustration of Roman Catholic understanding of missionary space, we may take the Benedictine Order, which assumed responsibility for the Apostolic Vicariate of South Zanzibar in 1887 and was able to re-establish itself in southeastern Tanzania after the Maji Maji rebellion destroyed a number of mission stations in 1905. In an undated set of instructions to curates and prefects, probably from the 1890s, it was stipulated:

> The boundaries of the mission field (*Missionsgebiet*) shall be described, and if there are differences of opinion about them, the reasons shall be stated. A map of the curacy shall be enclosed, if within easy reach, or at least be sent later.[39]

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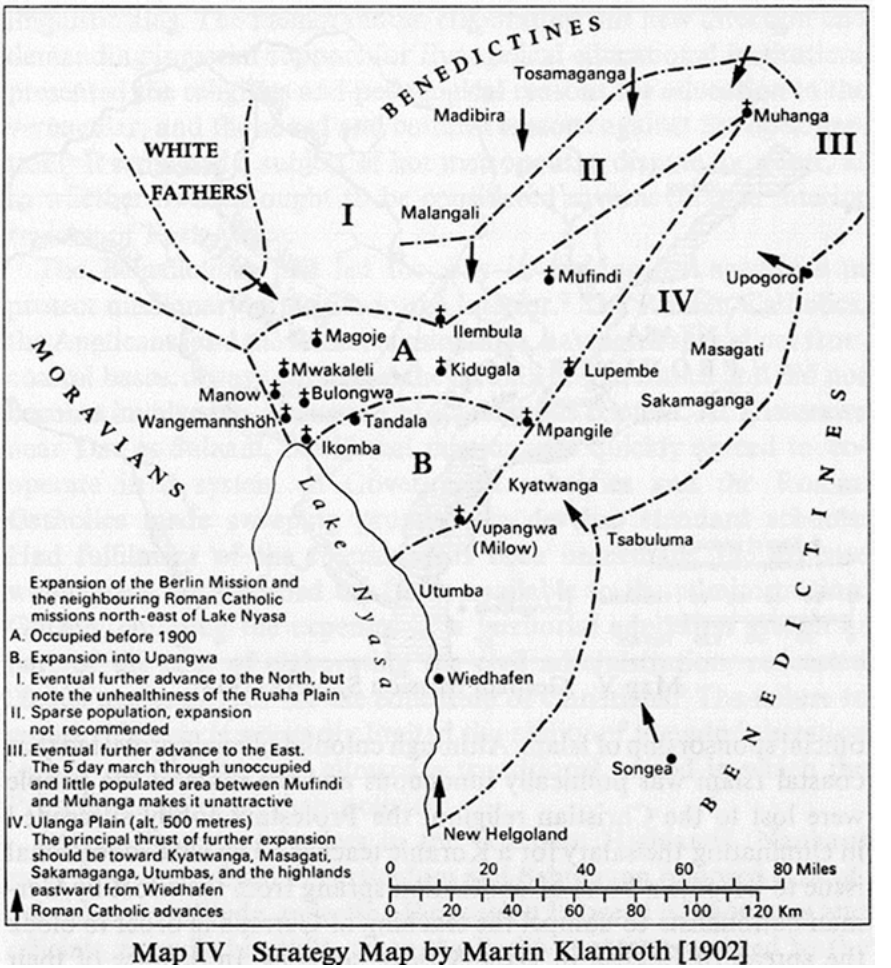
37 Unity Archives – Moravian Archives Herrnhut, "Abgrenzung der Interessensphäre der evangel. und kathol. Missionen im Bezirk Langenburg D.O.A., eingereicht von der Missions-Direktion der evangl. Brüder-Unität. August 1908. Vergl. Karte D.O.Afrika E3 u. F3".

38 Wright, *German Missions*, p. 109. Wright transposed the map from Klamroth's original kept at the Tanzania National Archives, Dar es Salaam.

39 Archive of the Arch-abbey of St. Ottilien, Z.1.08.



Map IV Strategy Map by Martin Klamroth [1902]

Figure 4.11: Berlin Mission representation of territorial conflicts with Catholics in the southern part of German East Africa: Wright, *German Missions*, p. 109.

In 1899 the missionary Father Alfons Adams submitted a "precisely drawn" map of the western border of the prefecture, beginning at the north bank of Lake Malawi,[40] in order that this information be forwarded to Rome (Figure 4.12). The aim was to support the claim that certain villages whose position was a matter of controversy belonged to the prefecture. Adams closed with the remark: "But an

40 Archive of the Arch-abbey of St. Ottilien, Z.1.03, Adams 5 January 1899 to Abbot.

Figure 4.12: Map of the Catholic Prefecture of southern Zanzibar: St. Ottilien, Archive of the Arch-Abbey, 89: Apostol. Präfektur Süd-Sansibar. Drawn by Magnus Mielke (St. Ottilien), probably c. 1890.

expansion of the prefecture is of course always desirable, as the country further west gets better and better and is more densely populated!"

Although they reached a written agreement with the (Protestant) Berlin Mission in 1906 regarding respective spheres of influence in the southern part of what is today Tanzania, ten years later the Benedictines decided not to renew it. The "struggle" (as the Benedictines called it), which reached a climax just before British troops invaded the area in 1916, dated back to the Berlin Mission's annual report for 1913. In a long, emotionally worded handwritten and duplicated letter to the German authorities, Bishop Spreiter complained about the "deception" practised by the Berlin Mission: The Berlin superintendent Kallweit

> got people to cut down some bushes about 100 metres from the dwelling and school of Pater Pfaffel in his absence and planted 6 bananas in the middle of the un-hoed land. That is what he called a "garden". Afterwards he taught lessons there, although his school

> house is 20 minutes' walk from there, in order to be able to call it a "place for preaching". [. . .] [In Kipingo-Malingi] is an unoccupied, so-called mission farm, not cultivated by anyone. No sooner had we founded a mission station in Lufu than the farm was transformed a few months later into a mission [. . .] and with an expression of total innocence they complain about the penetration of the Benedictines into an ancient area of labour.[41]

Here we find the Catholics applying almost the same criteria as laid down at the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885: territorial claims by European powers must be based upon "effective occupation", not just upon lines on a map or the flying of a flag (cf. Figure 4.13). The Berlin Mission's claims in the disputed area were considered invalid because the agricultural land had not been properly hoed or because they had established a school but not a place of worship.

Not very far away, in the area north of Lake Malawi (Nyasa), another conflict arose from 1906 onwards between the Protestant Moravians (Herrnhuter) and the Catholic White Fathers. The Moravian mission claimed to have been the first in the area and considered this sufficient entitlement to the land, using the erection of improvised crosses to stake this claim. In a similar tone to that of the Benedictines, the White Fathers asked how the Moravians could use such crosses without actually evangelizing or even being present. Remarkably, however, Catholic and Protestant teachers in one of the contested villages were living and working together peacefully: it was on a higher level that the coexistence of missions in one place led to conflict. Chiefs in the villages concerned are mentioned in the government report as relevant actors, yet it is not clear from the sources what their role was.[42]

The rivalry led to a spatial distribution, a missionary version of the Scramble for Africa, with characteristics more like those of a chessboard (*schachbrettförmig*[43]) than of clearly delineated territories. Nonetheless, and even though they did not agree on demarcation or criteria, both missions did seem to share the idea that two missions should not be active in the same place, even though the Berlin Congo Conference and the German Protectorate Legislation had stipulated the opposite. The government, likewise, mediated in order to avoid the co-presence of two missions. Moreover, the colonial administration, primarily worried that the authority of the "white race" might be undermined by a confrontation visible to the indigenous population, insisted on a buffer or neutral zone between the

41 Archive of the Arch-abbey of St. Ottilien, Z.1.07, Spreiter 28.9.1915, Kwiro, to Kaiserliche Militärstation Mahenge.

42 Report by Captain Albinus, 25 August 1906 (BArch, R 1001/861, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 1: 11 March 1886 – October 1908).

43 Report by Governor von Rechenberg, 4 November 1908 (BArch, R 1001/862: "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 2: 27 October 1908–17 July 1912).

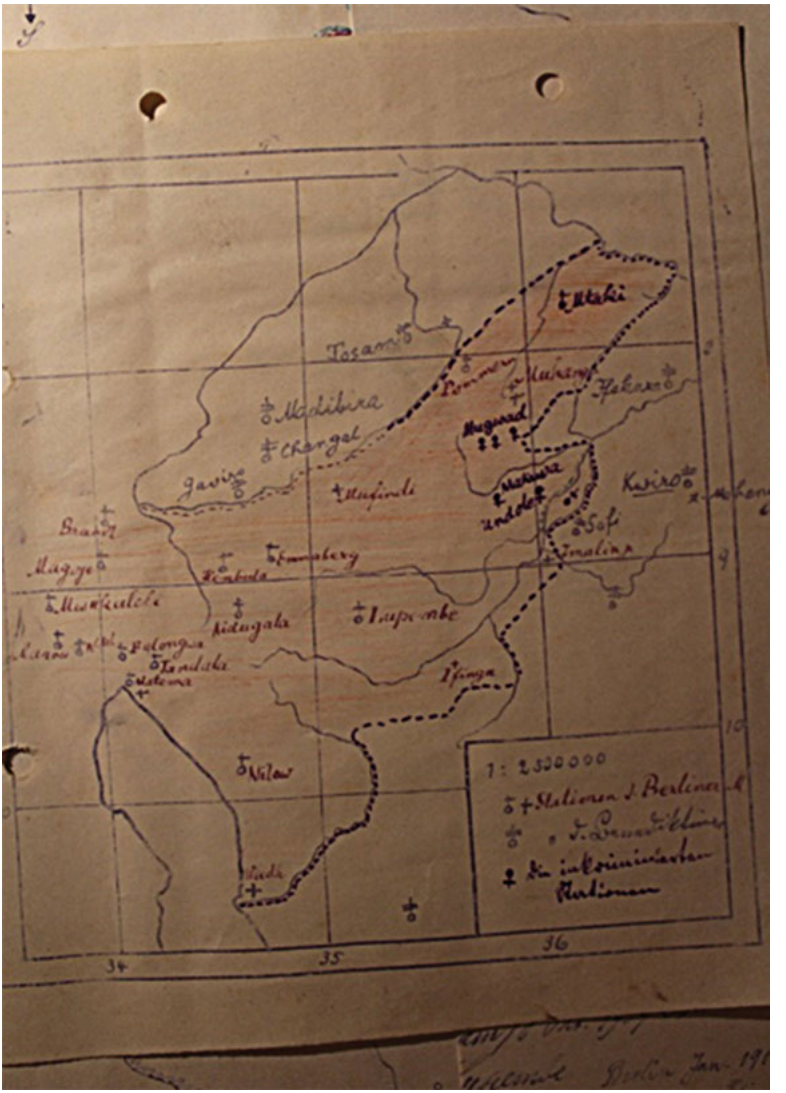


Figure 4.13: Arch-Abbey St. Ottilien, undated map showing stations of the Berlin and Benedictine missions, used in the dispute with the Berlin Mission, probably c. 1915.

two missions (Figure 4.14, incidentally indicating a "neutral" square on the "chessboard).[44] Mention was made of physical violence having been exerted against indigenous people in order to compel them to follow one or other of the missions, as well as by (European) missionaries of one denomination against (African) catechists of the opposing denomination.[45] The government was also worried about the use of "coloured" people (*Farbigen*, elsewhere *Neger*) as arbitrators in the conflicts, or eventually, in case of government arbitration, the necessity of relying on the testimony of heathen or Muslims (*Heiden oder Muhamedaner*) because of their impartiality in the dispute.[46] The colonial government insisted on demarcation, i.e. territorialization of the mission field, ideally coinciding with the language and ethnic boundaries which were being (re) defined in this period.[47]

The dispute was taken to the metropole, involving negotiations between the European mission headquarters and the imperial government. No less than four other simultaneous territorial conflicts were dealt with in the same year (1908): between the Berlin Mission and the Benedictines in Iringa-Mahenge, between the Universities' Mission and the Benedictines in Lindi, between the Berlin Mission and the Black Fathers (Spiritans) in Wilhelmstal, between the Black Fathers, the Leipzig Mission and the Adventists in Pare.[48]

Tellingly, the Moravians complained that the White Fathers had not included a map in their proposal to resolve the conflict. Although the Moravians did respond willingly to the White Fathers' proposal, the expectation of a map does underline the territorial thinking of the Moravians in their relation to the

44 Report by Captain Albinus, 25 August 1906; letter from Governor von Rechenberg to Superintendent Meyer, 18 February 1907 (BArch, R 1001/861, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 1: 11 March 1886 – October 1908).

45 BArch, R 1001/861–862, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 1–2: 11 March 1886–17 July 1912.

46 Report by Governor von Rechenberg, 4 November 1908 (BArch, R 1001/862, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 2: 27 October 1908–17 July 1912).

47 See, for instance, the border agreement between the O.S.B. (Benedictines) and the Berlin Mission, 4 July 1909 (BArch, R 1001/862, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 2: 27 October 1908–17 July 1912).

48 Report by Governor von Rechenberg, 4 November 1908 (BArch, R 1001/862, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 2: 27 October 1908–17. Juli 1912).

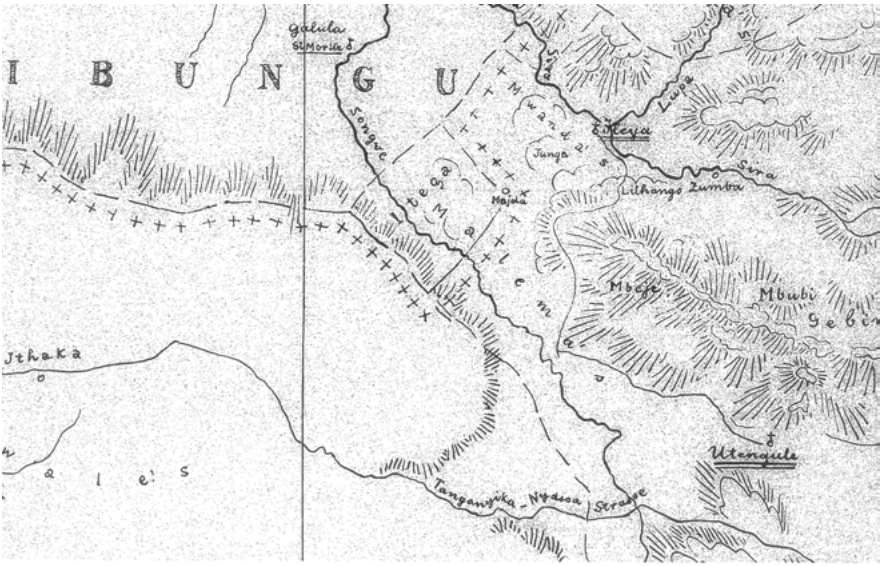


Figure 4.14: Fragment of map, indicating the Moravian suggestion for the demarcation between Evangelical and Catholic spheres of influence in the District Langenburg, German East Africa (1908).[49]

White Fathers.[50] At odds with this territorial spatial format, the Catholic advisor to the imperial government, Prof. Franz Karl Hespers, argued that for Catholics and Protestants alike, the obligation to save souls and the freedom of religion and missionary activity would always have precedence over any delineation on a map. Territorial agreements, of which several were drawn in the final years of the Twentieth Century's first decade,[51] could never be more than a temporary

49 Attachment to letter from the Moravian Missionary Direction to the Secret Council, 8 August 1908 (BArch, R 1001/861, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 1: 11 March 1886 – October 1908).

50 Letter from the Moravian Missionary Direction to the Secret Council, 8 August 1908 (BArch, R 1001/861, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 1: 11 March 1886 – October 1908).

51 Agreement on the boundaries between Protestant and Catholic Missions concerning the Hehe, Bena and Sango lands, 3 August 1906; Agreement between the evangelical and Catholic missions in West Usambara in order to delineate a separation between the two confessions, 16 March 1909; Border agreement between the O.S.B. (Benedictine) and the Berlin Mission, 4 July 1909 (BArch, R 1001/861–862, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 1–2: 11. March 1886–17 July 1912).

gentlemen's agreement, since neither theologically nor legally was there any limitation on missionary activity being conducted by Catholics and Protestants in the same places or areas.[52]

It is important to note that the dispute took place not only in German East Africa but also in Europe, between White Fathers in Rome, Moravians in Saxony, Benedictines in Bavaria (yet linked to Rome), the Berlin Mission in Prussia, the imperial government in Berlin and a Catholic advisor in Cologne. In 1887, the first case of missionary friction in the newly established German East Africa actually concerned intra-Catholic dealings: the French origin of the Holy Ghost missionaries and White Fathers raised doubts as to whether they would be sufficiently compatible with the German character of the new protectorate. In this context, the White Fathers agreed to consider themselves a German mission in German East Africa; on top of that, the newly founded Benedictine mission of St. Ottilien (Bavaria) became responsible for a mission area alongside the White Fathers.[53] Since these orders had no field experience in the area, the concerns were primarily about intra-European rivalries, German imperial nationalism, and carving up the map. It seems that what prompted the Protestants and Catholics twenty-odd years later,[54] in the decade before 1914, to discuss their respective spatial ambitions in East Africa was the intervention of the colonial government, anxious not to upset its own emerging and still fragile spatial order. By then, this was a two-way game: each mission did its best to mobilize the colonial administration in support of its own ambitions. At the same time, negotiations and contentions took place within German East Africa as well. The playing field of the spatial disputes was constituted by a missionary version of the Scramble for Africa (with attempts at effective occupation), negotiations between missionaries both in Africa and in Europe, mediation by colonial authorities in Africa and in Europe, as well as the active role of chiefs, inviting or authorizing one or the other missionary society to build schools or set up stations.

52 Letter from Prof. Hespers to the Secretary of State of the Colonial Administration, 2 January 1909 (BArch, R 1001/862, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 2: 27 October 1908–17 July 1912).

53 "Zur ostafrikanischen Missionsfrage", 24 September 1887 (BArch, R 1001/861, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 1: 11. March 1886 – October 1908).

54 Karolin Wetjen has discovered further material in the German Federal Archives concerning friction between Catholics and Protestants in German East Africa in the period 1893–1898. Also see "Konfessionelle Zwistigkeiten in Deutsch-Ostafrika", *Tägliche Rundschau*, 17 April 1901 (BArch, R 1001/861, "Streitigkeiten unter den Missionen in DOA wegen der Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete", vol. 1: 11 March 1886 – October 1908).

The First World War brought closure to these disputes. The "territorial" conflicts between the Berlin and Benedictine missions did flare up again in 1915, but other spatial issues that had been the subject of conflict were now regarded as having been resolved. However, new potential for conflicting visions emerged. During the forced exile of the German missionaries (1920–1925) the African elders and teachers whom they had trained found themselves obliged to choose and then apply their own definitions of what constituted Christian space,[55] particularly with regard to male and female circumcision. It was bodily space, not physical landscape or ethnicity, that structured Christian debates of the 1920s and 1930s concerning identity.

Conclusion

Mission spaces in German East Africa were intertwined with colonialism, yet not identical. The spatializations of Christian missions followed their own logic within a colonial context; they changed over time and also differed from one another. The production of territory and of tribal areas being the dominant spatial approaches of the day, the bounding of space and the attempt to let missionary zones coincide with fixated and homogenous tribal areas certainly played an important role in the spatial thinking and acting of missionaries in a colonial context. On the other hand, territorial and tribal colonial ideologies were confronted with local realities and agency, with landscapes and cultivated lands, with theological obligations and technological evolutions. This led to more local, more interactive, more haphazard, more peregrinating, and more multiscalar spatial practices and principles.

Missionaries' actions were based on specific shared understandings of space, which underpinned their space-making activities, so that they materially enacted these spatial understandings. In the context of the Collaborative Research Centre "Processes of Spatialization under the Global Condition" at Leipzig University, we have conceptualized this mutually strengthening mechanism, in which a specific conceptualization of space is sufficiently shared for it to underpin spatial actions and gain self-fulfilling and reproducing capacity, as spatial formats. In terms of Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of space, it is in the congruence of conceived, perceived and lived space that the spatial format becomes stabilized and reproduced. Such spatial formats include not only the bounded missionary area or territory, but also the entire mission field, conceived of as something open to conversion

55 Cf. C. Pohl, *Evangelische Mission in Tanga und im Digolan*, Münster: LIT, 2016.

and expansion; the perceived, conceived, and lived spaces of African leaders, elders and teachers, catechists and converts; local mission sites such as mission stations, schools or crosses, which are perceived as organizational forms and spatial claims at the same time; the mission building and its architecture; lines of communication and mobility; the interconnectedness between mission headquarters and station, between the Vatican and Catholic missions, between the colony and the metropole, between Africa and Europe.

When we compare this to missionary spaces in other parts of colonial Africa, we detect commonalities as well as differences. The intertwinement with colonialism is paramount, yet the distinction between missionary and colonial spatialization cannot be denied. Hence, the specificity of the colonial context influences missionary space. The example of Hemptinne Saint Benoit in Kasai (Congo Free State/Belgian Congo), analysed by Cleys and De Meulder, for instance, displays a degree of geometrical planning and missionary building of road infrastructure, which we have not attested in German East Africa. The ecological differences, with the presence of a navigable river near the Kasai mission station, as well as the colonial differences, with a Leopoldian/Belgian system of government relying significantly on the Catholic Church as part and parcel of the colonial project, help to explain the differences in spatial implantation. In another vein, the dissolution of German East Africa during and after the First World War led to a particular colonial situation, in which African agency gained momentum and shifted the spatial focus from territory to body. However, it must be noted that in the Belgian Congo, too, as Maxwell points out, the role of African missionaries had been crucial for the weaving of the web of missionary space.

All in all, missionary space found itself increasingly integrated in a colonial spatial order. This means that the Christian missions contributed to colonial spatializations, adapted to the specificity of respective colonial contexts, yet also provided spaces where the contingence and contestation of colonialism could develop. It also suggests that just like colonial space, missionary spaces were African-European entangled and multiscalar spaces, which cannot be properly understood without including local African dynamics, nor without including European imaginations and imperialism. As such, missionary spaces are first and foremost in-between spaces.