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SOCIOCULTURAL ROLE OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN GERMAN TOGO (1892-1914)

Summary: This article concerns the social and cultural role of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) in German Togo – the Catholic missionary order that commenced its operations in the colony in 1892 – and specifically the importance of its schools for the German colonial project in that part of Africa. I seek to substantiate the thesis that Christian missions were, in fact, vital for modern colonial states as holders – mainly through their educational efforts – of cultural/symbolic capital that is imperative for a proper functioning of any polity. The SVD mission made a considerable impact on social development of the colony through a network of competitive schools that it established, and for which it also secured a large part of the financial resources provided by the colonial government. The importance of mission schools for the colonial project, on the one hand, and their reliance on government funding, on the other, were also important factors in the settling of a protracted conflict about social justice between the order and the government (1903-1907). One essential component of the educational success of the SVD missionaries in Togo was a genuine interest of indigenous elites in the acquisition of Western-style education, especially in the south of the colony, which had been exposed to direct European influences for centuries.

Keywords: German Togo, Society of the Divine Word (SVD), mission schools, culture change, missions vs. colonial government.

1. Methodological framework

The theoretical basis for my argument is Pierre Bourdieu's thesis concerning the bipolar nature of social space – namely, its division into economic/political and cultural/symbolic poles. Thus, according to Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, social space should not be perceived as a “seamless totality” but rather as an ensemble of relatively autonomous fields or sets of “objective historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)”. (Bourdieu – Wacquant, 1992, p. 17) Capital in this sense is the primary measure of relations between agents in social space, which may take the forms

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of domination, subordination and homogeneity. Specifically, agents are distributed in social space according to two principles of differentiation: the overall volume of capital that they hold, and the structure as well as the relative weight of its various sorts. Bourdieu identified four major forms of capital: economic, political (social), cultural and symbolic. Cultural capital (embodied and/or institutionalized) is the “informational capital” or non-financial assets, such as accumulated knowledge, skills and objects related to scientific, educational, artistic and religious areas of praxis in differentiated societies. (Cf. Bourdieu – Wacquant, 1992, p. 119) The argument presented here concentrates on the colonial field and on the religious field that is regarded here as a version of the cultural field, in the sense that its participants hold and operate, primarily, cultural/symbolic capital as opposed to (and exchangeable with) economic/political capital.

Those who accumulated a sufficient amount of capital corresponding to their respective fields, including the religious (ecclesiastical) field, can enter the field of power – a “meta-field” with a number of specific properties – and thus acquire the potential “to decree the hierarchy and ‘conversion rates’ between all forms of authority” invested in diverse forms of capital. (Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, p. 17f) As such, the field of power could be seen as a “stock exchange” in which the values of different forms of capital are being temporarily fixed according to the dominant, “politically correct”, discourse that reflects current interests of power holders. In the last part of this article, I analyze this coordinating function of the field of power with the example of the conflict of the SVD mission in German Togo with the colonial authorities about various legal issues whose actual stake, however, was the preservation of the existing status quo and the “holdings” of each group of participants in that section of the colonial field, including the government financing of mission schools.

2. Education as a missionary strategy of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) in German Togo

Although the teaching of Catholic dogmas and moral principles, and the contribution to the territorial expansion of Catholicism have been presented as the principal organizational task of the Society of the Divine Word, it was the engagement in education, and the work with children and youth in general, that eventually became the main area of the order’s organizational effort in German Togo. (Cf. Thaurén, 1931, pp. 18–26)¹ In 1897, Apostolic Prefect Fr. Hermann

¹ As for the work strategy of the SVD missionaries in German Togo, Johannes Thaurén SVD distinguished between “direct” and “indirect” missionary methods. The first group included: a) the foundation of

Bücking SVD wrote: ‘It is not without reason that we put so much stress on education. One thousand years ago, Christianity and civilization spread in our German homeland through cloister schools; similarly, today, the expansion of our religion and of the true civilization in Togo should also occur through Christian schools’. (Quoted in Adick, 1981, p. 181)² Another SVD missionary working in Togo, Fr. Stangier, even furnished statistical data containing the number of baptisms in order to support the thesis about the importance of schools for the missionary project in the colony: out of 91 Catholic baptisms administered in the year 1901, he stated, 47 – i.e. slightly above 50% – were given to school children or to graduates of mission schools. (Stangier, 1901, *Fortschritte...* Presse Togo, p. 93)³

Adhering to the policy of winning converts among younger generations, the Togolese mission of the Society of the Divine Word soon became the leading operator of primary schools in the colony. The first of them was opened in Lomé, just a few weeks after the arrival of the first SVD missionaries in that town (1892), the future capital of the colony. The rapid numerical expansion of the SVD schools continued practically until the outbreak of WWI and the subsequent end of the German rule. Specifically, one year before the termination of German colonial state in Togo (1914) the number of SVD-led Catholic schools reached 197 (including two kindergartens), while the total number of students rose to 8,460, including 968 girls. Almost 50% of all pupils were non-Christians, usually identified as “pagans” in missionary reports, letters, and articles. (Müller, 1958, p. 210f) Additionally, the mission owned a technical school in Lomé (with 71 apprentices), a seminary for teachers in Gbin-Bla 21 candidates) and a school for catechists in Adjido with 22 students. (Anonymous, 1914, p. 48)

At the beginning of 1909, the Divine Word Missionaries also established a “middle-level” school or the so-called *Fortbildungsschule* (“continuation school”) in Lomé. After the seat of the administration was moved from Sebbe to Lomé in 1897, the town became the center of commercial and political life of

stations (construction of churches and chapels); b) the approach procedure; c) catechumenate and baptismal practice. The “indirect” method included: a) school activity, b) the formation of native auxiliaries (teachers and catechists); c) charitable activity; d) literary (scientific) activity.

² “Nicht umsonst wenden wir der Schule ein großes Interesse zu. Wie vor tausend Jahren bei der Christianisierung unseres deutschen Vaterlandes die Klosterschulen... die Pflanzstätten des Christentums und Zivilisation wurden, so scheint auch jetzt auf togolesischen Boden die Ausbreitung des Christentums und wahrer Zivilisation mit der Ausbreitung guter, im wahrhaft christlichen Geiste geleiteter Schulen gleichen Schritt zu halten” (English translation: Darius J. Piwowarczyk [=DJP]).

³ The information was extracted from a folder containing press cuttings attached to continuously numbered pages that concern the early SVD mission in Togo. The assembly of folders bears the general title “Presse Togo”. In several cases, no detailed bibliographical information (author, title of the journal, etc.) for individual clippings is available. The folders are kept in the archives of the Generalate (general headquarters) of the Society of the Divine Word in Rome under one signature number (45.536).

the colony, which, in turn, created numerous job opportunities for graduates. The *Fortbildungsschule* offered a two-year curriculum based on the knowledge acquired at the elementary level. One year after the initiation of classes, there were twelve “very ambitious students in the school”, as Fr. Nikolaus Schönig stated in his report, whose “performance during an official examination caused joy and appreciation of the imperial school inspector”. (Schönig, n.d.b, p. 140)

3. “Africanization” of colonial education

Colonial schools in Togo and other German protectorates were “Germany-centered”, in the sense that they transmitted and instilled values and attitudes that corresponded with the economic and political interests of the empire. Nonetheless, although such a system of formal education was a colonial project, it eventually became “indigenized”, in the sense that local elites came to regard it as a venue for economic and social advancement, and supported, both materially and politically, mission schools established in their communities. (Cf. Adick, 1981, p. 179; Adick, 1992, p. 37–41) The idea that Togolese children should “learn the book” (or acquire the “wisdom of Europeans”), as another SVD missionary, Fr. Witte, put it, (Witte, n.d., p. 77), was broadly accepted not only on the coast – whose inhabitants had been exposed to European influences for centuries – but also in the immediate interior of the colony, where the cultural impact of Europe was less ubiquitous. A number of missionaries who reported on the foundation of Catholic missions in various locations across the colony emphasized the generalized support of indigenous leaders for the schooling project. Thus, Fr. Lauer, writing in 1901 about his visit to Adjome near Porto Seguro, stated the following: ‘The chief of the village repeatedly asked for a school and said that the villagers are going to support it gratuitously if his councilors consent. But the councilors demanded that the mission supply food for workers, which would probably cost us more than wages for trained constructors’. (Lauer, 1901, p. 30)⁴

4. Government support for mission schools

As has already been stated, the area of formal education in German Togo was dominated by missionary organizations, both Catholic (SVD) and Protestant

⁴ “Der Häuptling drängt sehr auf den Bau einer Schule, und ist bereit denselben unentgeltlich aufzuführen, wenn die ‚Stadträte‘ mithätten. Doch die Stadtväter verlangen Beköstigung der Arbeiter, was uns vielleicht teurer zu stehen käme, als bezahlte Tagelöhner” (English transl. DJP).

(primarily the Bremen Mission). Still, during the illustrious governorship of Julius von Zech (1905-1910), the civil administration of the colony was able to introduce a measure of control over the content of school curricula and the implementation of its educational policies by mission schools. One important instrument to achieve this purpose was the annual distribution of government funds, from which the Society of the Divine Word benefited – by and large – more than its Protestant counterparts, in the first place because of sheer numbers of SVD schools, and – secondly (and more importantly) – the good-quality education that they offered. In 1905, for instance, the Catholic (SVD) schools in Togo received 57.5% of all monies distributed by the colonial government in that year (*Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Togo*, 1906, 1/10, p. 3) and – according to the report written by Fr. Schönig – five years later (toward the end of von Zech’s term in the Governor’s office), the SVD schools were entitled to even two-thirds of the government subsidies for education. (Müller, 1958, p. 210)

The disbursements were also a form of gratification for the degree to which educational policies of the administration were implemented by mission schools. Indeed, government officials who visited the schools, or gave examinations, frequently emphasized the quality of education offered by Catholic schools of all levels. In his article written in 1902, for instance, Fr. Kost recounted the visit of Governor August Köhler (1895–1902)⁵ to the SVD school in Lomé on the day of final examinations: ‘After the completion of exams, (the governor) expressed his satisfaction [with their results] and urged children to remain docile in the acquisition of useful and solid knowledge. Studying is not a game but necessary work; sometimes, it is even very hard work, particularly if one wants to learn the German language well. Still, this must not discourage you from studies because the more one works the richer and happier one becomes’. (Kost, 1902, p. 61)⁶

5. Boarding schools for boys

Boarding schools, where students remained under the permanent control of their supervisors, were regarded by missionaries as a space in which Catholic children could be protected from the “destructive” influence of the “pagan”

⁵ Due to the ever-growing importance of the Togo colony, it was not until 1898 that his office received the official designation of “Governor of Togoland” (formerly “Imperial Commissioner”). Köhler died in 1902 during his term in office and is the only governor buried in the main cemetery in Lomé.

⁶ “Nach Beendigung des Examens sprach er den Kindern seine Befriedigung aus und ermahnte sie, recht fleißig weiter zu streben zur Erlernung nützlicher und solider Kenntnisse. Das Studium sei kein Spiel, sondern erforderte Arbeit, zuweilen sogar, wie z. B. die Erlernung der deutschen Sprache, harte Arbeit. Doch dürfte solches sie nicht vom Studium abschrecken, denn die härter die Arbeit, desto reichlicher und beglückender sei der Lohn“ (Engl. transl. DJP).

environment. Such a strategy was based on the ultramontane conception of the Church as the city of God, and on the basic distinction between the Catholic community of believers and the “world”. In 1901, Fr. Kost wrote an open letter to students of the minor seminary in Steyl (the founding place of the order) in which he stated the following about his Togolese pupils: ‘As long as the boys are still children and come to school regularly, they are well behaved, obedient, and receptive to all good things. Many of them would even be exemplary students in Steyl! But the conditions here are detrimental to them; they must go back to the world, usually back to their pagan families, where they are exposed to many temptations that – like thorns and stony ground – threaten to destroy the good seed that was sown in them’. (Kost, 1901)⁷

As long as young students remained separated from their native cultural environment, therefore, they could be shaped into “good Catholics” and – by extension – “docile” members of the colonial polity through a systematic inculcation in them of virtues desirable from the point of view of civil and ecclesiastical authorities (as well as their future employers), such as obedience, cleanness, punctuality, and laboriousness. This kind of self-discipline could be relatively easily instilled and controlled within the structured environment of boarding schools. Not surprisingly, therefore, in the mid-1890s, about one-third of all children in SVD educational establishments in German Togo were boarding school students (*Interne*). The elementary school in Adjido, for example, had 70 students, including 34 *Interne* who lived permanently at the mission, where they were subjected to regular supervision. (Anonymous, n.d.a, p. 136)

6. Educating decent housewives: Catholic schools for girls

The education of girls and young women was viewed by the leadership of missionary organizations active in German Togo as a particularly important task. The formation of Catholic girls became the responsibility of one of the two female orders founded by Arnold Janssen – the Servants of the Holy Spirit (SSpS)⁸. The sisters opened a school in Lomé in March 1897, and in May 1901,

⁷ “Solange die Knaben noch nicht erwachsen sind und regelmäßig die Schule besuchen, sind sie recht brav, folgsam und empfänglich für alles Gute. Gar nicht weniger würden nach meiner Ansicht musterhafte Zöglinge in Steyl sein. Aber die Verhältnisse sind für dieselben zum Schaden. Sie müssen in die Welt zurück, müssen oft wieder in die noch heidnische Familie hinein. Die Verführung bietet alle ihre Stärke auf, kurz Dornen und steiniger Grund und harter Weg und was sonst noch den guten Samen zu zerstören geeignet ist, findet sich in Hülle und Fülle auch für jeden, der guten Willen ist“ (Engl. transl. DJP). In this text, Fr. Kost is drawing on the imagery of the Parable of the Sower (Mk 4: 3-9).

⁸ Arnold Janssen (1837–1909) was the founder of the Divine Word Missionaries (1875) and of two female orders: Servants of the Holy Spirit (1889) and of the Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit of Perpetual Adoration (1896).

they took over the already existing school for girls in Anecho. The education and formation offered by the SSpS sisters aimed at transmitting and inculcating in Togolese women skills and habits expected from nineteenth-century “domesticated” German housewives. (Cf. Lembke, 2020, p. 136)⁹ A posed photograph (Fig. 1), published in 1902 in an SVD missionary review, conveys the cognitive principles on which the missionary program of SSpS sisters in Togo, and elsewhere on the colonial frontier, was based. (Cf. Piwowarczyk, 2008, p. 126)



Fig. 1. SSpS sisters and their Togolese pupils (Presse Togo, p. 41a)

The photograph shows three sisters at work in such a way that certain domains of their mission, corresponding to typical domestic tasks of a nineteenth-century working-class European housewife, have been staged before the camera in one place and at one time: Sr. *Margaret* is ironing, Sr. *Vincentia* is tailoring clothes, and Sr. *Francisca* is taking care of children. The picture was taken in the backyard of the sister’s house in Lomé, where the neat lawn, well-groomed tropical plants, and white veils of the missionaries convey the notion of immaculate orderliness. (Anonymous, n.d.b, p. 41a)

The education of young girls at the sisters’ schools in Lomé and Anecho was therefore determined by certain cultural deemed “civilizatory” agenda.

⁹ The best way, writes S. Lembke, to get a husband permanently on her side and to retain his love and respect was to have an ever-orderly, spotless household.

Apostolic Prefect Bücking SVD, wrote in this regard in 1901: “Besides the teaching of writing and reading, the emphasis is placed on the acquisition of religious knowledge, as well as on the introduction of schoolgirls into the necessary practical housework skills, with the purpose of laying a foundation for good, monogamous, Christian families”. (Bücking, 1901, p. 54) The SSpS sisters also established boarding schools for girls ‘to protect girls from the pagan influence as much as possible’. (Thauren, 1931, p. 25)¹⁰ The transmission and infixation of these skills and habits were seen as the elevation of “deeply degraded” African women, as another SVD missionary in Togo put it, (Schönig, n.d.a, p. 96), to a higher *Kultur*, perhaps even to a higher ontological status, in conformity with the then dominant Darwinian notion of cultural evolution. An anonymous SVD missionary, for instance, while praising, “in general”, the diligence and industriousness of native women from the area of Porto Seguro, viewed them at the same time as “driven by natural instincts” and “wild”, and hence barely capable of starting a family characterized by “Christian values and probity”.

7. Education as a stake of the “Togolese Kulturkampf”: a conclusion

Being efficient operators of schools and enforcers of a particular cosmivision through discourse and ritual practice, the SVD order, indeed all missionary organizations active in German Togo, were – as holders of cultural capital – vital components of the colonial polity. Yet this fact did not impede occasional tensions and even all-out conflicts with the administration. The so-called “*Kulturkampf* in Togo” (cf. Gründer, 1982) is a case in point. The events were described and analyzed by several authors, including Karl Müller (1958); Arthur J. Knoll (1978); Karl Josef Rivinius (1979); Peter Sebald (1988); Bettina Zurstrassen, (2008); Jules Kouassi Adja (2009; 2021) and Rebekka Habermas (2016). While most of them approached this topic using methodological tools of history and related disciplines, the author of this article proposed elsewhere a view based on Bourdieu’s methodological framework (2017), namely as an instance of the self-preserving mechanism built into the structure of the colonial polity, that secured a balance between its two principal poles – the economic/political and the cultural/symbolic – in accordance with the shifting configurations of the field of power.

Thus, the term “*Kulturkampf* in Togo” refers to the lengthy legal strife between the Society of the Divine Word – in particular, the missionary team

¹⁰ “[um] Mädchen möglichst den heidnischen Einfluss zu entziehen...” (Engl. transl. DJP)

stationed in Atakpame – and the colonial administration that broke out in 1903 and lasted until 1907, although it ended effectively only with the outbreak of WWI. The conflict – a series of lawsuits and countersuits concerning corporal punishment, indecency, and defamation – eventually became politicized and triggered an acrimonious public debate about the quality of German colonial service and the practicality of a colonial empire in general.

The hostilities were initiated in March 1903 and involved Geo A. Schmidt – the district officer in Atakpame – and Fr. Franz Müller, the superior of the SVD mission in the same town. In September 1902, Kukowina, a village chief in the area of Atakpame, accused Schmidt (then on leave and absent in the colony) directly before Governor Waldemar Horn (1902–1905) of being severe and uncompromising toward natives. Horn shelved the case, however, without investigating the matter any further. (Müller, 1958, p. 161; Zurstrassen, 2008, p. 215f)¹¹ Schmidt suspected, nonetheless, that Fr. Müller encouraged the legal action against him, which the priest denied under oath. What followed was a series of suits and countersuits, including an accusation of indecency – raised by the mission in 1903 – specifically, that Schmidt maintained illicit relationships with a twelve-year-old girl Adjaro. (Habermas 2016, pp. 59, 70)

At this stage of the conflict, the Colonial Department of the imperial Foreign Office in Berlin sought to accommodate the missionaries' expectations and, in February 1904, transferred Geo A. Schmidt to Cameroon. Additionally, Freiherr von Rotberg, the deputy station officer who started the investigations against the missionary team of Atakpame when Schmidt was on leave, was removed from service after he had been found accountable for serious procedural errors and partiality.

However, in the course of the year 1904, this benevolent attitude of the Colonial Department was unexpectedly reversed, and the highest colonial officials in Berlin began to insist on rapid removal of Fr. Müller from the colony in “compensation” for the dismissal of station officer Schmidt. Even Fr. Hespers, a representative of the Catholic Church in the Colonial Council, who was consulted on the issue by Apostolic Prefect Bücking SVD, the head of the Catholic Church in German Togo, replied that “one missionary must be sacrificed on the altar of the Fatherland”. (Müller, 1958, p. 173)

As was to be expected, also the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, represented by Cardinal Girolamo Maria Gotti (1834–1916), took a position on these issues. On May 22, 1907, Cardinal Gotti informed Arnold Janssen that in view of the rapid escalation of the conflict between the SVD mission and civil servants in Togo, the imperial German government was now

¹¹ On May 11, 1905, Horn resigned as governor in connection with charges of involuntary manslaughter of a prisoner and was retired.

of the opinion that Apostolic Prefect Bücking, Fr. Müller, and Fr. Witte (another member of the Atakpame team), must leave the colony as well. The cardinal urged Janssen to make necessary arrangements as well as to nominate another candidate for the soon to be vacant office of Apostolic Prefect in German Togo. (Müller, 1958, p. 179) Eventually, only Bücking and Müller followed the dismissed colonial officers and left Africa permanently. Bücking was transferred to the order's headquarters in Steyl, where he worked as a novice master and served on the General Council. Father Müller was sent to Paraguay, where he founded the first SVD mission among the Guarani in 1910. (Piwowarczyk, 2008, p. 99ff)

As such, the “Togolese *Kulturkampf*” was an instance of negotiations between holders of various forms of capital – or “capital exchange”, to use Bourdieu’s terminology (1977) – that was conducted in a number of overlapping fields (political, colonial, and ecclesiastical) and in spite of its occasional viciousness, it was – contrary to the view expressed by Adja, (Adja, 2009, 157ff) – ultimately not disruptive to the system as a whole, and to the structure of power that existed in German Togo at that time. It happened because the entire process was regulated by the “meta-field” of power, represented by such prominent political and ecclesiastical authorities as Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow (1900–1909)¹²; Governor of the Togo Colony Julius von Zech (1905–1910); Prefect of the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith Cardinal Girolamo Gotti (1902–1916); directors of the Colonial Office in Berlin¹³; and Fr. Arnold Janssen, the General Superior of the SVD order (1875–1909). The conflict was not detrimental to the system for two principal reasons. First, the direct protagonists, both civil and ecclesiastical, were removed from Togo and either transferred to other positions in the colonial field or assumed other duties elsewhere. Second, although Apostolic Prefect Bücking and Governor Horn suffered a substantial loss of status and power, in the end, all major participants in the field of power mentioned above were able to preserve, if not even increase the political/economic and cultural/symbolic capital that they possessed. This concerns the Society of the Divine Word and its Togolese mission as well. Especially, the future of SVD schools in German Togo was one important element behind the appeasement policy of the Vatican because they were financed primarily from government money, receiving more than 50% of the entire amount disbursed annually for educational purposes. As education constituted the mainstay of the SVD missionary activity in the colony, the removal of the SVD personnel directly involved in the strife with civil officials

¹² The time spans indicate the duration of the term in office.

¹³ Oscar Wilhelm Stübel (1900–1905); Ernst Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Langenburg (1905–1906); Bernhard Dernburg (1906–1907).

was advantageous, indeed vital for the organizational interests of the order; it was the price paid for keeping that arrangement, and hence the existing structure of social space in the colony, intact. In this sense, both the SVD order and the Colonial Office in Berlin acted as typical “greedy institutions” (cf. Coser, 1974, p. 4f) by making all-encompassing claims on their members, seeking their exclusive, undivided loyalty, and removing them from their ranks, or transferring elsewhere, when vital organizational interests were being threatened.

Abbreviations

- n.d. – no date
SVD-Gen – Archive of the SVD Generalate, Rome, Italy

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Społeczno-kulturowa rola szkół katolickich w niemieckim Togo (1892–1914)

Streszczenie: Artykuł dotyczy społecznej i kulturowej roli Zgromadzenia Słowa Bożego (SVD) w niemieckim Togo – katolickiego zakonu misyjnego, który rozpoczął swoją działalność w kolonii w 1892 r., a konkretnie znaczenia jego szkół dla niemieckiego projektu kolonialnego w tej części Afryki. Autor stara się uzasadnić tezę, że misje chrześcijańskie były faktycznie kluczowe dla ówczesnych państw kolonialnych jako operatorów – głównie poprzez swoją pracę edukacyjną – kapitału kulturowo-symbolicznego, który jest niezbędny do prawidłowego funkcjonowania każdej organizacji o charakterze państwowym. Misja SVD wywarła znaczący wpływ na życie społeczne kolonii poprzez sieć zakładanych przez siebie konkurencyjnych szkół, na które uzyskiwała również dużą część środków finansowych przekazywanych przez rząd kolonialny. Znaczenie szkół misyjnych dla projektu kolonialnego z jednej strony i ich zależność od finansowania rządowego, z drugiej, były również ważnymi czynnikami w rozstrzygnięciu wielowymiarowego sporu prawnego między zakonem a władzami państwowymi (1903–1907). Jednym z istotnych elementów sukcesu edukacyjnego misjonarzy SVD w Togo było autentyczne zainteresowanie elit tubylczych zdobywaniem wykształcenia w stylu zachodnim, zwłaszcza na południu kolonii, która od wieków była poddana wpływom europejskim.

Słowa kluczowe: Niemieckie Togo, Zgromadzenie Słowa Bożego (SVD), szkoły misyjne, zmiana kulturowa, misje a rządy kolonialne.