

The Visual Vernacular: The Canonization and Celebration of the Uganda Martyrs as a Mark of Post-Conciliar Change in the Catholic Church

VOLUME I

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In the end, truth will be found in his work, the corporeal body of the artist.
It will not fall away. Man cannot judge it.
For art sings of God, and ultimately belongs to Him.

—Patti Smith, *Just Kids*

As I have read the gospels over the years, the belief has grown in me that Christ did not come to found an organized religion but came instead to found an unorganized one. He seems to have come to carry religion out of the temples into the fields and sheep pastures, onto the roadsides and the banks of the rivers, into the houses of sinners and publicans, into the town and the wilderness, toward the membership of all that is here.

Well, you can read here and see what you think.

—Wendell Berry, *Jayber Crow*

Acknowledgements

Prior to coming to Oxford, I had spent six years on the road. I moved from Massachusetts to South Carolina to California and back to Massachusetts again, visiting all fifty states of the USA (the lower forty-eight all by car) between 2007 and 2013. Initially my dog, and then my father, accompanied me, but eventually I drove alone. To be behind the wheel in the supreme blackness of night-time in the West had the satisfaction of feeling simultaneously both like running away and moving toward something, though I never knew quite what. In those long hours I often felt like the only person in the entire world, in the cockpit of a tight and cosy vessel, shooting off to the limits of a new frontier.

When I began this project, I thought that it would feel much the same way: a long solo journey into the unknown, tucked away deep in the semi-darkness of some library back corner. In truth, however, undertaking this research has impressed on me more than perhaps anything else ever has the importance of reaching out into the world, of collaborative fellowship, and of friendship. It has taken me (to quote Berry) out of the temples and into the sheep pastures, onto the roadsides and banks of rivers—in the latter example, very literally. It has taught me to appreciate the joys and ecstasies of the histories we share together. I am deeply indebted to scores of people that have helped and guided me in this journey, who have not only shaped me into a more skilled historian, but also a more compassionate person along the way. Sincerest, deepest gratitude is especially extended to:

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Two churches on either side of Putney Bridge, and the infinite sense of possibility and wonder (and just a little sadness) I still feel whenever I stand between them and look westward as the tide runs toward Mortlake;

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sit finis libri, non finis quaerendi

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Abstract

The Uganda Martyrs have grown to become one of the country's most persistent national symbols throughout the last 130 years. The two dozen African Christians put to death by the *kabaka* of Buganda in 1885 and 1886 have gone on to be memorialised in brick and mortar, in stamps and signposts, and in an enduring place in public memory. They maintain a commanding presence in everyday life to this day, both as a symbol of the Christian faith and of Ugandan perseverance and character amidst hardship.

This project seeks to examine the legacy of these martyrs as they took on an increasingly pivotal role in public discourse in the early years of Ugandan independence, as promoted and transmitted by the Roman Catholic Church (RCC). Specifically, it analyses the lively and enthusiastic co-opting of the Martyrs' story into the workings of the Second Vatican Council, and in the RCC's concentrated post-Conciliar activity in the developing world. The treatment of the Martyrs at this time provides a clear picture into the swiftly globalising aims of the 'new' RCC.

In this thesis, the use of the Uganda Martyrs' story is traced both broadly and specifically. Broadly, it looks at the origins of the martyrs' story and its growth as a phenomenon over time. By combining a variety of source material from missionary, colonial, post-colonial, and modern voices, it is possible to explore the different means by which the Martyrs' story has been utilised in the past 130 years. It becomes clear in the growth of this story that the Martyrs have come to symbolise a moment of intersection between local Ugandan and global Christian (and missionary) culture. The nature of this interaction, however, has changed significantly over time, often in unexpected ways. It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the nature of this narrated exchange, and articulate the nature of the transnational relationship it describes.

Specifically, this thesis focusses on two critical moments: the canonization of the Martyrs during a session of the Council in 1964, and Paul VI's subsequent visit to Uganda to bless the new shrines to the martyrs being built there in 1969. Both of these events provided ideal outlets for the RCC to display a new approach to Christianity in the developing world based on the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council, which had concluded in 1965.

In both of these events, the use of visual material is critical as a means of promoting a specific and idealised vision of the 'new' RCC in Africa following the Council. In the canonization, the incorporation of African fabrics, music, and dance into a solemn ceremony at Saint Peter's—truly a first of its kind in the history of the Church—heralded the Uganda Martyrs as exemplars of the new inclusive aims of the Council embodied by the Conciliar Decree on the Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et Spes*) being finalised at the same time. It brought the arcane, Latinate world of the Vatican Council to life in a way that published documents never could.

Paul's visit to Uganda five years later served to underline the goals laid out at the canonization, and demonstrate the continued growth of the post-conciliar RCC both to local Ugandans and an observing global public. Here, this thesis examines the buildings, altars, and religious objects constructed in Uganda at this time in greater detail. Notably, the two major shrines constructed in response to Paul's visit utilised new styles of modernism to create an entirely new design aesthetic on the African subcontinent. These avant-garde buildings, designed and constructed with the financial backing of the RCC, attempted to bring the architectural vocabulary of Ugandan religious buildings into a more globalised sphere. In both of these sites, the interplay between vernacular 'traditional' Ugandan styles and the established European styles of the Church and mid-century modernism attempted to create a new post-national, global space in which the new RCC

in Uganda could thrive, with ambivalent results. These buildings, more than anything else constructed for Paul's visit, sought to establish a permanent visual legacy for the RCC in East Africa.

This project utilises a novel combination of source material, bringing together work on the Second Vatican Council, Ugandan postcolonialism, and modernist architectural theory. It seeks to combine written material, in the form of official RCC documents and European press coverage, with a variety of visual media. It relies on extended fieldwork and site visits conducted in the greater Kampala area in addition to European archival material.

The ultimate aim of this thesis, after analysing the growth of the Martyrs' story and examining the role of the visual in this proliferation, is to assess the degree to which these figures have provided a successful substrate for catalysed transnational exchange. Just how effective were the Martyrs in achieving the global aims of the post-conciliar RCC? It is undeniable that the Martyrs have been a resounding success story for the Catholic Church. They have become beloved national figures who are the inspiration for highly popular annual pilgrimages and other public expressions of Christian faith.

To say that the Martyrs' story has uniformly followed the path projected by RCC officials, however, would be to misunderstand the persistence and popularity of these figures. The specific theological goals of Paul VI and other framers of the Second Vatican Council have mostly proven to be more aspirational than effective in this study, as the form of Catholicism practiced in Uganda has spun away from even the most radical post-conciliar visions of the Church.

The success of the Martyrs lies instead in the degree to which the canonization and Paul's subsequent visit cemented the Martyrs as a symbol of quasi-secular national pride—

pride in suffering and hardship, which went on to be employed to great effect as a means of solidarity and survival throughout the horrors of Idi Amin's regime. The Uganda martyrs did not become the internationalist symbol they were perhaps intended to be, but did serve a critical role in resistance and the persistence of Ugandan national character to the present day.

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Abbreviations

AIC	African Initiated Church
AM	Africana Section, Makerere University
CCR	Catholic Charismatic Revival
CMS	Church Missionary Society
COI	Central Office of Information
CRL	Cadbury Research Library, the University of Birmingham
CSVII	Centre for the Study of Vatican II, the University of Leuven
KY	Kabaka Yekka Party
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PIME	Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions
RAA	Rubaga Archdiocesan Archives
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
TNA	The National Archives
UMG	Uganda Martyrs Guild
UPC	Ugandan Peoples Conference
WCC	World Council of Churches
WCCA	World Council of Churches Archive, Geneva

I. Introduction



Figure 1: Paul VI arrives in Uganda for the first papal visit to Africa, August 1969. "The Road to Namugongo," pamphlet, Gulu, The Catholic Press, 1970, Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Miscellaneous Letters and Papers, Box CMS/ACC385, Folder O7, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham (hereafter: CRL).

It was from a pure blue Ugandan dry season sky that the plane descended, to be met by a delegation of Church and government officials gathered on the tarmac below. When the jet came to a stop at the Entebbe airport, a single figure emerged, clothed all in white and shrouded in a cape of scarlet. It was Pope Paul VI, and as his feet touched the sun-baked asphalt that afternoon in 1969, it was a moment without precedent in the history of the Catholic Church: the first ever papal visit to Africa.[1]

In this thesis, this historical moment is understood as one episode within the complex narrative of the Uganda Martyrs, twenty-two Christian men and boys killed in the kingdom of Buganda in 1885 and 1886, and their continued legacy in both Uganda and the Roman Catholic Church (RCC). The focus of this study is on the early years of Ugandan

[1] For an example of typical coverage of the Pope's visit, see: Advertising Photographers, Ltd., "Pope Paul VI in Africa," pamphlet, 1969, Nairobi, AF P 282.6761 A 38, Africana (Special Collections), Makerere University (hereafter: AM).
For greater discussion of this event, see Chapter VI.

independence (1962-1972): a decade when Catholic aims, guided by the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), overlapped significantly with conflicts over postcolonial control and the role of western beliefs in newly independent Uganda. Specifically, it analyses the enthusiastic co-opting of the Martyrs' story into the debates of the Second Vatican Council and post-conciliar activity of the RCC, as a means of showcasing and visualising the new universalising aims of the Church.

The treatment of the Martyrs at this time was unique, as they became the first sub-Saharan figures to be canonized in 1964, and subsequently the site of their death became the focus of the first papal visit to Africa in 1969. An examination of the relationship between the Martyrs and the Church in this decade therefore provides a clearer picture than any other narrative of the time of the globalising aims of the 'new' RCC, as it sought to envision and enact a truly universal Catholic Church, both in Africa and worldwide. At a time when, across Africa and the developing world, colonised peoples' movements were gaining representative voice, the RCC's use of the Martyrs represents a striking countermovement that sought to reorient these regional specificities into the global institution of the Church.

Throughout this decade of Catholic imagining and re-imagining, RCC officials utilised the power of dramatic visual scenes to create transformative impact. Observe, for example, the image above, depicting Paul VI's arrival at Entebbe on 31 July 1969. From images such as this and others published in official pamphlets produced contemporaneously throughout East Africa, we can see the careful visual strategies at work in this visit and in the broader post-conciliar strategy of the RCC, in the locations visited and the manner in which these interactions were photographed and disseminated to the public.

Paul's visit came amidst a brief period of intense attention for the Uganda Martyrs, and their evolving memorialisation in Uganda. Five years previously, the RCC had canonised the Martyrs in an elaborate ceremony at St. Peter's as part of the Second Vatican Council.[2] In 1969 Paul subsequently gave his own personal money to support the construction of a much larger and more permanent structure to both memorialise the Martyrs and celebrate the RCC in Uganda.[3]



Figure 2: Dahinden, J., Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, Namugongo, Uganda 1968. Author's photograph, 2017. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 1.

In Namugongo in August 1969, Paul made his declaration and celebrated a mass in a temporary gazebo in the centre of a hand-dug lake adjacent to the future location of

[2] "Ritus Servandus, a SS.Mo D.No Nostro Paulo P.P. VI in Canonizatione Beatorum Caroli Lwanga, Matthiae Mulumba Kalemba et Viginti Sociorum Martyrm, Dominica XXII Post Pentecosten, die 18 Octobris A.D. MCMLXIV," order of mass, Vatican Press, 1964, Rubaga Archdiocesan Archives (hereafter: RAA).
[3] Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 7: The Church's Role in East Africa is Increasing," press release, 10 Jun. 1969, Kampala, AF Q 282.67621 POP, AM.

the shrine. He then made his way to the site of the new structure: a modernist building of daring conical form designed by Swiss architect Justus Dahinden.[4] It would be the second structure related to the Martyrs that Dahinden would construct in the Kampala area, following a shrine completed at Mityana in 1967.[5] Paul blessed a piece of mahogany that had been crafted by a local artist, which was to be the new shrine's central altar. With the ceremony complete, he then returned to Rome and did not make another visit to East Africa.



Figure 3: Dahinden, J., Uganda Martyrs' Shrine, Mityana, Uganda, 1964. Author's photograph, 2017. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 2.

But why did Paul choose to come to Uganda in the first place? The Pope had already made history with his ground-breaking visits to Jerusalem in 1964[6] and to the

[4] Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 5: Contract Signed for Uganda Martyrs Shrine," press release, 11 May 1969, Kampala, AF Q 282.67621 POP, AMU.
[5] Elleh, N., *African Architecture: Evolution and Transformation* (New York, 1997), p. 168.
[6] Scarlett, P.W., "The Results of the Pope's Pilgrimages to the Holy Land: Maintaining Speed on the Road to Christian Unity," 28 Jan. 1964, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 178051, The National Archives, Kew (hereafter: TNA).

United States to address the general assembly of the United Nations in 1965.[7] He had gone to great lengths to demonstrate that he was a modern pope operating in a modern way. Compared to these visits, a trip to the still developing capital city of Kampala (Uganda having only gained independence seven years previously), and to a country with little historical significance for the RCC, seemed a relatively unusual choice.

If assessed in light of the Second Vatican Council that had concluded four years previously, however, the purpose of this visit becomes clear. The Council was the RCC's attempt to reorient itself within an increasingly secular post-war and post-imperial world. Of the many dogmatic and pastoral changes enacted during the Council, none was more influential to this purpose in former mission regions such as Uganda than *Ad Gentes* and *Gaudium et Spes*, the pastoral constitutions on the mission activity of the Church and on 'The Church in the Modern World,' respectively.[8] These documents decreed that the Church as an organisation must adapt to and welcome diverse local cultures in order to remain relevant and more effectively spread the message of Christ. Both *Ad Gentes* and *Gaudium et Spes* represented a stark change of position for the RCC, which had, in the ninety years since the First Vatican Council, taken an increasingly insular stance toward Church cultural practice (see Chapter IV).[9]

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[7] United Nations Office of Public Information, "Moment of Reflection: the Visit to the United Nations of His Holiness Pope Paul VI, 4 Oct. 1965," pamphlet, New York, Nov. 1965, UNO ST/OPI (02) 60, AM; United Nations Office of Public Information, "Never Again War! A Documented Account of the Visit to the United Nations of His Holiness Pope Paul VI," pamphlet, New York, 1965, UNO ST/OPI (02) 1965/4, AM.

[8] Paul VI, Pope, *Ad Gentes: Decress on the Mission Activity of the Church* (7 Dec. 1965), Vatican Online Archives (28 Jan. 2016); Paul VI, Pope, *Gaudium et Spes: Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, (7 Dec. 1965), Vatican Online Archives (26 Jan. 2016).

[9] See as an example of this attitude: Scarlett, P.W., "Latin Only to be Used in Roman Catholic Services and Teachings," 19 Mar. 1962, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 163899, TNA.

It was therefore no coincidence that a canonization ceremony for the Uganda Martyrs occurred at St. Peter's in tandem with the formulation and enactment of these documents. The canonization ceremony, to be discussed in Chapter V, was one of the first visible signs of the new direction Church leaders hoped the RCC would take as a result of the Council. It was a celebration designed to appeal specifically to the former mission countries that were becoming new independent nation-states, and to keep the Church relevant to believers who might have otherwise associated the RCC with white, colonial control**.** It was an act which was was clearly intended to transmit an image of aspirational, cooperative transnational Christianity. And yet, this thesis argues that this piqued interest in post-mission, newly independent nations such as Uganda also belied a shrewd, targeted and yet contradictory approach to securing the Church's future in the developing world.

Paul's visit was, in this light, a logical sequel to the canonization ceremony. It was a further key step in solidifying the post-Conciliar gains of the RCC in the postcolonial world. The visit focussed attention on the good works of the Church, and placed Africa at the centre of a renewed campaign for RCC dominance amongst Christian faiths worldwide.[10]

It is thus the story of the Uganda Martyrs that brought Africa to St. Peter's in 1964, and Paul VI to Africa in 1969. The story of the Uganda Martyrs has become one of the most enduring national symbols of Uganda in the years since. They have established a commanding presence in everyday life, as symbols of a community of Christian faith that

[10] Ecumenical progress was a clear and much-discussed outcome of the Council, though this thesis will argue that Paul's visit was more a display of the competitive strategies of the RCC. For an example of the kind of debate that sparked these ecumenical discussions in the lead up to the Council, see: Poulton, J., "What are the Theological Problems Posed by he Presence of the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda for the Native Anglican Church?" 1 Feb. 1959, IMC Archives: East Africa: Uganda Papers and Correspondence, 1913-1962, Box 26.6.004, Folder 4: Africa: British Uganda: Proposed Scheme of Federation, World Council of Churches Archive, Geneva (hereafter: WCCA).

did, in fact, flourish in the years following the Council—but which flourished in ways that the architects of *Ad Gentes*, *Gaudium et Spes*, and the Council as a whole could not have imagined. Indeed, the Martyrs have grown into a phenomenon which symbolises a specifically Ugandan perseverance and character that now sustains over 16 million Catholic believers in Uganda and attracts more than a quarter of a million pilgrims to Namugongo every year on 3 June, the anniversary of the key martyring episode in 1886.[11] In this growing cascade of vernacularized local popularity, we can see the Martyrs as unique figures of enduring national appeal. It is thus the study of these men and the evolving representation and perception of their story that forms the central focus of this thesis.



Figure 4: Martyrs Day at Namugongo, 2014, "Happy Martyrs Day," 2014, https://www.myuganda.co.ug/about-uganda/uganda-martyrs-day-2018 (14 Jun. 2018).

[11] Nakabazzi, C., "Special Events Based Tourism: Possibilities for Uganda—A Case Study of the Uganda Martyrs' Festival Namugongo," (MPhil thesis, Makerere University, 2004).

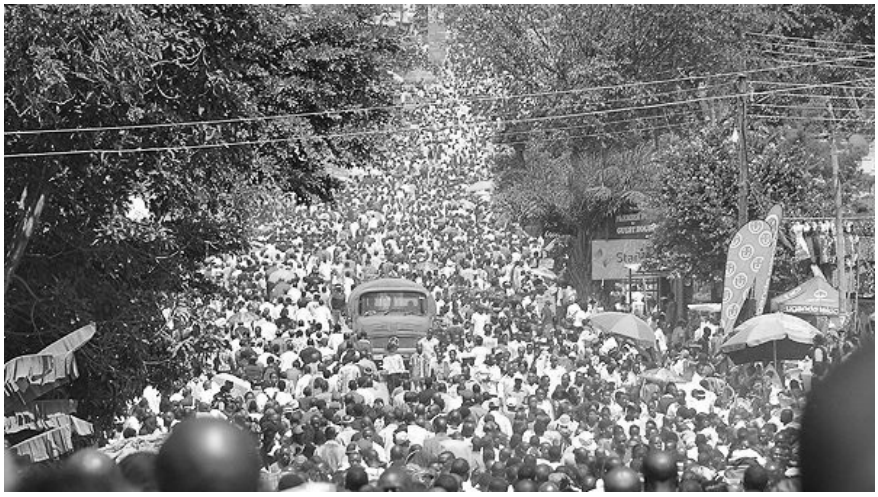

Figure 5: "The 2017 Uganda Martyrs Day Party Starts," 2017, http://www.glasgowafricansociety.co.uk/2017-uganda-martyrs-day-party-starts/ (14 Jun. 2018).

Historiography: A Topical Approach

This study is fundamentally interdisciplinary in nature. It attempts to find the meeting points of several disparate fields of historical and visual study. Topically, this project blends Ugandan political and church history, Roman Catholic history and the study of Vatican II, as well as art and architectural history. Thematically, it engages with ideas and debates on globalism and transnationalism, postcolonialism, memorialisation and the transmission of historical events over time, modernism, and vernacularism. In this manner, the study marries ostensibly opposed forms of historical discourse: global and local (in the institution of the Church and the discourse of local church communities), as well as the traditions of mission and the avant-garde of postcolonial modernisms. This study is then both an analysis of decisive institutional action at the Council and subsequently, and simultaneously, an investigation of local and often unheralded acts of faith and memorialisation in the following decades. By bringing together the scholarship in these separate fields, this thesis explores the points of interconnection—and, occasionally, misperception—between them.

This thesis analyses changing forms of Christianity in Africa; in its focus on the Martyrs, however, it also remains fundamentally a history of Uganda, and of its church institutions.[12] Ugandan history, and the history of its political movements, has often proven to be an elusive topic to easily summarise. Richard Reid's 2017 *A History of Modern Uganda* is the first major single volume of Uganda published in the new millennium.[13] Reid explains the difficulty of encapsulating the complexities of the region in a traditional 'national history:'

> Who cares when the place now called 'Uganda' comes into being, or that ultimately it appears to be foreigners who were responsible for it? On the other hand, it is vitally important, because it goes to the very heart of what an African 'nation' is—an externally created, artificial project which hapless natives must try in some way to make function, like a form of arranged marriage; or something rather more organic than that, into which external influences become refracted, and co-opted.[14]

With its tangle of questions surrounding periodization, agency, multiple and often contradictory autonomous regions shoehorned within arbitrary colonial state borders, and the ever-present role of the colonial past (and neo-colonial present), Ugandan history defies easy consensus as a topic of scholarly research.[15]

By focussing on the phenomenon of the Martyrs as it has crossed regional and national boundaries, this thesis will build on frameworks that emphasise the key relationship between religious and political history in the region, as utilised in scholarship

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[12] For more general histories of East Africa, see: Brett, E.A., *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa, 1919-1939* (Kampala, 2000); Maxon, R.M., *East Africa: An Introductory History*, (Morgantown, W.V., 2009).
[13] Reid, R.J., *A History of Modern Uganda* (Cambridge, 2017).
[14] Ibid. p. 7.
[15] For further examples of historical scholarship on Uganda specifically, see: Apter, D., *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: a Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism* (Princeton, N.J., 1961); Cohen, D.W., *Toward a Reconstructed Past: Historical Texts from Busoga, Uganda* (Baltimore, Md., 1983); Fallers, L.A., ed., *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence* (New York, N.Y., 1964); Ibingira, G., *The Forging of an African Nation: The Political and Constitutional Evolution of Uganda from Colonial Rule to Independence, 1894-1962* (New York, N.Y., 1973).

such as that of Behrend, Ward, Waliggo, and others in Holger Hansen and Michael Twaddle's *Religion and Politics in East Africa*.[16] And yet, the approach utilised here remains discrete from this type of religious-political history, and instead seeks to engage with these complexities by utilising the specific narrative of the Martyrs to build a framework of understanding that ties together elements of political and religious history, without being bound by them.

The same complexities arise in the study of the history of church institutions, and of Christianity, in the region.[17] Traditionally, the history of the Church in Africa has been the history of Western missionaries and explorers.[18] These histories provided factual information based on the records of the Europeans who came to the region starting in the nineteenth century. However, these narratives were compromised by the Western-oriented perspective from which they were produced. They were marked by limited or non-existent consideration of the agency of local actors, and often focussed on a narrative of rugged and enterprising white men 'civilising' barbaric lands. When these sources spoke of local churches that sought to be independent from colonial control, they did so with intense

[16] Hansen, H.B. and M. Twaddle, eds., *Religion and Politics in East Africa: the Period Since Independence* (London, 1995).

[17] For some broader overviews of African Christianity, see: Mutibwa, D., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda: 1877-1977* (Nairobi, 1978); Hansen, H.B., *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda, c. 1890-1925*, (London, 1984); Olupona, J., *African Religions: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2014); Pirouet, L., ed., *A Dictionary of Christianity in Uganda: Department of Religious Studies*, (Kampala, 1969), AF Q 276.761 MAK, AM.

[18] Examples of such studies include: Foster, P., *White to Move? A Portrait of East Africa Today* (London, 1961); Ledoger, R., ed., *Katigondo: Presenting the Christian Message to Africa* (London, 1965); Pirouet, M.L., *Black Evangelists: The Spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891-1914* (London, 1978); Rathe, G., *Mud and Mosaics: An African Missionary Journey from the Niger to the Copper Belt* (London, 1960); Tourigny, Y., *So Abundant a Harvest* (London, 1978); Tucker, A., *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa* (London, 1908); Ward, G., *Letters from East Africa: 1895-1897* (London, 1899); Wason, J.C., *East Africa and Uganda: or, our Last Land*, (London, 1905).

paternalism and dismissiveness, or from a dehumanising pseudo-anthropological approach that reduced Ugandans to specimens of study.[19]

There were considerable attempts to revise these histories in the late twentieth century, pioneered by scholars such as Adrian Hastings. Hastings' scholarship consistently sought to problematize earlier accounts by contextualising mission work within a broader milieu of African religious life. He was also present at Vatican II and returned to Uganda to reflect on its conclusions in the following decades: his role in the Martyrs' story, and in the progression of Ugandan Catholicism specifically, is a key part of this thesis and will be discussed further in Chapter IV. In addition to his two seminal works on the overall history of Christianity and the role of the Church in Africa, his 1971 *Mission and Ministry* worked specifically to acknowledge a more complicated relationship between African Initiated Churches (AICs) and the missionary RCC, and attempted to give agency to both Europeans and local Africans.[20] Hastings' work consistently sought to emphasise the leadership opportunities afforded to local Christians in AICs that they struggled to obtain in the official postcolonial Ugandan RCC. Works such as *Mission and Ministry* specifically worked to provide a more nuanced, hybridised explanation for the rapidly expanding popularity of AICs than previous mission accounts had been able to describe.

The work of Bengt Sundkler in 1968 provided a more radical alternative to this kind of African church history. Sundkler's seminal *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*

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[19] Such an approach is typified by works such as: Daneel, M.L., *Quest for Belonging: Introduction to a Study of African Independent Churches* (Gweru, Zimbabwe, 1987); Wellbourn, F.B., *East African Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches* (London, 1961).

[20] Hastings, A., *Mission and Ministry* (London, 1971); Hastings, A., *A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975* (Cambridge, 1979); Hastings, A., *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950* (Oxford, 1994).
For earlier work, see also: Hastings, A., *Church and Mission in Modern Africa* (London, 1967).

provided an extensive overview of AICs in the area.[21] For the first time in Western scholarship, Sundkler characterised these churches as a legitimate grassroots alternative to European-imposed mission institutions, rather than as temporary and insubstantial phenomena that would be swept aside by modernising and 'civilising' processes. He stated in the introduction to *Bantu Prophets*:

> This study describes one of the most remarkable achievements of the African religious genius. Out of a bewilderingly disparate plethora of Christian foreign missionary endeavours in countless African societies, a spontaneous yet extraordinarily coherent response is emerging, which indicates how creatively Africa can respond to the Christian faith when … foreign influence is withdrawn.[22]

Sundkler's statement was still not without problematic elements—his description of 'African religious genius' implied a degree of fetishization—but at the time it represented a substantial turn in the body of scholarly literature available on AICs and Christianity in Africa.

Sundkler's work inspired an entire genre of studies devoted to AICs.[23] These works focus on the transmission of the Christian message 'from below,' whereas mission histories, even revised works by figures such as Hastings, described the transmission of these messages from traditionally hierarchical sources. This thesis focusses primarily on these official transmissions, largely in visual form. However, this thesis will also demonstrate that the Martyrs were far more than mere mouthpieces for RCC messages.

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[21] Sundkler, B., *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (Oxford, 1961).
[22] Ibid. p. xvii.
[23] This historical approach remains popular to the present day. A brief survey of example works within the genre include: Barrett, D., *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements* (Nairobi, 1968); Jules-Rosette, B., "New Religious Consciousness and the State in Africa: Selected Case Studies," *Archives des Sciences Sociales des Religions*, 32/64/1 (Jul. – Sep., 1987), pp. 15-35; Jules-Rosette, B., "At the Threshold of the Millennium: Prophetic Movements and the Independent Churches in Central and Southern Africa," *Archives des sciences sociales des religions*, 42/99 (Jul. – Sep., 1997), pp. 153-167; Musena, P.A., "New Religious Movements in Post-Independence Uganda," (PhD thesis, Makerere University, 2000).

The alternate viewpoints that works of scholarship on AICs provide thus remains key to this analysis, and any examination of the Church in Africa.

This thesis, in its institutional focus on RCC action, documents the manner in which the global RCC responded to the rapidly changing context of newly independent Uganda in novel ways from the 1960s onwards. Thus, it will analyse an understanding of the local realities of Christian life in Uganda, but as a means of tracking Catholic strategy and response rather than as a narrative of local action. It studies the utilisation and adaption of local actors' stories by the 'global' RCC through the use of visual media and physical presence in official visits and Church-constructed edifices.

These studies discussed so far are generally based on the premise that the Church in Africa operates either in mission or 'independent' form. This emphasis on a strict binary, however, fails to provide a coherent analysis of African Catholic Christianity.[24] But what is it that is missing, and what is it that makes Christianity in Africa so complex to talk about? As Paul Kollman describes, the most common form of mission Christianity that came to Africa was and remains, by its nature, a Western intrusion into local belief, even when taken up by AICs; conversely, even a mission church controlled entirely by agents from Rome will still exist in an African setting and social environment. An African church cannot be described accurately as merely 'missionary' or 'independent' in origin, or in terms of any other strictly binary quality.

Kollman theorises that other means of categorisation must exist. As he writes, "Forms of Christianity in Africa today [do not exist] along an axis—independence from

[24] I specify 'Catholic' here because other forms of Protestant Christianity, notably Pentecostalism, have been often viewed as separate from other mission-based church organisations in Africa. A scholarly work that seeks to dispel this differentiation and better contextualise Pentecostal growth within a colonial and postcolonial context is: Maxwell, D., *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism and the Rise of a Zimbabwean Transnational Religious Movement* (Oxford, 2006).

missionary control, or cultural Africanness, or levels of political engagement,"[25] but are rather embedded within society and other institutions in complex but traceable ways. This method of conceptualisation provides a method of historical study based on tracking the Church's interaction with, within—and against—various other societal institutions: most often the state, in either colonial or postcolonial form.[26]

The work of John Lonsdale typified this approach. Lonsdale's scholarship on late colonial Kenya used Christianity and its changing but persistent role in community life to explain vast societal shifts and upheavals that occurred in the 1950s and 60s.[27] In these studies, Christianity was of central importance because of the manner in which it was able to adapt to a changing political landscape in ways that other social organisations could not.

Lonsdale's work others that study the Church-State framework as the basis of their organisational structure have many benefits to the field of religious institutional

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[25] Kollman, P., "Classifying African Christianities: Part Two," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 40/2 (2010), p. 125.
For more of Kollman's work, see: *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa*, (Maryknoll, N.Y., 2005).

[26] The following works provide a brief overview of typical religious-political studies in selected case studies: Hansen, H.B., *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting, Uganda, 1890-1925* (London, 1984); Kassimir, R., "Complex Martyrs: Symbols of Catholic Church Formation and Political Differentiation in Uganda," *African Affairs*, 90/360 (Jul., 1991), pp. 357-382; Lockard, K.G., "Religion and Politics in Uganda: the Case of Busoga, 1900-1962," *African Affairs*, 77/306 (Jan., 1978), pp. 22-35; Pirouet, M.L., "Religion in Uganda under Amin," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 11/1 (1980), pp. 13-29; Southall, A., "Social Disorganisation in Uganda: Before, During, and After Amin," *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* 18/4 (Dec., 1980), pp. 627-56; Ward, K., "'The Armies of the Lord': Christianity, Rebels and the State in Northern Uganda, 1986-1999," *Journal of Religion in Africa,* 31/2, Religion and Way in the 1990s (May, 2001), pp. 187-221.

[27] Lonsdale has written prolifically on this and related subjects in Kenya. Some key works include: Lonsdale, J.M., "States and Social Processes in Africa: A Historiographical Survey," *African Studies Review*, 24/2-3, Social Science and Humanistic Research on Africa: An Assessment (Jun. – Sep., 1981), pp. 139-225; Lonsdale, J.M., "Kikuyu Christianities," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 29/2, Special Issue in Honour of the Editorship of Adrian Hastings 1985-1999 and of His Seventieth Birthday, 23 June 1999 (May, 1999), pp. 206-229; Lonsdale, J.M., "Editorial: Agency in Tight Corners: Narrative and Initiative in African History," *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 13/1 In Honour of Professor Terence Ranger (Jun., 2000), pp. 5-16.

scholarship in Africa. They emphasise the centrality of the Church in daily life and in influencing and interpreting societal change. They enmesh Church activity within a larger narrative of political and historical events. Further, they demonstrate that the Church has remained vitally important in the colonial and postcolonial East African historical landscape, even as the nature of faith and religious practice has changed over time.

This thesis will examine the Church as an institution of global actors as they interact with strong local dynamics—missionaries, bishops, congregants—defined by the organising leadership of the pontiff, and the enduring local phenomenon of the Martyrs. During the period on which this thesis focusses (1962-1972), these figures sought to fundamentally reorient the aims of the RCC through a mix of words and visual displays and initiatives that transformed regions such as Christian East Africa into living theological experiments. It characterises the RCC as an institution fundamentally concentrating on preserving itself and its image in the rapidly decolonising global milieu of the 1960s. It will utilise the non-binary approach advocated by Kollman, but not to portray the Church as 'against' the state or any other Ugandan social institution. Instead, a continuum of faith forms the basis of our understanding of the highly complex social milieu within which RCC actors seeking to impose post-conciliar change were situated at this time.

However, the Martyrs themselves have also been, at many times in the public re-imagining of their story, intertwined within explicitly political narratives in Uganda. This thesis will assess this transformation of the Martyrs into national symbols at the same time that they were used to promote broadly global, internationalist cooperation. These ambivalences within the story of the Martyrs demonstrate the often fundamentally enmeshed nature of religion and politics in this region at this time.

It is clear that the history of the RCC is central to this discussion. A full survey of the RCC from its inception to the present day is beyond the focus of this study.[28] However, an understanding of the Church's history in the last 150 years, and particularly the years of and since the First Vatican Council (1869-1870), is necessary for analysing the RCC's approach to itself as an institution operating within a global political and spiritual milieu.

Scholarship on this topic has shifted significantly over time. In the early twentieth century, English language authors (thus, traditionally Anglican and Anglocentric) demonstrated a pronounced anti-Catholic stance. News of the Lateran Agreements and the Catholic Church's new temporal power in in 1929 inspired numerous British studies warning of the supposedly malevolent international purposes of the Church. This perception persisted through the first half of the century, and was ultimately one of the factors that motivated John XXIII to call the Second Vatican Council, which this thesis will discuss in Chapter IV.[29]

This effort at reorientation proved to be one of the Council's major successes, as historical characterisations of the Church after Vatican II were, on the whole, less negative than their ante-Conciliar counterparts.[30] In this way, the history of the Council is one that

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[28] For representative examples spanning the twentieth century, see: Herbermann, C.G., et al, *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church* (New York, 1907-1922); Norman, E.R., *The Roman Catholic Church: An Illustrated History* (London, 2007).

[29] John XXIII, Pope, "Radiomessage of His Holiness, One Month Before the Official Opening of the Second Vatican Council," radio transcript, 11 Sep. 1962, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 163900, TNA.

[30] For surveys of the Council itself, see: Irwin, K.W., *What We Have Done, What We Have Failed to Do: Assessing the Liturgical Reforms of Vatican II*, New York, Paulist Press, 2014; McCauley, V., *Vatican II Documents* (Fort Portal, Uganda, 1965); Rynne, X., *Letters from Vatican City: Vatican Council II (First Session): Backgrounds and Debates* (London, 1963); Stacpoole, A., Ed., *Vatican II by Those who were There* (London, 1986); Wilde, M., *Vatican II: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Change* (Princeton, N.J., 2007).

For revised post-Conciliar histories of the Catholic Church, including an increased emphasis on ecumenical movements between the RCC and branches of Protestantism, see:

both informed and was informed by the scholarly field surrounding it: the Council was called in large part due to the negative receptions of the RCC in the early twentieth century, and the Council successfully changed the tone of debates about the Church in the following decades, as focus shifted from topics such as the relationship between the Catholic Church and rising fascist powers in the 1930s, to the Church's role in humanitarian efforts and promoting world peace.[31] As we will see, the story of the Martyrs also embodies this same dialectical dynamic, where local actors and traditions both informed RCC thought and were themselves reshaped and reoriented through RCC action.

A strong additional motivating factor for the Second Vatican Council was the challenge of ecumenism, which had been a defining but troubling feature of the RCC's relationship to other faiths that were deemed schismatic for nearly nine hundred years. By the mid-twentieth century, however, this reluctance to participate in ecumenical cooperation had begun to constrain the RCC in the transnational post-war environment.[32] As this thesis will demonstrate, the Martyrs embodied an overt localised ecumenical

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Brown, R.M., *The Ecumenical Revolution: An Interpretation of the Catholic-Protestant Dialogue* (London, 1969); Conway, M., *Catholic Politics in Europe, 1918-1945* (London, 1997); Dillon, M., *Catholic Identity: Balancing Reason, Faith, and Power* (Cambridge, 1999); Seidler, J. and Meyer, K., *Conflict and Change in the Catholic Church* (London, 1989); Webber, R.E., *The Church in the World: Opposition, Tension, or Transformation* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1986).

[31] For examples of scholarship of these radically shifting global perceptions of the Catholic Church, see, as examples: Kertzer, D.I., *The Pope and Mussolini: The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in Europe* (New York, N.Y., 2015); "Pope Emphasizes Peace Efforts in Vietnam and the Middle East," *New York Times* (25 Jun. 1971), TimesMachine (3 Jan. 2019), p. 10.

It is also vital to understand the popes who led the Council: John XXIII and Paul VI. For a brief overview of the scholarship on these pontiffs, see:

For John XXIII: Hebblethwaite, P., *John XXIII: Pope of the Century* (London, 2000); Robinson, J., *John XXIII: The Universal Parish Priest* (London, 2007);

For Paul VI: Lee, J.W., "Paul, Nation, and Nationalism," in C. Stanley (ed), *The Colonized Apostle* (Minneapolis, 2011), pp. 23-35; Walsh, J. (ed), *The Mind of Paul VI: On the Church and the World* (London, 1964).

[32] For an introduction to the study of ecumenism, see, as examples: Devadas, D., *Ecumenism and Youth* (Geneva, 1995); Gros, J., *Introduction to Ecumenism* (New York, 1998).

cooperation that appealed to these RCC conciliar efforts. The kind of interfaith cooperation surrounding the Martyrs personified the lived realities of Christian life in East Africa in ways that academic discussions of ecumenical theory often failed to capture.[33] Thus, the study of the Martyrs at this time provides a unique insight into debates surrounding interfaith cooperation that were central to RCC strategy during and following Vatican II.

How, then, does this understanding of the RCC, its leaders, and the Council come together with the study of the missionary and post-missionary Church in Africa generally, and Uganda specifically? This thesis draws on two articles that sought to do just this. Melissa Wilde et al's "Religious Economy or Organizational Field? Predicting Bishops' Votes at the Second Vatican Council" (2010) is a sociological study of Vatican II that emphasises the critical role that moderate Africa-based bishops played in certain key votes at the Council that had otherwise reached a stalemate between blocs of conservative and progressive European bishops.[34]

Richard Gribble provides a more purely historical analysis of the subject, focussing on the role of the Bishop of Fort Portal Diocese in Uganda, the American missionary Vincent McCauley.[35] Gribble explains how McCauley's contributions to the Council had lasting effects both back in Uganda and in the RCC at large. These works demonstrate that the vast majority of historical and sociological studies of the Council, wherein the African presence at the Council has been erased completely or, at best, glossed over, provide

[33] As examples, see: Leeming, B., *The Churches and the Church: A Study of Ecumenism Developed from the Lauriston Lectures for 1957* (London, 1960); Nicholls, W., *Ecumenism and Catholicity* (London, 1952).
[34] Wilde, M.J., K. Geraty, S.L. Nelson, and E. Bowman, "Religious Economy or Organizational Field? Predicting Bishops' Votes at the Second Vatican Council," *American Sociological Association*, 75/4 (August 2010), pp. 586-606.
[35] Gribble, R., "Vatican II and the Church in Uganda: The Contribution of Bishop Vincent J. McCauley, C.S.C.," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95/4 (Oct., 2009), pp. 718-740.

limited or a problematic characterisation of African participation at this event.[36] This thesis will build on Gribble and Wilde's works to further illuminate the significant African participation and impact both during and after the Council.

The third broad area of study that this thesis draws upon is the history of art and visual culture. Most general surveys of the history of art are of little use, as African art has struggled to gain attention in this field, and is still commonly treated as marginal to the scholarly analysis of works within the accepted Western canon.

Earlier studies of African art took the form of recollections within the journals of nineteenth century white explorers, rather than as art historical studies of the kind then being produced for famous religious works in Europe and North America.[37] The aim of these travel accounts was to impress Western readers, and convey to them accounts of the 'wild' and 'uncivilised' nature of the places being explored. As such, these accounts were never intended to bring these works into the same realm of analysis reserved for Western art. Rather, their express purpose was to set apart these works, and the cultures that produced them, as incapable of producing artistic outputs worthy of intellectual consideration. It was in these exoticised characterisations of art and visual culture, along with accompanying descriptions of African rite and ritual, that the perception of African culture as fundamentally 'other' to European culture found a clear and visible articulation.[38]

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[36] A conspicuous counterexample to this trend is Conus, G., *L'Eglise d'Afrique au Concile Vatican II* (Uznach, Switzerland, 1975).

[37] Examples of these 'explorer journals' from different ends of the colonial period include: Rathe, G., *Mud and Mosaics: An African Missionary Journey from the Niger to the Copper Belt* (London, 1960); Wason, J.C., *East Africa and Uganda: or, our Last Land* (London, 1905).

[38] Though not about sub-Saharan African art specifically, still the most famous and persisting work of scholarship scholarship on these 'othering' views remains: Said, E., *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

This tendency toward a fetishizing emphasis on the 'other' has proven difficult to dispel over time. In the postcolonial period, works on African art were often still the preserve of 'area studies' of the 1960s and 1970s: a response to the post-modern turn in the field that did focus critical attention to neglected works and artists, but at the expense of preserving these movements as still separate to the Western canon.[39] In recent years there has been a welcome attempt to characterise and catalogue African art in a way that frees it from colonial and postcolonial perceptions of masks and ritual objects.[40] Overall, however, the majority of scholarship on African art remains general rather than specific, retains a focus on masks and other 'traditional' objects even as contemporary African artists have significantly reimagined the use of such media, and produces a gaze that evokes the exotic rather than one that seeks to include.[41]

If these are the shortcomings of a broader discussion of visual African art and culture, they persist equally in specific studies of architecture and church building in Africa.[42] There have been very few broad surveys devoted entirely to sub-Saharan African architecture, of which two are emblematic of distinct waves of architectural critique on the continent: Udo Kultermann's 1963 *New Architecture in Africa* and Nnamdi Elleh's *African Architecture: Evolution and Transformation* of 1997.[43] Several other shorter studies have

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[39] Mehler, A., and B. Hoffman, "Area Studies" https://www.britannica.com/topic/area-studies (14 Jan. 2019).

[40] For some examples, see: Kreamer, C.M., *African Vision: The Walt Disney – Tishman African Art Collection* (Munich, 2007); Savage, P. (ed), *Making Art in Africa: 1960 – 2010*, (Farnham, Surrey, 2014); Vogel, S. and Ebong, I., *Africa Explores Twentieth Century African Art* (New York and Munich, 1991).

[41] As an example, see: Willett, F., *African Art* (London, 2003).

[42] For a general overview of architectural history, see: Davies, P., *Architectural History Retold* (London, 2016).
For works of the history of ecclesiastical architecture, see: Gieselman, R., *Contemporary Church Architecture* (London, 1972); Klanten, R., and L. Feiress, *Closer to God: Religious Architecture and Sacred Spaces* (Berlin, 2010); Smith, P.F., *Third Millennium Churches* (London, 1972).

[43] Kultermann, U., *New Architecture in Africa* (London, 1963); Elleh, N., *African Architecture: Evolution and Transformation*. This book is Elleh's only survey of African

analysed various aspects of African building projects, but it remains a significantly neglected area compared to the architectural study of other regions.[44] Kultermann's 1963 publication was central to the first wave of African architectural analysis that responded to decolonisation. New capital cities needed public buildings that would embody independent and postcolonial ideals, stimulating an interest in African building and design. This was also a time when European architectural firms sought to use these decolonising regions as a proving ground for their newly theorised tropical modernist ideas, which this thesis will discuss in Chapter VII.[45] Africa was still seen, in these works and in the aspirational designs of the tropical modernists, as uncharted territory for new architectural ideas: a partial repetition of the 'blank map' obsession of the scramble for Africa.[46]

Such interest receded, however, when countries such as Uganda—and many other parts of central and southern Africa—experienced sustained political crises that made them

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architecture, but he has written several other books on the interplay between architecture and the construction of power, including: Elleh, N., *Architecture and Power in Africa* (Westport, Conn., 2002); Elleh, N., *Architecture and Politics in Nigeria: The Study of a Late Twentieth-Century Enlightenment-Inspired Modernism at Abuja, 1990-2016* (London, 2016).

[44] An important scholar here is Janet Berry Hess, whose articles on early postcolonial Ghanaian architecture and the construction of nationalist spaces are among the best in the field, and whose contributions will be discussed further in Chapter VII: Hess, J.B., "Imagining Architecture: The Structure of Nationalism in Accra, Ghana," *Africa Today*, 47/2 (Spring, 2000), pp. 35-58; Hess, J.B., "Exhibiting Ghana: Display, Documentary, and "National" Art in the Nkrumah Era," *African Studies Review*, 44/1 (Apr., 2001), pp. 59-77; Hess, J.B., "Imagining Architecture II: "Treasure Storehouses" and Constructions of Asante Regional Hegemony," *Africa Today*, 50/1 (Spring – Summer 2003), pp. 27-48.

[45] Liscombe, R., "Modernism in Late Imperial British West Africa: The Work of Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, 1946-56," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 65/2 (Jun., 2006), p. 196.

For a brief introduction to the concepts of tropical modernism, see: Koenigsberger, O.H., Ingersoll, T.O., Mayhew, A., and Szokolay, S.V. (eds), *Manual of Tropical Housing* (London, 1974).

[46] For a study of the 'Scramble for Africa' within an ecclesiastical and geographical context, see: Bonk, J.J., "Ecclesiastical Cartography and the Problem of Africa," *History in Africa*, 32 (2005), pp. 117-132.

For more general examples of scholarship on geographical and its role in imperial power, see: Lewis, M. and Wigen, K., *The Myth of Continents: a Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, 1997).

unprofitable or undesirable to western building projects. The historiography of architecture in these regions fell silent, only re-emerging in a second wave of scholarly interest during the relative peace and stability of the 1990s with works such as Elleh's *African Architecture*, which was at the time of its publication the first major scholarly work dedicated purely to sub-Saharan African building design in decades.[47]

Many of the works studied in this thesis were contemporaneously discussed in European architectural journals, at least in passing, as examples of the European-based theories of tropical modernism. The inclusion of these works within the larger theoretical milieu of European architectural discourse requires us to ask: are these buildings 'African' or 'European'? In grappling with concepts of architectural authenticity in Africa, many European designers tended to create neo-colonial designs that marginalised local agency. In the shrines built and dedicated to the Martyrs in the late 1960s (see Chapter VII), we will see clear expression of these ambivalences.

It is at the intersection of these three topics—the political and mission history of Uganda, the changing mission of the global RCC, and African ecclesiastical art and architecture—that this thesis operates. As this chapter has described, each of these fields of study suffers from parallel shortcomings and blind spots: largely, problems of generalisation, and the marginalisation and exoticisation of African cultural experiences. It is in response to these weaknesses that this thesis has been positioned. It aims to utilise the story of one institution's actions and responses in the changing context of newly independent Uganda, in order to analyse as a specific example of spiritual and cultural interaction between Uganda and the West. In studying the Uganda Martyrs and the artistic and architectural

[47] Contemporary, but perhaps less scholarly, accounts of African architecture include examples such as: Adjaye, D., *Africa:Architecture: Compact Edition* (London, 2016).

projects they inspired, this study seeks to provide a story of Ugandan worship and Christian life, and of Catholic strategy and action in the 1960s and 1970s. In analysing Western-designed buildings in the shrines at Namugongo and Mityana, it nonetheless demonstrates the unequal mix of local and global influences at play within each, visually reflecting the hybrid interplay of the global and local within the Ugandan RCC's spiritual practice.

Method: A Thematic Approach

Beyond these categories, however, it is equally important to examine the thematic methodologies by which these narratives can be approached. To some degree these methods have already been introduced in the preceding section, as they are intrinsic to our understanding of these broader topical characterisations. Some additional attention will be given to these concepts here, however, to better understand their influence in the field.

Most saliently, this thesis utilises ideas of the transnational and the global. These terms are interrelated but, for the purposes of this thesis, discrete. In this thesis, 'transnational' relates to cultural and economic exchanges that occur across nation-state borders, and which seek to overturn the primacy of the nation-state as a unit of understanding.[48] 'Global' is a more general term in this study, referring to the expansion of economies, political interests, and societal values beyond conventional borders.[49] It is a descriptive term, encapsulating the trend throughout the second half of the twentieth century for institutions—the RCC a key example among them—to extend their spheres of

[48] Huff, R., "Transnationalism" https://www.britannica.com/topic/transnationalism (5 Jun. 2019).
[49] As an example, see: Hotchner, H. (ed), *The Global Africa Project* (Munich, 2010). For an example of a global history of Christianity, see: Witte, J. Jr., *Christianity and Democracy in Global Context* (Boulder, Colo., 1993).

influence beyond their existing boundaries, but is less dependent on the concept of exchange than transnationalism.[50]

These terms offer the most direct conceptual point of entry to the aims of this thesis. This study is, ultimately, a discussion of values crossing borders, though not without limits or misunderstandings: Africa to St. Peter's, St. Peter's to Africa. Transnationalism and globalism provide a clear means with which to look beyond nation-state borders or other established geographical forms of narrative organisation, which have often served as an excuse to generalise about or ignore African experience such as this one.

And yet, while this thesis will certainly draw on the methods of transnational histories, it is not intended as a purely transnational history. The focus of this thesis is the story of the Uganda Martyrs, which is a fundamentally local narrative, albeit one in which the Ugandan 'nation,' which did not exist in its current form at the time of the martyring, is equally not treated as a self-evident unit of analysis. Additionally, it is a story of an institution—the RCC—and the manner in which it sought to co-opt the Martyrs' story as its own. The give-and-take nature of the participation of the RCC in the veneration and popularisation of the Martyrs adds a transnational element to this story, but it does not alter the intensely local importance of the Martyrs' story. RCC influence and engagement has remained strong over time—as will be discussed, Namugongo remains the only place in Africa to have been visited by three popes, so it clearly remains a site of interest for the

[50] A similar concept and related field of study is that of democratisation. Democratisation studies are more frequently in the realm of the social sciences, and deal with the growth—and at times, subsequent contraction—of democratic processes in different regions. They support a global view of historical events and of society in general, and espouse a view that favours the exportation and exchange of ideas and values. For some examples, see: Anderson, J., *Christianity and Democratisation: from pious subjects to critical participants* (Manchester, 2009); Ebole, S.O., *Human Rights and Democratisation in Africa: The Role of Christians* (Enugu, Nigeria, 2003).

Catholic Church—but the persistent popularity of the Martyrs has continued to flourish in ways uncontrolled and unintended by official Church patronage.

The concept of memorialisation is a further key part of this thesis. The means by which RCC officials sought to appropriate the Martyrs into very specific Catholic interpretations represents a specific and rhetorically charged form of memorialisation: one that was driven by a single powerful institution, rather than collective public memory. Memory studies commonly focus on the public reception of objects and events by examining the manner in which historical events are collectively remembered, articulated, and given new life over the passage of time. They draw on oral history and the changing reception of events through objects, literature, monuments, and ceremonies.[51] These works acknowledge the importance of the visual in objects and rituals that keep memories alive and allow for the importance of remembered events to evolve and change over time. Such studies have extensively covered topics such as World War II and the Holocaust,[52] but have been less frequently applied to African contexts.

Ronald Kassimir's scholarship on the Martyrs as a case study of memorialisation and historical memory is an exception and forms a key inspiration for this thesis. His 1991 article, "Complex Martyrs: Symbols of Catholic Church Formation and Political Differentiation in Uganda" examines the origin of the Martyrs as an important symbol of first broadly Christian, then more specifically Catholic faith. He describes the role of historical memory in the Martyrs' story:

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[51] For examples, see: Anderson, E., *Memory, Mourning, Landscape* (Amsterdam, 2010); Andrews, M., *Lest We Forget: Remembrance and Commemoration* (Stroud, 2011); Broderick, M., *Trauma, Media, Art: New Perspectives* (Newcastle, 2010); Parr, A., *Deleuze and Memorial Culture: Desire, Singular Memory and the Politics of Trauma* (Edinburgh, 2008).

[52] For some examples of these specific studies, see: Hirsch, M., *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York, 2012); Jacobs, J., *Memorializing the Holocaust: Gender, Genocide and Collective Memory* (London, 2010).

> One of the clearest ways in which we can explore the effects of the past on the present is to understand the process by which the past is remembered. How an event from the past becomes infused with historical significance, how it takes on various interpretations of its significance, how a particular interpretation may become privileged or hegemonic and how it may change over time—these are the questions which can assist in linking the past and the present in a concrete manner.[53]

Kassimir's study focusses on the initial phase of memorialisation in the Martyrs' story, in the period directly after their 1886 deaths. This thesis seeks, in part, to expand upon this scholarship by examining the continued memorialisation and growth of the Martyrs as a cultural and visual phenomenon through the years of 'official' RCC involvement between 1962 and 1972, and also to the present day. In the story of the Martyrs, we can see competing threads of the types of public memory described by memorialisation studies, and of the verbal and visual actions of RCC actors that sought to preserve Catholic hegemony in a postcolonial environment.

Another broad theme that this thesis will address in several ways is that of postcolonialism. Postcolonial studies, as the name suggests, focus on concepts relevant to societies emerging from colonial control.[54] They seek to revise colonial conceptions, and provide explanations for injustices, conflicts, and struggles. In this study, ideas of postcolonialism are entwined with broader concepts of social change associated with 'the 1960s' as a historical moment.[55] The focus of these latter studies has often been on local movements

[53] Kassimir "Complex Martyrs," p. 358.
[54] For general studies, see: Hiddleston, J., *Understanding Postcolonialism* (Stocksfield, 2009); Loomba, A., *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London, 2005).
[55] For a few representative examples of this broad field of academic study, see: Chalmers, D.M., *And the Crooked Places Made Straight: The Struggle for Social Change in the 1960s* (Baltimore, 2013); Marsh, R.M., *The Great Transformation: Social Change in Taipei, Taiwan since the 1960s* (London, 1996); Greenwald, D., *Signs of Change: Social Movement Cultures, 1960s to Now* (Oakland, Calif., 2010).

that swept the globe, as social movements representing diverse peoples and interests sought to overturn existing social paradigms and experiment with radical new ideas of cultural, political, and economic organisation. This thesis examines the ways in which the global Catholic Church sought to preserve its relevance at a time when traditional institutions like the RCC were being challenged worldwide, and make itself meaningful to new generations.

There has been significant scholarship on the role of Christianity in these postcolonial and change-oriented movements of this period, though these have primarily focussed on small group organisation from below rather than official Catholic strategy and response. In Latin America, for example, postcolonial thought and religious study found a clear common ground in 1970s liberation theology: a system of thinking that encouraged radical reconceptualisations of the hitherto colonial institution of the Church and its power.[56] Studies generated from a liberation theology perspective, while geographically distant from African experience, are central to understanding postcolonial discourse on the Church in Uganda and other African countries because of the relationship between religion and postcolonial movements that they describe. Inspired by the liberation theology movement, there have also been attempts to define black (mainly North American) and African theologies.[57] These approaches have limited direct influence on this project; they

[56] For an overview of the movement, see: Klaiber, J.L., "Prophets and Populists: Liberation Theology, 1968-1988," *The Americas*, 46/1 (Jul., 1989), pp. 1-15; Sekou, L.M., "Liberation Theology," *The Massachusetts Review*, 35/3-4 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 540-543. For scholarly responses to the movement, see: Bucher, G.R., "Toward a Liberation Theology for the 'Oppressor,'" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 44/3 (Sep., 1976), pp. 517-534; Gill, A., "The Study of Liberation Theology: What's Next?" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 41/1 (Mar., 2002), pp. 87-89.

[57] For an overview of black theology, see: Bosch, D.J., "Currents and Crosscurrents in South African Black Theology," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 6/1 (1974), pp. 1-22; Schoffeleers, M., "Black and African Theology in Southern Africa: A Controversy Re-Examined," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 18/2 (Jun., 1988), pp. 99-124.

do, however, emphasise the complex interaction between global, national, and local players in the proliferation and contestation of these ideologies.

The final group of themes and methodological approaches with which this thesis must engage are those of modernism and vernacularism. In this context, 'modernism' has two meanings. Specifically, it refers to the architectural movement popularised in the early twentieth century and made famous by architects such as Le Corbusier in Europe and Frank Lloyd Wright in America.[58] Though most often remembered for the production of secular homes and buildings, this modernist style found its way equally into the realm of ecclesiastical design.[59] It is from these origins that movements such as tropical modernism and the applied modernist aesthetics employed at Namugongo and Mityana, would later emerge.

For some examples of African theology, see: Mullin, *The Catholic Church in Modern Africa*; Wa Said, D., "An African Theology of Decolonization," *The Harvard Theological Review,* 64/4 Theology and Black Consciousness (Oct., 1971), pp. 501-524.

[58] For works on the modernist architectural movement, see: Gropius, W., "Bauhaus-Manifest," *Model Bauhaus* (1919), pp. 29-32; Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, tr. F. Etchells (New York, 1986).

For examples of modernism in Africa, see: Hertz, J.B., "Authenticity, Colonialism, and the Struggle with Modernity," *Journal of Architectural Education*, 55/4 (May, 2002), pp. 220-7.

Le Roux, H., "Modern Architecture in Post-Colonial Ghana and Nigeria," *Architectural History*, 47 (2004), pp. 361-392; Sanyal, S., "Modernism and Cultural Politics on East Africa: Cecil Todd's Drawing of the Ugandan Martyrs," *African Arts*, 39/1 (Spring, 2006), pp. 50-9.

For scholarship on Wright and modernism, see: McCarter, R., *Frank Lloyd Wright* (London, 1997); Pfeiffer, B.B., *Frank Lloyd Wright* (Cologne, 2000).

[59] For examples of modernist ecclesiastical design studies, see: Katona, V. and Vukoszavlyev, Z., "Modern Tradition and Liturgy: The Ways of Modernism in Hungarian Church Architecture in 20th Century," *Architektura & Urbanizmus*, 46/1-2 (2012), pp. 2-23; Proctor, R., *Building the Modern Church: Roman Catholic Church Architecture in Britain, 1955 to 1975* (Burlington, Vt., 2014).



Figure 6: Le Corbusier, Ronchamp Chapel, Notre Dame du Haut, France, 1954, https://www.archdaily.com/84988/ad-classics-ronchamp-le-corbusier (14 Jun.) 2018). For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 3.



Figure 7: Wright, F.L., Unitarian Society Meeting House, Madison, Wisc., USA, 1951, https://www.archdaily.com/133819/first-unitarian-society-meeting-house-tkwa/5014464a28ba0d5b490006fb-first-unitarian-society-meeting-house-tkwa-image (14 Jun. 2018). For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 4.

More broadly, however, 'modernism' refers to the conceptual ideals of the modernist movement which were far wider than architectural design, and which were underpinned by international and globalist tendencies.[60] In this way, visual modernism is

[60] This thesis will also make use of the term 'international' in a specifically architectural context at points. Here, the 'international style' is a term that describes the early years of the modernist movement in architecture specifically. For an overview of the movement, see: Hitchcock, H.R., *The International Style* (London, 1995); Kahn, H.U., *International Style: Modernist Architecture from 1925 to 1965* (Cologne, 2009).

linked to the transnational dynamics discussed earlier in this section. Architectural modernism was a reflection of globalising ideals, and its buildings can be interpreted as these aspirations made manifest in works of brick and mortar. The conflicted reception and legacy of these buildings underlines the ambivalent and often mixed success of these efforts, as this thesis will show in greater detail in Chapter VII.

Architectural modernism is analogous to globalism in its aims and premises. It seeks to promote a unified vision of architectural style that can be applied and adapted to any region of the world, even those previously seen as climactically disinclined to the construction of large modern buildings. These interests took specific form in Africa in the tropical modernist movement, led by British architects such as Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, who sought to use modernism and new technology to create new utopian spaces for African life (see Chapter VII).[61] Its opposites were regionalism and vernacularism. Regionalism pertains to architecture that is site-specific and not transferrable in its design or construction materials to other areas.[62] Vernacular architecture, like modernism, has two meanings in this thesis. On the one hand, it simply refers to buildings that are constructed without the oversight of an architect, using local builders and materials**.** On the other, vernacularism is a movement that prefers local builders and materials, and rejects the

[61] For examples of work on tropical modernism, see, as examples: Carranza, L.E., *Modern Architecture in Latin America: Art, Technology, and Utopia* (Austin, 2014); Jackson, I., *The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth Century Architecture, Pioneer Modernism, and the Tropics* (Farnham, 2014).

[62] A work of this field in an African context is: Hess, J.B., "Imagining Architecture II."
For a lengthier study of regional ecclesiastical architecture in America, see: Williams, P.W., *Houses of God: Region, Religion, and Architecture in the United States* (Chicago, 1997).
Examples of scholarly work on regional architecture include: Immerwahr, D., "The Politics of Architecture and Urbanism in Postcolonial Lagos, 1960-1986," *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 19/2 (Dec., 2007), pp. 165-186; Tell, E., "How do we Sustain Regional Architecture in the Face of Modern Models of Universal Internationalist Architecture?" (MA thesis, Unitec Institute of Technology, 2011).

importation of outside architects and projects to a given area.[63] The results of this interplay of ideology and practicality are still visible in Kampala suburbs to this day, in 'vernacular modernist' buildings that are almost ubiquitous: these often overlooked buildings offer broad potential for further study in the region.



Figure 8: Vernacular Modernist Buildings, Muyenga and Kabalagala, Kampala, construction dates unknown. Author's photographs, 2017.

This interdisciplinary approach allows us to examine the Martyrs' story in such a way that it becomes more than simple religious or architectural history—though it is clearly these things as well. Rather, it becomes a critical meeting point of diverse threads of global and regional ideas and ideals in action.

Sources

For this thesis, it has been necessary to utilise a diverse range of European and African sources. Archival resources at The UK National Archives (TNA), Church Missionary Society Archives at the University of Birmingham, World Council of Churches Archive in Geneva (WCCA), Vatican Online Archives, the British Library, the Royal Institute of

[63] For examples of work on vernacularism as a thematic framework, see: King, "Internationalism, Imperialism;" Lara, F.L., "Modernism Made Vernacular: The Brazilian Case," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 63/1, Vernacular in the Age of Digital Reproduction (Oct., 2009), pp. 41-50; Pieris, A., "Modernism at the Margins of the Vernacular: Considering Valentine Gunasekara," *Grey Room*, 28 (Summer, 2007), pp. 56-85.

British Architects (RIBA) Library, and the records of the Centre for the Study of Vatican II at the University of Leuven (CSVII) have provided letters, memos, newspaper clippings, and other primary source documentation of Western efforts at the Council and in colonial and post-colonial Uganda. Additionally, the National Archives, the British Library, the RIBA Library, and the University of Birmingham have provided a wealth of photographs and other visual material from the 1950s and 1960s. I have used these photographs to illustrate my assessment of the visual architectural vocabulary in use in Kampala and its environs at this time, as examples of an 'official' gaze that sought to propagate highly specific visions of the Church in East Africa and further abroad.

Documents located at Makerere University (AM) and the Rubaga Archdiocesan Archives (RAA) in Kampala, as well as colonial newspapers accessed at the British Library, have illuminated the Ugandan side of this project more clearly. Here especially, memos from government and Church officials pertaining to the planning and execution of Paul's visit, as well as other collected written and visual ephemera related to the papal visits to Uganda, have formed an essential core to the studied reception of the Martyrs' sainthood and memorialisation. Whilst in Uganda, site visits to both the shrines at Mityana and Namugongo, as well as other religious buildings in the area, proved invaluable to my personal understanding of the appearance and impact of these buildings *in situ*.

This visual discussion, and the understanding of architecture in newly independent Uganda that I espouse in this thesis, owes much to John Gillah Berry's "Art and Architecture of Churches in Uganda," a doctoral thesis submitted to Makerere University in 1975.[64] This thesis provided a rare non-Western taxonomic overview of the region in

[64] Berry, J.G., "Art and Architecture of Churches in Uganda," (PhD thesis, Makerere University, 1975).
A more recent version of the same style of dissertation can be found in: Moses, M., "Trends in Ecclesiastical Architecture in Uganda: the Last One Hundred Years," (MA dissertation, Makerere University, 2000).

the 1970s. Many of the buildings discussed by Berry were vernacular in their design and construction, and thus were overlooked by European scholars writing about western-designed works as they existed in a tropical milieu. The buildings analysed in Berry's thesis, many of which have since been demolished and so cannot be examined today, can better contextualise the work completed at the shrines at Namugongo and Mityana, and thus avoid isolating them within a Eurocentric context as other studies have done.[65]

Like many African historical studies, the process of acquiring sources for this thesis has not been without some irreconcilable gaps. Press coverage of some of the events surrounding the Martyrs' story was modest at best, particularly during the colonial period. For the history of the RCC, embargoes within the Vatican Secret Archives make a closer study of Paul's motivations impossible at the present time. Given these written lacunae, the existing visual record takes on even greater importance. We can understand much from the mediated visions presented to us in surviving official photographs and architectural structures, even when the official written record has been lost.

Organisation

The primary focus of this project is the period between 1962 and 1972: the dates of Ugandan independence and the commencement of Vatican II on one end, and the completion of the Namugongo shrine at the other. These dates are not fixed boundaries for the purposes of this discussion, however. To more clearly understand the unique place Uganda came to occupy within the RCC in this decade, it is necessary to look back to the origin of the Church in Uganda starting in 1877 and examine the story of the Martyrs and their deaths in 1885 and 1886 in greater detail. Additionally, the legacy of the Martyrs

[65] Specifically, images from Berry's thesis will be used in Chapter III to discuss colonial ecclesiastical buildings which have since been destroyed.

beyond 1972 will be examined as a means of concluding the thesis, as it is clear that persistent everyday memorialisation has become a central aspect of the Martyrs' continuing story.

Chapters II and III will therefore discuss the colonial period, clarifying the Martyrs' narrative and tracing the origins of Christianity in the region. These chapters analyse the missionary RCC during the early years of the Protectorate, focussing on the construction of Rubaga Cathedral and the 1920 beatification of the Martyrs to demonstrate the importance of these figures within a colonial milieu. Chapter III analyses church building projects within the region at the time. It highlights these modest building projects as examples of a hybridised, regional, vernacular style that emerged by necessity in the colonial period. This vernacular style will form an important counterpoint in the proceeding decades to the increasingly transnational architectural agenda promoted by the RCC.

The focus of Chapter IV moves away from Uganda to explore the Second Vatican Council in greater depth. It will outline the goals, successes, and shortcomings of the Council, and will assess the specific changes and decrees that would be of particular interest in the Ugandan Church in the decade to come, as well as the role and impact of African and African-based bishops at the Council in Rome.

It is in Chapter V that the story of the Martyrs and that of the Council become entwined in an examination of the 1964 canonization ceremony. This chapter will primarily analyse the figures and artists central to this event. It will also critically place the canonization within the globalist aims of the Council and RCC. It will demonstrate the deliberate manner in which the canonization was used to showcase the RCC's conciliar goals, and the hybridised nature of the Martyrs' representation at the ceremony as they took their place amongst the canon of RCC saints.

Chapter VI discusses Paul's visit to Uganda in 1969 as a means of further exploring the RCC's strategic use of the Martyrs' story following the Council. Here, we see that the RCC's focus on the Martyrs sits at an uneasy crossroads: between a genuine wish to celebrate the specific experience of this vibrant local branch of the Catholic Church, and a more calculated attempt to keep Uganda—and other newly independent nations in East Africa and beyond—within the fold of the 'new' globalised RCC.

In Chapter VII, we examine how these representations found lived reception in newly independent postcolonial Uganda, in the form of the physical construction of the Mityana and Namugongo shrines. In order to properly contextualise these buildings, the chapter will provide a brief history of competing modernisms in Africa and Europe in the 1950s and 1960s. It will also analyse the career of the architect of Mityana and Namugongo, the Swiss-born Justus Dahinden. In this chapter, divergent receptions of the Mityana and Namugongo shrines reflect the tensions and ambivalences present within RCC strategy in Africa and the developing world at this time.

Chapter VIII concludes the body of this thesis by following the development of these tensions into the present day. This discussion reveals that the actions of the RCC in promoting the Martyrs' story have resulted in profound, but largely unanticipated, effects on the Ugandan Catholic Church and Christianity as a whole. Indeed, their importance as a cultural and religious phenomenon has extended far beyond the limits of the RCC, and has become of meaningful importance to Ugandans of all faiths. The Martyrs have grown into a symbol of national pride within a milieu of intense regional conflict and corrupt and brutal governance in the 1970s and 1980s. The Christianity of the Martyrs today, however, is a far cry from that which Council participants envisioned in the early 1960s. Ugandan Catholicism today is certainly not an outpost of a homogenised global church, but rather has become a complex and intensely regional community that combines spiritual beliefs

in creative new ways. Despite this divergence between intent and impact, it is clear that the Ugandan Church today is still shaped in part by the Council's decisions and decrees. This chapter will attempt to capture the enduring nature of the Martyrs through these rapidly shifting periods of recent Ugandan social and religious history.

In this thesis, I trace the use of the Uganda Martyrs' story in two specific moments: the canonization of the Martyrs during a session of the Council in 1964, and Paul VI's subsequent visit to Uganda to bless the Martyrs' shrine at Namugongo in 1969. Both of these events provided ideal outlets for the RCC to display a new approach to Christianity from outside the traditional European sphere of culture and influence.

In both, the use of the visual is critical. In the canonization, the incorporation of African fabrics, music, and dance into a solemn ceremony at Saint Peter's—truly a first of its kind in the history of the Church—proclaimed loudly that the Church was headed in an entirely new direction.[66] The bright colours and the new and foreign sounds arrested the eye and the ear and demanded their rapt attention. They took the dry, arcane changes that Council bishops had dutifully debated in lengthy speeches given in Latin over the previous three years, and brought them suddenly to life.

In this way, the visuals of the ceremony, and of the subsequent shrines built in Uganda, are as critical to our understanding of Conciliar dogmatic change as the printed words of the Council's decrees. It is my contention that the visual effect of these sites and ceremonies reflect a careful strategy to make manifest the Council's conceptual goals. In the single event of the canonization, Ugandan culture came to the global stage at St. Peter's and the Council, and in the subsequent papal visit in 1969 a global style was brought to

[66] Cauwelaert, V., letter to Missionaries, 20 Oct. 1964, Papers of Msgr. V. Keuppens, Box 2, The Centre for the Study of Vatican II, The Catholic University at Leuven (hereafter: CSVII).

Uganda. In both, the interplay between vernacular 'traditional' Ugandan styles and the established European stylistic norms of the Church and mid-century modernism attempted to create a new post-national, global space in which the new RCC in Uganda could thrive. The RCC made careful use of the visual spectacle that these events produced to create and attempt to manage an idealised vision of the 'new' African Church.

This use of idealistic modernism was ultimately more aspirational than effective in its attempts to foster a new and more authentically 'Ugandan' Catholic Church. Indeed, the very concept of a European institution dictating the manner in which 'authenticity' is produced in an African environment is an ironic impossibility. The 'success' of these actions lay instead in the degree to which the canonization and Paul's subsequent visit cemented the Martyrs as a symbol of national pride—pride in suffering and hardship, which went on to be employed as a means of solidarity and survival throughout the horrors of Idi Amin's regime in the 1970s. The Uganda martyrs did not become the internationalist symbol of a new and modern global Church they were perhaps intended to be, but did serve a critical role in resistance and the persistence of Ugandan national character to the present day.

As we have seen, the story of the Martyrs spans wide physical and theoretical territories: global to local, European to African, internationalist to nationalist. It is the purpose of this study to demonstrate that these approaches are not as antithetical as they might first appear. In this story, it is possible to be both as global as the transcontinental strategies of the late-twentieth century RCC, and as local as John Gillah Berry's trips to photograph vernacular Ugandan churches in the 1970s. The strength of the story of the Martyrs is its ability to unify and bridge the space between these vastly different themes. As we will see, however, this meeting ground of global and local influence is not without complexity and

contestation: the Martyrs in Uganda are a study in unexpected consequence, and unintended effect. It is this interaction and divergence between the perceived goals of the Council, and its received life in Uganda, that makes this story ultimately so compelling and instructive.

II. The Martyrs



Figure 9: "Les Martyrs de l'Ouganda, Gloire de l'Afrique," Missi, 284 Nov. 1964), pp. 303-322, Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Papers Relating to Uganda, Box CMS/ACC385, Folder O5, CRL.

The men came from Lake Victoria on a bright morning in 1877, emerging like spectres from the haze of the water's surface as the boats slowly came into view. As the passengers of these vessels made landfall, they formed a strange prefiguration of the visit that would occur ninety years and four months later: white figures stepping foot on Ugandan soil at Entebbe. As with Paul's visit in the twentieth century, the effect of this arrival could not be predicted at that first moment of contact. These men, like that later visitor, were also men of faith: a small company of Church Missionary Society (CMS) explorers, arriving with the aim of expanding the reach of Christendom in East Africa.[67]

[67] Oliver, R., *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (London, 1965), p. 76.

This chapter will explore the early impact of these European religious figures in the area, in the period leading up to the creation of the British Uganda Protectorate Agreement in 1900. More specifically, it will document the relationship between the kind of Christianity brought and propagated by the missionaries and that which was taken up and expanded upon by local people. As this chapter will demonstrate, the death of twenty-two Christians in 1886 became a rallying point that simultaneously bolstered the established causes of European missionaries and colonists, while also propagating a locally specific form of semi-independent Christianity that existed outside European control. The cause of the martyrs was co-opted by both these missionary and local forms of Christianity with a lively immediacy that has persisted, in many different and shifting forms, to the present day (see Chapter VIII).

Early Christianity in the Kingdom of Buganda

1877 was several years before the Berlin Conference of 1884 which set off the colonisation process known informally as the 'Scramble for Africa.' It was still in the burgeoning years, however, of an intense period of exploratory interest in the African continent by European men, driven by hopes of abundant natural resources to claim and uncharted territories to map and control. Figures such as Henry Morton Stanley, operating under the protection of King Leopold II of Belgium, had discovered valuable rubber in the Congo earlier in the decade; from accounts such as his, it was possible for European statesmen to see the African continent as a cache of untapped wealth just waiting to be discovered. The men who came to Buganda in 1877 represented a second vanguard of this imperial probing, undertaken under the aegis of religious institutions rather than imperial governments.[68]

[68] See, as a specific example, the published exploration diary of CMS missionary Alexander Mackay: Harrison, A., *A.M. Mackay, Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society to Uganda, by his Sister* (London, 1890).

The area that now comprises modern Uganda was one of the last regions to be 'discovered' by colonial explorers—tucked away in the interlacustrine region between Lakes Victoria and Albert and protected to the west by the formidable Rwenzori mountains, it had no direct river access to the coast and thus had proven difficult to access for expeditions that relied heavily on river travel to overcome the difficulties of travelling to the interior. Explorers such as Speke, Stanley, and others had made brief contact with the region as early as 1862, and Stanley had even visited the royal court of Buganda and left behind one of his personal servants to serve as a page.[69] As a whole, however, the region remained mostly beyond the range of extended European engagement until over a decade later.

This small CMS group that arrived in 1877 formed the first major Christian envoy to come to Buganda with the intention of setting up a permanent station, but they were hardly the first foreigners. Alexander Mackay specifically framed his work with the CMS in 1878 as "being able to carry on the good work which Stanley had begun."[70] Well before these European explorers, however, Muslim traders had also been coming in small numbers to the region for hundreds of years.[71] Within this already bustling milieu, Roman Catholics led by Father Lourdel arrived in the region shortly afterward in August 1879.[72]

Lourdel and his colleagues were members of the White Fathers, a Roman Catholic missionary order based in Rome. The Roman Catholic interest in global expansion was especially strong at this time because, only nine years earlier, the Catholic faith had lost a

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[69] Oliver, *The Missionary Factor*, p. 75; Speke, J.H., *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (London, 1863).
[70] Oliver, *The Missionary Factor*, p. 76.
[71] Fee, S., "Hostage to Cloth: European Explorers in East Africa, 1850-1890" (Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings, delivered Sept. 2012, Textile Society of America, University of Nebraska – Lincoln), p. 3.
[72] Church Missionary Society, "African Church History," n.d. [1970], Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Notes on African Church History, Box CMS/ACC876, Folder F5a, CRL.

temporal home as the papal states were absorbed into the modern state of Italy.[73] For the first time in centuries, the pope lacked a specific geographic region where he reigned as an undisputed sovereign. This shortcoming would not be resolved until the 1929 Lateran Agreements that re-established Vatican City as an independent state.

Viewed in this light, it is of little surprise that Roman Catholic interests centred on global expansion in this period. Pius IX remarked bitterly in 1871, "All I want is a small corner of earth where I am master."[74] Such a temporal home was at this moment impossible, so Pius instead sought a broader global reach of the Church as a means of maintaining transnational relevance and power. By spreading the seed of the Catholic faith around the world, the White Fathers could obey both the guiding evangelical principles of Catholic worship, and also participate in the empire-like expansionist goals prevalent amongst European leaders of the time.

CMS missionaries had come to the area with similar directives as the White Fathers: to spread the reach of their branch of the Christian faith and to help secure the region as a new outpost of Christendom. For the CMS this task took on even more specific British imperial aims as well, as the group sought to identify regions of expansion for the Empire.[75] CMS missionaries saw their expeditions to Uganda as a preliminary search both for the expansion of Anglicanism worldwide and for the identification of new lands fit for British habitation on the equator. J.C. Wason, writing in the early twentieth century, described the region's potential for British settlement:

> The day is not far distant when the country will be covered with snug homesteads, orchards and gardens, while the country, as far as the eye

[73] "Italy Restored," *New York Times* (9 Nov. 1870), p. 4.
[74] Graham, R.A., *Vatican Diplomacy: A study of Church and State on the international plane* (Princeton, N.J., 1959), p. 182.
[75] Pulford, *Two Kingdoms of Uganda*, p. 51.

> can see, will be a rippling expanse of golden grain or snowy cotton blending into the forest-clad steppes.[76]

This hopeful tone clearly suggests the wish to make this new region attractive to potential British settlers, broadening the reach of the empire—and of English Christendom with it—as they colonised this new world. This approach was thus distinct from that of the White Fathers. When CMS and White Father missionaries met in Buganda at this time, then, it was not in the spirit of mutual aid and cooperation.[77] A combative relationship swiftly emerged between the two groups.[78]

In order to try to gain a monopoly over the area, both missions turned to the *kabaka*[79] of Buganda to try to win his favour and convince him to expel the other group. However, unlike in other African mission regions in this period, the strong political organisation of the *kabaka*, Mutesa I, required both Anglican and Catholic missionaries, as well as Muslim traders, to attend the royal court rather than set up fully autonomous stations outside of local control. The consequence of this action was that it forced the conflicting Christian missionaries into closer contact with one another than anywhere else on the continent at the time.[80]

Early CMS and White Father missionaries had a purpose in describing their expeditions using the language of barbarism and the conquering of savage, uncivilised lands, as such portrayals justified the need for their civilising mission. The region of Buganda in the late 1870s, however, was neither wild nor uncivilised. Nor, even, was it particularly antagonistic to outsiders. The kingdom of Buganda used a complex system of regional

[76] Wason, *East Africa and Uganda*, p. 81.
[77] This combative missionary environment will resurface in Chapter IV.
[78] Von Rheenen, *Church Planting in Uganda*, p. 45.
[79] 'King.'
[80] Oliver, *The Missionary Factor*, p. 74.

patronage to establish rule, with local chiefs ultimately supporting a *kabaka* who was based increasingly, at the time, in Kampala.[81] Some civil practices must have seemed extreme by nineteenth century European standards—polygamy and homosexual relationships were common, and the *kabaka*'s power unsparingly absolute. Despite these differences, however, the kingdom of Buganda enjoyed a high degree of political stability and economic success, bolstered by the benefit of foreign Muslim traders centuries ahead of the Christians' arrival.[82]

The *kabaka* at the time of these late 1870s missionary arrivals was Mutesa I. Mutesa was a laissez-faire ruler who had already allowed for the construction of mosques in Mengo, the royal city, and now welcomed both the new Anglicans and Catholics into his royal court.[83] His tolerance of these new faiths had a limit, however: a decade previously, shortly after this overture toward Muslim interests, he had brutally slaughtered a group of chiefs who became too devout in the new faith. When Mutesa later fell ill in 1880, he ordered the sacrifice of hundreds of subjects in an appeal to the gods of the local Ganda religion in order to heal himself.[84] In these moments of extremity, it became clear that new faiths would be allowed in Mutesa's court, but only if they did not interfere with the *kabaka*'s supreme power.

The CMS and White Fathers enjoyed a position of equality with Islam and the local Ganda religion in Mutesa's court. The Christian missionaries, however, viewed these other faiths as heretical and chafed as being placed on an equal level of legitimacy.[85] Both White

[81] Faupel, J.F., *African Holocaust: The Story of the Uganda Martyrs* (London, 1962), p. 1.
[82] Ibid. p. 3.
[83] Brierley, J. and Spear, T., "Mutesa, The Missionaries, and Christian Conversion in Buganda," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 21/4 (1988), p. 602.
[84] Oliver, *The Missionary Factor*, p. 77.
[85] Ibid. p. 70.

Father and CMS leaders sought preferential status, leading to increasingly adversarial tensions within the royal court.

Both White Father and CMS missionaries understood that, within the general population, there was a finite number of potential converts. In this light, any other Christian group working in the same geographical territory was attempting to 'steal' souls from their true faith. Both Catholics and Anglicans made increasingly bold claims about the nature of salvation offered by their faiths, often confounding locals who saw little difference between the two branches of Christianity. They also used the natural disasters and plagues that had beset the kingdom in the years prior to their arrival as evidence that the local Ganda religion was not effective, and tempted people toward the Christian cause with promises that conversion would bring relief from such disasters.[86]

Despite some difficulties, Christianity was on the rise in the region through the early years of the 1880s, with converts coming from even among Mutesa's court.[87] All of this changed in 1884, however, when Mutesa became ill—modern theories speculate that, based on his symptomology, he suffered from syphilis—and died.[88] His replacement was the eighteen-year-old Mwanga. Mwanga was, immediately, a very different kind of ruler than his predecessor. Whereas (mostly Eurocentric) accounts generally describe Mutesa as genial,[89] Mwanga was known for an intense temper that found expression in sudden bursts

[86] Brierley and Spear, "Mutesa, The Missionaries," p. 603.
[87] New religions were also increasingly becoming a way for a new class of younger chiefs to express power in the royal court, leading to a tense relationship between faith and power under Mutesa. See: Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*, p. 148.
[88] Lavigerie, *The Martyrs of Uganda: Based on a Letter of Bishop Livinhac* (London, 1920), p. 11.
[89] Church of Uganda, "Uganda Saints: The Story of the Uganda Martyrs," pamphlet, Kampala, 1969, AM, p. 2.

of rage. Some accounts describe the new *kabaka* as "fickle, fitful, revengeful and capable of the most premeditated action."[90]

Mwanga's youth meant that he ruled over many chiefs who were older than him. These older chiefs saw his ascension to the throne as a chance to increase their regional autonomy, and so tried to exert pressure on him. Lacking confidence in his own leadership, he relied increasingly on the guidance of his *katikiro*,[91] who was not a Christian, but rather an adherent of the local Ganda polytheistic tradition that had existed in the area before the coming of the missionaries or traders.[92]

Mwanga had been initially fascinated by Christianity, and flattered by the attention lavished on him by the missionaries. By the time of his coronation, he had even announced his conversion to the new faith.[93] Arguably, however, this conversion was in name only and served mainly to demonstrate his initial congeniality toward the new missionaries: it was probably not an actual devotional change of spirit.[94] Like his predecessor, he kept multiple wives and male pages as sexual escorts. Unlike Mutesa, however, he lacked the political control over his regional chiefs to maintain his authority without conflict.

Almost immediately upon Mwanga's ascension to the throne, the relative stability of interfaith relations in the royal court began to break apart. Older non-Christian chiefs chafed at being ruled by a young Christian *kabaka* and began the rumblings of dissent. According to mission accounts, Mwanga made early promises to the Christian community that further fuelled these rumours:

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[90] Kiwanuka, Dr. M.S.M., "Background to the Martyrs," booklet, Kampala, The Uganda Society, 1969, AM, p. 2.
[91] prime minister.
[92] Kiwanuka, "Background to the Martyrs," p. 2.
[93] Faupel, *African Holocaust*, p. 3.
[94] "Uganda Saints: The Story of the Uganda Martyrs," p.8.

> He [Mwanga] declared openly that he owed his elevation to the throne to the prayers of the Christians, and to show his gratitude to their God he vowed to boldly break off with the old superstitions of his forefathers.[95]

As Kiwanuka further elaborates, there was a sharp delineation between younger and older chiefs within Mwanga's court. The older generation was a staunch supporter of the Ganda religion, largely mistrustful of outsiders, and unfriendly toward the new influx of Christians and Muslim traders in the region. They were also a decreasing majority, so felt their positions of power threatened by younger members of the royal court. The younger generation, meanwhile, represented a broad range of faiths, including Christianity and local religious views.[96]

What remains unclear is the degree to which Mwanga's *katikiro*, motivated by a hatred of the Christian faith, played a specific role in these upheavals. All accounts of this period come from mission writers, most recollecting their memories ten, twenty, or more years after the fact, in the early years of the British colonial protectorate. These sources, unsurprisingly, paint the local religious tradition as the main evil in Mwanga's court, and the *katikiro* as its primary agent. Streicher, writing as part of the early movement to garner a venerated status for the martyrs (see Chapter III), depicted Mukasa as a cruel savage, given to random acts of torture for his personal amusement.[97] Even later, more revisionist accounts suggested that Mwanga was easily led by his *katikiro*'s influence. Kiwanuka, for example, described in the 1960s the relationship between Mukasa and Mwanga in highly toxic terms:

> Mukasa's influence over Mwanga was due to the latter's hostility to the Christian converts. He regularly poisoned Mwanga's mind by warning him that the Chirstians would one day be too powerful for him.[98]

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[95] Lavigerie, *The Martyrs of Uganda*, p. 11.
[96] Kiwanuka, "Background to the Martyrs," p. 7.
[97] Streicher, H., *The Martyrs of Uganda, Beatified on June 6th 1920*, with Streicher's handwritten annotations (London, 1937), RAA, p. 2.
[98] Kiwanuka, "Background to the Martyrs," p. 3.

The events in Mwanga's reign have thus been depicted as the result of the poisoning of Mwanga's mind by the manipulative, Christian-hating Mukasa.

This telling of events is certainly plausible, if somewhat simplistic and misleading. Mukasa was undoubtedly a crucial figure in the royal court and was staunchly loyal to his faith. But this version of events, wherein Mwanga seems to have served as his *katikiro*'s puppet, does not provide a particularly compelling or complete account of the complex relationships at play in the royal court at the time.

Kiwanuka's scholarship undertaken at Makerere University attempted to make use of the oral accounts of first-hand observers still alive in the 1960s to give a more complete view of the period than the missionary accounts. This research revealed a broader view of the political turmoil brewing in Mwanga's young court, and suggested that it was hardly Mukasa alone who drove the actions of 1885 and 1886.

Instead, it is possible from these accounts to advance a more nuanced version of the conflict, where the anti-Christian sentiment of the *katikiro* was symptomatic of broader intergenerational tensions that had come out in Mwanga's court. Older leaders tended to retain their local religious faith, while younger chiefs were more likely to take on Christianity.[99] These older chiefs felt threatened by the sudden importation and embrace of Christianity by younger members of the royal court, which they perceived as a form of ingratiation with the new, freshly converted Christian king. In their eyes, Mwanga's youth, coupled with the sudden popularity of this young persons' religion, threatened to upend the generational hierarchy wherein older chiefs enjoyed relatively more power than their

[99] This hypothesis is based on the work of Mark Winter, among others, who have studied the popularity of Pentecostal churches in modern Uganda as a means of upending the traditional generational-based status quo. See, for example: Winter, M., "The Balokole and the Protestant Ethic: A Critique," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 14/1 (1983), pp. 58-73.

younger counterparts. Using the *katikiro* as a mouthpiece for their wishes to subvert this threat could have been part of a larger plot to return to the patriarchal status quo.

We must also question the characterisation of Mukasa by mission writers. It is possible to imagine that Mukasa's evil intentions were to some extent a fantasy portrayed by missionary writers years after the fact to justify the evangelising purpose of mission workers in the region and give strength of purpose to the characterisation of confrontation between 'good' Christians and 'evil' heathens.[100] Scholarship undertaken in recent years has complicated this binary understanding of the relationship between early mission workers and the locals they encountered.[101] It is relevant, however, that many of the European missionaries in the area at the time at least perceived their work as a battle for souls, with direct consequences of heaven and hell for all involved.

We cannot entirely know Mukasa's motivations or precise role, based on the source material that has survived. The given explanation of an evil *katikiro* machinating against innocent Christians out of malice, however, is untrue. We cannot know for sure what motivated these actors in early 1885. What is undeniable, however, is the transformative nature of the events that took place.

The Uganda Martyrs

On 29 October 1885, James Hannington, the first CMS Bishop in East Africa, decided to travel across the border into Buganda with a small entourage of companions, against the

[100] For an overview of the progression of literature both confirming and, often, complicating this observation of missionary practice, see as examples: Kaplan, S., "The Africanization of Missionary Christianity: History and Typology," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 16/3 (Oct., 1986), pp. 166-186; Maxwell, D., "Writing the History of African Christianity: Reflections of an Editor," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 36/3-4 (2006), pp. 379-99.

[101] Gabbert, W., "Social and Cultural Conditions of Religious Conversion in Colonial Southwest Tanzania, 1891-1939," *Ethnology*, 40/4 (Autumn, 2001), 292 pp. 291-308.

advice of other missionaries in the area. In response to a purported prophecy regarding Buganda's future destruction, guards then went after the missionary group. As they crossed into Buganda from the eastern border at Busoga, the guards met and killed them all on the road.[102]

Speculation arose quickly that this was a calculated attempt to eliminate Hannington, who was an influential and charismatic figure whose entry into the region would have represented a significant intrusion into the royal court, in order to consolidate power for Mwanga. The response from the local Christian communities, among both missionaries and local converts, was one of immediate and vocal outrage rather than one of acquiescence. Anglicans and Catholics, who up to this point had competed with each other to win favour for their sect amongst potential new converts, united in their rebuke of Hannington's murder.

In November, Joseph Mukasa Balikuddembe confronted Mwanga. Balikuddembe was a royal page in Mwanga's court who had converted to Catholicism two years previously. He was the most vocal and charismatic of the local catechists being trained by the White Fathers at the time, and his position close to Mwanga gave him a high degree of influence in the young Bugandan Christian community. Mwanga liked Balikuddembe, and from this genial relationship Balikuddembe hoped to encourage him to repent for his ordered killing of Hannington.[103]

"Are you not a Christian?" Balikuddembe was reported to have demanded of the *kabaka*, recalling Mwanga's supposed conversion to Christianity in 1884.[104] Instead of tempering the *kabaka*'s behaviour, this rebuke shamed and infuriated Mwanga. He did not

[102] Oliver, *The Missionary Factor,* p. 104.
[103] "Joseph M. Balikuddembe," http://www.ugandamartyrsshrine.org.ug/details.php?id=45 (8 Dec. 2017).
[104] "Uganda Saints: The Story of the Uganda Martyrs," p. 17.

act with a Christian sense of clemency toward Balikuddembe that, perhaps, the young catechist had hoped for. Instead, Mwanga ordered him to be executed immediately. On the night of 15 November 1885 Balikuddmebe was brought to the banks of the Nakivubo River where he was beheaded and his body cast upon an open fire.[105]

After Balikuddembe's death, Mwanga gave up the last vestiges of personal faith, renounced Christianity, and banned the religion from his court. Missionaries, now no longer welcome within the royal city, resettled largely to the western part of Buganda in Buddu. The Christian presence never entirely left Mwanga's court, however. As Oliver describes:

> During these years, the Christians also became a political party—or rather two political parties—in scarcely veiled opposition to the Arab party at the court, the leaders being for the most part the officers of the royal bodyguard (*batongole*), who along with the persecuted pages had formed the cream of the early converts. By 1888 Catholics and Protestants were each capable of putting a thousand armed men in the field, the Muslims only about 300.[106]

It was clearly Mwanga's hope was that locals would abandon the missionary faith now that their local leader had been killed, and the European missionaries had been hamstrung in their ability to act. When they failed to repent, however, it is plausible that Mwanga was even further incensed, as local Christians instead rallied around Charles Lwanga—Balikuddembe's main catechist protégé and a fellow royal page—rather than following the *kabaka*'s re-adoption of the polytheistic tradition.[107]

Throughout late 1885 and early 1886, Lwanga ministered in secret to a core group of Anglican and Catholic converts who refused to give up the faith. We must speculate on

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[105] White Fathers Mission, "Uganda Martyrs," pamphlet, Sep. 1965, Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Papers Relating to Uganda, Box CMS/ACC385, Folder O5, CRL, p. 6.
[106] Oliver, *The Missionary Factor*, p. 105.
[107] Streicher, *The Martyrs of Uganda*, p. 8.

the reasons why these Christians chose to remain faithful rather than re-convert and avoid persecution. Later missionary accounts explain this steadfastedness purely as evidence of these Christians' godliness—and, indeed, as a prefiguration of their saintliness. A modern interpretation provided by the Namugongo Martyrs Shrine emphasises the degree to which Balikuddembe's sacrifice made an immediate and profound impact on his followers.[108] In this way, Balikuddembe became an instant martyr, whose death served to unite and inspire others to the Christian cause. Balikuddembe's confrontation with Mwanga was an act of personal rebellion, and those that followed in his Christian path could join his critique of the *kabaka* by association.[109]

It is key to note here that, in this time of crisis, the distinction between Anglican and Catholic faith ceased to be of meaningful relevance to these Ugandan Christians. These secret meetings took place largely without the aegis of White Father and CMS missionaries. The form of Christianity that was emerging in these secretive months between November 1885 and May 1886 was, then, a new local adaptation of Christianity not yet been seen in the kingdom of Buganda. These pages utilised the Christian faith as a focal spirituality around which they could organise meetings and express, furtively, their dissatisfaction with the *kabaka*'s rule.

This mode—wherein the Christian faith served as a means of local resistance to an authoritarian state—would become a reoccurring theme within the history of Christianity in Uganda, and one that has been embraced vigorously over the decades. Indeed, the events in this chapter are, as we will see, merely the first in a long series of responses to and interpretations of the martyring event that form the defining thread of this thesis. As we will see, the story of the Martyrs has been taken up again and again in novel ways

[108] Guided Tour of Namugongo Martyrs Shrine, Namugongo, Kampala, Uganda (3 Mar. 2017).
[109] This chapter will revisit these themes in Chapter VIII.

throughout the twentieth century as a means of responding to, broadcasting, and enacting ideas about social change (see Chapter VIII), even as it also served as a primary means by which the RCC propagated its 'official' vision of African faith (see Chapters V, VI, VII).

In late May 1886, Mwanga grew suspicious of those pages in his court, who included Lwanga and his followers, that he suspected were still adherents of Christianity. He called an assembly at Munyonyo[110] in order to confront these pages. On 25 May he ordered Lwanga and all those who followed him in their embrace of Christianity to renounce their faith. All twenty-two of the men and boys gathered—thirteen Catholic, nine Anglican, but in that moment united into one Christian group—refused. Once more incensed at this act of insubordination, Mwanga immediately ordered that all twenty-two Christians be put to death.[111]

Over the next two days, the Christians were imprisoned and then forced to march thirty kilometres northwest to Namugongo. One of the prisoners—Denis Ssebuggwawo—was hacked to death with knives at Munyunyo before the march began.[112] The rest were bound with ropes and chains and forced to make the long walk without breaks for food or water. In the punishing heat, one man—Gonzaga Gonza—succumbed en route. The remaining prisoners arrived at Namugongo on 27 May. Once there, they were kept confined in windowless huts while a massive pyre of firewood was constructed on the execution site.[113]

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[110] An area to the southeast of modern-day Kampala.

[111] Streicher, *The Martyrs of Uganda*, p. 12.
The inclusion of both Anglicans and Catholics together within the Martyrs' group has made them an overt symbol of ecumenism, that will be of prominent importance in Chapter IV.

[112] "Denis Ssebugwawo" http://www.ugandamartyrsshrine.org.ug/details.php?id=6 (8 Dec. 2017).

[113] Streicher, *The Martyrs of Uganda*, p. 19.

On 3 June 1886, Ascension Day in the Christian calendar, executioners came to the place where the Christians were being held. The missionary recollections of the day emphasised what they perceived as the 'exotic' dress of the executioners: garbed in a minimum of cloth and bark, bodies smeared with brightly coloured paint, faces covered by masks.[114] All accounts described the scene that unfolded next as one without precedent in the history of executions at this site, the *kabaka*'s traditional ceremonial killing ground. Instead of crying out with fear at their impending deaths, all accounts retold with breathless incredulity the joyful willingness with which the Christians went to the pyre.[115] One can speculate on the accuracy of this depiction; nearly all accounts of this event were, as noted, written from a Christian perspective, and the legend of the 'joyful martyr' is a common and powerful one in the history of the Church.[116]

Lwanga, as the group's leader, was separated from the others and placed on a pyre of his own, so he could be tortured by slow burning and forced to watch his followers die before being killed himself. As Lavigerie recounts:

> He was burnt to death by a slow fire, beginning with his feet. Whilst kindling the fire, his tormentor said to him, "Now then, let your God come and take you out of the flames." The martyr replied calmly, "Poor man! You do not know what you are saying. I only feel as if you were pouring water over me." He then remained silent through the rest of his torture.[117]

His remaining followers were wrapped tightly together with rope and lengths of cloth to lengthen the time during which the fire consumed them, and were placed as one group onto the flames. By sunset on 3 June, all of the Christians Mwanga had confronted two weeks earlier had been killed: by fire, by spears, by machetes and by exposure to the sun and

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[114] Ibid. p. 21.
[115] Lavigerie, *The Martyrs of Uganda*, p. 26.
[116] "The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of Faith." See also, Streicher, *The Martyrs of Uganda,* p. 14.
[117] Lavigerie, *The Martyrs of Uganda*, p. 28.

elements. Their deaths had been grim and painful, meant to serve as a warning to other potential converts to Christianity in the region.

And yet, the deaths of these young Christians by no means signalled the end of the faith in Buganda. Instead, almost in the same moment that Charles Lwanga's body was reduced to ashes, the spirits of all twenty-two men were lauded by the remaining Christians in the region who conferred their status as martyrs for the faith. Their deaths led to a surge of empathy and support for Christianity from both missionaries and local people. The remaining CMS missionaries buried Hannington at the site of their largest church, on Namirembe Hill, and used his death successfully to fundraise in Britain to upgrade the church into the region's first cathedral.[118] Meanwhile, local conversion to both Catholicism and Anglican Christianity surged. In the months that followed, even the head executioner at Namugongo, a man named Mukaajanja, converted to Catholicism as a result of the changing social response to the Martyrs' deaths.[119]

As with the persistence of faith after Balikuddembe's death, we must speculate as to why the response to this brutality was one of resistance rather than capitulation. Mission documents pointed only to the triumph of the good news of Jesus as explanation enough. From what we have seen in this chapter so far, however, it seems clear that this act of peaceful resistance even until death was a compelling and persuasive force for proponents of Christianity in the region. The narrative of martyrdom appears to have found immediate resonance in local converts, who admired the fearlessness in the face of suffering that these Christians personified in their deaths. Through their sacrifice, the message that Christianity was a path out of mortal suffering was clarified as no previous missionary sermon had been

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[118] "Namirembe Cathedral Appeal," mailer, n.d., Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Printed Books and Papers, Box CMS/ACC514, Folder F4, CRL.
For further discussion of colonial ecclesiastical building projects, see Chapter III.

[119] "The Journey to Naumgono and Holocaust" http://www.ugandamartyrsshrine.org.ug/details.php?id=8 (7 Dec. 2017).

able to do so. This interpretation of the faith set the foundation for the kind of Christianity that will become increasingly popular in the region—a faith, as this thesis will show, premised on bodily suffering as the basis for spiritual salvation.[120]

It seems likely that Mwanga's aim had been to make a display of the Christians in order to eliminate the threat of intergenerational discord within his court, and to consolidate his rule. However, this order to execute these twenty-two Bugandan Christians unequivocally backfired in this respect. Instead, Mwanga now found himself faced with a glowing spark of righteous dissent, made brighter by the June killings than by anything that had preceded those events.

Indeed, far beyond a few dissenting pages, Mwanga found himself embroiled in a full-on political crisis in the years that followed, in which Anglican, Catholic, and Muslim chiefs gathered in growing dissent. Additionally, challenges from other kingdoms in the region put further pressure on Mwanga's leadership.[121] It is likely that the mishandling of the Martyrs, and the brazen defiance that they demonstrated to Mwanga's authority even in death, contributed to these chiefs' continued dissent despite numerous attempts to quiet them. The conflict between these factions came to a head in 1897, when fighting ultimately caused Mwanga to flee to Entebbe, where he abdicated the throne.[122]

In Mwanga's place Daudi Chwa ascended to the throne as *kabaka* in 1899, after two years of turmoil. Chwa was an infant king—not even two years old at the time—and a son of Mwanga who was connected to a prominent family of Muslim chiefs.[123] His elevation was an attempt to balance the court's religious warring factions by giving a

[120] These themes will be revisited in Chapters VIII and IX.
[121] Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*, p. 158.
[122] Berry, "Art and Architecture," p. 16.
[123] "The Abalasangeye Dynasty: Geneology" http://www.royalark.net/Uganda/buganda7.htm (10 Jan. 2018).

position of prominence to the Muslim minority, while one Anglican and one Catholic chief would serve as the infant *kabaka*'s regents until he came of age. Instead, the absence of definitive regnal leadership allowed a power vacuum to emerge—a gap into which British imperial interests were only too happy to step.

The British East Africa Company had operated in the region since the 1880s, searching for expedition routes that could connect the Belgian Free State to the west with British-controlled Kenya to the east. Captain James Macdonald, a Scottish engineer, led an extended mission throughout the region starting in 1891 that sought to identify a route for the potential construction of a railway connecting the interior of the continent with the coast.[124] By 1893, a suitable route had been found. Macdonald urged the East Africa Company to secure the lands for construction, echoing the sentiments of Cecil Rhodes who had, a year previously, pressed Sir Gerald Portal to take control of the region from Mwanga by force of "300-400 Zanzibaris" and gun-boats on Lake Victoria in order to seize the region's abundant ivory reserves.[125]

At the same time, the perceived threat of Sudanese slavers to the north of greater Uganda—whether real or imagined—provided the basis for a coalition of East Africa Company and CMS missionary officials to request crown assistance to convert the entire region into a British protectorate.[126] London newspapers described this request as a noble attempt to protect the area from Sudanese slavers, an idea promoted by the morally righteous CMS: "We have seen the terrible consequences of withdrawing in the past …

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[124] Foreign Office, "Report by Captain Macdonald on Uganda," 1893, Records of the Cabinet Office, Box CAB 37/35/65, TNA.
[125] Letter from C. Rhodes to Sir G. Portal, 8 December 1892, in "Africa: Uganda—Various," 1900, Records Created or Inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 2/61 - Newspaper Extracts Respecting Uganda, TNA.
[126] Foreign Office, "Memo to Crown Agents, 15 September 1899," in "Africa: Uganda—Various, 1898," 1898, Records Created or Inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 2/160 - Various, Uganda, Vol. 1, TNA.

[and] the advent of men carrying the British flag has an importance to the native races that cannot be understated."[127] Other newspapers were more forthright in identifying the potential economic benefit of acquiring the area as a new colony, with *The Daily News* suggesting, "Uganda may be of some use in the long run."[128] These sentiments reflected the mixed motivations that had brought explorers and CMS missionaries to the region in the first place: a sense of Christian moral righteousness, flavoured with imperial zeal.

In January 1898 a military uprising began in Sudan. The East Africa Company successfully requested £7000 in assistance from the War Office in order to form a garrison of Uganda Rifles that could protect British interests in the midst of the unrest now spilling over into the Acholi region that lay between Buganda in the south and Sudan to the north.[129] This fighting had taken the lives of several British explorers and cast doubts on Macdonald's control of the area.[130] Bolstered with these funds and an influx of British officers, the uprising in Sudan was swiftly quelled. The perceived threat of further Sudanese incursions, however, justified a continued robust military presence in the region well after the conflict had ended.

In June 1898, Foreign Office officials agreed to the creation of a larger regional colonial protectorate in the area, with orders that local chiefs should be convinced to sign

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[127] Extract from *The Times*, 30 September 1892, in "Africa: Uganda—Various," 1900, Records Created or Inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 2/61 - Newspaper Extracts Respecting Uganda, TNA.
[128] Extract from *The Daily News*, 4 Octover 1892, in "Africa: Uganda—Various," 1900, Records Created or Inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 2/61 - Newspaper Extracts Respecting Uganda, TNA.
[129] Foreign Office, "Memo 1218/98, 26 January 1898," in "Africa: Uganda—Various, 1898," 1898, Records Created or Inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 2/160 - Various, Uganda, Vol. 1, TNA.
[130] Letter from E.H. Thornton to Foreign Office, 4 January 1898, in "Africa: Uganda—Various, 1898," 1898, Records Created or Inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 2/160 - Various, Uganda, Vol. 1, TNA.

the agreements as swiftly as possible.[131] Meanwhile, officials in London drafted a legislative code for the new colony based on other East Africa precedents set in 1897 and 1899, and by 1900 these laws of counsel had been finalised in London.[132] However, this new Buganda Agreement, despite its basis on earlier precedent, provided a novel structure of government compared to other crown possessions in East Africa. In the new Uganda Protectorate, the Bugandan *kabaka* would remain as a titular crown sovereign over all of the now combined kingdoms of the region, and would retain the power to appoint and dismiss his own council of chiefs. However, he would be severely limited in his economic powers and personal authority.[133] Additionally, British officials would control courts, levy taxes, control the construction of public works, and maintain a strong military presence in the region.

Conclusion

Despite these political upheavals and new territorial boundaries, Christianity continued to flourish through the turn of the century. A letter from M. Wolf, a British official, as early as 1893 declared that over 100,000 locals had now become Christians, with more joining all the time.[134] These local converts were overseen by a rapidly increasing population of European religious figures: in 1904, the region was home to 79 CMS, 83 White Father,

[131] Foreign Office, "Protectorate Passage Agreement," in "Africa: Uganda—Various, 1898," 1898, Records Created or Inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 2/160 - Various, Uganda, Vol. 1, TNA.
[132] Foreign Office, "Africa: East Africa and Uganda, Orders in Council, 1891-1901: Draft of Orders in Council, 1900," 1901, Records Created or Inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 2/549 – East Africa and Uganda, Orders in Council, TNA.
[133] Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*, p. 159.
[134] Letter from M. Wolf to Sir G. Portal, 13 March 1893, in "Africa: Uganda—Various," 1900, Records Created or Inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 2/61 - Newspaper Extracts Respecting Uganda, TNA.

and 35 Mill Hill missionaries.[135] By 1910, the Uganda Protectorate was being confidently characterised as a majority Christian colony. As this chapter has demonstrated, the Martyrs were critical in this growth. The death of these men served as a catalyst for a localised embrace of the faith that European missionaries alone, especially during their years of exile from Buganda under Mwanga, could not have provided.

Throughout the period between 1886 and 1900, news of the Martyrs was relatively scarce as a wealth of other political and religious conflicts took precedent in the thoughts and experiences of those living in the area at the time. It would be easy to assume that their historical moment had passed amid the vast changes that had transformed the region in the decade and a half since their deaths. As we will see in Chapter III, however, the story of the Martyrs was hardly forgotten. Instead, it would be taken up again with a fierce liveliness in the early years of the twentieth century, in memorials both local and official, as near as Namugongo and as far as St. Peter's in Rome. While the direct presence of the Martyrs is absent from these final years of the nineteenth century, the Ugandan Christianity that they helped to cultivate—a form of the Christian faith that was both inextricably tied to mission activity but also fundamentally independent and self-initiated in moments of crisis—remained. It would be this Christianity that would provide the basis for these varied responses to the martyrs' legacy to thrive in the early years of the Protectorate and beyond.

[135] Von Rheenen, *Church Planting in Uganda*, p. 57. Mill Hill missionaries were British Catholics, the society having been founded by Herbert Alfred Vaughan at St. Joseph's College in Mill Hill, an area of north London, in 1866.

III. Receptions and Reconceptualizations: The Beatification of the Uganda Martyrs



Figure 10: "Suk Women Worship in a Catholic Mission at Ortum in the West Suk District," photograph, Apr. 1959, Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information, Box INF 10, Folder 154, Number 5, TNA.

This thesis so far has introduced the Uganda Martyrs and explained their relevance in the formation of the British Protectorate. It has been crucial to understand the narrative specificities of this event. As we have already seen, however, the details of the story have often been contested; it is important to follow these changes and theorise on their explanation, but the Martyrs' story is important less for the concrete nature of the narrative facts that support it and more for the nature in which it has been received, revived, and reconceptualised over time. In this way, this project is more about analysing and explaining the flow of visualisation and memorialisation surrounding the Martyrs than it is about the discovery or recording of previously unknown features of the narrative event.

In this chapter, we will examine the first major renewal of the story of the Uganda Martyrs as it occurred in their beatification by the RCC in 1920. The portrayal of the Martyrs at this moment demonstrates the underlying motives of mission leaders in the Protectorate at the time. Their wish to incorporate the Martyrs into an accepted canon of

otherwise white, Western venerated figures suggests a very specific vision for the emerging new African Church that these missionaries were attempting to build: one in which the cultural norms of Europe were imposed onto and embedded within African culture and values, rather than one where the two forces existed side by side.

And yet at the same time, in smaller churches being constructed all around the Protectorate in the early colonial period, we can see an interaction between 'imported' mission and local culture that was more complex than the official discourse produced for the beatification would at first suggest. These smaller mission churches still undoubtedly sought to impose the values and norms of the Christian West on these new territories. In these modest buildings, however, we can still see evidence of a significantly more hybridised approach to worship than the official RCC monuments being produced in Kampala at this time.

This chapter explores this interaction between cultural imposition and cultural hybridisation, as it occurred in the churches and visual material produced in the early years of the Uganda Protectorate. In its own way, the structure of this chapter espouses an equally hybrid approach to the churches under examination: focussing on one hand on the narrative of the Martyrs and the role these figures played in the strategic imagining of the Church in Uganda at the time, and on the other hand exploring the construction and theoretical underpinning of several exemplary church buildings in the region. As such, it will utilise both more traditional stylistic approaches to narrative historical scholarship, while incorporating elements of theoretical visual and architectural writing.[136] This multi-valence approach allows us to see the visual strategies of the RCC both as they played out at the time and as they exist within the broader fabric of ecclesiastical architectural history.

[136] In these sections, this thesis will rely on stylistic norms as described in Pearson, S., *A Short Guide to Writing About Art* (Cambridge, 2014).

The Beatification of the Martyrs: 6 June, 1920

Through the early years of the Protectorate, there was little official mention of the Uganda Martyrs. Christianity in both Protestant and Catholic forms was flourishing in the area, but it is unclear to what degree the story of the twenty-two martyrs played a role in these early evangelising efforts. It is possible that they had been somewhat forgotten in fifteen years of conflict and upheaval since the end of Mwanga's reign and the formation of the British protectorate, but we must judiciously guess here as the source material available on this matter is limited.

This relative anonymity for the Martyrs changed in the years leading up to 1920, however, when a group of three White Father missionaries elected to campaign for the beatification of these figures. Whatever modest public popularity the Martyrs enjoyed up to that point became quickly eclipsed by the publicity surrounding the beatification effort, which drew worldwide Catholic attention to Christianity in the region for the first time.

This section will examine this process of beatification, and the official steps taken by the RCC to codify a specific vision of the Martyrs into the lived reception of the new Catholic Church in Uganda. It becomes clear that the beatification of these figures at this moment reflected the calculated aims of the White Fathers concerned, who sought to portray missionary Catholicism in highly specific terms. This vision, as we will see, was one of European absorption, in which the Martyrs were to become embedded into the culture and ideals of the Western Church in much the same way that missionary leaders hoped that all Ugandan social life would eventually follow.

Beatification is one of several tiers of public veneration in the RCC,[137] and it is the major intermediate step *en route* to achieving official sainthood.[138] In 1915, the vast majority of the venerable and sainted figures in the RCC came from the 'traditional' regions of the Church: Europe, Israel and Palestine, and, to a small but increasing degree, North America—and none were black. Thus, when Bishop Lavinhac of the White Fathers proposed that the Uganda Martyrs make this crucial first step toward sainthood in 1918, it was a radical initiative.[139]

Lavinhac, in a letter published and disseminated throughout Europe in conjunction with the success of the beatification in 1920, insisted that his recognition of the Uganda Martyrs came as a natural part of his time working in the region, where he had been a witness to their deaths in 1886:

> I cannot say how deep was the impression made on me on beholding the marvellous efforts of grace in the hearts of these Africans, who but yesterday were enslaved by the debasing errors of paganism.[140]

But when we look past this intitial declaration, which forms the preface of Lavinhac's letter, it becomes clear that it was not simply religious admiration that drove his interest in securing recognition for the Martyrs. Lavinhac saw his mission work as a fiercely competitive fight for souls. He described his reason for coming to Buganda in the time of Mwanga as an effort to convert locals "before Islam could cast its blight over the corn in

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[137] Lukwago, J., "Uganda After His Visit in 1969," *New Vision* (27 Nov. 2015), p.75.
[138] The processes of beatification and canonisation were formalised in the 1730s by Pope Benedict XIV, who wrote a five-volume work on all of the qualifications required—from the definition of martyrdom to the number of miracles required to achieve different stages of veneration (two to be beatified and a further two to be canonised, though martyrs could always be beatified without evidence of miraculous behaviour). For an overview of the process both historically and in modern times, see: Povoledo, E., "Word for Word: Martyrology; Brutalized in Colonial Africa, 1909; Beatified in Rome, 1994," *The New York Times* (29 Jan. 1995), p.4004007.
[139] "I Martiri dell'Uganda," *La Civilta Cattolica*, 71/2 (1920), p. 560.
[140] Ibid. p.26.

the ear."[141] He was intensely motivated to do anything to bolster his evangelising efforts, including raising the profile of the work he and other White Fathers were doing in the region. The beatification promised to highlight Ugandan Catholicism onto a European, if not global, stage—and with that increased prominence came the potential for greater funding, more missionary interest in the region, and a higher potential for local conversion.

The beatification initiative also came at a critical fundraising point for the White Fathers, and for the RCC in Uganda. The White Fathers hoped to build a brick cathedral in Kampala as the seat of the new Kampala Archdiocese, one which could outshine the Anglican cathedral at Namirembe, a wooden structure that was also undergoing an appeal to construct a more permanent brick building at the time after its initial reconstruction in wood following Bishop Hannington's death (see Chapter II).

[141] Ibid. p.8.

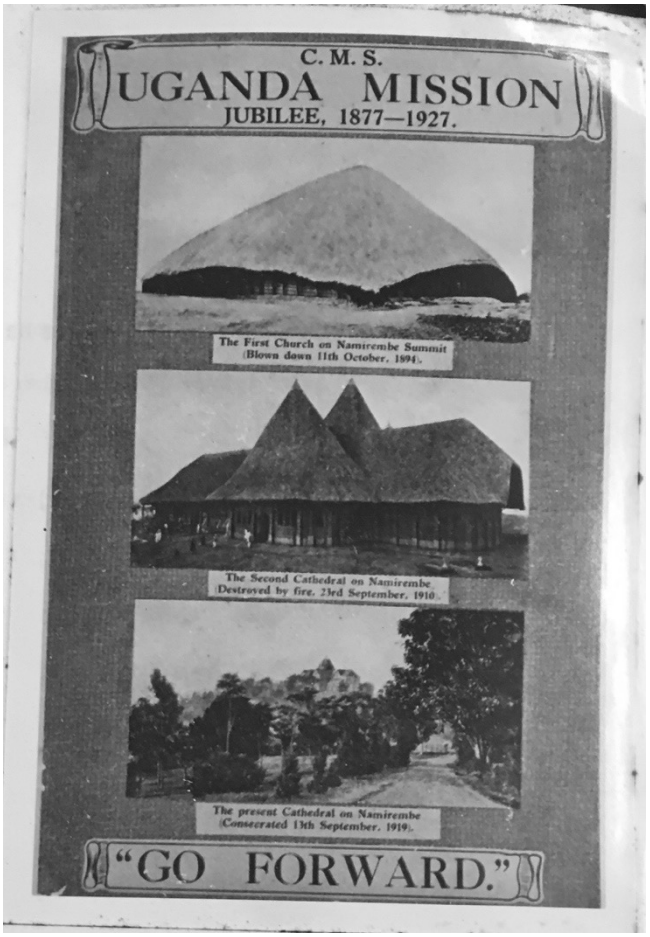

Figure 11: "CMS Jubilee Postcard of 1927 Showing the First Namirembe Cathedral, Built 1892, and Borup's 1904 Design," in Berry, "Art and Architecture," p. 28.

Appeals for this competing Catholic structure—to be called Lubaga, and later Rubaga, after the hill on which it was sited—had begun as early as 1901.[142] Construction began in 1912, using bricks carried by hand by local parishioners from kilns on the edge of the city. As Yves Tourigny, a White Father missionary writing at the time of the centenary of the Martyrs' deaths, described:

> At Lubaga itself, the Christians were sharing in the work of preparation. Everyone coming to Mass in the morning would stop at the kiln and take a number of bricks on his or her head and bring them to the building site on the top of the hill.[143]

[142] Tourigny, Y., "St. Mary's Cathedral Lubaga: The Cathedral in Details," pamphlet, 1986, Kisubi, Uganda, Marianum Press, LD 262.3 TOU, AM, p.12.
[143] Ibid. p.13.

Despite these efforts, however, the cathedral still lacked the funds required in order to be completed. Compared to other Christian building projects in colonial East Africa, the appeals for Rubaga languished in relative anonymity. The multistage construction of Namirembe featured prominently in multiple explorers' journals published in the early twentieth century in Britain.[144] In British Kenya, the construction of a new cathedral in Mombasa in 1905 garnered extensive attention in the regional press.[145] By comparison, news of Rubaga—and, more generally, Catholicism in Uganda—was scarce. While the link between the Martyrs and the cathedral appeal was never explicitly stated in the documents surrounding the 1920 beatification, the overlap in timing was conspicuous enough that it seems clear this must have been one of the motivations for the men involved.

Henri Streicher, whose writing describing the martyrdom formed a major part of the documents discussed in Chapter II, was part of the trio of White Fathers who advocated for the Martyrs' beatification, alongside Lavinhac and the Cardinal of the region, Charles Lavigerie. In the years directly following the 1920 beatification, Streicher returned to Europe to make final pleas for Rubaga's completion. In the years between 1920 and 1922 he raised $113,000,[146] including a personal donation from the new Pope Pius XI.[147] In 1922, Pius XI gave his official blessing for the cathedral, allowing it to be completed and consecrated in October 1925. Because of the paucity of direct coverage of this event, we must speculate as to whether it would have been possible for Streicher to secure these vast sums and highest levels of patronage without the public spectacle of the 1920 beatification to draw attention to the work of the White Fathers in Uganda. It seems clear, however, that

[144] See, as an example of such coverage, Wason, *East Africa and Uganda*.
[145] *East African Standard* (3 Jun. 1905), p. 4.
[146] A sum equalling roughly $1,700,000 in modern currency.
[147] Tourigny, "St. Mary's Cathedral," p.20.
Even though it had been Benedict who had beatified the Martyrs, he had died in January 1922 and was succeeded by Pius XI, who carried on his work regarding the Martyrs.

the wish to secure funding for the cathedral project featured prominently in the minds of the White Fathers' efforts to beatify these figures at this specific time.

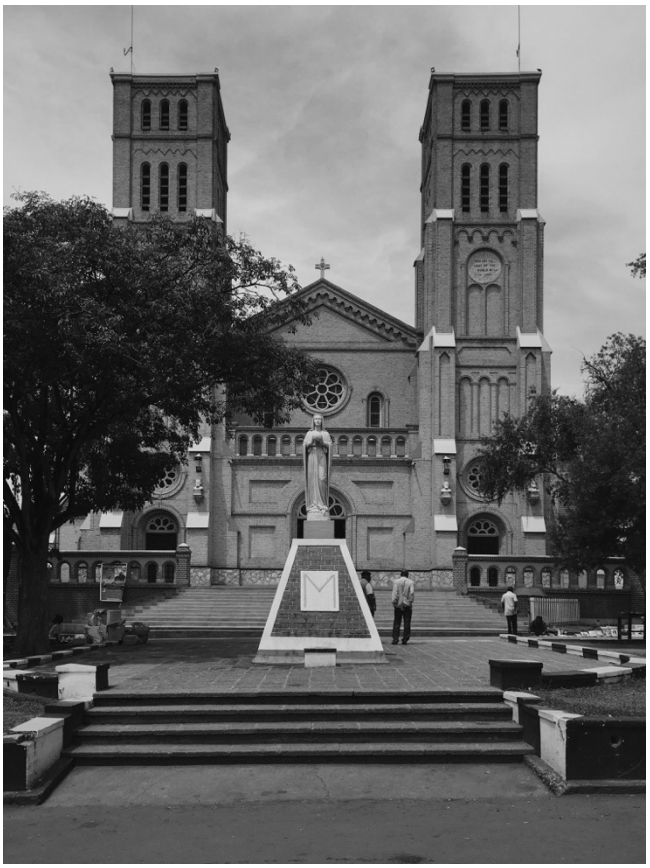

Figure 12: White Fathers of Uganda, Rubaga Cathedral, Kampala, Uganda, 1925. Author's photograph, 2017. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 5.

The successful beatification in 1920 represented a landmark moment in the RCC.[148] A lengthy article in *The Tablet* reporting on the beatification made clear its importance to the Church:

> Sunday last saw the solemn beatification of a company of twenty-two Uganda martyrs. The statement reads bald and ordinary, but the event it chronicles is one of far-reaching import and significance, and a ground for joy and gratitude to the teeming millions of the black race which inhabits the great continent of Africa. For though Northern Africa has had its martyrs for the faith, they were not of the great Bantu race that includes and represents the vast majority of the population, and that now, for the first time, has members who have been officially beatified and raised to the altars of the Church for the veneration of the world.[149]

[148] "Pope and Uganda," *The Leader of British East Africa* (12 Jun. 1920), p. 4.
[149] "Topics of the Day: The Uganda Martyrs," *The Tablet* (12 Jun. 1920), p. 780.

The news also received international recognition, not only in East Africa and in Catholic journals, but as far afield as North America.[150] On 6 June 1920 in Rome, an oil painting depicting the Martyrs was hung in St. Peter's publicly to announce the beatification. The pontiff at the time, Pope Benedict XV, gave an official statement commemorating the event, saying, "I wanted to give them to the Christian world as examples of the strength of faith, as the world needs so much."[151]



Figure 13: "The Martyrs of Uganda," 1920, in Streicher, The Martyrs of Uganda.

[150] For examples of coverage in the United States, see: "Negro Martyrs Beatified; Pope Pays Tribute to Natives of Uganda who Died for Their Faith," *New York Times* (7 Jun. 1920), p. 10; "Pope has Rheumatism; Is Fatigued by Beatification of Negro Martyrs, but Improves," *The New York Times* (8 Jun. 1920), p. 4.

[151] National Council of the Lay Apostolate, *Leadership: A Magazine for Christian Leaders in Africa*, No. 173, Special Issue: 10th Anniversary of Martyrs' Canonization, Oct. 1974, Catholic Press, Gulu, Uganda, RAA, p. 12.

This idea that the Martyrs could serve as models of the staunchness of faith emerged as a central theme of RCC discourse surrounding these figures at this time. Strength of faith is hardly a novel feature of writings about martyrs and other venerated figures of the Church. If we further examine the writings of Streicher, Lavinhac, and Lavigerie, however, the nature of what this strength signified takes on specific and perhaps less obvious meanings.

Lavigerie valued the 'strength of faith' of the Martyrs as a basic organising feature that allowed them to be considered in the same light as already accepted Western Saints. This appreciation did not extend to the Martyrs as individuals, however. Lavigerie still maintained a dismissive tone toward these men even as he sought their veneration, writing:

> God's spirit is unchanging, therefore it will not surprise you that these poor ignorant blacks should utter in their hour of trial words as sublime as any that fell from the lips of martyrs in Roman Carthage…[152]

These sentiments did not suggest a great deal of admiration or respect for the intellect of the Martyrs as individuals, even if he did link them to the martyrs of his own home city of Carthage.[153] Lavigerie characterised the Martyrs not as fighters for religious freedom, but as passive vessels for communicating the already defined and articulated Word of God. In other words, they were not a means of discovering new forms of 'strength of faith,' but were instead secondary examples of a faith that already existed. This interpretation of the Martyrs sought to incorporate them into an existing pantheon of—more legitimate and mostly white—Western martyrs. Such a move strengthened the claims of the RCC to be a 'pilgrim church,' whose mission was to spread Catholicism worldwide, as it demonstrated how traditional westernised notions of Catholic faithfulness could be identified in vessels

[152] Ibid. p. 1.
[153] "Diamond Jubilee of Cardinal Lavigerie," *White Fathers*, New Series 130 (Jun.-Jul., 1963), p. 2.

as far abroad as Uganda.[154] This analogy utilised the extremity of the Martyrs' sacrifice to underpin the mission goals of the broader Church at this time.

Lavigerie's vision of the Martyrs' 'strength of faith' was perhaps indirect: they were strong because the force of Christianity that flowed through them was strong, but as individuals they were as ignorant as children. However, Streicher's writings (which, we must note, were published after, rather than in conjunction with, the Pope's 1920 declaration) drew significantly clearer parallels to Benedict XV's use of language. The 'strength' that Streicher emphasised, however, was not particularly that of religious fortitude, but rather of resistance to a specific element of local cultural practice that Streicher and his White Father peers found deplorable: homosexuality.[155]

Writing in 1937, Streicher depicted the story of the Martyrs as an extended example of resistance to homosexual temptation. He explained that the reason all twenty-two Christians were eventually killed was due to their refusal to engage in sexual acts with Mwanga. He described Charles Lwanga's resistance to the *kabaka* not as a heated exchange of words, but as the staunch rebuttal of unwanted physical advances: "day by day, Charles Lwanga had to endure feigned caresses that were more dangerous than threats."[156]

This interpretation does not appear in earlier descriptions of the martyring episode. The most damning indictment of homosexuality one can find before Streicher's work came in mission diaries from the pre-colonial period, and even these provide only passing and tepid castigation of the supposedly sinful acts:

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[154] Catholic Church, "The Church: Revealed by the Holy Spirit," in *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2nd Ed., Vatican City, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012.
[155] This narrative of homophobia within the Church will be revisited in Chapter VIII.
[156] Streicher, *The Martyrs of Uganda*, p.8.

> The King not being satisfied with his wives and with his favourite pages with whom he has sodomy with wants each Muganda to practice sodomy. And also that vice seems to be prevalent in the villages.[157]

Homosexuality had been condemned in the Church long before 1937,[158] but had not been specifically associated with the Martyrs. Streicher used this publication, which was disseminated both in East Africa and throughout Europe and Britain, to draw explicitly a line of connection between an abhorrence of homosexual behaviour and the RCC in Uganda. In his introduction, he specifically invokes the 1920 beatification and Pope Benedict's language to strengthen his argument, writing:

> If anyone asks me what transformed [Mwanga] into a savage persecutor, I can only reply: his hatred of the disciples of Jesus Christ was inspired by the staunch refusal of the Christian pages to yield to his sinful suggestions. Such was the opinion of the Roman Congregations who studied the canonical evidence presented for the cause of beatification. When Benedict XV held up the twenty-two Blessed Martyrs to the administration of the world, he presented them not only as valiant confessors of the Faith, but as martyrs of chastity.[159]

It is clear from this passage that the story of the Martyrs took on explicit rhetorical meaning for the RCC in the years surrounding and following their beatification. The Martyrs became a symbol of 'strength,' but not the rugged individualistic and intellectual strength of those who had preceded them into sainthood.[160] Instead, they symbolised the increasingly vociferous Catholic voice of anti-homosexual sentiment, especially in mission regions such as East Africa where such activities had been more societally accepted at the

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[157] Rubaga Diary of the White Fathers, 25 Oct. 1882, reprinted in Kavalu, D., *The Uganda Martyrs* (Kampala, 1969), p. 18.
[158] For further reading on homophobia in the colonies of the British Empire, see: Aldrich, R., *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (London, 2003).
[159] Ibid. p. 3.
[160] Consider, for example, the contrast between the of the Martyrs and that a martyr such as Saint Sebastian, a Roman imperial bodyguard who was discovered to be a Christian and purportedly shot with arrows by his peers, only to survive and then be executed by clubbing several days later. In Löffler, K., "St. Sebastian" http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13668a.htm (14 Jun. 2018).

time of missionary arrival. This rhetoric would then go on to be regularly repeated in later twentieth-century accounts of the history of Christianity in the region, with Oliver in 1965 characterising the martyring episode as one where "the sexual issue led to a showdown."[161]

The 1920 beatification served as the first major point of contact between the RCC and the story of the Uganda Martyrs, after nearly thirty-five years of relative quiet. Missionaries such as Streicher, Lavinhac, and Lavigerie saw the utility of these figures as a means of expanding their work in the region, and so brought the story into a global spotlight for the first time. Their work had both expected and unexpected outcomes: growth of the faith, but also growth of fierce homophobic discourse. This conceptualisation of the growing church in Uganda gave little room for the accommodation or insertion of local cultural practices. It was not a vision where the Martyrs stood on their own merits, but instead was one where they were valued for the degree to which they could be interpreted as an alternate version of an extant European form of the faith. It was not a vision of transmission and modified reception, but rather one of submission and absorption.

Visualising the Venerated Martyrs: Rubaga Cathedral

As we have seen so far, the re-emergence of the Martyrs into public view at this moment in time corresponded to a more overt effort from the RCC leadership to try to create an idealised vision of the Church in Africa that corresponded with larger missionary aims within the Church. So far, this project has discussed policy and actions, in the context of securing an official proclamation from Rome to place the Martyrs within the strategic image-making of a globalised RCC. We can also examine, however, the means by which these actions were communicated visually in the Kampala area to better appreciate this vision of global Catholicism. It is here that our understanding of the visual nature of this

[161] Oliver, *The Missionary Factor,* p. 104.

story first comes to light. In a region with multiple spoken languages and low literacy, it was in the depicted images of the Martyrs that their story could be most clearly communicated by missionary leaders at the time. RCC and White Father officials were aware of this knowledge, and thus utilised visual media carefully to curate the Martyrs so that they would represent precisely the kind of Christian faith they hoped to cultivate.

This section will, thus, rely on visual material in order to obtain a more complete understanding of the lived reception of the Church in Uganda at this time. Local converts had limited points of interaction with mission Christianity, the most central and pivotal of which was the physical space of the church itself and the objects within. These spaces both welcomed locals to the new faith, and communicated the norms and values of the European social milieu from which their missionary creators originated. Because of this, the study of these architectural spaces becomes critical to our understanding of this study as a whole.

Given the link between the Martyrs' beatification and the campaigns to secure funds for the completion of Rubaga Cathedral, it is little surprise that the Martyrs play a significant visual role in the interior of Rubaga to this day. Specifically, they are represented in a series of stained glass panels, and in an altar in a side chapel called 'The Martyrs' Chapel.' The stained glass created by Brother Joseph, a missionary from the British Catholic Mill Hill order, shows a series of images describing the life and death of the Martyrs, in a style identical to that of the other stained glass depicting the stations of the Cross that had been imported from France to complete the cathedral's glasswork.[162]

[162] Tourigny, "St. Mary's Cathedral," p. 20. For a comprehensive guide to European stained glass, including representative twentieth century examples similar to that found at Rubaga, see: Brocket, J., *How to Look at Stained Glass* (London, 2018).

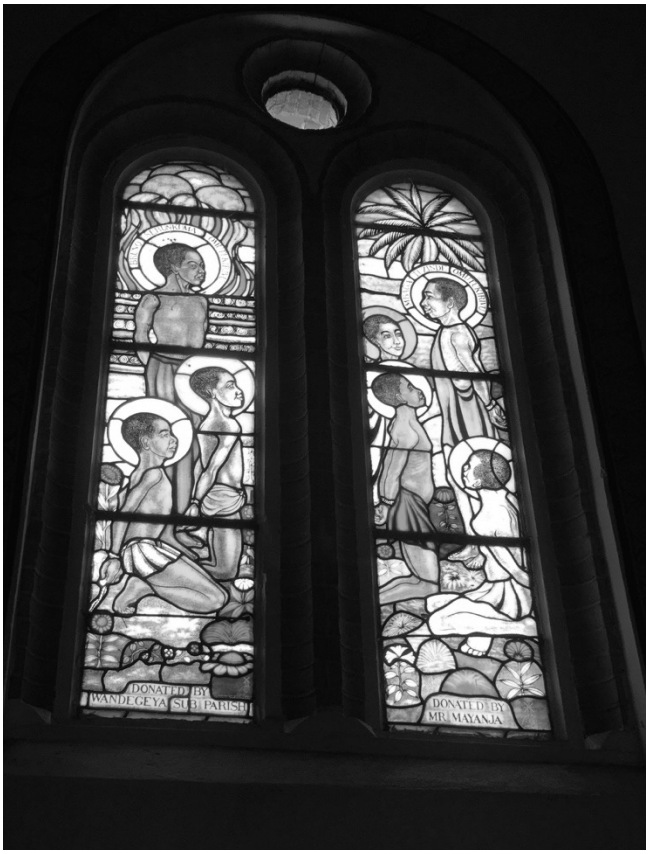

Figure 14: Br. Joseph, Rubaga Cathedral (Stained Glass), Kampala, Uganda, 1925. Author's photograph, 2017. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 6.

The stained glass, thus, makes no substantive attempt to contextualise that these are African figures. Brother Joseph's figurative choices link the Martyrs much more directly to the Western canon of art than to local artistic traditions; one can see clearly in this representation an echo of Lavigerie's view that the Martyrs were merely black versions of earlier European saints. These are not individually impressive men, but rather a group whose importance lies in their ability to blend into the existing fabric of imported Church culture and literature.

To study the stained glass today we must by necessity take a present-day view, as sources contemporary to the initial installation of the stained glass have been lost. We can usefully examine the coverage of a stained glass installation in Nairobi in 1925, however, to understand how these panels might have been conceptualised at the time. An article in the *East African Standard* described the new glass for the All Saints Catholic Cathedral of

Nairobi in November 1925, which had been installed to commemorate fallen colonial soldiers. The governor of Kenya, Sir Edward Grigg, was present at the dedication and made it clear that the new panels were important not only for the Church in Africa, but also for the success of colonial rule:

> This memorial is not in this church alone, it is not merely in the lonely spots of the earth where they have left their bones; their memorial is the whole of East Africa united under one flag, and that flag our own.[163]

There are certainly differences between these panels and those at Rubaga: most obviously, the Ugandan stained glass represented local Africans, while this example memorialised white colonial actors killed by locals. Despite the divergent nature of these subjects, we can nevertheless see in both coordinated attempts to use public church spaces to define colonial governance and control. Projects such as a church's stained glass could link directly, as in these two cases, with methods of homogenising the colony toward European ideals.

The direct imposition of European visual norms on the Martyrs at Rubaga finds slight varied expression in the altar of the Martyrs' Chapel, designed by Brother Bonaventure of the White Fathers and installed in tandem with the June 1920 beatification. Unlike the externally imported glass, the altar is the only object in the cathedral that has a physical link to the Martyrs, as it was constructed from the wood of a tree under which one of the martyrs was left to die on the march to Namugongo.[164] This altar, unlike the stained glass, offers at least a physical gesture toward the actual lived space of the Martyrs.

However, the altar sits within the confines of a heavily European space, and has been designed—and altered from its original location and form—by a European missionary. Rather than building a shrine or a church at the site of the tree, the tree was

[163] "The Frontiersmen: Memorial Windows," *East African Standard* (7 Nov. 1925), p. 40.
[164] Tourigny, *So Abundant a Harvest*, p.115.

destroyed and repurposed into the iconography of the European Romanesque cathedral at Rubaga.[165] Indeed, the tree was not only cut down and removed from its original location, but has been made rectilinear so as to conform with European-style cathedral norms: transformed into the same kind of geometric 'linearised' regularity used to convey the imposition of mission culture onto African topography throughout the colonial period.[166] In this way, the altar has been firmly rooted within the formalised ideal vision of the RCC in Africa put forward by the Martyrs' story at this time.

In comparison, at the actual site of the Martyrs' deaths—the execution ground at Namugongo—there was no official contemporary commemorative work, or even official Catholic presence at this time. Mary Baring-Gould, a CMS missionary visiting the region in 1933, described a makeshift wooden shrine built by locals at the roadside,[167] but the geographic location of this structure is unclear and does not appear to be at Namugongo specifically, but rather on the major roadway into Kampala.

The area at Namugongo was taken over by a group of Methodist missionaries in 1924 who were new to the region and who established a station there.[168] It was not until the late 1930s that Catholic missionaries began construction of a 'new shrine' at

[165] The use of the Romanesque style at Rubaga was also significant. Romanesque churches were the earliest style of major Christian structures in Europe, dating back as early as the sixth century. The style is often, thus associated with the foundations of Christianity; the use of the style in Africa at this time suggests an interest in foundations and origins, as if the Rubaga cathedral was to be the origin point of a new Christian tradition on the continent. Representative examples in the United Kingdom include Durham Cathedral (Norman Romanesque) and Ely Cathedral (Monumental Romanesque). See: "Durham Cathedral" https://www.durhamcathedral.co.uk/ (17 Jan. 2019); "Welcome to Ely Cathedral" https://www.elycathedral.org/ (17 Jan. 2019).

[166] Cleys, B., and B. De Meulder, "Imagining a Christian Territory: Changing Spatial Strategies in the Missionary Outposts of Scheut (Kasai, Congo, 1891-1940)," in Demissie, F., (ed), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories* (Farnham, Surrey, 2012), p. 206.

[167] Baring-Gould, "Diary of Africa Tour 1933."

[168] Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 2: The Martyrs of Uganda," press release, 1969, Kampala, AF Q 282.67621 POP, AM.

Namugongo in response to the growing thousands of local pilgrims that visited the site of the martyring every year.[169] This conspicuous absence of Catholic or Anglican missionary presence at Namugongo in the years surrounding the beatification suggests a clear disconnection between the RCC wish to enfold and bring the Martyrs into their cultural milieu, and a genuine wish to engage with the story of the Martyrs and their sacrifice.

Visualising the Colonial Lived Environment: Images from the Central Office of Information

We can see further evidence of this 'linearisation' of the Uganda landscape in the official photographs produced and disseminated to publicise religious building projects and the growth of Christianity throughout colonial East Africa. The Central Office of Information (COI) produced thousands of photographs of British colonies in East Africa, covering everything from ceremonial events to the construction of new towns and railroads. These photographs were collected both as official government records, and also as stock images that could be published in conjunction with press releases and articles. These images were created throughout the colonial period, but with notable concentration in the the later years of the British empire in Africa—some years later than the events we have discussed so far in this project, but still following the same principles. This section will provide an original interpretation of these images, but one that identifies the historical-social significance they convey in their use of composition and framing. From these photographs, we can better understand the colonial environment into which the newly venerated Martyrs were placed.

Consider, for example, the COI official images of Namirembe and Rubaga, created in 1962 shortly before Ugandan independence:

[169] "The Uganda Martyrs," *The Tablet* (25 Aug. 1934), p. 252.



Figure 15: "Namirembe Cathedral," 1962, Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information, Box INF 10, Folder 377, Number 23, TNA.



Figure 16: "Rubaga Cathedral," 1962, Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information, Box INF 10, Folder 377, Number 24, TNA.

Looking at these images today, both cathedrals appear isolated and uncluttered, standing alone against a tranquil cloud-studded sky. In the image of Namirembe, three locals stand dwarfed by the cathedral's bulk in the otherwise uninhabited landscape; in both, there is an impressive sense of open space that is at odds with the fact that both of these structures actually sat within the city limits of Kampala. In the image of Rubaga, the vast open square lawn in front of the cathedral entrance provides a broad geometric plain onto which the

structure has been sited: the literal imposition of straight lines onto a previously 'wild' landscape. Both of these hilltops were once the homes of the kings and chiefs of Buganda. Now in these images, they are model examples of European dominion, so pristine and devoid of local intrusion that they could almost be artists' renderings instead of photographs.

In architectural photographs populated with people, as in a 1950 COI image of the consecration of St. Stephen's in Kenya, the same sense of westernised regularity guides the image's creation. In this photograph, just as in the official image of Rubaga, the church has been documented at a forty-five-degree angle from the camera, to better capture the volume and scale of the building, and the geometric regularity of its façade.[170] Here, a crowd of local people have gathered. They are all dressed in Western-style clothing and move in organised groups and queues across the scene. One can sense that these people are 'good Christians:' locals who have taken on Western norms and values as they have welcomed faith into their lives.



Figure 17: "Consecration of St. Stephens Church," 1950, Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information, Box INF 10, Folder 171, Number 11, TNA.

[170] Leivick, J., "The View Camera" (lecture, delivered 14 Jan. 2012, The View Camera Seminar Series, Stanford University).

Even in images whose focal point is not a building, we can still examine the same sense of linearised imposition. A 1959 COI photograph depicts Rev. Elija Gacanja, an African Anglican minister, dressed in traditional vestments and flanked on both sides by white missionary bishops garbed in nearly identical ensembles.

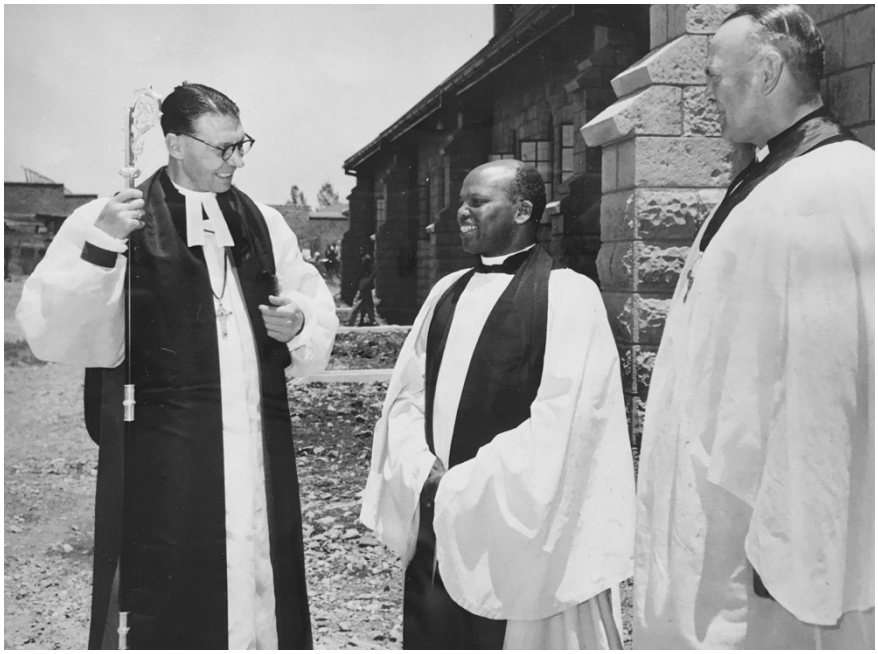

Figure 18: "After a Service of Consecration…," Jan. 1959, Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information, Box INF 10, Folder 154, Number 1, TNA.

Together, the two missionary bishops seem to invite overtly Gacanja 'into the fold' of Christian life, with one gesturing as if to draw him closer to his croziered side. They stand in front of a consecrated church whose newly rusticated stonework is visible in the background. Everything seems fresh and bright, and evokes the 'planting of the seed of faith' that CMS missionaries so often spoke of at this time.[171]

Another image from Kenya in 1961 depicts an African priest blessing a nun and a local man. He does so in front of a wall bedecked with candles, bouquets of roses and posies, and Latin writing: all Western-style visual material that convey the completeness

[171] Baring-Gould, "Journal No. 1 of Tour to Central Africa, etc," journal, 1927, Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Diaries Relating to East Africa and the Sudan, Box CMS/ACC21, Folder F6, CRL.

with which these adherents have been absorbed into the Church and its values. In these COI photographs, we see a determined attempt to visualise burgeoning forms of African Christianity as defined within the parameters of European specificities and aesthetic norms.



Figure 19: "The First Roman Catholic Priest from the Kamba Tribe, which Inhabits Kenya's Southern Province…," Jan. 1961, Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information, Box INF 10, Folder 154, Number 4, TNA.

Though the vast majority of these COI images conform to these standards of geometric regularity and cultural imposition, a few exist that suggest a more complex relationship between the mission church and the local population. Look, for example, at the COI image of the Anglican Cathedral of Nairobi, taken in 1950:



Figure 20: "Anglican Cathedral, Nairobi," 1950, Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information, Box INF 10, Folder 171, Number 42, TNA.

In many ways, this image at first appears to follow the same pattern as those taken of Rubaga and Namirembe: the photographer has positioned the camera at an angle to the church, and the image is devoid of crowds and offers a sense of relative quiet. And yet, unlike the others, it is somehow *not* peaceful, but instead conveys a sense of muted chaos, as wild overgrowth crowds the foreground of the image and a large tree not only unbalances the composition but also casts a long shadow on the main façade of the structure itself. This is decidedly not the serene geometric perfection seen at Rubaga. Instead, we perceive that this church exists in a barely contained environment, seemingly at the edge of a frontier. This is not an image of a colonial church triumphant, but one in flux.[172]

[172] This analysis of this image relies on the scholarship of the history of photography of the nineteenth century American West. The link between these fields of study is not as distant as it at first, perhaps, appears: like colonial Africa, the West at this time was perceived by white settlers as a land of limitless material potential, that needed only to be secured from native populations and brought into linear control (see Chapter II). In projects similar to the COI, American surveying companies under the aegis of the United States Geological Survey sent photographers out to document the land that would soon be available for westward-bound settlers. These photographs formed a crucial part of the appeal and mystique of the West. Toby Jurovics wrote of the images produced by Timothy

An image of the same year of Bishop Otunga, one of the first native African bishops, gives a similarly complex view of religious life at the time.



Figure 21: "Bishop Otunga Goes Among the People to Give his First Episcopal Blessing," 1950, Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information, Box INF 10, Folder 168, Number 16, TNA.

The bishop is clad in traditional vestments and flanked by white missionaries, as we have seen already, and he walks past a crowd of neatly dressed locals in Western-style suits. This service has not taken place within the confines of a stone church, however, but rather has occurred outside: more revival meeting than high mass. We can see in this image the flexibility with which the missionary church had to operate in this period. They could not merely wait for locals to come and fill their newly erected European-inspired churches, but also had to be willing to go out into the field and find people to convert.

O'Sullivan, Carleton Watkins, and others: "[photographers] desired to portray a landscape in upheaval, a stage for the dramatic conflict of geological forces… The images are wilfully destabilizing, employing simple yet purposeful manipulations of the camera to create the effect of a landscape set on edge." See: Jurovics, T., "Framing the West: The Survey Photographs of Timothy O'Sullivan," in Jurovics, Johnson, Willumson, and Stapp (eds), *Framing the West: The Survey Photographs of Timothy O'Sullivan* (New Haven, Conn., 2010), p. 19.

We have focussed here on the images of one British government agency working in colonial East Africa. The interpretations presented in this section have been original, but have been developed in concordance with existing information about the colonial Church at this time, and with the broader scholarship on the history of 'frontier' images. In these photographs we can see a typical form of the representation of the colonial Church in East Africa that reflects and confirms the observations visible in the Martyrs' depictions at Rubaga and, as we will shortly see, in the construction of other mission churches in the region.

These sections have thus far focussed on 'official' responses and interpretations of the Martyrs' story, as they emerged in the time surrounding their 1920 beatification by the RCC. These responses took many forms—papal declarations, books published in Africa and Europe, oil paintings and stained glass, and even official governmental photographs—but they share core characteristics. In each, the goal that underpinned the commemorative act was one of 'normalisation' and Europeanisation. The Martyrs, in this telling, were expected to fall in line with the existing canon of western religious art and culture. Their importance lay in their similarities with venerated figures who came before them, and not with the characteristics which made their story unique. These commemorations were not examples of cultural exchange, but of cultural imposition.

This tone reflects the 'official' discourse between the RCC and local cultural motifs and figures such as the Martyrs (see also Chapters VI and VII). Indeed, it also characterises the RCC approach to local adherents of the faith, as seen in the way new Ugandan priests were incorporated officially into the aesthetic of the mission Church, as these COI images have demonstrated to us. And yet, to focus only on these formalised transmissions is to miss a degree of the subtlety of cultural exchange occurring at this time. As we have seen,

print sources from this time period often omit more than they include. It is for this reason that the visual record created in Rubaga and other buildings in the area takes on such pivotal importance, as they provide a lasting visual record of the buildings within this period for which we otherwise have a paucity of source material. As we will see in the following section, smaller parish churches engaged with local visual culture and architecture in a myriad of ways that suggest a level of hybridity absent in larger scale building projects and commemorations of the Martyrs and only hinted at in some of the COI images examined in the preceding paragraphs. In the following section of this chapter, we will examine these complicating structures as an alternative to the enfolding normalisation of the mission Church in Uganda at this time.

Hybrid by Necessity: The Aesthetic of Missionary Life in the Early Protectorate

While Streicher was touring Europe to fundraise for the completion of the 5,000 capacity cathedral at Rubaga, and Pope Benedict XV was formalising the initial legacy of the Martyrs at St. Peter's, everyday mission work continued throughout the region in much more modest but locally impactful efforts. While it is tempting to focus only at the larger structures that were the centrepieces of the new faith, to do so would ignore the dozens of more informal churches that were being built in every part of the Protectorate in a panoply of different styles.

They are crucial to this study because the vast majority of new East African Christians interacted with the faith in these smaller buildings and not the large cathedrals at Rubaga and elsewhere. These small churches embodied a degree of mediated cultural exchange in their construction and design that was absent from the better funded projects in Kampala, and suggested a far more complex interaction between imported and local culture than we can observe in structures of that kind. These buildings demonstrate a

nascent degree of hybridity that will become crucial to the purposes of this study as the reimaginging of the Martyrs' legacy continues into the twentieth century (see also Chapter VII).[173]

This section relies on the concept of hybridity as it pertains to mission work in Africa, especially within a colonial milieu. Hybridity in this context is, broadly, the study of the interaction between the hegemonic power structure of the European colonists and the subaltern agency of the local people whom they attempted, in this case, to convert to their faith. As a methodology, it builds on notions of lingual creolisation, inculturation, and syncretism, and serves as a means of unpacking the complex cultural exchanges occurring in both directions—top down and from below—in the colonial environment.[174] It is the purpose of this section to demonstrate that hybridity was at play in the small local mission churches of the Uganda Protectorate, much more so than in the larger official projects so far discussed.

The sheer breadth of styles being utilised at this time provides an early clue that a more improvisational, anti-programmatic visual language was at play in these parish churches.[175] These structures varied hugely depending on the region in which they were

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[173] For a parallel discussion of similar building techniques at play in late nineteenth and early twentieth century central Africa, see: Bremner, G.A., "The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861-1909," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 68/4 (Dec., 2009), pp. 514-539.

[174] For an overview of this topic and its historiography, see: Kraidy, M. M., *Hybridity: Or, the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, (Philadelphia, 2005).
For hybridity in an African and especially Afro-religious context, see, as examples: Nxasana, T., "The Journey of the African as Missionary: The Journal and Selected Writings of the Reverand Tiyo Soga," *English in Africa*, 38/2, Es'kia Mphahlele: Teacher and Menter (Aug., 2011), pp. 61-76; Marsland, R., "The Modern Traditional Healer: Locating 'Hybridity' in Modern Traditional Medicine, Southern Tanzania," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33/4, Histories of Healing (Dec., 2007), pp. 751-765.

[175] This section is indebted to Berry's 1975 doctoral thesis for the images in the following section; many of the small parish churches Berry documented have since been destroyed, and thus his thesis forms a critical record of these informal structures. This project makes

built and the religious order that produced them. Italianate towers in red and white sprouted above the acacia trees in the arid north of the country at the direction of the Verona Fathers, a Catholic group from northern Italy. In the south, fat 'friars barns' of White Father construction stood beside whitewashed CMS churches with slender steeples soaring toward heaven.[176] Though different in shape, in all of these churches the mission was the same: to bring locals into the Christian community. The parish church was an essential tool in these evangelising purposes: part church, part community centre, and always an aspirational symbol meant to demonstrate to the unconvinced the benefits that the Christian life could offer.[177]



Figure 22: Verona Fathers, Kitgum Church, Kitgum, Uganda, early 20th century. Image available in in Berry, "Art and Architecture," p. 78.

no use of the argumentative content of this dissertation, but does make broad use of his images of now-extinct churches.

[176] Adrian Hastings, the missionary observer to the Second Vatican Council (see Chapter IV), was stationed at the 'friars barn' of Villa Maria when he came to Uganda for the very first time in 1958. He recollects his time there in: Hastings, A., "Ganda Catholic Spirituality," in *African Catholicism: Essays in Discovery* (London, 1989), pp. 69-81.

[177] For further discussion of the symbolic meaning of the parish church as a sacred object, see: O'Connell, J.B., *Church Building and Furnishing: The Church's Way, A Study in Liturgical Law* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1955).

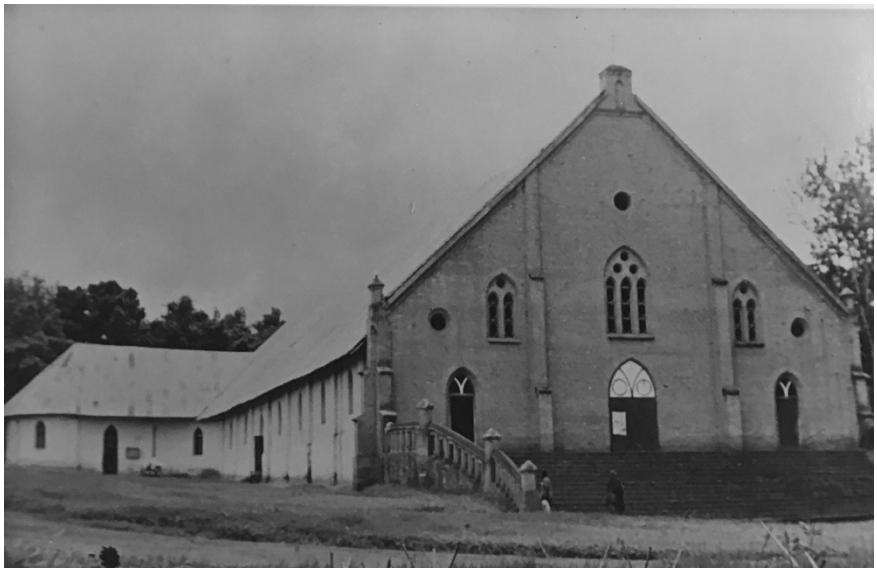

Figure 23: White Fathers of Africa, Villa Maria, Villa Maria, Uganda, 1892. Image available in Berry, "Art and Architecture," p. 64.

An example of this kind of parish church is the CMS church built in 1912 at Natete, a suburb to the southwest of Kampala. Natete was designed and its construction overseen by Bishop Tucker, the same CMS missionary who would go on to lead the final construction of the main Anglican cathedral at Namirembe in the 1920s.[178] The community around Natete had welcomed missionaries since 1881, making it one of the earliest areas in the region to become an outpost of the faith. When the church there was built in 1912, it was already a popular and culturally important site of Christian worship.

[178] Berry, "Art and Architecture," p. 73.



Figure 24: Tucker, Natete Church (West Front), Natete, Uganda, 1912. Image available in Berry, "Art and Architecture," p. 50.

The Natete site occupied 28.76 acres including the crest of Natete Hill, ownership of which had been granted to the CMS by Mutesa. The station had initially floundered, with missionaries struggling to cultivate crops after the seeds they brought from Britain were found to have spoiled. They were saved by the generosity of Mwanga's predecessor, Mutesa I, who supplied the missionaries with food supplies under the agreement that the Europeans would act "in a way beneficial to him."[179] This *quid pro quo* relationship strained CMS missionaries such as Mackay, who worked hard over the next years to make the site self sufficient. This goal had been achieved by the time Mutesa I died and Mwanga ascended the throne.[180] During the escalating 1885-86 crisis that resulted in the martyring of Charles Lwanga and his followers, the compound at Natete was used to shelter fugitive Christians.[181] After the martyring episode, the town became the site where CMS missionaries set up the first printing press in the region, and where they produced the first

[179] Matson, A.T., "The Instructions Issued in 1876 and 1878 to the Pioneer C.M.S. Parties to Karagwe and Uganda: Part I," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 13/1 (1982), p. 228.
[180] Ibid. p. 229.
[181] Rowe, J.A., "The Purge of Christians at Mwanga's Court: A Reassessment of This Episode in Buganda History," *The Journal of African History*, 5/1 (1964), p. 62.

Luganda language translation of the gospel of *St. Matthew* in March 1887. The press continued to operate throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, printing newsletters and evangelical material through the formation of the Protectorate in 1900.[182]

The colonial parish church at Natete has now been destroyed. Thus, we must rely on surviving photographs to discuss it. The structure built in 1912 was much smaller than the major building projects we have discussed so far, accommodating several dozen rather than several thousand worshippers. Its floor plan was square, with a central steeple and hipped roofs radiating from a central axis. The walls were constructed of mud brick that was spackled and painted white, and the roof was corrugated tin (imported from Europe),[183] insulated by a woven reed ceiling.

[182] Matson, A.T., "The Instructions Issued in 1876 and 1878 to the Pioneer C.M.S. Parties to Karagwe and Uganda: Part II," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 13/1 (1982), p. 26.
[183] Ibid. p. 74.



Figure 25: Tucker, Natete Church (Entryway Ceiling), Natete, Uganda, 1912. Image available in Berry, "Art and Architecture," p. 50.

The windows were simple and without additional ornamentation. It was intimate compared to the massive construction projects occurring at Namirembe and Rubaga; and yet the steeple would have still been striking, emerging from above the trees on the hilltop, visible from a considerable distance in all directions.

While we must guess on the specific inspiration for this church, it seems likely that it borrowed heavily from the vocabulary of Anglican churches being produced contemporaneously at home in Britain. Specifically, there are significant points of overlap between the design aesthetic at Natete and the principles of the Queen Anne Revival movement, a British architectural trend that was popular at the time. It attempted to move

away from the highly ornamental Gothic Revival and restore a simpler, astylar tradition.[184] There is a paucity of literature directly linking the Queen Anne Revival to East African building projects, but some indirect evidence remains. For example, a 1905 description of the Mombasa (Kenya) cathedral in a CMS publication provides a rare example of descriptive architectural writing from East Africa in this time period:

> The general effect of the building, of which the extreme height is 108 ft., is strikingly Eastern. The main dome rises from an octagonal tower, each side of which is pierced by three slender lights. At the western end of the nave are two towers, also surmounted by domes. … Outside, the grounds were enriched with colours, Union Jacks and Protectorate flags predominating, and large attendance of Arabs and Swahilis testified their interest in the proceedings.[185]

This description is a verbal parallel of the visual imagery we have already observed in the COI photographs: neat, geometric, orderly, and populated with appreciative and docile locals under the guidance of Union Jacks and colonial rule. It is one of a very limited number of descriptions of such consecration ceremonies that occurred in colonial East Africa in the early twentieth century.

In Uganda especially, such architectural commentaries are mostly limited. The protectorate was not a white settler colony like Kenya, and so its building projects were usually carried out with the efficiency of utility rather than with the flourish of self-aware architectural significance. It was precisely this vernacularized style that made Ugandan

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[184] Watkin, D.J., "Western Architecture: Classicism, 1830-1930" https://www.britannica.com/art/Western-architecture/Classicism-1830-1930 (2 May 2018).

[185] *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, 56 (Aug. 1905), p. 611. In this article, 'Eastern' probably refers to revival movements popular both in Britain and its colonies in the nineteenth that were approximately based on 'oriental' influences of India and the Far East. Representative examples of such buildings are the remodelled 'Hindoostani Gothic' main entrance to the Guildhall completed in 1788 by George Dance, and the 1815 extensions to the Royal Pavilion in Brighton designed by John Nash. These styles often intermingled with those of the Queen Anne and other revivals in the architectural vocabulary of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Additionally, more generally 'Eastern' at this time referred to a building with round arched windows.

church building so remarkable, and which provided the historical basis for the ambitious projects that would be constructed following Ugandan independence in the 1960s (see Chapter VII).

Alternate from these broader African colonial sources, we can also look for architectural parallels in other British movements popular at the time. The link between the Queen Anne Revival movement and broader colonial expansion is well documented, for example, as architects such as Edwin Lutyens built extensively in this style in other colonial territories such as India.[186] The same principles that motivated Queen Anne-style buildings in British India can be equally applied to British East Africa due to the globalist principles of the Empire. Furthermore, the Queen Anne Revival itself would have plausibly been an ideal architectural style for colonial expansion, as it evoked earlier forms of successful renewal, rebuilding, and expansion,[187] and promised a vision of British 'civility' in new lands (see Chapter II).

Thus, as an example, we can look to works such as Edwin Lutyens' St. Jude on the Hill in Hampstead for points of conceptual inspiration for colonial churches such as Natete. There is no direct known link between this church and any created in Uganda. It is safe to assume, however, that CMS missionaries, who began their journeys to Uganda from London, may have seen Lutyens' church and been influenced by its design. Furthermore,

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[186] For an overview of Lutyens' work in India, see: Buch, M.N., "New Delhi—Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," *India International Quarterly,* 30/2 (MONSOON 2003), pp. 29-40.

[187] The Queen Anne style, upon which the Queen Anne Revival is based, had strong links to connotations of building and rebuilding. It was, for example, one of the main styles used to rebuild the churches of London following the Great Fire in 1666. For a brief history of this period, see: Ali, J.R. and Cunich, P., "The Church East and West: Orienting the Queen Anne Churches, 1711-34," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 64/1 (Mar., 2005), pp. 56-73.
It was also one of the primary ecclesiastical building forms of the early American colonies, as discussed in: Maudlin, D. and B.L. Herman, eds., *Building the British Atlantic World: Spaces, Places and Material Culture, 1600-1850* (Chapel Hill, 2016).

it seems plausible that the concept for a planned community like that of Hampstead would have appealed to these Anglican missionaries. As we have discussed already, the appeal for spreading the Anglican faith into Africa for these British missionaries extended beyond mere evangelisation, and was part of a broader mission of the global expansion of British culture (see Chapter II).



Figure 26: Lutyens, E., St. Jude on the Hill, Hampstead, United Kingdom, 1909, http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2490320 (14 Jun. 2018). For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 7.

This brick Queen Anne Revival church was built in 1909 as part of the garden city community of Hampstead—a planned expansion north of London built through the direction and funding of the Garden City and Town Planning Association on land purchased from Eton College.[188] The new town was envisaged as an escape from the rapidly expanding chaos of the city and offered the promise of health and safety associated

[188] Abercrombie, P., "Modern Town Planning in England: A Comparative Review of 'Garden City' Schemes in England," *The Town Planning Review*, 1/1 (Apr., 1910), p. 20.

with village life (marketers for the project published tables demonstrating the markedly lower infant mortality rates found in Hampstead compared to the inner city, for example)[189] within commuting distance of city centre jobs. This settlement was an early example of what we would now recognise as a suburb. These sentiments in many ways paralleled those of CMS missionaries who sought new utopian spaces for British expansion in global regions, and who envisioned "snug homesteads, orchards and gardens"[190] in the forests of Africa (see Chapter II).

Lutyens' church was the centrepiece of the new community in Hampstead and remains in use today. As at Natete, it has a basic floor plan, similar to the dozens of earlier Wren churches in London that form a core vocabulary for Anglican worship, and defined on the exterior by steep roofs radiating from a central steeple that is still visible today. Of course, the scale at St. Jude's is considerably larger than that of Natete, and the ornamentation of the Hampstead church is significantly more intricate. However, despite these differing degrees of ornamentation, the skeletal similarities of the two buildings are notable. The garden suburb of London was a local model of parallel activity taking place in the new Protectorate (see Chapter II). It seems likely that this approach to urban planning, marked by the architectural aesthetic of the Queen Anne Revival, played an indirect but valuable role in the design of Natete and many other colonial parish churches thousands of miles to the south of London.

These nodes of European importation as they appeared in modest structures such as Natete Church demonstrated a will to impose Western norms and values on the African

[189] Reade, C.C., "A Defence of the Garden City Movement," *The Town Planning Review*, 4/3 (Oct., 1913), p. 248.
[190] Wason, *East Africa and Uganda*, p. 81.

landscape that was consistent with other colonial building projects at the time.[191] For this thesis, however, signposts of colonial control form only one locus of interest. We must look as well to the visual motifs in this church whose provenance was much more local to Uganda. It is in these localised motifs that the reality of church life in Uganda—where the ideal of a perfectly imposed European culture can only extend so far—emerges.

The crucial element of the church at Natete that suggested something other than pure European imposition was the reed interior ceiling. This detail, while small, pointed to a key difference between this church and the brick house of worship built in Hampstead at Lutyens' direction. This ceiling was clearly the work of local craftsmen. The bundled reed technique was similar to the thatching methods used at the Kasubi Tombs and many other existing buildings in the area.[192] It indicates that the church was constructed with the help of local artisans. However, unlike the unskilled labour employed in the brick hauling at Rubaga, the inclusion of this technique suggested a collaborative design effort.[193]

[191]For a broad discussion of the controlling impulse of colonial building projects in Africa, see: Demissie, F. (ed), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories* (Farnham, Surrey, 2012).

[192] However, as Reid observes, even the Kasubi Tobs are not the 'authentic' source of Ugandan building design that they are often touted to be, as multiple colonial reconstructions of the tombs leave us with little accurate contemporary picture of what they may have originally looked like. Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*, p. 39.

[193] See, as a parallel example occurring in colonial Brazil: Komisar, J.D., "Looking at Collaboration as a Key to Creative Expression: The Case of Colonial Architecture," *Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art*, Repenser les Limites: l'Architecture a Travers l'Espace, le Temps et les Disciplines (Sept., 2005).



Figure 27: Kasubi Royal Tombs, Kampala, Uganda, nineteenth century, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1022 (14 Jun. 2018). For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 8.

For the cathedral in Kampala, the White Father designers had sufficient capital to have the luxury of purely Europeanised technique and design, supplied without input by local labourers. In contrast at Natete, though he or she went without formal acknowledgement, it seems clear that a local builder not only helped in the constructive labour of the structure, but also in the aesthetic motifs that made the structure compelling and welcoming, an inviting space that encouraged community fellowship and worship: in other words, precisely the elements that made it successful as a mission church. We must speculate here, but it seems clear that this ceiling demonstrates a hybridised approach, due to its divergence from strict European importation seen elsewhere in ecclesiastical architecture in the region at the time.

Such everyday collaboration was a critical example of cultural hybridity at work. The overall church was of European design, but this reed ceiling—which, in addition to being aesthetically pleasing, insulated and cooled the building, making it significantly better suited to this tropical region than it would be in an unaltered state—came from a local craftsman, and produced in the final structure a unique aesthetic that was absent from

both points of inspiration. This hybrid element was what makes the church at Natete fit for purpose, and what lent it a degree of local authenticity that would be absent in a purely imported design.

We cannot know precisely the degree to which this collaboration resulted from intent or necessity. Based on the broader body of evidence left by CMS missionaries at the time, both at Natete and further afield, the latter of these two options seems likely. Still, there is some indication that these cross-cultural exchanges were not only purposefully initiated, but even welcomed at this time. Charles F. Ossory, an Irish missionary who attended the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, recounted the views espoused by the CMS at the time:

> The experience of the Church Missionary Society in Uganda seem to show that the most fruitful of all missionary methods is that which throws the burden of evangelisation on the native churches. Yet complaints come from many parts of the mission-field that the Home Organizations and the authorities which represent them abroad keep the young churches in so much subjection that they are denied all true initiative, and so lose their power of expansion… It would appear, however, that we Christians of the West much learn to control our native arrogance, and be prepared to recognize more than we have done the independence of national churches and the capacity of people of every race to know and understand, better than we can know, how to reach their fellow countrymen.[194]

This recollection demonstrates both the recognition of, and ambivalence toward, the value of collaboration with local actors that remains key to this thesis. Ossory acknowledges the 'arrogance' that had dominated mission work to that point and inhibited the most successful possible growth of the Church. And yet, his words seem to lack the substantive power of change, full as they of concessions and explanations. We can see a more general expression of this ambivalence in the 1920 *Church Missionary Society Review*, an annual

[194] Ossory, C.F., "The World Missionary Conference and Some of Its Lessons," *The Irish Church Quarterly,* 3/12 (Oct., 1910), p. 280.

yearbook of the mission's activities worldwide. In an article entitled "The Gain of Christianity," the author openly acknowledged that missions, including the CMS, had not always been a force of unalloyed good in Africa, and openly questioned whether it was a worthwhile pursuit to actively set up a mission in the region. Many Europeans perceived that doing so would challenge local people, whom they viewed to be culturally inferior, with societal concepts too complex for them to fully understand or make use of without the continued gradual 'civilising' effect of missionary forces. The author admits: "Missions may result in a quite premature breaking down of ancient societal barriers, the granting of liberty for which people are not ready."[195]

Despite these shortcomings, however, the author still insisted that mission churches could ultimately serve for the better good. The list of benefits the Church could provide features "better-built and better-furnished buildings,"[196] such as the churches we have discussed in this chapter. From this understanding, the physical realities of the church provided the opportunity for collaborative fellowship, worship, and all the good things that the Christian faith could provide within a colonial environment.

European missionaries from all orders often came to the region using the language of explorers, and once there found themselves using the language of collaborators in spite of themselves. Long before it became doctrine in either the Anglican or Catholic churches, the hybridity of spaces such as the church at Natete formed a key element in what made them effective as centres for evangelisation and conversion. As we will see, the story of the newly venerated Uganda Martyrs would increasingly take on these characteristics as the twentieth century progressed.

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[195] Church Missionary Society, *The Church Missionary Society Review: 1920* (London, 1920), p. 106.
[196] Ibid. p. 111.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have looked at religious leaders driven by a broad range of motivations, directed toward an equally broad range of target audiences and lived receptions. And yet, in all of these areas of analysis, we can see the centrality of image-making: whether symbolic, in the image of the RCC as a mission Church propagated by the beatification documents in Rome, or physically, in the visual realities of local churches being constructed in the colonial protectorate. Uganda was the site of a new Christian faith, and was approached by missionaries as *tabula rasa* on which to try new visions of what the Church was and what it could be.

The Martyrs played a significant role in the creation of these idealised visions, as they focussed on the inclusion of African Christianity into the fold of European sensibilities. In local works, however, we can see the incremental beginnings of a vision of inculturated Christianity long before any official RCC decree of that nature. As we will see in the following chapters, it was not until the 1960s that, through the vessel of the Uganda Martyrs and their progression to sainthood, the 'official' discourse of the RCC began to come into line with the improvisational and hybrid forms of faith already taking form in Uganda in the early years of the colonial protectorate. The cause of this doctrinal shift was one of the Church's most radical experiments: the Second Vatican Council.

IV. Toward a Universal Catholic Church: Globalising Reforms and the Role of Africa at the Second Vatican Council, 1962-65



Figure 28: "A session of the Second Vatican Council in progress," n.d., Papers of Fr. Fransen (S.J.), 1/15, CSVII.

This thesis has up to this point analysed the Martyrs and the historical experience of Catholic Christianity in colonial Uganda. The focus of our discussion now shifts to the most influential event in the history of the RCC in the twentieth century: the Second Vatican Council. As we will see, the dogmatic changes produced by the Council had significant ramifications for the African Church.

This chapter will contextualise the changes of which the Martyrs would later become a critical part, by exploring some of the factors that made the Council so radical in its aims, especially in relation to non-Western regions of the 'global south' such as Africa. Vatican II is an enormous topic of research in its own right, and has been the subject of innumerable publications in the more than fifty years since, the historiography of which has been discussed in Chapter I. This chapter will analyse the universalising aims and

products of Vatican II in such a way as to better understand their ultimate impact on the representation of the Uganda Martyrs in the post-conciliar RCC.

As such, this chapter will focus on five main areas: first, it will provide a brief history of the Council and its origins; second, it will give some understanding of the format of the Council and the strengths and drawbacks of this approach; third, it will summarise the major documents of the Council; fourth, it will examine the small but significant role of African bishops and missionaries in the Council; and finally, it will explore in greater detail two key Council documents, *Gaudium et Spes* and *Ad Gentes*, with regard to their role in the future of the RCC in Africa.

African bishops played a significant role in shaping some of the Council's most important schemata, influencing the creation of documents at critical moments. The Second Vatican Council was a moment of *aggiornamento*[197] in the RCC that followed decades of conservatism which had left the Church increasingly marginalised in many parts of the world. The Council confronted the Ultramontanism (see below) that had guided the Church since Vatican I nearly a century earlier, and sought to break with decades of anti-modern Catholic thought. Ultimately, the changes discussed in the four years of the Council put the RCC on a radically different course in the final decades of the twentieth century: one that conceptualised the Church as an internationalist actor on a global stage.

Origins of the Second Vatican Council

The fifteen years following the Second World War had been a time of rapidly increased secularism across Europe. A vastly different post-war social milieu that centred on international cooperation left the RCC looking outmoded: methods that had seemed pioneering for propagating the faith in the nineteenth century now struggled to find a place

[197] 'Updating,' the Italian phrase used commonly in Rome to describe the Council.

in this new international environment that centred more on transnational cooperation.[198] The Catholic Church had been the subject of increasing critical scrutiny for decades now, especially in the key areas of ecumenism, liturgical reform, and cultural conservatism.[199]

The origins of the RCC's problems at this time went back nearly a century, to the First Vatican Council of Pius IX. At this Council, the first major ecumenical gathering of the RCC since the Council of Trent over three centuries earlier, bishops had gathered in Rome to discuss primarily the question of papal infallibility. The Council culminated in the 18 July 1870 promulgation of *Pastor Aeternus*,[200] a document that gave the twin concepts of papal primacy and papal infallibility "a new, solemn vindication."[201] This conclusion served to quash more collegially-based theological movements of the time such as Gallicanism,[202] and established Ultramontanism—the body of RCC theology that gave the Pope absolute primacy—as the dominant paradigm within the Church for the next ninety years. For Africa this First Vatican Council had been especially important, as its conclusion coincided with the initial major phase of colonial annexation of the continent and profoundly shaped the manner in which the Christian message was disseminated there,

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[198] For a more in-depth examination of the RCC in this era, including the strains placed on the Church by the advent of the Cold War, see, as an example: Kent, P.C., *The Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII: the Roman Catholic Church and the Division of Europe, 1943-1950* (Ithaca, 2002).

[199] Evidence for this increasingly defensive tone of the RCC at this time was Pius XII's 1950 decision to dismantle the commission for 'speculative theology,' which had existed to explore radical theological concepts, and to end the debate on these topics with the publication of *Humani Generis*. See: Hebbelthwaite, P., *John XXIII: Pope of the Century* (London, 1984), pp. 158-9.

[200] Pius IX, Pope, *Pastor Aeternus: Pius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Sacro Approbante Concilio* (18 Jul. 1870), Vatican Online Archives (11 Dec. 2018).

[201] O'Malley, J., *Vatican I: The Council and the Making of the Ultramontane Church* (London, 2018), p. 226.
See also: Hennesey, J.J., *The First Council of the Vatican* (New York, 1963).

[202] A Catholic movement originating in France that asserted the temporal power of the French king over that of the pope, in conflict with Ultramontanism and other movements that demanded absolute papal primacy; see: "Gallicanism" https://www.britannica.com/topic/Gallicanism (15 Jan. 2019).

where "the missionary societies were Ultramontane almost to a man in their theology."[203] This unified approach gave nineteenth century Catholic missionaries significant success in colonised regions because their position was supported by the entire organisation of the Church, with little room for individuals to diverge from the 'official' message approved in Rome. However, it also ensured that these new Christian regions were hierarchically inferior to the central Church in Rome by emphasising the absolute authority of the pontiff, in much the same way that colonial states were subordinate to the European imperial powers that controlled them.

More broadly, as John O'Malley writes in his history of the First Council, *Pastor Aeternus* and the rise of Ultramontanism initiated "a negative response to the modern world, the world in whose creation the Enlightenment had played such an important role."[204] This publication built further on Pius IX's 1864 *Syllabus of Errors*, which had articulated new heretical Christian behaviours and served to further separate the RCC from the Protestant faiths.[205] Thus, *Pastor Aeternus* took the RCC into a distinctly anti-modern phase of its history, one that rejected the individual freedoms of the Enlightenment. With these guiding principles, it is little surprise that by the end of the 1950s the RCC's traditional views were encountering increasing resistance, as post-war internationalist ideologies that supported transnational cooperation and equality increasingly took on increased prominence around the globe.

Matters such as ecumenism, for example, had become significantly more problematic for the RCC since the Second World War. As Patrick Carey describes, the papal stance on ecumenism had varied significantly since the pontificate of Pius IX and

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[203] Hastings, A., "The Post-Conciliar Church in Eastern Africa," in *African Catholicism: Essays in Discovery*, p. 124.
[204] O'Malley, *Vatican I*, p. 226.
[205] Pius IX, Pope, *The Syllabus of Errors* (1864), Vatican Online Archives (14 Feb. 2019).

the First Vatican Council, but the Ultramontane determination of that Council meant that the tendency had generally been to denounce interfaith cooperation through to and during the reign of John XXIII beginning in 1958.[206] While the first half of the twentieth century, marked as it had been by competitive nationalism, had marginalised interfaith cooperation, the post-war era saw the formation of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Trade Organisation, and dozens of other major international organisations. The Ultramontane, anti-modern RCC appeared at odds with this global trend.[207] In a Catholic Church led by Ultramontane ideals, where the Pope did not even need to consult with his own bishops, the concept of cooperating with other church organisations was out of the question. The RCC had therefore resisted most ecumenical efforts of the early twentieth century, going so far as to ban Catholics from attending the 1925 Lausanne Ecumenical Conference, even as observers.[208]

When the World Council of Churches (WCC), the largest global ecumenical organisation, was founded in September 1948, it was as a Protestant church membership group, though not by its choice: both the RCC and the Orthodox Church refused to join.[209] The origins of this reticence can ultimately be dated back to the Great Schism of 1054. The RCC considered itself, by definition, to be the one universal Christian faith, from which all other sects represented departures from dogmatic truth. The RCC expected other church organisations to eventually return to Catholicism, and had no interest in legitimising their alternate beliefs in the form of cooperation. This resistance to ecumenism had been reiterated as official RCC dogma as recently as 1943 in Pius XII's encyclical *Mystici*

[206] Carey, P.W., "American Catholic Ecumenism on the Eve of Vatican II, 1940-1962," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 28/2, Ecumenism (Spring 2010), p. 4.
[207] For a further explanation of the anti-liberal, anti-modern RCC of the early twentieth century, see: O'Malley, *Vatican I*, pp. 3-5.
[208] Daneel, *Quest for Belonging*, p. 49.
[209] Ibid. p. 50.

Corporis Christi, which actively discouraged interfaith cooperation, especially in the realm of evangelisation and mission activity.[210]

This refusal to cooperate with other Christian faiths was particularly problematic in mission contexts, including Uganda, where colonial policy encouraged active competition between missions. By the 1950s relationships between Catholic and Protestant missionaries there had severely deteriorated. John Poulton, a CMS missionary based in Uganda in 1959, wrote bitterly of the antagonistic view many local Catholic missionaries took toward Anglicans, encouraged by the anti-ecumenical sentiments expressed in *Mystici Corporis Christi*. Of the situation in Uganda, he wrote:

> They show that the Catholic Church, for all her positive and exclusive teaching, has yet to come to grips with the situation of the Christian world *as it is*… We believe that the mission of the Church is nothing less than the gathering together of the whole human race by incorporation into Christ.[211]

Lack of dialogue and distance from everyday Christianity—Christianity 'as it is'—was a common refrain among critics of the RCC at this time (see also Chapter II).

This growing irrelevance was further underscored in the RCC's conservative position toward liturgical reform. While most protestant faiths had, by the start of John's pontificate in 1958, decided to give all sermons and masses in the local language of congregants, the RCC remained committed to conducting all church services worldwide in Latin. There had been some attempts to update the liturgy earlier in the century, dating from a *motu proprio* from Pius X on church music in 1903,[212] but minimal effective change had followed. Further encyclicals from Pius XII in 1943 and 1947 (*Mystici Corporis*

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[210] Pius XII, Pope, *Mystici Corporis Christi: Encyclical on the Mystical Body of Christ* (29 Jun. 1943), Vatican Online Archives (8 Oct. 2018).
[211] Poulton, "What are the Problems?"
[212] "Chronique du Mouvement Liturgiques," n.d., memo, Papers of Msgr. V. Keuppens, Box 1, Folder 15, CSVII, p. 8.

Christi and *Mediator Dei et Hominum*[213]) made small adjustments which allowed for different rituals to be performed in different countries, but all services remained in Latin and followed the general structure of the Roman Rite.[214]

When questioned on this policy in February 1962, directly prior to the start of the Second Vatican Council, Pope John XXIII reiterated the Church's commitment to Latin, not only as the language of the liturgy, but also of Catholic teaching worldwide, through the publication of the constitution *Veterum Sapientia*.[215] P. W. Scarlett of the British Foreign Office's Vatican bureau noted:

> Teachers who are unable to lecture in Latin will be replaced as soon as possible by teachers who can. Bishops, it is true, are given the usual discretion to make special arrangements to suit local circumstances, but this is qualified by the proviso that these shall not defeat the purpose of the Constitution.[216]

Even though Catholic catechetical training centres in Germany and the United States had almost entirely eliminated Latin as the language of teaching through this 'discretion to make special arrangements,' the reaffirmation of Latin in *Veterum Sapientia* remained an additional barrier to indigenous priesthood in many mission regions, including East Africa. Here, Latin was for new priests often a third language on top of a colonial *lingua franca*, meaning further years of adult study in addition to the already heavy burden of priestly training.[217]

This adherence to Latin had numerous critics. For example, John Todd, an English scholar, wrote of the liturgical conservatism of the RCC in 1956, "The Christian sacrifice

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[213] Pius XII, Pope, *Mediator Dei et Hominum: Encyclical on the Sacred Liturgy* (20 Nov. 1947), Vatican Online Archives (8 Oct. 2018).
[214] "Chronique du Mouvement Liturgiques," p. 8.
[215] John XXIII, Pope, *Vaterum Sapientia: Apostolic Constitution on Latin Study* (22 Feb. 1962), Vatican Online Archives (8 Oct. 2018).
[216] Scarlett, "Latin Only to be Used."
[217] Ibid.

is not bound up in Latin, or to the Roman Rite."[218] These factors, including the refusal to partake in ecumenical discussions or to update the liturgy to better fit the global populations it served, left the RCC in an increasingly isolated position in the years following the Second World War.

One further factor served to weaken the RCC at this time, specifically in Africa: racist and imperialist views about African people that made the Church unappealing to burgeoning African anti-colonial and, increasingly, postcolonial movements and their followers. Yves Congar, one of the most influential White Fathers in Uganda, wrote a pamphlet in 1953 entitled "The Catholic Church and the Race Question"[219] which attempted to clarify the Church's view on racism. Congar's pamphlet at first attempted to suggest that the RCC was, by definition, not a racist institution: "The very principles of Christianity were, from the outset, a denial of racial prejudice."[220] Despite this claim, however, Congar also advocated forms of segregation by acknowledging what he viewed as an inevitable desire for races to remain separate from one another, and then justifying these views by asserting that Africans lacked the ability to achieve the civilisation of their European counterparts without the help of organisations such as the RCC:

> The great majority of non-Europeans, and particularly the Africans, have not yet reached a stage of development that would justify their integration into a homogeneous society with Europeans.[221]

This racialized thinking demonstrated the gulf that still existed between an abstract understanding of the 'universal' principles of Christianity free of racism, while still

[218] Todd, J.M., *Catholicism and the Ecumenical Movement* (London, 1956), p. 99.
[219] Congar, Y., "The Catholic Church and the Race Question: Part of the 'Race Question in Modern Science' Series," pamphlet, Paris, UNESCO, 1953, UNESCO SS (08) 7/1, AM.
[220] Ibid. p. 33.
[221] Ibid. p. 43.

maintaining racist views and practices within the Church, a gulf which damaged the RCC in the emerging new independent states of postcolonial Africa.[222]

It was with such problems in mind that Pope John XXIII announced on 25 January 1959 the formation of an ecumenical council of bishops to be held at the Vatican in the coming years.[223] John had, since the beginning of his papacy the previous year, increasingly conceived of himself as a universalising, globalising pope. His journal in 1959, as he began the preparations for the Council, articulated these thoughts:

> Since the Lord chose me, unworthy as I am, for this great service, I feel I have no longer any special ties in this life, no family, no earthly country or nation, nor any particular preferences with regard to studies or projects.[224]

Pope John thus envisaged himself as free of any 'earthly country or nation,' and instead ready to serve a more broadly global world. This pronouncement marked a departure from previous pontiffs, who still saw themselves as fundamentally tied to Rome. Thus, John sought to address the weaknesses of the contemporary RCC by turning toward a radically different, universalist model of thinking. No longer would the RCC seek to defend itself from the perceived threats of secularism and Protestantism.[225] Instead, it would open itself up, as John himself had, to the entire world.

We can see just how clearly John valued this global vision in the photograph he included in his own autobiography, *Journal of a Soul*, where the section on John's decision to call a Council is illustrated thusly:

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[222] Congar's views were widespread among Europeans in Africa at this time and not limited to the RCC. For a non-Catholic example, see: Foster, *White to Move?*
[223] John XXIII, Pope, "Announcement of an Ecumenical Council," Vatican II—Voice of the Church, http://vatican2voice.org/91docs/announcement.htm (8 Oct. 2018).
[224] John XXIII, Pope, *Journal of a Soul*, tr. D. White (London, 1980), p. 298.
[225] O'Malley, *Vatican I*, p. 4.

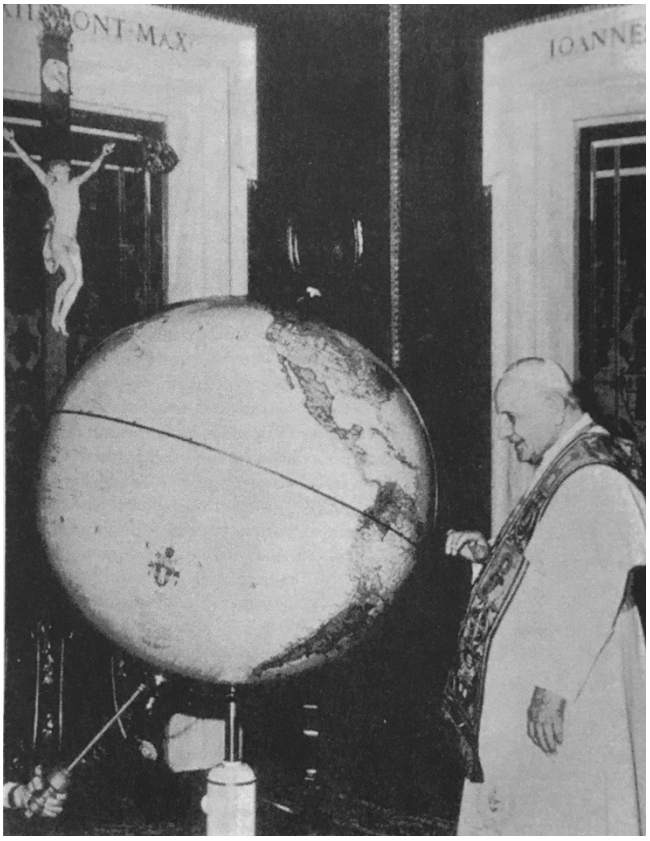

Figure 29: Pope John XXIII examining a globe, in: John XXIII, Pope, Journal of a Soul.

In this image, John looks with interest at an enormous globe that dwarfs both him and the crucified Jesus on the wall behind. It suggests a fundamental shift in the role of the Pope, from someone whose interests were focussed on Rome to acting as the steward of an entire global population of believers.[226] The Council, then, was the necessary step in making this vision a reality, not just in John's own mind but in the practices of the RCC as a whole. Moreover, the publication of this image in John's memoir suggests a strong desire to visually communicate these changing ideals.

Following this announcement, groups of organising commissions led by cardinals around the world began to prepare sets of topics to discuss, which became known as the

[226] John XXIII was, himself, the first Pope to make official visits outside of Rome during his papacy, though his travels would appear modest compared to those of his successor, Paul VI. See: Hebbelthwaite, *John XXIII*, p. 218

conciliar schemata. The Council was planned as one large plenary session with all the two-thousand-plus bishops eligible to debate and vote on all schemata.[227] Because of this open format, the task of these preparatory commissions was to identify and cogently summarise the most pressing issues of the RCC in order to keep the progress of the Council sessions as smooth as possible.[228]

A Central Preparatory Commission of 108 members was formed on 21 June 1960, with the task of appointing ten deputy committees that would prepare the Council's schemata over the next two years. The content of these schemata remained largely secret during this time, though speculation on the topics to be discussed abounded. D.F.S. Capri, in a report prepared for the British Foreign Office, insisted that decolonising regions such as newly independent Uganda would be of central importance in the Council's aims:

> Another main objective… is that of de-Europeanising the Church, of removing the hindrances to the spread of [the RCC's] influence, especially among the newly independent governments of Asia and Africa.[229]

These sentiments echoed those already seen in John XXIII's own writings, and suggested a broader adaption of his vision of the Council as a means to create a more universal RCC. If successful, this 'de-Europeanising' would have significant implications for the kind of hybridised Christianity that had been propagated by necessity at times in areas such as colonial Uganda (see Chapter III): this pronouncement suggested that these hybridised instances would, in future, be embraced as the norm rather than merely tolerated out of

[227] Not all bishops worldwide chose or were able to attend, but this number still represented a three-fold increase over the number of bishops present at Vatican I.
[228] Scarlett, P.W., "Preparations for the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council," 18 Sep. 1962, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 163900, TNA.
[229] Capri, D.F.S., "Completion of the Work of the Central Preparatory Commission," 6 Jul. 1962, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 163899, TNA.

necessity. The hopes for the Council, especially in regard to Africa, were thus high. After three years of organising and planning, the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican was ready to commence in autumn 1962.

Exactly one month ahead of its opening, John XXIII gave a radio address to explain publicly his motivations for calling the Council, and his hopes for what it could achieve. He emphasised that Vatican II would enable a return to a church where all people were welcomed, regardless of who they were, or where they lived. And indeed, the global diversity of Vatican II was to be unequalled in the history of the RCC. While Vatican I had included representatives from some more geographically distant regions such as Latin America, dioceses in Africa and many parts of Asia had not yet been established at this time, making true global participation impossible.[230] At Vatican II, bishops from every part of the globe would be present: "For the first time in history the Fathers of the Council belong, in reality, to all peoples and nations."[231] It was with this globalised, internationally cooperative sentiment that John chose to preface his council.[232] It is clear that he hoped that Vatican II would steer the RCC away from the shortcomings identified prior to and during his papacy, and toward a new, modern, transnationally effective church organisation.

[230]Beirne, C.J., "Latin American Bishops of the First Vatican Council, 1869-1870," *The Americas*, 25/3 (Jan., 1969), pp. 265-280.
[231] John XXIII, Pope, "Radiomessage of His Holiness."
[232] The writings of Rino Fisichella, an Italian bishop, both before and after the Council exemplify some of the excitement surrounding the Council and its potential. See, as an example: Fisichella, R., *The New Evangelisation: Responding to the Challenge of Indifference* (Leominster, 2012).
John O'Malley, author of the history of Vatican I discussed earlier in this chapter, also reflected on his own feelings at the start of the Second Vatican Council: O'Malley, J., "My Life of Learning," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 93/3 (Jul., 2007), pp. 576-588.

The Council

The Second Vatican Council officially began on 11 October 1962, with a solemn opening mass led by John XXIII. The Pope first acknowledged the failings of the RCC that had led to the Council's conceptions: "If [faith] is a source of spiritual joy, we cannot deny that in the long nineteen centuries many pains and bitternesses have obscured this story."[233] As simple as this statement was, it represented a significant degree of candour from a reigning pontiff regarding the negative aspects of the RCC's history.

John then framed the upcoming council as the opening up of a new future: "Illuminated by the light of the Council, the Church will grow, as we hope, in spiritual riches and, gaining the strength of new energies, will look with confidence to the future times."[234] With this declaration, John made publicly clear what he had already privately contemplated since before the Council's announcement: that it would result in a fundamentally different, more universal RCC. In August 1961, as part of his annual summer retreat, he had written in his diary about the universalising changes he hoped for:

> The closer links between the papacy and the whole Christian world, achieved by the repeated creation of new Cardinals and bishops from every nation and of every race and colour, and now this vast activity… for the General Council—all this confirms the wisdom of the principle of waiting on God and expressing with faith, modesty, and confident enthusiasm the good inspirations of the grace of Jesus, who rules the world and guides it according to the supreme purposes of the creation, redemption, and eternal glorification of souls and peoples.[235]

It is clear from this passage, in its reference to 'closer links between the papacy and the whole Christian world,' that John wished for a departure from the infallible papal position

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[233] John XXIII, Pope, *Solemn Opening of the Second Vatican Council* (11 Oct, 1962), Vatican Online Archives (20 Jan. 2016).
[234] Ibid.
[235] John XXIII, Pope, *Journal of a Soul*, p. 314.

established by Vatican I and other nineteenth century precedents. With these candid and determined beginnings, the Second Vatican Council officially began.

The first session was conducted from 11 October to 8 December 1962. It consisted of thirty-six General Congregations, where all bishops—ranging from 2,200 to 2,300 depending on the day—were eligible to participate in debates and voting. Of these, between 280 and 311 were African-based, including European missionaries.[236] In order to handle the large size of the group and to maintain the strikingly democratic nature of the event, strict rules of conduct were established. However, these procedures often made debates slow-moving, and the actual resolution of issues difficult. In order to present an idea, for example, a bishop had to obtain the floor by rising and addressing the chairman, then wait to be recognised. Once he had the floor, a speaking bishop could not be interrupted, except on decision of the chair.[237] All participants were instructed to keep their comments brief, but in reality many spoke well beyond their allotted time, making the multi-hour plenary sessions gruellingly dull at times.[238]

Debates on topics would last until a vote was called, which could only pass with two-thirds of the bishops assembled in favour.[239] This conservative procedure meant that discussion continued until it was evident that a consensus had been reached. As a result, debates stretched on for days, then weeks. The bishops present agreed that the system was democratic, but cumbersome and slow-moving. Hopes that the Council's aims would be reached quickly—"by Christmas"[240]—vanished.

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[236] McCauley, *Vatican II Documents*, p. 5.
[237] "Fundamental Rules of Order," n.d., memo, Records of J. Van Kerckhoven, Box 2, Folder 4, CSVII.
[238] Lamont, Bishop D., "*Ad Gentes:* A Missionary Bishop Remembers." In Stacpoole, A., Ed., *Vatican II by Those who were There* (London, 1986), p. 278.
[239] "Fundamental Rules of Order."
[240] Capri, D.F.S., "Messages for the Special Number of *Osservatore Romano* from Various Personalities," 13 Oct. 1962, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO

Following the first session, many of the carefully prepared schemata were scrapped and restarted. Issues that had been central to the decision to calling the Council, such as the use of vernacular language in the liturgy, remained entirely unresolved. A report to the British Foreign Office following the first session summarised the state of these discussions, which seemed now more confused than they had been before the Council had commenced:

> Latin or vernacular? It is not a simple question even in countries where one language is used. In an African country, say, where dozens of dialects may coexist with some *lingua franca*, the native bishops have generally shown themselves chary to change, while missionaries have started with revolutionary schemes for exploiting not only language but tribal customs, traditions, and music.[241]

Whereas early debates on vernacular language had suggested that mission regions would favour a change from Latin, this report instead made clear that most of the priests and bishops working in Africa preferred the unifying language of Latin over the many local languages that would need to be catered to in the event of a transition to the vernacular. As Adrian Hastings described, this debate had been further complicated by the recent independence of many African states:

> It was, in a way, fortunate that the decision to adopt the vernacular in the liturgy came after, and not before, political independence. If it had come in the 1950s, in the colonial period, it would have been hard not to agree to the celebration of mass in an almost unlimited number of tribal languages. Very many were in fact accepted for liturgical use in the 1960s; nevertheless, guidance could now to some extent be taken from the policy of the new states, anxious to unify rather than divide.[242]

Hastings' view revealed the layers of complexity surrounding this debate in Africa: not only was the vernacular a question of pure Catholic liturgical reform, but it also had real

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371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 163900, TNA, p. 5.

[241] "Results of the First Session of the Second Vatican Council," 13 Dec. 1962, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 163901, TNA.

[242] Hastings, A., "The Post-Conciliar Church in Eastern Africa," p. 128.

relevance to emerging postcolonial trends and political movements. This issue revealed the frequent entwinement between the debates of Vatican II, which sought to universalise the RCC whilst freeing it from its colonial past in the developing world, and the realities of postcolonial change in newly independent African states, where for example most African states retained French or English as the language of government even after independence.

From this debate on the use of vernacular language, we can see how the conciliar environment where so many bishops from every region of the world gathered in one place, combined with the open system of debate, added layers of complexity to any topic under discussion. The true uncertainty and diversity of the debate at this time defied a single easy consensus. What John XXIII had initially hoped would be a rapid progression toward a 'new' RCC—one defined by modernity and forward thinking—instead became a slow-moving and often granular process.[243]

And yet, the structure of the Council also provided several key advantages. It was, by its nature, democratising, emphasising "the idea of basic equality of all members of the Church before distinctions were made according to office or charisma."[244] Theoretically, in this setting, the newest bishop from the smallest and most obscure diocese was equal in his potential impact as those in the Pope's inner circle. This structure removed the traditional capacity of the cardinals within the Roman Curia to control the discussion, and served as a major departure from the RCC as it had functioned since the First Vatican

[243] In the slow tempo of the Council, it was difficult to sustain impassioned support of any one topic for too long. P.W. Scarlett watched in the third session, for example, as numerous topics were reduced to "colourless paper" one by one. See: Scarlett, P.W., "The Third Session of the Vatican Council: A Report on Progress," 2 Nov. 1964, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 178051, TNA.

[244] Rynne, X., *The Second Session: The Debates and Decrees of Vatican Council II, September 29 to December 4, 1963* (London, 1963).

Council. Thus, bishops from the developing world in general and Africa in particular at Vatican II had a more prominent role in the Council's workings than they would have normally have had in the hierarchy of the pre-conciliar RCC.[245] This shift was important for the purposes of this study because it provided new avenues of potential influence for bishops from historically marginalised regions. Democratising the hierarchy of Church leadership, even slightly, heralded a shift in the balance of power toward Christian regions outside the traditional sphere of influence in the RCC.

A New Pope, and the Council's Conclusion

The future of the Council was however called into question on 3 June 1963 when, midway between the first and second sessions, John XXIII died.[246] As the Council's primary architect, John's role in its planning and implementation had been enormous. In addition to often making personal appearances at Council sessions, he also dutifully watched daily television reports of its progress in his private chambers at the Vatican.[247] He had poured all the remaining energy of his life into the Council and its success. It was unclear if Vatican II could continue without him. Léon-Joseph Suenens, writing for *The Furrow* in 1964, evoked the mourning of the Council's bishops:

> Returning for the second session, we have looked in vain for his kindly face, his cheerful smile, his gesture of welcome. John XXIII is no longer in our midst. God has recalled to Himself His good and faithful servant… His death was so close to us that it was like a death in the family.[248]

[245] For an examination of the specific voting power held by bishops from the developing world at the Council, see: Wilde, M.J., Geraty, K., Nelson, S.L., and Bowman, E., "Religious Economy or Organizational Field?" 2010.
[246] Hoffman, P., "Emotional Rome Remembers Pope; A City Conscious of Historic Role Shows Gravest Face," *New York Times* (8 Jun. 1963), TimesMachine (8 Oct. 2018).
[247] Collins, M., *Paul VI: Pilgrim Pope* (Collegeville, Minn., 2018), p. 68.
[248] Suenens, L.J., "Pope John XXIII," *The Furrow*, 15/7 (Jul., 1964), p. 429.

However, Paul VI succeeded John XXIII as Pope on 21 June of that year, with the express intent of bringing his predecessor's vision to a productive conclusion.[249]

Paul's legacy as the man who would bring the Council to a largely successful conclusion was somewhat unexpected since, despite years of close personal friendship with John XXIII, he was a traditionalist who had not been in favour of the Council at its inception.[250] Paul was acutely aware, however, of the precarious nature of the Council following John's passing, and immediately took up the cause. As papal biographer Peter Hebbelthwaite describes:

> His most urgent task was to state clearly that the Council would be continued and completed. In his very first message… the new Pope Paul VI gave an unhesitating "yes" to the Second Vatican Council. Indeed, he declared this his *entire* pontificate would be devoted to the Council… it was the *raison d'être*, the defining feature.[251]

Thus, even though Paul represented a very different kind of leader to his predecessor—quiet, reserved, and conservative where John had been gregarious, loquacious, and widely beloved amongst his peers[252]—he honoured his friend's wishes by taking on the Council as his papacy's primary task.

The second session saw the first voting on and publication of resolutions, in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*,[253] the constitution on the liturgy, and *Inter Mirifica*,[254] a decree on social communication in modern times. Fearing that the Council would not end in a timely fashion, Paul VI ordered the shortening of all remaining schemata at the conclusion

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[249] "The 262d Pontiff," *New York Times* (21 Jun. 1963), TimesMachine (8 Oct. 2018).
[250] Collins *Paul VI*, p. 53.
[251] Hebbelthwaite, P., *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope* (Mahwah, N.J., 1993), p. 334.
[252] Hebbelthwaite, *John XXIII*, p. 349.
[253] Paul VI, Pope, *Sacrosanctum Concilium: Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy Solemnly Promulgated by His Holiness Pope Paul VI* (4 Dec. 1963), Vatican Online Archives (18 Jan. 2016).
[254] Paul VI, Pope, *Inter Mirifica: Decree on the Media of Social Communications* (4 Dec. 1963), Vatican Online Archives (9 Feb. 2016).

of the second session, as the bishops gathered had not yet had a chance openly to debate some of the central schemata regarding the RCC in the modern world.[255] Following this session, Paul published his first encyclical, where he reiterated the fundamental goals of self-awareness, renewal, and dialogue that had inspired the Council:

> We believe that it is a duty of the Church at the present time to strive toward a clearer and deeper awareness of itself and its mission in the world, and of the treasury of truth of which it is heir and custodian… As we all know, the Church is deeply rooted in the world. It exists in the world and draws its members from the world. It derives from it a wealth of human culture. It shares its vicissitudes and promotes its prosperity. But we also know that the modern world is in the grip of change and upheaval. It is undergoing developments which are having a profound influence on its outward way of life and habits of thought.[256]

This encyclical, which listed Leo XIII's *Satis Cognitum*[257] and *Mystici Corporis Christi* as its foundation points, renewed the ideological purpose of the Council and sought to inspire the bishops present toward a unified conclusion. To present these encyclicals as equal points of inspiration was a radical move: Leo XIII had been the great progressive pope of the nineteenth century, who had utilised the conservative, Ultramontane powers of the papal office accorded to him from the work of his predecessor, Pius IX, in order to question the very same anti-modern conclusions of Vatican I through the publication of progressive encyclicals like the transformative *Rerum Novarum*.[258] Pius XII, by contrast, had thus named himself in order to follow in the tradition of former popes such as Pius IX and, like his nineteenth century predecessor, led a papacy marked by social conservatism, of which

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[255] Scarlett, P.W., "The Third Session of the Second Vatican Council Opened on 14 September," 21 Sep. 1964, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 178051, TNA.
[256] Paul VI, Pope, *Ecclesiam Suam: Encyclical on the Church* (6 Aug. 1964) Vatican Online Archives (21 Jan. 2016).
[257] Leo XIII, Pope, *Satis Cognitum: Encyclical on the Unity of the Church* (29 Jun. 1896), Vatican Online Archives (8 Oct. 2018).
[258] Leo XIII, Pope, tr. K. Kirwan, *Rerum Novarum: encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII on the condition of the working classes* (London, 1983).

Mystici Corporis Christi was only one example.[259] By bringing together the words of these sharply different pontifical ideologies, Paul embraced the same paradoxical approach to the Council of John before him, which was to be radical and progressive, but also to follow logically from the anti-modern conclusions of Vatican I.[260] By doing so, Paul VI indicated his wish that the Council address the entirety of the Church's past, contradictions included, and unite it into one synthetic whole going forward.

The third session of autumn 1964 saw the final vote and publication of three major documents: *Lumen Gentium*,[261] the dogmatic constitution of the RCC; *Orientalium Ecclesarium*,[262] a resolution describing a renewed relationship with the Orthodox Christian churches; and *Unitatis Redintegratio*,[263] the Council's constitution on ecumenism. Of these documents, *Lumen Gentium* had the most impact on the RCC in Africa, by taking the experimental democratic system in use at the Council and making it the basis of decision-making for the whole Church. *Lumen Gentium* did not return the college of bishops to equal hierarchical standing as the supreme pontiff, but it did increase their power significantly, and attempted to limit the influence of the Curia. It took the changes already present in the manner in which the Council was organised and run, and made them manifest for the whole of the RCC. As P.W. Scarlett observed, this change in collegiality "should … make the ordinary individual bishops more in control of their responsibilities to the

[259] For further scholarship on Pius XII, see, as an example: Coppa, F., *The Life and Pontificate of Pope Pius XII: Between History and Controversy* (Washington, D.C., 2013).
[260] Hebbelthwaite describes this mode of thinking about the Council as "ever-old, ever-new." See: Hebbelthwaite, *John XXIII*, p. 222.
[261] Paul VI, Pope, *Lumen Gentium: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* (21 Nov. 1964), Vatican Online Archives (25 Jan. 2016).
[262] Paul VI, Pope, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum: Decree on the Catholic Churches of the Eastern Rite* (21 Nov. 1964), Vatican Online Archives (9 Feb. 2016).
[263] Paul VI, Pope, *Unitatis Redintegratio: Decree on Ecumenism* (21 Nov. 1964), Vatican Online Archives (9 Feb. 2016).

universal church instead of concentrating all their energy in their own dioceses." [264] For missionary regions, this change also meant that Western European dioceses pledged to send better trained missionary priests and to provide support, in terms of money and missionary personnel, to the broader global RCC.[265] It also had indirect implications for the relationship between the forms of European imposition and hybridisation already discussed in Chapter III: by giving greater legitimacy to regions further afield from Rome, it also granted more power to the (increasingly indigenous) priesthood of these regions to provide locally relevant services and church decorations for their congregants.

Amidst these final discussions, the third session was also noteworthy for the canonization mass of the Uganda Martyrs, which will be discussed in Chapter V. As we will see, it was at this session that the ideological underpinnings of the Council—an emphasis on modernity, *aggiornamento,* and forward thinking—first took clear visible form, amidst turbulent and often contradictory individual views. Despite the slow pace of conciliar discussions, most observers agreed that by the end of 1964 the results of the Council had begun to take shape.[266]

It was not until the fourth and final session of Vatican II, however, that the majority of schemata received a final vote. In total, between 28 October and 7 December 1965 eleven constitutions and decrees were published, on topics both narrow, such as *Optatum*

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[264] Scarlett, P.W., "Constitution on the Church Promulgated by Pope Paul During the Closing Ceremony of the Third Session of the Second Vatican Council," 26 Nov. 1964, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 178051, TNA.

[265] Ibid.

In truth, mission activity faced many challenges following Vatican II. For a few examples of literature describing this decline, see: Hearne, B., "The Missionary: An Endangered Species?" *The Furrow*, 35/11 (Nov., 1984), pp. 704-711; McCabe, M., "'Redemptoris Missio' and the Missionary Vocation," *The Furrow*, 42/9 (Sept., 1991), pp. 505-510; Moloney, P., "Missionary Reality," *The Furrow*, 19/4 (Apr., 1968), pp. 187-194.

[266] See, as an example of such an observer's reactions: Woodruff, D., "The Second Vatican Council: At the Third Session," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944—),* 41/2 (Apr., 1965), pp. 223-235.

Totius,[267] which included new guidelines for priestly training, and broad-reaching, such as the ideological treatise of *Gaudium et Spes,* which sought to completely reorient the course of the RCC as it moved into the late twentieth century. With these documents finalised, the Council came to a close on 8 December 1965.

Beyond this official conclusion, however, the legacy of the Council remained unclear: only the coming decades would see if and how these documents would influence the lives of Catholics worldwide. The Council had offered a sharp rejection of the Ultramontanism of Vatican I and the early twentieth century RCC. It had taken the universalising ideals of John XXIII and placed them onto a world stage for all to see. It had opened the possibility of a more truly universal RCC than had ever previously been conceived. In this radically shifting milieu, the role of African bishops at the Council could, for the first time, have a genuine impact on the traditionally European-controlled workings of the Church.

The Role of African Bishops at the Council

Until recently, the role of African bishops at the Council has been largely overlooked by historians. Conciliar discussions focussed on 'Africa' in the abstract, but it remained unclear how much agency Africans or African-based missionaries themselves had in influencing the changes proposed. The scholarship of Richard Gribble in the last decade is an important example of recent efforts to change this perception and highlight the work of these previously forgotten architects of conciliar change. Gribble's 2009 article was a significant attempt to reveal the previously neglected influence of African-based bishops at the Council. Gribble identifies McCauley as the main organising force in a small but

[267] Paul VI, Pope, *Optatum Totius: Decree on Priestly Training* (28 Oct. 1965), Vatican Online Archives (29 Jan. 2016).

influential group of bishops working for African interests: "The African bishops were in the unique and powerful position to bring insight to certain areas that other, more established churches could not provide."[268] McCauley, an American, had been based in Uganda—first in Mbarara, then Fort Portal—since 1958.[269] He was one of nine African-based bishops to contribute personally to *Ad Gentes*, and in January 1965 he organised an African subcommission in Nairobi to redraft the document before the start of the fourth session.[270] Critical documents such as *Ad Gentes* would not exist in their final forms as we see them today without the contribution of McCauley as an organiser and leader.

McCauley was not, however, the only significant contributor to the Council from the African dioceses. Bishops such as Joseph Blomjous of Mwanza, Tanzania also took on crucial leadership roles at various points.[271] Beyond individuals such as these, however, the African contribution to the Council took on the form of small but crucial roles played by otherwise minor players in the Council's history. Let us look briefly at a few instances of these minor voices to assess the form and degree of the African bishops' contributions. These are emblematic examples of the scope of contributions that these African bishops were able to provide.

Alberic Stacpoole's *Vatican II by Those Who Were There* contains first-hand accounts of many bishops and observers to the Council, including several from Africa. Multiple accounts in this volume concern the drafting and discussion of the decree on the mission activity of the Church, *Ad Gentes* (discussed at greater length below), The original version of this document raised significant concern amongst the missionary bishops

[268] Ibid. p. 723.
[269] Gribble, "Vatican II," p. 721.
[270] Ibid. p. 726.
[271] For an example of Blomjous' own writing on missionary work in Africa, during the Council and after, see: Blomjous, J., "The Church in a Developing World," *Cross Currents*, 20/3 (1970), pp. 287-300.

present due to its conservative nature that changed few pre-conciliar mission strategies. The decree was dismissed as 'dry bones' in 1964 and the debate surrounding it had devolved into a "hopeless morass."[272]

One of the voices discussed by Stacpoole was Bishop Donal Lamont, a missionary bishop based in Africa who would become a member of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity—a key group formed to advance ecumenical activity during and following the Council.[273] Lamont's work on revising *Ad Gentes* was one of the most significant contributions of African bishops. On 7 November 1964 he spoke in front of the general assembly in order to dismiss the current version of *Ad Gentes* and urge the assembled bishops to start over.[274] Though his role was considerably smaller than that of McCauley or Blomjous, he nonetheless contributed to the abandonment of the outmoded initial draft of *Ad Gentes*, which had by then gained the support of Paul VI himself and so had might have been finalised if not for his and others' vocal critique.[275]

The mission magazine of the White Fathers provides further evidence of the influence of African and missionary bishops during the Council. A special issue in 1963 on Vatican II identified 800 missionary bishops in Rome, of whom 280 were based in Africa. This number represented only eight percent of the total number of bishops present.[276] Thus, it is little surprise that the impact of these bishops at the Council was more limited than that of the delegations from Italy, Germany or the United States—groups large enough to be considered by country rather than as entire continents. Organisations such at the White Fathers, however, sought to highlight the work of the African delegation.

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[272] Hebbelthwaite, *Paul VI*, p. 409.
[273] Lamont, "*Ad Gentes*," p. 279.
[274] Adrian Hastings, a non-voting missionary observer to the Council from Uganda, described this initial draft as "manifestly inaccurate" in its aims and characterisations of current mission Catholicism. See: Hastings, *Church and Mission*, p. 12.
[275] Lamont, "*Ad Gentes*," p. 276.
[276] Hastings, A., "The Post-Conciliar Church in Eastern Africa," p. 126.

The White Fathers newsletter maintained faithful coverage of the Council and the order's eighteen Africa-based participants therein. A 1963 special issue drew attention to their work, and also that of the very few indigenous African bishops present:

> African bishops and missionary bishops are equally anxious to make sure that the Africans are fully and freely at home in the Church. This has long since been the Church's preoccupation and, in Africa as a whole, for more had been done in this direction on the Church's field of influence than by colonial powers in theirs.[277]

The article was noteworthy for the credit given to indigenous African bishops in this work. While the majority of scholarship thus far has focussed on the contributions of the white missionaries stationed in Africa, here it is evident that the indigenous African bishops present at the Council also played significant contributing roles, and that further future scholarship is required in order to fully illuminate their contributions.

It is clear that African participation at the Council was significant, in ways both large and small.[278] For the vast majority of Africans, however—bishops who could not make the long journey from their dioceses, and the millions of faithful who would potentially be affected by the changes occurring thousands of miles away of which they could glean little, due to the extremely limited coverage of the Council in the African press[279]—it would be the documents of the Council, the visual ceremonies that these documents inspired, and the means by which these spectacles fomented change within the RCC, that would provide the best indices of the Council's subsequent impact (see Chapters V, VI, and VII). Some

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[277] "Africa Meets in Rome," *White Fathers*, Special Issue: Africa and the Vatican Council (Feb. 1963), p. 8.

[278] For examples of further scholarship on the role of African bishops at Vatican II, see: Adedeji, A., "African Bishops and Vatican II: A Reflection from Cultural Perspective," *Journal of Global Intelligence Policy*, 5/9 (Winter 2012), pp. 126-143; Orobator, A.E., "'After All, Africa is Largely a Nonliterate Continent:' The Reception of Vatican II in Africa," *Theological Studies*, 74/2 (Jun., 2013), pp. 284-301.

[279] Hastings, A., "The Post-Conciliar Church in Eastern Africa," p. 127.

of these documents have been mentioned briefly earlier in this chapter. An analysis of two of these decrees in greater detail enables a better understanding of their potential impact in Africa.

Ad Gentes and *Gaudium et Spes*: Two Critical Conciliar Documents

Of the documents produced at the Council, two are of particular importance to the purposes of this thesis, due to the stated effect they intended to have on African Catholicism following the Second Vatican Council, and the means by which the Uganda Martyrs were later utilised to make these aims manifest: *Gaudium et Spes* and *Ad Gentes*. Thus, it is crucial to examine these promulgations, in order to better understand the RCC actions that followed in Uganda relating to the Martyrs in the decade after the Council. These documents do not mention Uganda, or any specific nation for that matter. They did, however, provide vital general counsel for the RCC's relations with developing countries such as Uganda.

Ad Gentes, the decree on the missionary activities of the RCC, was published on 7 December 1965. Even in its title—"Of the People" in Latin—*Ad Gentes* suggested a shift in focus toward much more populist goals.[280] Its guiding principle was that missionary activity and evangelism should not be considered as separate from the main body of the RCC, but should rather form a core component of the global Catholic Church. In Bishop Vincent McCauley's publication of Vatican documents that he distributed in Uganda, he prefaced what these changes meant for his own Fort Portal Diocese, amongst others:

[280] Compare this title to that of John's most widely read encyclical, *Ad Petri Cathedrum*—"Of Peter." This document, written just five short years before *Ad Gentes*, still focussed on the traditional pre-conciliar paradigm of the RCC, where believers looked upward to the holy ideals and figures of the Church, and attention was rarely cast the other way. See: John XXIII, Pope, *Ad Petri Cathedram: Encyclical of Pope John XXIII on Truth, Unity and Peace, in a Spirit of Charity,* in *The Pope Speaks*, 5 (Autumn, 1959), pp. 359-83, Vatican Online Archives (5 Sept. 2015).

> Mission activity is here seen as a continuing extension of the mission received by Christ from the Father in the Spirit. Under this light it can be seen how the preaching of the Gospel is not only lawful but even necessary and is not an infringement of anyone's personal freedom.[281]

A distinctive feature of *Ad Gentes* was that it stressed that no cost was too high in spreading the word of Christ, stating that "not infrequently also [in evangelisation] is the blood of Christians used as seed"[282] (see also Chapter II). This language is conspicuous in regards to the Uganda Martyrs. Throughout their imagining and re-imagining by the RCC, the blood spilled by the Uganda Martyrs was consistently invoked as a seed that germinated into Ugandan Christianity.[283] Here, we can see this same kind of imagery officially codified into the documents of Vatican II.

Ad Gentes served to clarify some of the concerns of missionary bishops at the Council. By affirming an aggressive universal form of evangelisation committed to spreading the Christian word to all corners of the globe, even those that had been considered foreign to missionary advances, it challenged the traditional geography of 'Christendom' and encouraged Catholics to update the way in which they imagined Christianity in the broader world. As J. Van Kerckhoven, a bishop present at the Council, described in a contemporaneous memo to *Ad Gentes*, the document's call to evangelise everywhere moved away from the previous RCC distinction between 'Christian' and

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[281] McCauley, *Vatican II Documents*, p. 20.
[282] *Ad Gentes*.
[283] The trope of Ugandans as ready martyrs was commonplace. In a 1980 report to the World Council of Churches, Gwen Cashmore went as far as to say, "Ugandans have always been good at dying. The many martyrs in the last one hundred years of Church history testify to that." See: Cashmore, G., "Descriptive Report of Visit to Uganda, 22-31 Mar. 1980," 8 Apr. 1980, Subunit CWME, Country Files — Correspondence and Travel Reports, 1959-95, Box 421.516, Folder: Uganda, WCCA.
Further modern examples of the 'blood as the seed of faith' simile include: "The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of Faith."

'heathen' lands, and instead saw mission work instead as a universal activity.[284] It also worked to dispel the Church's associations with colonial powers, its geopolitical boundaries and organisational forms (see Chapter V): mission work was now a transnational enterprise that eschewed colonial formulations and worked on a global scale. In this way, mission activity was central to the Council's purpose of moving toward a universalised Church. The Council could not be considered a success without the successful transformation of the mission Church.

Ad Gentes thus suggested one united global RCC, in which all dioceses were equally important, reinforcing the previously published decree *Lumen Gentium* in the manner in which it equalised previously peripheral regions. By ostensibly equalising all regions of the world in *Ad Gentes*, the RCC attempted to begin to overturn centuries of racialised policies that gave a higher status to European countries within the traditional realm of Western 'Christendom.' That is not to say that this document eliminated racism or inequality from the Church. It did, however, offer the possibility of equal participation amongst the world's bishops, which in itself was a significant universalising gesture. This position represented a significant shift for the RCC, but one that would require meaningful and visible action to realise. It was in this requirement to demonstrate change, as we will see, that the Martyrs took on such central importance to the RCC at this time. The Martyrs were ideally placed to embody the most crucial changes of the Council: they were emblematic of indigenous Christianity in the mission world, and were thus simultaneously local to Uganda and universal to all of the RCC.[285] They were also inherently ecumenical, in the mix of Anglican and RCC Martyrs who had died together in 1885 and 1886. By

[284] "Nr. 161: Le Problème Missionarie à L'Epoque de Vatican II," n.d., Records of J. Van Kerckhoven, Box 3, Folder 6, CSVII.
[285] This key theme is revisited in Chapters III, VI, and VII.

embracing the Uganda Martyrs at the time of the Council, RCC officials could proclaim a definitive movement toward a universalised Catholic Church.

As important as *Ad Gentes* was for the Ugandan Church, and all other RCC mission regions, no document was of greater importance to the Council, and the future of the Church itself, than *Gaudium et Spes*. As McCauley recalled in his preface to *Vatican II Documents*, "it [*Gaudium et Spes*] is the only document that John XXIII wanted when he started the Council."[286] This conclusion seems reasonable, given the emphasis on universalising in John's personal writings that guided the Council's beginnings. Of all the documents of the Council, this one most clearly reflected John's feelings about being a Catholic in the modern world. *Gaudium et Spes* sought to create a clear framework for the future of the global RCC as Catholics worldwide sought to build "a more human world."[287]

The topics covered in *Gaudium et Spes*[288] were wide ranging, from the role of science and technology to the problems facing youth of the day. Its conclusions focussed on two major points: the RCC's role in culture worldwide, and the need for the Church to serve as a role model for international cooperation. *Gaudium et Spes* defined culture specifically as "a necessary historical and social construct, [which] in its general sense indicates everything whereby man develops and perfects his many bodily and spiritual qualities."[289] The document suggested that the Christian's duty was to promote and expand culture, especially in the growth of science, technology, and new thinking. When encountering new cultures or beliefs that might seem counter to the current paradigms of

[286] McCauley, *Vatican II Documents*, p. 27.
[287] *Gaudium et Spes*.
[288] "Joy and Hope" in Latin.
[289] *Gaudium et Spes*.

the RCC, *Gaudium et Spes* acknowledged the anxiety such differences might produce, but urged the need for mutual understanding rather than appropriation and conflict:

> It is sometimes difficult to harmonise culture with Christian teaching. These difficulties do not necessarily harm the life of the faith, rather they can stimulate the mind to a deeper and more accurate understanding of the faith… [with the aim of] the fostering of peace and the promotion of a community of nations.[290]

This approach represented a sharp departure from the mission approaches espoused throughout Africa, Asia, and Latin America during the colonial period, when it was widely believed that non-Europeans did not possess culture at all, or that what they did possess was inherently inferior.[291] When hybridisation had occurred to this point, it was often from necessity rather than a conscious desire for cultural exchange (see Chapter III).

To be clear, *Gaudium et Spes* still predicated itself on a belief that the RCC represented the one true faith that all of humanity would eventually recognise. This ideal was not intended to lessen the importance of Church dogma. It was novel, however, in the degree to which it encouraged the faithful of the new RCC to take on a nuanced and sympathetic view toward cultural norms and aesthetics that were foreign to them, and actively sought to overturn outmoded and racialized forms of thinking about global and local culture. Again, this is not to claim that such a pronouncement eliminated racism or even racial prejudice from the RCC. It did, however, ask believers to accept a broader and more universalised vision of what ideal Catholic worship could look like.

Gaudium et Spes also urged the RCC to lead the way in the formation of a new cooperative international community, specifically aimed at protecting the poor and those in developing nations:

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[290] Ibid.
[291] Van Kets, P., "Nr. 162: L'Eglise et les Cultures," n.d., Records of J. Van Kerckhoven, Box 3, Folder 6, CSVII.

> In our generation when men continue to be afflicted by acute hardships and anxieties arising from the ravages of war or the threat of it, the whole human family faces an hour of supreme crisis in its advance toward maturity. Peace on earth cannot be obtained unless personal wellbeing is safeguarded and men freely and trustingly share with one another the riches of their inner spirits and talents… International cooperation is needed today especially for those peoples who, besides facing so many other difficulties, also face [rapid population growth.][292]

World peace, in this conceptualisation, was not simply the absence of war: it required the active fostering of cooperation across national political and geographic boundaries. As *Gaudium et Spes* concluded: "Christians should cooperate willingly and wholeheartedly in establishing an international order that includes a genuine respect for all freedoms and amicable brotherhood between all."[293] Such a pronouncement required not only religious ecumenism, but active Catholic participation within a broader community of secular institutions whose focus was on improving lives worldwide.

As we can see, these two documents attempted to foment a qualitatively new approach to Catholic life in the years following 1965. Both *Ad Gentes* and *Gaudium et Spes* were formed from the underlying belief that, as P. Van Kets argued, "diversity of culture is part of the soul of universal humanity."[294] This idea—that multiplicity could in fact be representative of universality—lies at the heart of our analysis of the RCC's approach to post-conciliar Uganda.[295] Rather than a monolithic cultural, liturgical, and dogmatic European structure that was to be copied and transplanted across the globe, the RCC (both at Vatican II and in these documents) set itself a fundamentally more complex and difficult

[292] *Gaudium et Spes*.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Van Kets, "Nr. 162," p. 7.
[295] Notably this language will appear again when we turn our attention to the theoretical underpinnings of the modernist buildings constructed to honour the Martyrs in the late 1960s, which will be discussed in Chapter VII.

task: to be the universalising core within a panoply of multicultural displays and practices. In order to demonstrate its success in achieving such far-reaching goals, a visible case study was required that RCC officials could identify as evidence that the conciliar degrees were not only credible but feasible. It was into this role that the newly canonised Uganda Martyrs would be placed.

The Council's Reception in Africa

The Second Vatican Council produced documents that had the potential to lead toward a more global, universal Church. Beyond those present at the debates themselves, however, much remained a mystery for the faithful waiting from afar. In Africa, this speculation was particularly intense, because—on the one hand—the impact of the Council in Africa had the potential to be so great, and—on the other hand—limited press coverage at home made substantive and up to date knowledge of the Council's progress exceptionally difficult to acquire. In some of the African commentaries produced at this time, we can see an encapsulation of some of the hopes, expectations—and, as time passed, certain disappointments—of what the Council might bring to Catholicism on the continent.

In a 1964 issue of *White Fathers*, Bishop James Holmes-Siedle of Kigoma, Tanzania, wrote optimistically about the changes he saw occurring and his hopes for the transformations he hoped the Council would bring:

> When it came to the Council's liturgical decisions, East Africa really sat up and took notice. This was what we had been longing and praying for. Now we can fulfil our ambitions of making the Parish the centre of all activities, and the Mass the centre of the Parish.[296]

[296] Holmes-Siedle, J., Rev., "The Council and the Missions," *White Fathers* (Oct./Nov. 1964), p. 24.

Holmes-Siedle envisioned an environment transformed by the Council, shaped by the embrace of vernacular language enacted in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in 1963. This view captured the feeling of excitement and "ecclesial dynamism"[297] that many of the African clergymen who were able to follow the progress of the Council felt during and immediately after its conclusion.

The reality was, however, that true change took longer than many had originally imagined. For example, Hastings would eventually become jaded in his feelings toward Vatican II's impact in Africa. Writing from Masaka Diocese in Uganda nearly a decade after the Council, he reflected on the event with ambivalence. He recognised the vast potential the Council had in Africa:

> The conciliar themes of localisation and pluralisation, of the recognition of positive values of the different cultures and even other religious traditions, the new use of the vernacular in the liturgy, ecumenical rapprochement, all this conformed with the general early 1960s stress on African political and cultural values, on decolonisation, on the social necessity of cooperation and unity across the divisions of tribe, race, and religion.[298]

And yet, he did not find change to be straightforward or rapid upon his return to his home diocese in Uganda:

> The bishops returned to their dioceses with a heap of Latin documents to redirect a clergy far less informed about what had been going on than their counterparts in Europe… My bishop in Masaka never showed me a single conciliar draft, never asked for a comment upon anything.[299]

These reflections suggest a bleak alternative to the optimism articulated by Holmes-Siedle a decade earlier, and within the Council itself. They indicated a far harsher reality: that in their dry, Latinate, printed form, the documents and conclusions of Vatican II had little

[297] Hastings, A., "The Post-Conciliar Catholic Church in Eastern Africa," p. 126.
[298] Hastings, A., "The Council Came to Africa," in Stacpoole, A. (ed), *Vatican II by Those who were There* (London, 1986), p. 316.
[299] Ibid. p. 317.

immediate meaning to the everyday lives of African Christians, or to the vast majority of the clergy serving in Africa who had remained at home and cut off from the debates of the Council for the past four years. This is not to suggest that real conciliar change was not possible—and Hastings himself would later go on to elucidate these changes.[300] But they remain emblematic of the shifting perceptions of the Council for Africa in the decades following its conclusion. In this uncertain time, the story of the Uganda Martyrs, and the insistence of a changed African Church that the Martyrs proclaimed, became more important than ever, as RCC officials sought to cement the conclusions of the Council in the minds of the faithful at home.

Conclusion

Armed with (albeit radical) documents alone, African bishops returning home in early 1966 possessed little tangible evidence that could create immediate and significant change in the lives of their congregants. While the effect of the Council's decrees had the potential to transform the lived reception of the RCC in these regions as they pursued the idea of a truly universal Catholic Church, it could not do so without the dogged commitment of bishops and priests to implement the Council's changes over the coming years. It was a fundamentally slow process, after what had already been many years of discussion in Rome.

In order to create more immediate impact, Church leaders needed to demonstrate tangible—and visible—change, that could be felt by local people and observed by the global Catholic community watching for signs of conciliar progress. It is the purpose of this thesis to understand the role of the visual methods by which RCC officials sought to ensure the transmission of the conciliar message. Over the next three chapters, it will

[300] See: Hastings, A., "The Post-Conciliar Catholic Church in Eastern Africa."

analyse the many visual ways—ceremonies, publicised visits, and physical objects and buildings—in which Church leaders sought to manifest the changes of *Gaudium et Spes* and *Ad Gentes* into an immediate, lived reality in Uganda. In all of these efforts, the Uganda Martyrs occupied a central position of importance, thanks to their public canonization and celebration within the sessions of the Council itself in 1964, to which this thesis now turns.

V. The Canonization of the Uganda Martyrs, 1964



Figure 30: Paul convening the celebratory canonization mass for the Uganda Martyrs on 18 October 1964. In: National Council of the Lay Apostolate, Leadership: A Magazine for Christian Leaders in Africa*, 128, Special Issue, Jul.-Aug. 1969, Catholic Press, Gulu, Uganda, RAA, p. 23.*

In mid-1964, the outcomes of the Vatican Council (discussed in Chapter IV) were not yet known. John XXIII's death had raised doubts regarding the Council's conclusion, and weeks of discussion and debate had to that point yielded very little.[301] Paul VI, still trying to grapple with the legacy left by his predecessor, had made a series of gaffes at the start of his first session as Pope, including a silent refusal to endorse the beatification of John XXIII despite vocal public support for such a measure. This choice had thrown his personal popularity, and continued public support for the Council, into question.[302] This chapter will

[301] Douglas, W., "The Second Vatican Council: At the Third Session," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs)*, 41/2, p. 223.
[302] Hebbelthwaite, *Paul VI*, p. 395.

explore one of the most visible immediate steps taken by Paul VI to assuage these anxieties: the canonization of the Uganda Martyrs at St. Peter's in October 1964.

As discussed in Chapter IV, Paul VI was elected to the position of pontiff on 21 June 1963 as the "august continuer"[303] of John XXIII's work, and immediately worked to bring the Vatican Council to a productive conclusion. The third session of the Council opened on 14 September 1964, with the clear understanding that it would soon be coming to a close, and that time was finite to cement the changes that had been under debate for two years.[304] As previously noted, there was a marked shift between the earlier sessions and those managed by Paul VI: where those led by John had proceeded in the spirit of exploration but also "groping uncertainty,"[305] the process now attempted to move forward with "firm determination and genuine achievement."[306]

In the third session, amid long discussions on the final versions of *Ad Gentes* and *Gaudium et Spes*, amongst other documents, it was announced that a novel ceremony would occur. On 18 October 1964, work on the Council would come to a halt as Paul officially canonised the Uganda Martyrs and welcomed them as the first ever black African saints.[307] Paul had for the most part acted behind the scenes at the Council and made very few public appearances at the General Assembly, making his personal role in the event at this moment even more notable.[308] Ugandan music was to emanate from St. Peter's, as

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[303] Suenens, "Pope John XXIII," p. 430.
[304] This is not to say that these sessions were without innovation, however. As an example, Paul VI welcomed women to the Council for the first time in this second session, with twenty-three female auditors attending for the remainder of Vatican II. See; Allen, J.L. Jr., "Remembering the Women of Vatican II," The National Catholic Reporter Online https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/ncr-today/remembering-women-vatican-ii (29 Sept. 2018).
[305] McCauley, *Vatican II Documents*, p. 6.
[306] Ibid. p. 6.
[307] "Ritus Servandus, a SS.Mo D.No Nostro Paulo P.P. VI in Canonizatione Beatorum Caroli Lwanga, Matthiae Mulumba Kalemba et Viginti Sociorum Martyrm, Dominica XXII Post Pentecosten, die 18 Octobris A.D. MCMLXIV."
[308] Collins, *Paul VI*, p. 68.

thousands of bishops from around the world watched the martyrs of Namugongo take their place within the canon of the RCC.

This chapter will discuss this remarkable ceremony, which marked many firsts in the Catholic Church. It will examine the milieu within which the decision to hold the ceremony was announced by looking at representative conciliar opinions of three bishops involved, as well as the manner in which the ceremony was presented, visually and auditorily. It will also analyse the subsequent reception of this event over the next ten years of Ugandan Catholicism.

As with the Martyrs' beatification in 1920 (see Chapter III), it becomes clear that an unalloyed veneration of these figures played only a small part in the decision to canonise them at this moment in the RCC's history in general and the Council's progression in particular. 1964 was a time of critical importance for the RCC. It was becoming clear that the Church would need to show that the lengthy theological discussions of the past years could be practically implemented across the globe.[309] The Uganda Martyrs symbolised a significant part of the larger programmatic attempt by the RCC to optically demonstrate the new directions in which the Council would take it.

As we will see, the canonization of the Uganda Martyrs did indeed represent a watershed in many of the critical aspects of the 'RCC in the modern world' that Vatican II was grappling with (see Chapter IV). There however remains a tension between the degree to which the spotlight shone on the Martyrs in October 1964 reflected genuine theological veneration, and the degree to which it was a shrewd and calculated visual display designed to produce the right optics for the 'new' and more universalised RCC. This ceremony, it

[309] For discussions and examples of these worries, see: Morrison, P., "Vatican II: Forty Years Later." *National Catholic Reporter* (4 Oct. 2002), National Catholic Reporter Online (24 Nov. 2015); O'Riordan, S., "The Second Vatican Council: The End of the Second Session," *The Furrow,* 15/1 (Jan., 1964), pp. 14-21.

will be argued, portrayed a new set of competing and contradictory priorities that would occupy the Church as it entered its post-conciliar phase.

Situating the Canonization within Vatican II: Three Representative Voices

In early 1964, the Second Vatican Council was in its third session. The discussion was dominated in these winter days by two schema of great importance: *Gaudium et Spes,* the Council's broadest and most far-reaching constitutional document; and *Ad Gentes*, the decree on mission activity in the Church (for evaluations of both, see Chapter IV). As we have seen, these documents represented some of the most important outputs of the Council: the ideological structure for the Church's future, and certainly its future in the developing world, would be set out within these decrees. 1964 saw the most intense discussion regarding the content and scope of these documents. This section will situate these debates in order that we understand the manner in which they intertwined with the story at the heart of this thesis: that of the Uganda Martyrs.

We can see how central these topics were in the minds of the Council participants by examining some of their letters and reports. We unfortunately cannot examine Paul VI's personal documents surrounding this event, as they remain under embargo in the Vatican Secret Archives.[310] Thus, it is necessary to look at the writings of other bishops to better understand the broader intellectual milieu in which Paul's decision took shape.

[310] The Vatican Secret Archives grants free access to documents through the end of the papacy of Pope Pius XI, with the exception of documents relating directly to the Second Vatican Council, to the Church's involvement with prisoners of war in World War II, and to several RCC arts programmes in the twentieth century. Because the canonization was not specifically related to the Second Vatican Council, despite the dovetailing aims explored in this chapter, documents pertaining to the ceremony itself remain under embargo. See: "Archivum Secretum Vaticum: The Archives" http://www.archiviosegretovaticano.va/content/archiviosegretovaticano/en/l_archivio.html (1 Oct. 2018).

The following section draws on private letters, memos, and reports of three missionary bishops, all commenting on the progress of *Ad Gentes*, during the period that was contemporaneous to the Martyrs' canonization. These voices are a small but representative sample of the thousands of bishops present at Vatican II who contributed to this document. The convergences and divergences in their opinions are emblematic of the complexities of the debate and the positions adopted. Comparing the writings of these bishops provides an understanding of how proposals such as *Ad* Gentes were approached, discussed, and ultimately finalised. As we will see, the preoccupations and conclusions of these men varied widely, demonstrating just how significant and potentially divisive these discussions were. *Ad Gentes* represented a critical moment in the RCC, which recognised that it needed to address some of its current shortcomings (as discussed in Chapter IV), but had no obvious path forward to do so. It is from this complex web of spiritual and ideological motives that the decision to canonise the Martyrs emerged as a moment of unifying clarity.

While the criticisms and visions of the three bishops shared many common features in their views of the current mission strategy of the RCC, they differed in significant ways that defy easy consensus. I will briefly explain each bishop's general motivations and interests within the Council, his views on the current status of missionary work in the RCC, and then will explore his proposed means to address its current shortcomings through *Ad Gentes* or other conciliar changes. First, we will examine the views of Victor Keuppens, a Belgian bishop stationed in Kamina-Kolwezi, Congo. In early 1964, he wrote a memo to his home congregation discussing the ecumenical aspects of *Ad Gentes*. Keuppens, in most of his writings, focussed on the question of universality in the Church, and what it meant

to be truly 'catholic' in the twentieth century.[311] These sentiments echoed those of John XXIII in the framing of the Council, and reiterated the Council's universalising aims (see Chapter IV).

Keuppens was preoccupied by the Pentecost and the mystic universal nature of the Church, which informed his view on its role in mission regions such as East Africa. In August 1963, for example, he had outlined his view on the relationship between ecumenism and inculturation. Instead of allowing for the proliferation of different faiths, he believed in the unification of one universal Church, in which the expression of the Holy Spirit could take on a multitude of forms to fit the cultural milieu of the congregation: "La substance de la foi, 'deposition fidei,' est immutable et toujours identique en elle-même. La manière de l'exprimer, la formulation, '*modus enuntiandi*,' peut varier."[312]

Keuppens' characterisation of this approach explicitly provided a potential path forward for the RCC in regions such as East Africa where Catholicism was one of many competing faiths. Some local religious practices in such places could be subsumed into the RCC through an expanded interpretation of the Holy Spirit and the mystic nature of the Church.[313] We can see in Keuppens' reports a distinct view on the future role of the new RCC as articulated in works such as *Ad Gentes*. This bishop saw ecumenism as essential,

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[311] Keuppens, V., "No. 226: L'Eglise Dans le Monde, Un Problème Oecumenique," n.d., Papers of Msgr. V. Keuppens, Box 1, Folder 15, CSVII, p. 1.

[312] Keuppens, V., "Conseil Oecumenique des Eglises, Comité Central, Rochester, N.Y., Août 1963: Rapport sur le Second Conseil du Vatican," Papers of Msgr. V. Keuppens, Box 1, Folder 15, CSVII, p. 6.

[313] This approach was not, ultimately, that taken up by the Council in 1964-65. It was, however, reintroduced as part of the Catholic Charismatic Revival (CCR) movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s, which profoundly changed Catholic worship throughout East and Southern Africa. For further reading on the CCR and its parallels to and divergences from the changes made following Vatican II that are the topic of this thesis, see, as examples:
Jules-Rosette, "At the Threshold of the Millennium;" Kollman, "Classifying African Christianities: Part One;" Musiimenta, S., "The Influence of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal on the Faith of the People of Kahunge Catholic Parish, Fort-Portal Catholic Diocese, Uganda," (Masters dissertation, Makerere University, 2005).

and inculturation as the answer, to the different cultural approaches to faith that the Church encountered worldwide. This interpretation of inculturation rested on an ultimate goal of ecumenical universality, wherein inculturation was used to blend different beliefs into the core of one dominant faith—in this case, the RCC. This perspective allowed for a much broader range of expression in mass and liturgy than permitted by the pre-conciliar RCC, and had the potential to drastically alter the look and sound of Catholic worship in places such as Uganda and other areas of mission activity. Keuppens' views engaged directly with the kinds of theological debates that would shape post-conciliar Ugandan Catholicism, most profoundly his belief that the RCC should continue to dictate and inform the cultural aesthetics of its believers worldwide.

Keuppens' views represent an optimistic perspective for the future of the Church in the developing world: he saw positive change within the RCC as not only possible but likely. Others, however, held more guarded views on the future of the mission Church. It is not that these bishops believed ecumenism (or any of the other projects espoused by bishops such as Keuppens) to be antithetical to progress: it was merely that they recognised that these idealistic goals were severely hampered by challenges such as the legacy of imperial political systems, 'traditional' cultural values, and even colonial geo-political borders (to name a few examples) that needed to be overcome or dismantled before true advancement could begin. An example of this approach can be found in the ideas of Matthias Buchholz, a bishop stationed in Shiqian, China. Buchholz was a vocal participant in the discussions surrounding mission work in the Council. In January 1964, he had vigorously objected to the grouping of mission-related schemata elsewhere, and joined African-based bishops

such as Lamont (see Chapter IV) in calling for *Ad Gentes,* as it was then organised, to be scrapped and replaced.[314]

A month later, he penned "Problèmes d'Evangelisation,"[315] in which he further expressed his misgivings about the appropriate conciliar approach to mission aspects of the church. Buchholz first emphasised that mission work, and with it the process of evangelisation, was the most visible activity of the Church, and stressed the optical nature of mission work in the new modern world.[316] This 'optical' emphasis is key to our discussion: Buchholz argued that the manner in which the Church presented itself visually to the world, in the ceremonies it promulgated and structures it erected, was of equal or greater importance than the dogmatic texts that underpinned these spectacles. This 'optical' perspective, of which he was one proponent, was of clear and vital importance to the future of the Church in Africa, as spectacles such as the canonization and Paul's subsequent visit to Uganda would demonstrate. It was through these localised spectacles that RCC officials could guide public reception of the 'new' global RCC (see Chapter VI).

Focussing on the visual had multiple benefits: elaborate spectacles drew the attention of the Western press, thus spreading the post-conciliar Christian message via established news media. Additionally, in the largely illiterate or semi-literate faithful populations of the developing world, these optical displays provided the clearest means of transmitting the new information about the RCC to congregants. We will see how, based on this view, events such as the 1964 canonization ceremony could take on such a pivotal role.

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[314] Buchholz, M. M., "'Animadversiones' on the Relatio: 'De Activitate Missionali Ecclesiae," n.d. memorandum, Records of J. Van Kerckhoven, Box 2, Folder 5, CSVII, p. 60.
[315] Buchholz, M. M., "Problèmes D'Evangelisation," Feb. 1964, confidential memo, Records of J. Van Kerckhoven, Box 3, Folder 6, CSVII.
[316] Ibid. p. 2.

These 'optical' approaches would be most important, in Buchholz's view, in helping to dispel the foundational links between the Church and colonialism that currently hindered RCC progress in the developing world. Building a universal church meant far more than simply allowing for a proliferation of local styles. It would require the fundamental decoupling of the Church from colonial systems of governance and control, or at least successfully giving the appearance of doing so. These links would not be easy to remove, however, as they were underpinned even by the arbitrary borders that divided mission workers as well as postcolonial nation-states: "La conception géographique des missions apparaît donc anachronique, se référant à l'époque des découvertes géographiques et à l'époque coloniale."[317] Hemmed in by this 'anachronistic' system of outmoded and colonially imposed geographical distinctions, the RCC would struggle to truly progress.

Such views were widely held not only in Africa but also in other newly emerging nation-states that had a history of RCC mission presence. Buchholz also wrote on Africa specifically, in memos such as "Memorandum Pour les Réunions Africains Anteconciliares."[318] This document focussed on African decolonisation and the subsequent decentralisation of the RCC in Africa, asking: "En quels termes se pose le problème de la decentralisation de l'Afrique subsaherienne [sic]?"[319] In his view, the RCC's response hitherto had remained unacceptably vague in its directives on how to remain relevant to new independent episcopates.[320] Buchholz agreed with Keuppens on the importance of

[317] Ibid. p. 5.
For an example of continued presence of these difficulties in architectural design at this time, see Chapter VII.
[318] Buchholz, M. M., "Memorandum Pour les Réunions Africaines Anteconciliares," Records of J. Van Kerckhoven, Box 4, Folder 9, CSVII.
[319] Ibid. p. 1.
[320] Ibid. p. 1.

change, but he was much less confident about the potential future success of the RCC in Africa.

In response to such concerns, other bishops believed the solution lay in encouraging regional specificity across mission areas. In 1963, for example, Bishop N. Maestrini of the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions (PIME) based in Hong Kong produced a report entitled, "Foreign Missions: the Beginning of the End?"[321] For Maestrini, a core question lay at the heart of all discussions of mission work: "Can the 'seed' of Christendom, namely, the essential message of the Gospel be separated from the 'Western trappings' and be adapted to other cultures, or must these cultures become westernised?"[322] As we have already observed, most RCC mission churches had, to this point, insisted on the latter of these alternatives, with only occasional (and largely inadvertent) hybridisation (as seen in Chapter III). In order to continue to work in these regions, however, the RCC would, Maestrini believed, need to embrace a much more radical form of regional adaptation.

The missionary role of the RCC was, for Maestrini, in crisis. In order to overcome its difficulties, the Church needed to abandon its westernising approach and instead embrace each local culture in which it existed: "In order to achieve its goals, the Church must become 'native' to each country: that is, Indian in India, Japanese in Japan, African in Africa."[323] This approach required church leaders in each region to adapt specifically to the environment they worked in, in order to make the Christian message as understandable and appealing as possible to local people. Unlike Keuppens, who promoted the inclusion of diverse motifs into a still singular 'universal Church,' this view necessitated that the

[321] Maestrini, N., "Foreign Missions: the Beginning of the End?" 1963, Records of J. Van Kerckhoven, Box 3, Folder 8, CSVII.
[322] Ibid. p. 7.
[323] Ibid. p. 6.
This concept will be revisited in Chapter VIII.

Church itself diversify in order to better reflect the people it served in regionally specific ways.[324]

Keuppens, Buchholz, and Maestrini were only three bishops at the Vatican Council out of nearly two thousand. And yet, their views as expressed in this key period illustrate the ideological landscape surrounding *Ad Gentes* at the time. It is clear from all three of these examples that problems existed in the Church's current approaches to missionary work. But was the solution universalisation, or cultural regionalism? Or was mission work doomed due to its associations with the colonial past? Amid these divisions, there was a pressing need for an institutional initiative that would clarify and galvanise the new RCC response to the Mission Church. It is from this need that the decision to canonise the Uganda Martyrs in October 1964 arose.

The Canonization Ceremony, 18 October 1964

The canonization process for the Uganda Martyrs had been in motion for a decade previous to 1964. Postulated by Rev. Fr. Anthony Wouters, the process for canonization began in 1954 and was led, as the beatification had been in 1920 (see Chapter III), by the White Fathers. Wouters directed fellow missionaries to gather evidence of the miracles required to petition for the Martyrs' sainthood. These miracles ultimately centred on a series of faith healings that had purportedly occurred in a hospital near Rubaga in the presence of relics of the Martyrs where, in December 1941, a group of nurses had been suddenly cured of diseases contracted whilst attending to patients.[325] The paperwork for the petition was

[324] Maestrini's viewpoint represented the revitalisation of techniques that had been part of the colonial RCC for the previous three centuries. For a parallel examination of regionalised adaptations of Catholic iconography in a colonial Catholic context, see: Shean, J., "Images and Saint-Making in Colonial Puebla (1640-1800)," (PhD thesis, New York University, 2007).

[325] "Remembering 50 Years of the Martyrs' Canonization," *New Vision*, Vol. 30, No. 234, 25 Nov. 2015, in B. Ocwet, *Editorial Coverage of the Holy Father Pope Francis' visit in*

completed in early 1961, at which point John XXIII approved generally of the Martyrs' elevation.[326] It was then largely a question of when the official ceremony would occur.[327]

The unusual delay of nearly four years in acting on the Martyrs' elevation, followed by the sudden revival of the process at this moment of discussion surrounding the mission Church, indicates an underlying temporal link between the Martyrs' canonization and the ideological discussions. The prospect of canonizing these martyrs during the Council—the first black Africans to ever become saints—provided a clear opportunity to give a public and visual demonstration of the Council's tentative conclusions regarding the Mission Church. This event could provide a concrete example of the kind of 'optical spectacle' that bishops such as Buchholz had believed was key to the future of missionary work in the RCC.

On the morning of 18 October 1964, crowds gathered in front of St. Peter's Cathedral for the canonization mass. 180 pilgrims from the Namugongo area with specific ties to the deceased martyrs were in attendance, in addition to over 3,000 missionaries and church figures from East Africa. Accompanying these visitors were over 1,400 bishops from the Vatican Council—nearly two-thirds of all those present in Rome at the time.[328]

The celebratory mass began at 8.30am with a formal procession showcasing African drumming and dance, as a standard bearing the images of the Martyrs was brought

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Uganda Commemorating 50 Years of Uganda Martyrs' Canonization, Nov. 15, Presented to His Grace Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, Kampala Archdiocese, Jul. 2016, RAA.

[326] Review of the African Association of St. Augustine, *Lux*, No. 11, Special Issue: Baganda Martyrs, 1964, Rome, RAA.

[327] An interval of this length between approval and canonization—just under four years—was unusually long in the twentieth century. Compare the time between approval and canonization for the Uganda Martyrs with that for other twentieth century sainted figures such as Mary MacKillop of Australia (eight months), María Josepha Sanch de Guerra of Spain (sixteen months), and Jaime Hilario Barbal, also of Spain (eleven months). Though the time between beatification and sainthood could vary widely—from a few years to over a century—once approved for sainthood, canonizations were mostly expedient.

[328] Cauwelaert, V., letter to Missionaries, 11 Oct. 1964.

into the cathedral surrounded by officials of the Ugandan RCC, a Ugandan choir, and drummers and dancers from the Kampala area.[329] Standards and music were common features of any canonization ceremony, but it was into this traditional framework that the specificities of the Martyrs were now placed.



Figure 31: "The canonization ceremony processional with canonization standard visible," 1964, http://peresblancs.org/archives/martyrs_uganda06.jpg (1 Oct. 2018).



Figure 32: "Ugandan delegates within the processional," in Leadership: A Magazine for Christian Leaders in Africa 128, p. 29.

[329] "Ritus Servandus."

This use of non-Western music represented a first in the history of St. Peter's: never before had the sounds and colours of the African church been seen or heard inside the RCC's home.[330] As Tom Malaba recounted in an anniversary pamphlet celebrating the ceremony in 2006, "For the first time the sound of the African drum filed into Saint Peter's Basilica"[331] on this day.

The visual accoutrements used in the ceremony were also notable in their use of African motifs and colour schemes, and deserve attention here. The standard used in the processional depicted an image of the Martyrs, as was traditional for new saints in canonization ceremonies.[332] The look of this standard, however, was an instructive mix of traditional elements with those designed to suggest novelty and modernity.



Figure 33: "The canonization standard (front) in its original tapestry form," 1964, http://peresblancs.org/archives/martyrs_uganda04.jpg (1 Oct. 2018).

[330] Cauwelaert, V., letter to Missionaries, 20 Oct. 1964.
[331] Malaba, "The Story of the Uganda Martyrs."
[332] Uganda Martyrs Commission, "Uganda Martyrs National Celebrations: 7th February 1965," programme, 1965, Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Papers Relating to Uganda, Box CMS/ACC385, Folder O5, CRL, p. 11.



Figure 34: "The painting model for the canonization standard tapestry," 1964, http://peresblancs.org/archives/martyrugandaa.jpg (1 Oct. 2018). For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 9.

The standard as we see it today in the above painting depicts the central martyrs, Charles Lwanga and his immediate disciples, surrounded by the remaining eighteen halo-encircled figures. Contained within the cross are symbols of the fourteen clans into which the martyrs were born.[333] The composition, though commissioned to celebrate African figures, relies heavily on traditional European forms of Catholic icons, paralleling the depictions seen at the Martyrs' beatification in Chapter III. Compare, for example, the canonization standard with a typical European religious work such as di Giovanni's *The Assumption of the Virgin* dating from the late fifteenth century.

[333] "Uganda Martyrs National Celebrations: 7th February 1965," p. 11.



Figure 35: di Giovanni, M., The Assumption of the Virgin, c. 1474, tempera and gold on wood (The National Gallery, London). Author's photograph, 2017. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 10.

Although separated in their creation by nearly four centuries, these two works share several notable artistic features. In both, we see a composition dominated by a larger central figure or grouping of figures, surrounded by a circle of smaller figures: scale is used not in a realistic manner but rather to signify importance, and iconography such as wings and haloes suggest angelic or other holy qualities. The figures in both works are clothed in flowing robes in coordinating colours, where once again historical or realist accuracy is rejected in favour of a uniform, visually impressive aesthetic. The figures in each picture sit flatly on the surface of the material, with no use of compositional depth perspective. Instead, emphasis has been placed on a two-dimensional 'graphism'—as opposed to a perceived three-dimensional, plastic quality—that highlights the material nature of the

works.[334] That is to say, in both works the figures have been painted on top of a plain surface in such a way as to emphasise the significance of that background surface for the work as a whole. In *The Assumption of the Virgin*, a commissioned work intended to indicate luxury as well as piety, the field is gold leaf in order to underscore the wealth of the image's patron. In the canonization standard, the background is the same vivid red and ochre of barkcloth, the most recognisable textile handicraft from Uganda.



Figure 36: An example of traditional Ugandan bark cloth design still in use today .In: Barkcloth Blog, http://barkcloth.blogspot.com/2010/11/uganda-welcomes-us.html (1 Oct. 2018). For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 11.

There are several further parallels to Ugandan barkcloth design in this canonization standard. Barkcloth is a traditional textile produced in Buganda whose origins predate weaving, and which is produced from flattening the inner bark of the Mutuba tree.[335] Because of this unique fabrication process, the colours seen in traditional barkcloth works, as in the example shown above, commonly include bright red-orange as the base, with shades of brown, black, and white detail overlain on top. As we can see, these are the

[334] Marrinan, M., "Post-Naturalist Painting" (lecture, delivered 18 Nov. 2008, Stanford University, Calif.).
[335] "Barkcloth Making in Uganda" https://ich.unesco.org/en/rl/barkcloth-making-in-uganda-00139 (28 Sept. 2018).

primary colours of the canonization standard, rather than the traditional European Catholic palette of gold, carmine red, and indigo blue.

In this standard, we can see thus a European artist's attempt at inculturation, in the use of overlapping visual languages of Ugandan barkcloth and European Catholic iconography. The bright fabric and highly visible, block-like design of this new standard were clearly meant to *look* new, even when viewed from the far side of St Peter's' voluminous interior. Carried over the heads of the pilgrims and Ugandan officials as they entered the cathedral, the standard projected the idea that this was a modern spectacle which broke with the staid traditions of the past RCC. The use of European compositional design, however, ensured that it remained within the traditional aesthetic confines of the space.[336]

The provenance of this standard, as is suggested above, was not Uganda, or even Africa. It was, rather, the work of the German artist Siegfried Herborth, a modernist painter with no direct link to the African continent.[337] Little is known about Herborth, who was a minor artist even at the time. The choice to keep the creation of this central visual object within European artistic channels, instead of entrusting it to a Ugandan artist, underscores a fundamental ambivalence at the heart of the canonization of the Martyrs and indeed of the debate on the future of the mission Church at Vatican II. It is clear that while the RCC hoped to use the Martyrs as a spectacle to broadcast a mediated, officialised vision of its new ideological aims, the substantive changes promulgated by the Council and taken up by bishops still remained distant in reality. This gap between expectation and reality in the canonization standard is representative of the larger gap between the optimistic expectations of what the Council would mean for the future of the RCC in Africa and the

[336] For further discussion of this tension between European attempts at inculturation and traditional and vernacular design, see Chapter VII.
[337] *Leadership: A Magazine for Christian Leaders in Africa* 128, p. 27.

difficulties in enacting the Council's changes, as seen in Hastings' pessimistic reflections on Vatican II (see Chapter IV).

We can see an even greater degree of traditional Europeanisation in the official relics and medals of canonization produced for the ceremony.



Figure 37: Relics and Medals of the Canonization of the Uganda Martyrs, 1964, gold plated commemorative coins and sacred relics (RAA). Author's photograph, 2017. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 12.

These objects were designed to be presented during the canonization and then to be sent to the Kampala Diocese to bless Rubaga Cathedral, where they remain to this day. The medals are impressive in size: each heavy gold coin is almost nine inches in diameter. They depict all twenty-two martyrs over both sides. The obverse shows twelve of the martyrs looking in a supplicant manner toward a group of religious objects including a crucifix and a globe, while the reverse depicts the remaining ten standing in the wide embrace of Jesus, who looks down on them.[338] Besides the texture of their hair, the creator of these medals made little effort to indicate their blackness, or their African identity. Instead, the emphasis is on the inclusion of these African martyrs into the circle of Christ and, by extension, the canon

[338] The inclusion of a globe in the iconography of this object parallels John's use of a globe to visually communicate his conciliar ideologies (see Chapter IV).

of the RCC. As we saw in Chapter III in the oil painting commissioned to celebrate the beatification, these medals mainly demonstrated the incorporation of the Martyrs into the (still European) traditions of the RCC, and less the expansion outwards of the RCC itself. This method of visual representation reflects the tensions present within the creative approaches to enacting change in the developing world expressed in the views of the three bishops discussed earlier in this chapter: simultaneously seeking to both include expressions of global culture, yet simultaneously enshrine these expressions within accepted westernised norms.

These European motifs are further expressed in the case in which the relics were contained and the means by which they were to be viewed: wrapped in heavy red velvet, to be kept deep in a vault out of sight of regular worshippers.[339] The design of these objects seems at odds with the purported new openness of the post-conciliar RCC, and instead harkens backward in the Church's visual chronology.[340]

Indeed, as we saw in the beatification of the Martyrs (see Chapter III), these objects suggest a wish to incorporate these saints into the existing visual narrative of the Church, rather than to change the existing aesthetic to integrate these newcomers. In 1920, as explained in Chapter III, this reticence was consistent with the Church's conservative stance on mission work and its negative attitude toward inclusion of non-Western culture. Forty-four years later, however, this same reluctance had a very different significance given the Council's ongoing discussion about inclusiveness and the need to embrace new

[339] The medals are currently kept in a locked safe in the cathedral's archive, and are visible by special appointment only.

[340] Contemporary commentary on these objects was minimal. We can see, however, that their presentation and style are analogous to standard examples of Catholic saint iconography. See: de Borchgrave, H., *A Journey into Christian Art* (Oxford, 2001).
This traditionalised format represents a divergence from previous RCC attempts to use the visual iconography of saints to represent the Church's relevance in the modern world, as detailed in Johns, C., *The Visual Culture of Catholic Enlightenment* (University Park, Penn., 2014).

aesthetics. Thus, while these medals clearly conveyed the luxury and power of the Church in their opulent materials and presentation, their design was ultimately at odds with the very directives that led to this public canonization in the first place: the visual broadcasting of the 'new' globalised RCC in Africa. These objects therefore reveal the core ambivalence within the RCC at this time: it was attempting to reach forward to a new modern conceptualisation of the RCC, while at the same time it continued to rely on the Europeanised traditions of the past.

The visual dimension of the canonization procession was certainly striking and memorable to all present, and to those observing from afar.[341] After the mass was complete, the standard was hung outside St. Peter's for all to see for three days, as was traditional for all new saints. In the modern aesthetic of the Martyrs' standard set within this traditional practice, however, it was clear that Church leaders hoped to maximise the visibility of this most recent addition to the RCC canon.

[341] For an example of global coverage of the event, see: "Pope Announes December Visit to Rites in India; Plans to Attend Eucharistic Congress—Proclaims 22 African Martyrs Saints in Rome," *New York Times* (19 Oct. 1964), TimesMachine (11 Dec. 2018).



Figure 38: "The canonization standard hanging outside St. Peter's, where it was displayed for three days following the canonization ceremony," 1964, http://peresblancs.org/archives/martyrs_uganda02.jpg (1 Oct. 2018).

As we can see from this brief analysis of the visual objects utilised in the ceremony, however, the narrative of change that Church leaders hoped to project was far more ambiguous than it initially appeared. These objects, even the standard that was designed specifically to project a modern approach, remained firmly ensconced in the traditions of Europe. At exactly the moment that the RCC sought to distance itself from its conservative and colonially-linked past in the developing world, it simultaneously relied on visual media linked in many ways to the past. It is precisely in this ambivalence that the competing pressures of the RCC at this time found clear, if unintended, visual representation in the controlled new vision of the Church they presented through the Martyrs.

The Legacy of the Canonization

With the processional complete and nearly two hundred Ugandan visitors seated in a place of honour, the Pope himself conducted a mass memorialising the Martyrs' deaths and celebrating their new status within the Church.[342] In his remarks, Paul made a clear effort to tie the Martyrs into a more universal African significance: "By their colour, race and culture they are true Africans from the Bantu race and the peoples of the Upper Nile, peoples of a legendary past."[343] This sweeping statement sought to demonstrate the significance of this canonization not just in Uganda but throughout the African continent.

Paul went on to acknowledge the contested role of colonialism in the RCC's past in Africa, and highlighted the significance of this ceremony in the post-colonial world by seeking to differentiate between Christian evangelism and colonisation:

> Whereas evangelisation implanted the Christian religion as a new form of vitality which tends to release the spiritual powers and latent talents of the local populations and so sets them free… colonisation, when based on purely utilitarian and material motives, pursued objectives not always in conformity with the dignity and advantage of native people… [With this canonization] it was a duty to show the developing nations how the Catholic Church appreciates what they rightfully aspire to.[344]

Thus, we can see the overt manner in which Paul conceptualised this ceremony as a means of addressing the concerns and contradictions present in the debates surrounding mission work at this time: the Martyrs were unique regional figures, that suggested a universalised African church, while casting off the history of a colonial past, and simultaneously

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[342] Chandler, A., and Hansen, C. (eds), *Observing Vatican II: The Confidential Reports of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Representative, Bernard Pawley, 1961-1964* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 351.

[343] Paul VI, Pope, "Discourse of the Holy Father Delivered in the Vatican Basilica on the Occasion of the Canonization of the Martyrs of Uganda," 18 Oct. 1964, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 178051, TNA.

[344] Scarlett, P., "The Canonization of the Uganda Martyrs," 20 Oct. 1964, Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Box FO 371 - Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966, Folder 178051, TNA.

demonstrating the African Church's allegiance to the post-colonial RCC. The cultural stability of the Martyrs—and the fact that they had already been incorporated into the RCC with their beatification in 1920—gave confidence to Paul VI, who identified them as "a warning against hasty syncretism, quick fixes, and instant syntheses with African religion."[345] The Martyrs, in their inclusion into the RCC canon, now represented a form of officially endorsed Christian presence in newly independent postcolonial Africa. The Uganda Martyrs became not so much celebrated figures in their own right as a leitmotif for the entire Vatican debate on the future of the Church in the developing world.

The Tablet, the leading British Catholic journal, amplified the tone of the pontiff in numerous articles on the Martyrs in 1964 and 1965. In one of two major articles devoted to the Martyrs' canonization in the 24 October 1964 issue, Robert Nowell, the journal's Vatican reporter, emphasised the revolutionary nature of the ceremony:

> The canonisation [sic] of the twenty-two martyrs of Uganda … marked the full entry into the Church of Africa south of the Sahara, with drums reverberating through St. Peter's as an African choir sang part of the oratorio composed in the martyrs' honour by Joseph Kyagambidwa, and with Cardinal Rugumbwa, the first African Cardinal, acting as deacon during the papal Mass that followed.[346]

While Robert Nowell's article was the most extensive and lengthy article on the subject in the journal, the Uganda Martyrs were frequently included in the publication's world updates section, providing readers with near-continuous, if brief, coverage of their progression to sainthood.[347] Throughout this news coverage, the Uganda Martyrs were presented as the heralds of a revitalised, postcolonial RCC in Africa.

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[345] Hebbelthwaite, *Paul VI*, p. 537.
[346] Nowell, R., "Martyrs and Patriarchs," *The Tablet* (24 Oct. 1964), *The Tablet* Online (21 Nov. 2018), p. 6.
[347] See: "From Our Notebook," *The Tablet* (17 Oct. 1964), *The Tablet* Online (21 Nov. 2018), p. 20; "The Church in the World," *The Tablet* (24 Oct. 1964), *The Tablet* Online (21 Nov. 2018), p. 22; "Ecumenical Martyrs," *The Tablet* (22 May 1965), *The Tablet* Online (21 Nov. 2018), p. 10.

This universalising tone was echoed in the first-hand accounts of bishops present at the Council. V. Cauwelaert, a Belgian bishop stationed in Inongo, Congo, wrote letters back to that province first expressing his excitement at the prospect of the ceremony, and then his impressions of the day itself.[348] In a letter dating 20 October 1964, Cauwelaert explained how most of the week had been spent discussing and finalising Schema XIII—the document that would become *Gaudium et Spes*, arguably the most important document of the entire Council as a whole (see Chapter IV)—but that more important than this had been the canonization ceremony itself.[349] Even though Cauwelaert felt that the order of the mass had not ultimately represented a sufficiently radical alteration in the liturgy to truly demonstrate the changes the RCC was attempting to make, he still acknowledged its monumental nature:

> Mais malgré le style depassé, et très peu conforme avec le renouveau liturgique, la grande signification de cette canonisation de nos premiers saints africains élévés à l'honneur des autels pour l'Eglise Universelle, et l'ambience d'une grand ferveur et sympathie pour l'Afrique, à fait de cette cérémonie un jour inoubliable pour l'Afrique.[350]

Cauwelaert was clearly moved by the event. His use of language echoed the pope in asserting that the Martyrs represented a great universalising force for the Church in Africa as a whole, rather than simply for Uganda.

Rev. A. Murphy, a White Father, reflected on his experience of the ceremony for an article in the mission society's magazine early the next year. Murphy was not a Council bishop but a missionary priest who had come from Uganda specifically for the ceremony. He therefore had a clearer sense of what this canonization might mean for Ugandan Catholics specifically. Press coverage of the Council, even of something as central to

[348] Cauwelaert, V., letter to Missionaries, 11 Oct. 1964.
[349] Cauwelaert, V., letter to Missionaries, 20 Oct. 1964.
[350] Ibid.

Africa as the canonization, was limited. Reflections such as Murphy's, then, are insightful for their rare first-hand candour and understanding of the event, and its relevance to Uganda. In his description of the Martyrs' deaths, he made note of each man's individual humanity, in a divergence from most writers on the subject at the time:

> As the Papal mass proceeded, my own thoughts and, I am sure, those of many present dwelt on the miracles of these martyrs who went so joyfully to atrocious suffering and death for a God they had just come to know.[351]

This reflection is one of the few examples of writing on the canonization where any mention is made of the martyrs as real human beings, and not as an abstract concept or visual motif. His view as a local missionary highlighted the gap between the participants in the Council, who saw the canonization of the Martyrs as just one piece in the complex process of reorienting the RCC toward the modern world, and the priests and believers living and working in Uganda, for whom this ceremony represented a deeply personal event. It demonstrates the disconnect between the managed, official notion of the Martyrs being produced at this time by RCC officials, and the regional specificities they simultaneously sought to represent.

We can see how the local impact of the canonization and ceremony developed in the years following 1964 by looking at the continued prominence of the Martyrs during the next decade of the Church in Uganda. Newspapers in East Africa, and especially in Uganda, made little comment on the Council or the canonization at the time. However, that does not mean that the story of the event was not transmitted throughout the region. In the next decade, and the years to follow, the story of the Martyrs and their canonization took on increasing local and national Ugandan significance: not in the broad universalising

[351] Murphy, A., "Africa in St. Peter's," *White Fathers* 140 (Feb./Mar. 1965), p. 23.

terms espoused by Paul VI or the other bishops of the Council, but as localised sources of authentic faith and national pride (see also Chapter VIII).

Leadership, the newsletter for Church leaders in Africa, produced a special issue in 1974 commemorating the ten-year anniversary of the ceremony. In addition to a series of articles revisiting the process of canonization and the ceremony itself, the issue contained a set of short essays by local young people in the Kampala Diocese, responding to the question, "What do the Uganda Martyrs mean to me?"[352] In these responses, we can see the growth of the localised reception of this event in the decade following the ceremony.

Sixteen-year old Kanta Lulua, for example, reflected on the deeply personal role the Uganda Martyrs had in his understanding both of the Church and his nation**:**

> To me personally, the future, the present, and the past life of Uganda lives and will always live on the help and the prayers of the Uganda Martyrs… To me, the life of Uganda lies in the hands of or depends on the Uganda Martyrs**.**[353]

Here, the notion of Uganda as a country was intertwined with the notion of the Martyrs and their sacrifice: a highly specific, national idea quite distinct from the international universalisation intended by Paul and his predecessor John, but suggestive instead of the diversity advocated by figures such as Maestrini.[354]

Mathias Asea, another local youth, touched on some of the elements of universality that had been highlighted at the canonization mass, but interpreted these messages in a more personal way:

> To me, the Uganda Martyrs are a token of God's love for Ugandans and Africans at large. God wants to provide salvation for men of all races…

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[352] *Leadership* 173.
[353] Ibid. p. 10.
[354] See Ch. VIII for further discussion of the lasting impact of the Uganda Martyrs in the national psyche, especially as an enduring symbol of perseverance through hardship as it related to the Amin administration and Uganda's resultant periods of civil unrest.

> As Jesus started his religion among the whites, it only reflected to whites being saints and martyrs; but not to ignore his love for Africa, he made it a sign that whatsoever the race is, Martyrdom has the same quality for everyone.[355]

This reflection utilised language similar to that used by bishops and Church officials in 1964 but to reach markedly different conclusions. It underscored how the Martyrs' race, and their role as the first black African saints, was a very important part of their legacy for local people. Furthermore, it attempted to confirm the 'catholic'—that is to say, universal—nature of this new RCC that could appeal equally across all regions of the globe, but simultaneously made clear that the Uganda Martyrs were locally specific figures with personal meaning to youths such as Asea.[356]

These responses demonstrate the ways in which the Uganda Martyrs took on specific personal meaning to Ugandans in the years following their canonization. As we can see here and in the remainder of this thesis, the story of the Uganda Martyrs had a lively and multifaceted life of its own in the recollections of local people, decades after their deaths and canonization. It was this localised growth that ultimately secured the legacy of the Martyrs, more than any official ceremony thousands of miles away. In this vernacularized vision, the Martyrs took on the role of linking the RCC with a fundamentally Ugandan identity and sense of purpose (see also Chapter VIII).

Conclusion

The rhetoric of the canonization ceremony, beginning with Paul's mass, worked largely to confirm the new directions to be taken by the RCC in Africa, and sought to settle the divergent voices of the Council surrounding the final drafts of the conciliar schemata on

[355] *Leadership* 173, p. 8.
[356] This series of articles interviews over a dozen youths, of which the responses of Lulua and Asea are emblematic of the group as a whole.

the Mission Church and the Church in the modern world. Thus, the mass was designed to look as innovative as possible, with bright colours, modernistic design, and the sounds of the 'New World' in the heart of the Church's ancestral European home.

And yet, as we have seen, there remained in this moment a degree of the ambivalence we have seen toward the Martyrs, and the African Church, that we have observed earlier in this thesis. The Martyrs' standard, though designed to look modern and 'African,' was in fact a European fantasy. The mass, though bookended with novel songs, was liturgically conservative and highly traditional. While the ceremony received in extensive coverage in European Catholic journals, its reception in Africa was minimal in 1964. Just one short article, shoehorned incongruously into the sports section, summarised the ceremony in the *East African Standard*, the major regional newspaper at the time. Notably, this article emphasised the role of the Bugandan *kabakas* in the growth of Christianity in Uganda, rather than the actions of the RCC. It also quoted the current *kabaka* Mutesa II at length:

> The day was one of tremendous joy and significance as not only Buganda but Uganda as a whole and Africa at large reap some of the fruits of my great-grandfather, *Kabaka* Mutesa I, who invited European missionaries to come and educate his people.[357]

This local interpretation of the canonization reoriented the meaning of the ceremony away from the revolutionary power of the transnational RCC, and toward a more localised African vision of independent agency. In many ways, it outright rejected the universalising aims of the Council—of John's guiding vision of 'no longer any special ties… no earthly country or nation'—and toward something much more centred on Ugandan national identity.

[357] "Uganda Martyrs Proclaimed Saints in Rome," *East African Standard* (18 Oct. 1964), p. 5.

Ultimately, the words of the supreme pontiff, though they alluded to a new future for the RCC, in fact largely repeated a pattern of older engagements with African specificities. Even though this ceremony was meant to represent the new, modern, and culturally open RCC, the appropriation of the Martyrs' story in order to provide a visual spectacle to highlight and confirm the ideological debates present in the Church at this time more closely paralleled the ways in which the Martyrs were beatified in 1920 (see Chapter III). We must therefore remain suspicious about the true novelty of this ceremony. For all the vivid visual and auditory impact it made, in many ways it represented well established ways of representing the Church in and to the developing world.

In some respects, this treatment of the Martyrs represented the lingering fear of some bishops regarding Vatican II: that it would be a case of 'new wine in old wineskins,'[358] wherein attempts at change were stymied by the retention of old and outmoded organising structures.[359] Moreover, it demonstrated a core reluctance to specifically consider the Martyrs, their lives, or the Ugandan culture they had become a part of in the eight decades since their deaths. As we will see, this ambivalence toward the Martyrs—and the African cultures that celebrated them—was to continue through the next critical years after the Council's conclusion, as the RCC worked to cement its place in postcolonial countries such as Uganda.

[358] Matt. 9:17.
[359] Some critiques of Vatican II use explicit reference to this New Testament analogy. See, as an example: Greeley, A., *The Catholic Revolution: New Wine, Old Wineskins, and the Second Vatican Council* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004).

VI. Pope Paul's Visit, 1969

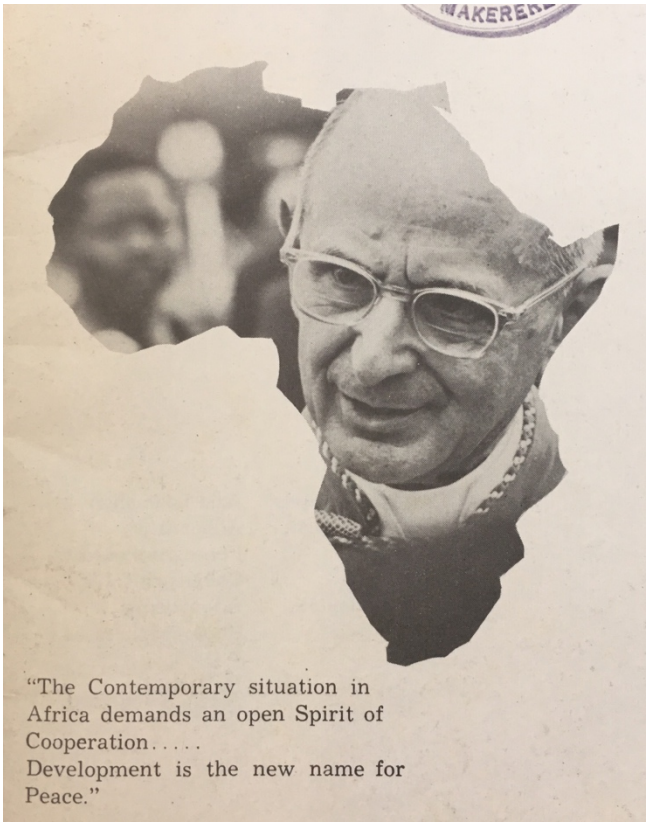

Figure 39: Paul VI in Africa, 1969. In: Advertising Photographers, Ltd., "Pope Paul VI in Africa," pamphlet, 1969, Nairobi, AF P 282.6761 A 38, AM.

The Second Vatican Council concluded in late 1965, amidst wide-ranging reports on the changes now in store for the RCC as a result of its sessions.[360] As we have seen in Chapters IV and V, the potential future of the RCC in Africa played a significant role in during this process of change, especially in those decrees targeted at mission work in the developing world. The canonization of the Martyrs during the Council had provided a symbolic focus for these changes in the Council's later years, highlighting the rhetorical power of the Martyrs' story in the strategic visual re-imagining of the Church's values during Vatican II.

[360] For some of these contemporary reviews see, as an example: "The Second Vatican Council," *The Furrow*, 17/1 (Jan., 1966), pp. 53-55.

The 2,000 bishops of the Council decamped from Rome and made their way back to their respective dioceses in early 1966. Over the four years of the Council, the range of topics covered had been exhaustive and all-encompassing. One burning question still remained, however: just how effective would its proposed changes be? Indeed, would there be lasting change at all? For all the good intentions and bold pontificating of Vatican II, doubts remained, given the challenges inherent in implementing such large-scale changes.[361] It would be the task of Pope Paul VI, who had taken over the completion of the Council following John XXIII's death, to demonstrate that the last years of time and expense had not been in vain, but instead marked the beginning of a new and modern Church fit for the late twentieth century.

Paul's most visible response to this task was his early and emphatic adoption of new aviation technology as he flew to all corners of the globe, quickly becoming by far the most travelled pope the world had ever seen. He used his new papal Alitalia plane to undertake several ground-breaking visits, amongst them to Israel and Palestine, America, and India.[362]

Most of Paul's visits were ground-breaking in some way. One of the most radical, however, was his August 1969 visit to Uganda, which will be the subject of this chapter. No pope had ever previously visited Africa, and the purpose of his visit, paying respect to the martyring site of the first ever black African saints, amounted to an emphatic endorsement of the new inculturated RCC in Africa.

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[361] For further reflections on the lasting efficacy of the Council, see examples such as: Irwin, *What We Have Done*; O'Riordan, S., "Vatican II Remembered," *The Furrow*, 38/6 (Jun., 1987), pp. 387-392.

[362] Scarlett "The Results of the Pope's Pilgrimages."
British Pathé, "The Pope in India (1964)," YouTube (recorded, 1964, uploaded 13 Apr. 2014) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KtoD2unbwGo (11 Sept. 2018).
For further reading on the role of the airplane in modern diplomacy, see: Reynolds, D., *Summits: Six Meetings that Shaped the Twentieth Century* (New York, N.Y., 2009).

This chapter will analyse details of Pope Paul VI's visit to Entebbe, Kampala, and Namugongo in July and August 1969, focussing specifically on the central role played by the Martyrs and the physical sites of their suffering within the proceedings. As we will see, the visual emphasis of Paul's visit—incorporating the works of local craftsmen and artists, extensively utilising new modernist forms of design, and centring on the cultural memorialisation and celebration of the Martyrs—was central to the ways in which it was conceptualised and conducted. However, this trip was more than simply a welcome recognition of the local religious culture it sought to highlight. A profound ambivalence also marked the proceedings, in everything from the choice of white European artists for key roles, to the courting of President Milton Obote in an attempt to gain state approval of the Church despite Obote's growing record of human rights abuses at the time.[363]

Ugandan and Church officials worked together to design the visit as a spectacle that would draw the gaze of an international audience and attract visual attention to the new directives the RCC sought to implement following the conclusion of the Council. Paul's visit to Uganda would be the first of three papal visits to the country in the next fifty years, more than any other country in Africa, with the Martyrs' shrine at Namugongo becoming the most visited single location on the continent by 2015.[364] It is clear that this visit, and the optics associated with it, were of critical importance to Paul and his advisors. Pope Paul's visit thus exemplified both the best of what the new post-conciliar RCC could offer, and also some of its greatest shortcomings.

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[363] These ambivalences reflect and grow from the tensions already seen in Chapter V.

[364] "The Uganda Martyrs are the Reason Popes Keep Coming to Uganda," *New Vision*, Vol. 30, No. 236, 27 Nov. 2015, p. 24, in B. Ocwet, *Editorial Coverage of the Holy Father Pope Francis' visit in Uganda Commemorating 50 Years of Uganda Martyrs' Canonization, Nov. 15, Presented to His Grace Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, Kampala Archdiosese*, Jul. 2016, RAA.
For further discussion of the continued relevance of the shrine, see Chapter VIII.

Paul Chooses Uganda

Pope Paul VI began a vigorous schedule of official visits before the Council had even officially concluded, a rapid tempo which he would maintain throughout the remainder of his life. His first major visit came during the concluding phases of Vatican II, when he travelled to Jerusalem in early 1964. Subsequent trips to India and the United States prompted him to adopt the nickname of 'the Pilgrim Pope.'[365]

In his October 1965 visit to New York, Paul became the first Pope to address the General Assembly of the United Nations. He gave a short speech outlining the dogmatic changes embodied in the Second Vatican Council, and highlighted the ways in which the Council could serve as an engine to drive positive global change.[366] He likened the potential of an intergovernmental body such as the United Nations as a global unifying force, to the way that the RCC sought to unify different forms of global Christianity:

> You are in existence and you are working in order to unite nations, to associate States. Let us use the formula: to bring them together with each other. You are an association, a bridge between peoples, a network of relations between States. We are tempted to say that in a way this characteristic of yours reflects in the temporal order what our Catholic Church intends to be in the spiritual order: one and universal. Nothing loftier can be imagined on the natural level, as far as the ideological structure of mankind is concerned. Your vocation is to bring not just some peoples but all peoples together as brothers. A difficult undertaking? Without a doubt. But this is the nature of your very noble undertaking. Who can fail to see the need and importance of thus gradually coming to the establishment of a world authority capable of taking effective action on the juridical and political planes? Again we repeat our wish: go forward![367]

It is then clear that Paul hoped to remake the new RCC along the same transnational lines of organisations such as the United Nations, and for the RCC to be seen in the same

[365] *Leadership* 128, p. 14.
[366] United Nations Office of Public Information, "Never Again War!" p. 2.
[367] Paul VI, Pope, "Address of the Holy Father Paul VI to the United Nations Organization" (4 Oct., 1965), Vatican Online Archives (31 Aug. 2018).

unifying, universalising terms. Other interfaith organisations such as the World Council of Churches had been established following the Second World War for the express purpose of providing this kind of transnational liaison.[368] It is however clear from the Pope's words that he felt that the RCC could act as a global unifying agent in its own right.[369] Paul's physical presence in the assembly chamber was a step forward in international engagement compared to that of his predecessors: for example, Pope John XXIII had sent a copy of his most influential encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*, to the General Assembly, but had never come to America himself.[370] Paul VI's decision to come in person set the tone for his papacy: one marked by physical presence and optical impact on a global stage.



Figure 40: Loengard, J., "Pope Paul VI Addresses the United Nations," 1965, LIFE https://iconicphotos.wordpress.com/2009/04/23/pope-paul-vi-in-the-united-nations/ (3 Sept. 2018).

By 'optical impact,' I mean the ways in which Paul VI favoured the creation of a spectacle in order to achieve his post-conciliar aims. These moments were meant to be seen,

[368] As discussed in Chapter IV, the RCC was initially reluctant to join the WCC and other transnational organisations.
[369] For further reading on the role of the RCC in post-war state-building and intergovernmental organisations, see Witte, *Christianity and Democracy*.
[370] United Nations Office of Public Information, "Never Again War!" p. 6.

photographed, filmed, published, disseminated to—and ultimately, remembered by—a global audience. They were not singular meetings or visits but had the intention of being transmitted and re-transmitted across spatial and temporal borders, just as bishops engaged in the debates surrounding *Ad Gentes* during the Council had advocated as being essential to the future success of the Church (see Chapter V).

Paul VI, unlike his predecessors, utilised modern technologies such as television and the rapid dissemination of photographs to his advantage in order to make his message publicly visible in ways it had never been before: where much of papal policy communication had previously been a private exchange among elites, now it could be observed by an expanding global public. It is questionable, however, whether this novel focus on optical impact eclipsed the substantive reality of Paul's actions, both here at the United Nations and later in Uganda. Did he mean to foster change, or to *be seen* fostering change? As we will soon see, the answer in his visit to Uganda fell in an ambivalent space between these two poles.

From the example set in these early visits, we can better understand Paul's otherwise somewhat surprising decision to visit Uganda in 1969. Cardinal Nsubuga of the Kampala Diocese visited the Pope in March of that year to seek help raising funds for a new shrine commemorating the Martyrs at Namugongo: a striking parallel to Streicher's visit to Pope Pius XII to request aid in the construction of Rubaga forty-five years earlier (see Chapter II).[371] As Paul had done in New York when he surpassed John XXIII's dispatch of *Pacem in Terris* with his in-person address, here too the pontiff chose not to

[371] Lukwago, J., and A. Nabweteme, "When Paul VI Visited to Honour Martyrs in 1969," *New Vision*, Vol. 30, No. 236, 27 Nov. 2015, p. 66-68, in B. Ocwet, *Editorial Coverage of the Holy Father Pope Francis' visit in Uganda Commemorating 50 Years of Uganda Martyrs' Canonization, Nov. 15, Presented to His Grace Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, Kampala Archdiosese*, Jul. 2016, RAA, p. 66.

match the actions of his predecessor, but rather to exceed them. To the "bafflement"[372] of his advisors in Rome, he announced his plans for a papal visit to Uganda on 19 March, just days after his meeting with Nsubuga. He would not only visit the new shrine at Namugongo but also provide the dedication and blessing of the altar there, in addition to setting up an All-Africa Council of Bishops, which would meet as part of the ceremonies ahead of the visit.[373]

At first glance the decision to go to Uganda, a relatively small African country of minor historic influence in the RCC, does indeed seem surprising. And yet it aligned with some of the core directives in both the Council's conclusions and Paul's post-conciliar strategy. The trip, alongside Paul's earlier visit to India, would draw attention to the RCC's presence in the developing world, and this focus on the mission church in areas outside the traditional bastions of the RCC would demonstrate the lived reception of the Council in two key ways. First, it reinforced the Council's proclamation (articulated in *Ad Gentes*) that the RCC was, in its foundation, a mission church, and one whose catholic nature should extend to peoples and places across the entire globe.[374]

Second, on a more pragmatic level, this interest also mirrored the Council's observation that secularism in Europe and the West was on the rise, but that in other regions of the world there was potential for the reach of the Church to be extended and strengthened.[375] This focus on the evangelical potential of regions such as sub-Saharan Africa was supported by numerous religious intergovernmental and transnational

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[372] Ibid.
[373] Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 4: First All-Africa Bishops Meeting Set for July," press release, 8 May 1969, Kampala, AF Q 282.67621 POP, AM.
[374] Catholic Church, "The Church is One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic," in *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2nd Ed., (Vatican City, 2012).
[375] Paul VI, Pope, *Dignitatis Humanae: Declaration on Religious Freedom, on the Right of the Person and of Communities to Social and Civil Freedom in Matters Religious Promulgated by his Holiness* (7 Dec. 1965), Vatican Online Archives (18 Set. 2016).

conferences taking place around the world at the time, such as the World Council of Churches' meeting at Uppsala in 1968.[376] The theme of this ecumenical gathering was 'The Holy Spirit and the Catholicity of the Church.'[377] It responded directly to the same impulses toward interfaith cooperation that Paul had touched on in his address to the United Nations in 1965. An excerpt of the Uppsala Report reads:

> Catholicity… is no longer to be considered as a 'mark of the Church' as the traditional terminology used to describe it… It is clear that the Church has become catholic constantly anew.[378]

This language sought to shift the word 'catholic' from an institutional RCC-based term back to its original meaning of 'universal.' This language is notable also for the embrace of a form of globalised RCC catholicity within the World Council of Churches: an organisation that, as we have seen already, was founded as a Protestant organisation when both the RCC and Orthodox churches initially refused to join. Though purportedly ecumenical to all faiths in its aims, such a shift within the transnational organisation of the World Council of Churches undeniably helped the globalising cause of the RCC, as it encouraged adherents of all faith to associate catholicity with universal values, and not merely those of the Roman church.

Paul had called for the joint council on African Churches to take place in Uganda in the weeks before his visit to promulgate just this kind of universalising activity. This multidenominational conference fulfilled not only the Vatican Council's goals on mission expansion, but also its focus on ecumenism and interfaith cooperation.[379] The All-Africa

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[376] The World Council of Churches is a multidenominational Christian organisation founded in 1948 as an interfaith complement to groups such as the United Nations. As discussed in Chapter IV, the RCC did not initially join, but chose to do so after the conclusion of Vatican II.
[377] World Council of Churches, *The Uppsala '68 Report* (Geneva, 1968), p. 11.
[378] Ibid. p. 7.
[379] "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 4."

Conference fully embodied the transnational, universalising goals of the Vatican Council that had preceded it, and drew attention to the potential of Africa as a future point of growth for the RCC. In doing so, it reversed the colonial norms of the Church in the area. Previously, churches within the Buganda region specifically had maintained an isolationist policy which rejected attempts at broader East African ecumenism. [380] This post-conciliar shift in policy thus overrode these preferences and forcefully guided the new Ugandan Church into a broader transnational milieu. Though heralded as a victory for the post-conciliar aims of ecumenism, this All-Africa conference in many ways represented a top-down reversal of the isolationist traditions that had marked the Buganda RCC region up to that point.

It is also plausible that one additional factor influenced Paul's decision to visit Uganda rather than any other country in Africa or the developing world: the growth of anti-Catholic independence dynamics that put the security of the postcolonial RCC at risk. Uganda had gained independence in 1962, the first year of the Council. The years before official independence, however, had been marked by increasingly anti-colonial, and also occasionally anti-Catholic protests. Nationalist movements had begun in earnest as early as the late 1930s, growing through 1949 when the British authorities responded to anti-colonial riots with repression.[381]

Four years later in 1953, in response to continued unrest, Uganda's colonial protectorate governor, Andrew Cohen, forced into exile the *kabaka*, Mutesa II. Though a descendant of the same Mutesa I who had welcomed missionaries into Buganda eighty years previously, Mutesa II was himself fiercely anti-colonial and anti-Catholic, and was

[380] Leys, C., "Recent Relations Between the States of East Africa," *International Journal*, 20/4 (Autumn, 1965), p. 510.
[381] Summers, C., "Radical Rudeness: Ugandan Social Critiques in the 1940s," *Journal of Social History*, 39/3, Special Issue on the Future of Social History (Spring, 2006), p. 742.

the leader who would later reorient the canonization toward Ugandan nationalist goals in the *East African Standard* coverage of the event in 1964 (see Chapter V). This decision to exile Mutesa II failed to produce the desired outcome of quelling anti-colonial sentiment, however, as public opinion turned even more strongly against the colonial government, and it became apparent that the decision would have to be reversed in order to restore peace. Bishop Brown of the Anglican Church observed in 1954:

> I believe the emotional strength of the attachment to Mutesa is so strong that there is no way to secure the trust and cooperation of the Buganda going forward together unless Mutesa has been given the chance to come back.[382]

Mutesa II was allowed to return on 17 October 1955, but by that time the damage had been done.[383] Fierce anti-colonial sentiment, bolstered by the return of the staunchly anti-Catholic *kabaka* who saw European churches as an element of the colonial system, drove the campaign for rapid independence. Separate from but related to these political shifts, the religious environment in the region was further complicated by the fact that the churches of the Buganda region had traditionally remained reticent toward cooperation with other East African dioceses. The idea, then, of forming an All-Africa conference would have been an anathema within the traditional structure of the Buganda region. Thus, political and social factors at this time combined to radically alter the previously secure status of the Church in the newly emerging postcolonial milieu.

Beyond the churches themselves, the political situation in Uganda was also increasingly unstable. Though its independence had been a moment of remarkable national unity, conflicts between proponents of, on one side, unitary nationalist, and on the other,

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[382] Ward, K., "The Church of Uganda and the Exile of Kabaka Mutesa II," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 28/4 (Nov., 1998), p. 433.
[383] "The Kabaka Returns to Kampala," photograph, 18 Oct. 1955, Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information, Box INF 10, Folder 375, Number 31, TNA.

more regional ethnic identities had quickly spread. The first Ugandan Parliament was formed of an equal coalition between the Ugandan Peoples Conference (UPC)—the nationalist party led by Obote—and the Kabaka Yekka (KY), a Buganda-based party led by Mutesa II. Over the early years of the independent state, however, Obote gradually strengthened the UPC in Parliament so that it dominated the KY. Following the British repression of an army mutiny in 1964, Obote became Prime Minister, and gained sufficient power to effectively suppress the KY entirely.[384] Obote himself was a left-leaning secularist who many initially compared to figures such as Nkrumah of Ghana.[385] Though less hostile toward the RCC and other European churches than Mutesa II, he still viewed them as part of the machinery of colonialism that need to be dismantled. Obote avoided having Catholics in his cabinet and most notably, he overruled his advisors in his refusal to appoint Major Karugaba, a Catholic, as his Army Chief of Staff, choosing Idi Amin instead.[386] These factors combined with the tensions previously discussed such that the Church in the newly independent Uganda in 1962 was in an isolated and precarious position.[387]

In this light, it may have seemed to Paul VI or other observers in Rome that the region was slipping out of their grasp, partly because the RCC in Uganda was viewed by local elites as linked inextricably to an earlier colonial milieu that had now been fiercely rejected.[388] Thus, Paul's focus on Uganda and the Martyrs, both in 1964 and again five

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[384] Twaddle, M., "Order and Disorder in Uganda," *The World Today*, 29/10 (Oct., 1973), p. 450.
[385] Agyeman, O., "Kwame Nkrumah's Presence in A.M. Obote's Uganda: A Study in Convergence of International and Comparative Politics," *Transition,* 48 (1975), p. 13.
[386] Dinwiddy, H., "The Ugandan Army and Makerere under Obote, 1962-71," *African Affairs*, 82/326 (Jan., 1983), p. 44.
[387] For further reading on the political situation in Uganda at this time, see: Ibingira, G.S., *African Upheavals Since Independence* (Boulder, Colo., 1980).
[388] As previously described in Chapters IV and V, these 'structures' refer to the geopolitical boundaries and imposed cultural and political norms of the colonial era.

years later, belied a keen and pragmatic interest in making the Church as accepted and relevant in newly independent Uganda as it had been during the colonial period. As the *East African Standard* coverage of the canonization in 1964 demonstrated, however, even these 'official' spectacles sometimes eluded strict adherence to the preferred RCC narrative. Indeed, his actions could be seen as obsequious to the new post-colonial authorities: it is not a coincidence that he planned to publicly honour Obote, the figure who had consolidated power away from the *kabaka* and toward a more westernised model of nationhood, in the course of his visit.[389] The optics of his visit were planned from start to finish with these critical objectives in mind.

Planning Paul's Visit

Planning began in Uganda swiftly after Paul's 19 March announcement. With less than five months to prepare, the central offices of the Ugandan government stepped in to monitor and lead the arrangements. If we accept that part of Paul VI's motivation to visit Uganda lay in maintaining a good relationship with the new post-colonial government, then this state assistance was an early sign of success for the RCC. By putting the papal visit under the aegis of Obote's government, the message was clear that the link between the Church and the top levels of state power remained strong.

The Ugandan government produced a set of official reports pertaining to the preparations for Paul's visit. These documents provide first-hand evidence of the planning involved in what would be the largest public spectacle yet for the young nation, as Catholics and other onlookers worldwide cast their eyes on the independent East African

[389] "Pope Paul Knights Obote and Three of His Aides," *New York Times* (2 Aug. 1969), p. 8.

country for the first time.[390] They covered a wide range of topics, from state publications telling the 'official' history of the Martyrs and their canonization,[391] to the proposed timeline for completing various construction projects.

The first of these press releases disseminated perhaps the most important basic information for any papal visit: where the pontiff intended to go, and when.[392] In his three days in Uganda, Paul VI would land at Entebbe—the previous seat of the colonial government—and visit the archbishop there, before moving symbolically from the old colonial to the new independent capital by travelling along the old road to Kampala. There, he would first visit the national parliament before travelling to Rubaga and giving a mass. The trip would culminate on the final day with a visit to Namugongo, where Paul would give a mass and bless the site of the new shrine commemorating the Martyrs. To underline the significance of the Martyrs to Paul's visit, symbolic volunteers would participate in this special mass:

> Twenty-two adults and their sponsors for baptism/confirmation after the Gospel of the Mass will wait on the island to be stationed in a convenient location to the bridge… [Additionally,] twenty-two walkers from Gulu will travel 200 miles to Namugongo in honour of the Martyrs, and will be stationed outside the shrine.[393]

This itinerary reveals the central focus of both papal and Ugandan organisers: shifting the visual focus from old to new, using the Martyrs as a catalysing force along the way. Symbolically, the plan of the visit moved its focus visually from the most traditional setting—a formal meeting with an archbishop in a home built under British colonial rule—

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[390] Compare the scale of these celebrations with those for Ugandan independence in 1962, for example: "Independence Ceremony, Kololo Stadium, Kampala, Uganda," souvenir programme, 9 Oct. 1962, Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Papers Relating to Uganda, Box CMS/ACC385, Folder O5, CRL.
[391] Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 2."
[392] Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 1: Order of Ceremonies," press release, 1969, Kampala, AF Q 282.67621 POP, AM.
[393] Ibid. p. 6.

to the most radical: an open-air baptism of twenty-two locals (to match the number of the Uganda Martyrs) on the site of black African martyrdom, venerated with sainthood by the RCC for the first time in history. Between these two meeting points, we can see communicated multiple kinds of programmatic shifts that attempted to move the RCC in the public imagination from outmoded pre-conciliar notions of the Church and placing it toward the forefront of international organisations.

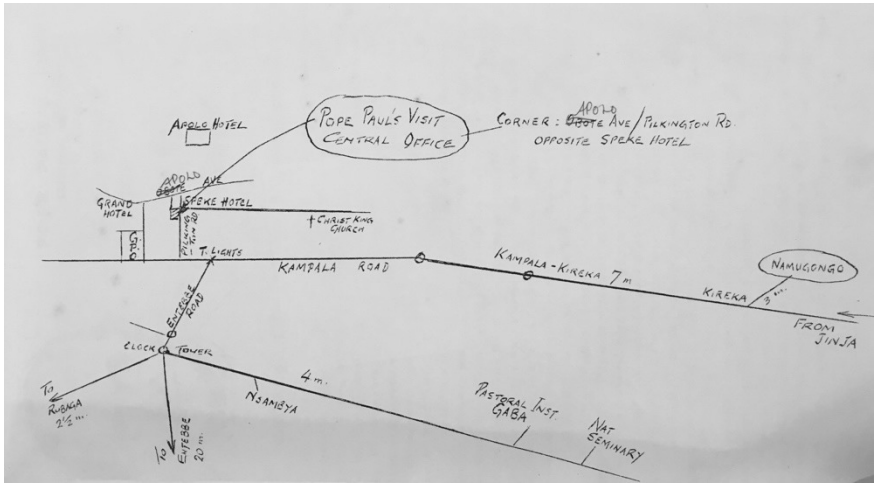

Figure 41: A schematic drawing showing parts of the itinerary for Paul's visit. In: Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 6: Pope Paul VI to Visit Uganda July 31st to August 2nd," press release, 27 May 1969, Kampala, AF Q 282.67621 POP, AM.

The most visible project associated with the visit was the construction of the new shrine at Namugongo, now fully funded with Paul's blessing. This thesis will analyse the architectural and visual significance of the building in greater detail in Chapter VII. Here, it examines the government's initial planning and construction of the structure.

A memo of May 1969 confirms the architect of the new shrine as Swiss-born Justus Dahinden, who would work with the Kampala-based Galigani construction firm.[394] In describing the design of the new building, another memo states: "The present Catholic church is being demolished to allow for the building of a new larger shrine according to

[394] Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 5: Contract Signed for Uganda Martyrs Shrine," press release, 11 May 1969, Kampala, AF Q 282.67621 POP, AM, p. 1.

the liturgical requirements of Vatican II."[395] We can thus see how directly this new shrine was understood as explicitly reflecting the post-conciliar aims of Paul's visit. If the papal visit served as a larger metaphor for the new ideals of the Church in Afirca, the shrine at Namugongo was to be the specific physical construction around which this spectacle would take place.

Secured as it was with Paul's funding, construction began at Namugongo in May 1969.[396] The steel frame of the shrine would utilise pre-fabricated elements that would allow it to be erected in only eight weeks in order for it to be ready for the Pope's visit, though the final details of the structure would ultimately take several additional years to complete. The most important element of the shrine for the purposes of Paul's visit and proposed dedication was the central altar, which was to be a modernistic construct of steel and local mahogany: "[The altar will consist of] a solid wooden block with steel legs. The relics of the Martyrs will be placed in a glass-enclosed case in the front of the altar."[397] This altar block, which remains in use today, was placed on the precise spot of the martyring and would form the focal point of the Namugongo ceremonies.

[395] "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 2."
[396] "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 5."
[397] Ibid. p. 1.



Figure 42: The altar as it is in use today, with the glass case for relics visible in the centre, partially obscured by cloth. Author's photograph, 2017. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 14.

The use of pre-fabricated steel posts to form the walls of the shrine was not without issue, however, as delays to construction meant that they arrived at the building site with only two weeks before the pontiff's arrival.[398] Because of the delay, the papal mass could not take place in the shrine itself. Instead, a manmade lake was dug next to the shrine, and an island pavilion constructed in the centre.[399] This outdoor location had the added and unexpected benefit of allowing for a much larger potential audience to gather on the banks and under the trees surrounding the island, compared to those that could be accommodated within the shrine. This change proved useful, as over 100,000 people ultimately attended Paul's Namugongo mass.[400]

[398] Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 10: Uganda Prepares for Pope Paul's Visit, Construction at Namugongo is Proceeding Rapidly," press release, 8 Jul. 1969, Kampala, AF Q 282.67621 POP, AM, p. 1.
[399] Ibid. p. 2.
[400] British Pathé, "Special! Pope in Uganda 1969," YouTube (10 Aug. 1969, uploaded 13 Apr. 2014) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XeJ4YxvRLe8 (11 Sept. 2018).



Figure 43: An image of the manmade island under construction. In: Central Offices, "Uganda Welcomes Pope Paul VI, July 31st – August 2nd, 1969," official programme, Entebbe, Uganda Government Printer, G EAU (02) 1969/1, AM.



Figure 44: The completed island pavilion in 2017. Author's photograph, 2017. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 15.

The shrine and surrounding area were designed to provide maximum visual impact that emphasised the inculturated and modern nature of the 'new' Church in Africa. The modernist visual nature of this and other structures completed at the time will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII. As we will see then, the optical significance of modernism as a

visual aesthetic paralleled many of the choices, and contradictions, present in other elements of Paul's visit.

Although the shrine was the largest visual project linked to Paul's visit, it was by no means the only one. In addition, dozens of smaller commissions were used throughout the papal ceremonies to underline the Church's new purported commitment to local culture.[401] In preparation for Paul's outdoor mass outside Rubaga on 1 August, for example, a series of decorative objects created by students and professors of the Makerere School of Fine Arts were used to enliven the space. The central of these was a 17-foot by 17-foot crucifix designed to hang suspended behind the Pope in the open air.[402] The crucifix's designer, Professor Cecil Todd, was a British expatriate who had helped develop the Makerere School of Fine Arts into a thriving home of the modernist design aesthetic for young Ugandans. The highly visible nature of Todd's work at this location is emblematic of the RCC approach to local art as a whole. Church leaders wished to claim that they were utilising local traditions according to the dogmatic changes of Vatican II. And yet, the use of a white British artist, albeit one committed to the artistic inculcation of young Ugandans, demonstrated a marked ambivalence toward actually enacting these changes in anything more than a surface-level way. Todd's works were designed to *appear* radical, but their provenance suggests a continued reliance on Eurocentric commissioning and artistic practice (see also Chapter V).

[401] The Vatican II stance on the new inclusion of local culture is outlined in the conciliar document *Gaudium et Spes*, which is discussed at length in Chapter IV.
[402]Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 13: Altar Being Built at Kololo for All-Africa Mass," press release, 19 Jul. 1969, Kampala, AF Q 282.67621 POP, AM, p. 1.

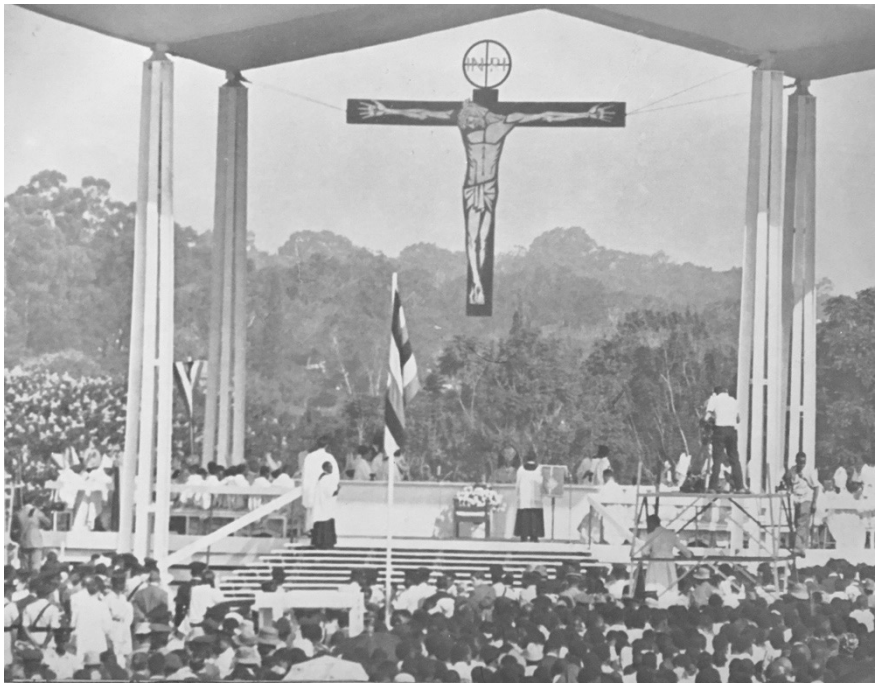

Figure 45: Paul VI leads an outdoor mass, 1 August 1969. In: "Pope Paul VI in Africa."

In addition to this visible work, Todd also helped to organise an eight-day artistic exhibition which would open on 27 July and run through the Pope's visit, held at the Kololo Stadium in Kampala that had already been home to some of the young nation's most important events, including the official independence celebrations.[403] The festival would highlight the "growth of Christianity in Africa"[404] and include a broad range of artistic forms, including: film and poetry by local artists, the premiere of a new opera and a religious play honouring the Martyrs, exhibitions of traditional Ugandan music and dance, and visual media including painting and sculpture. Ultimately among the features of the visual exhibition were a nine-foot by six-foot stained glass window of the Assumption by a Ugandan student from Makerere, an art competition for local school children, and a photographic exhibition "to emphasise the Christian spirit in Africa."[405] Though varied in

[403] "Independence Ceremony, Kololo Stadium, Kampala, Uganda."
[404] Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 14: Church Art Exhibition Entitled 'Christ in Africa' to Open July 27th," press release, 23 Jul. 1969, Kampala, AF Q 282.67621 POP, AM, p. 1.
[405] Ibid. p. 2. Unfortunately, further documentation of the specifics of this festival have since been lost or destroyed, so we cannot look further at these works.

form, all these exhibition entries shared one organising feature: they sought to portray Christianity as a grassroots, locally embraced phenomenon, and not as a force being imposed from the top down, even at the exact moment that the actual top figurehead of the Church came to visit and share his wisdom with those below him.

This exhibition shares striking parallels, and also divergences, with the Independence Art Festival that had occurred at Makerere University in conjunction with the independence festivities seven years previously.[406] Like the 1969 exhibition, this show was also curated by Cecil Todd, and included artists who would also be commissioned to produce works for Paul's visit: Peter Binaka, George Kakooza, and Brother Anthony of the White Fathers, to name a few.[407] Like the 'Christ in Africa' exhibition, the focus of the Independence Art Festival was also on highlighting the traditions of the past as a means of looking toward a new future. Todd accordingly wrote in the introduction to the exhibition's catalogue: "[The exhibition is] to show, in some measure, the artistic achievements of African people, both in the past and present time."[408]

The key difference is that while Todd's 1969 show necessarily emphasised Christianity, his 1962 show focussed on Ugandans of all faiths, and made liberal use of polytheistic masks and sculpture. The 1969 show attempted to take the same broadly creative, multimedia approach, while simultaneously narrowing the subject to the one faith of Christianity. Thus, the 1969 exhibition utilised the previously Pan-African, cooperative, inclusive theme of the independence exhibition, and used it instead to suggest the Christian future of the young nation. It embraced local culture at the same moment it dictated its

[406] Makerere University, "African Art: An Exhibition to Celebrate the Independence of Uganda," programme, 1962 Kampala, Makerere University Press, AF P 700.96 AFR, AM.
[407] Ibid. p. 5.
[408] Ibid. p. 3.

proper use. The tension of this comparison underlined again precisely how sensitive the task of inculturation was, and the potential pitfalls it created.

As we can see, there existed in many elements of Paul's visit a gap between the radical changes envisaged by the Vatican Council, and those which church figures were actually willing or able to make. These moments of disconnect ultimately removed Paul's visit from the original goals of the Council, and reconstructed it as a carefully controlled, choreographed European vision of the 'new' Africa.

Publications such as Robert Ledoger's *Katigondo: Presenting the Christian Message to Africa*, a public record of a Pan-African catechetical study week that had been held at the Katigondo Seminary in Uganda between 17 August and 1 September 1964, further articulated these tensions. This conference had focussed specifically on needs identified in the very first session of the Vatican Council: an overall renewal of the catechetical apostolate in Africa.[409] At Katigondo, Father Joseph Geardes of the White Fathers claimed a vast region-wide change in artistic approaches in churches across southern Africa:

> We have dutifully recorded the gothic cathedrals of Japan and Africa, and listened to the *Missa Luba*. We have spoken of the need for studying anthropology and comparative religions. But what we have hardly begun to do is to sit down with the Bible and ask ourselves just how the Word of God can 'speak' to men as he exists in each cultural unit of the globe. For many portions of the world we have yet to really *translate* the Word, not only into more words but into flesh and blood… Katigondo has begun to do this for Africa south of the Sahara. The 'translation' is not directly visible anywhere else.[410]

In this conceptualisation, the shift in visual practice in eastern and southern Africa could serve as a vanguard for other regions as inculturation became more readily embraced by RCC churches worldwide. And yet, as we have already demonstrated in this chapter, many

[409] Ledoger, *Katigondo*, p. vi.
[410] Ibid. p. vii.

of these inculturated elements were less than entirely localised in practice. In some cases, such as Todd's repeat employment in key exhibitions and visual moments intended to portray an independent Ugandan identity rather than the employment of an indigenous artist, the transition to an inculturated Church was not without its problems and limitations.

Documents such as the Katigondo report, however, make clear that such a shift remained a priority for the RCC, and kept alive the hope that true inculturation could be achieved as called for at Vatican II. We can best understand the pointed emphasis placed on the visual in the preparations for Paul's visit as a continuation of the post-conciliar discussions begun at places like Katigondo in 1964 even before the Council had come to a close.

Paul's Visit: Receptions, Local and Global

After five months of frenetic preparatory activity, the day of the pontiff's visit to Uganda arrived at last: Pope Paul VI landed in Entebbe and the first papal visit to Africa began. From the moment he arrived, the pontiff was thronged as locals sought to get a look at this white-robed man of God, riding through the streets of Kampala in a black open-topped car.



Figure 46: "The Road to Namugongo." For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 16.

These images formed a striking parallel to those from Paul's previous visit to India in late 1964, which had also been a first for any pope.



Figure 47: "Pope Paul VI in India." Fincher, T., for Getty Images, 1964
https://www.cnn.com/2013/03/13/world/europe/popemobile/index.html. (11 Sept. 2018).

Though these images still depict a large degree of formality—the pontiff in his ceremonial vestments, separate from and above the crowd, protected by policemen—they did in fact represent a previously unseen degree of intimacy between the Pope and the larger world. These processions utilised the first ever open-topped cars, and as such were the first prototypes of the vehicles known colloquially today as 'popemobiles.'[411] By riding in such a car, Paul was closer to common people than any Pope before him, so as to demonstrate the kind of physical openness he hoped to promote for the RCC.

Unsurprisingly, the visit was accompanied by a wide range of local press, both anticipating his visit before and publicising and reviewing his visit after. Special issues of Uganda's Catholic publications heralded the Pope's arriving in explicitly modernising terms, proclaiming Paul VI as "the first completely twentieth century Pope."[412]

[411] Foxall, J., "Holy Rollers: Popemobiles from Trucks to Limos". https://www.cnn.com/2013/03/13/world/europe/popemobile/index.html (11 Sept. 2018).
[412] *Leadership*, Jul.-Aug. 1969, p. 12.

Paul also designed moments of optical importance that would confirm the positive relationship between the RCC and the Ugandan government, by placing President Obote near him at critical events that would be photographed and disseminated widely.



Figure 48: Milton Obote, in black, walks next to Pope Paul VI and Bishop Nsubuga at the conclusion of the 2 August mass at Namugongo. In: "The Road to Namugongo." For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 13.

As we can see in this photograph from Paul's mass at Namugongo, where he left the island pavilion with Obote (in black) on his right and Bishop Nsubuga on his left, Obote was given central prominence throughout the papal visit. At the time, Obote had already begun to abuse his presidential authority, jailing opponents and consolidating power to himself amidst local uprisings that had left dozens dead within the first months of his time as President. His Chief of Staff, Idi Amin, was already exhibiting behaviours that foreshadowed the brutality which he himself would exert after seizing control of the country in 1971 (see also Chapter VII).[413] Given Paul's continued emphasis on peace, international unity, and cooperation, Obote was a strange ally. The Pope's insistence on embracing and fêting the President demonstrated the clear pragmatism toward achieving

[413] "Unease in Uganda," *Africa Today*, 13/6 (Jun., 1966), p. 5.

the Church's goals of strengthening and expanding the RCC in the region that underlined his mission in East Africa.

Paul's visit to the newly constructed shrine at Namugongo, however, was not simply a general expression of papal modernity or government allegiance: he also aimed to demonstrate that he was a patron of the beloved Martyrs. A special issue of *Leadership* further proclaimed: "The Pope is coming to Uganda because of the Martyrs, and all the world knows it: all the world is interested in Uganda as the land of the African Martyrs."[414] Thus, it was clear that the Martyrs occupied a central organising role in the minds of RCC leadership in Uganda, both in terms of the country's Christian colonial past but also in its envisaged future as an independent Christian nation.

As well as newspaper articles highlighting the visit, multiple agencies from Uganda and Kenya sent photographers to document the visit and provide the materials for commercially marketable photographic pamphlets. One such photobook was "Pope Paul VI in Africa:"[415] this volume and others like it were widely sold throughout East Africa in the aftermath of the visit, providing a lasting visual record of the historic trip as it occurred.

By examining the images within these official pamphlets, we can learn a great deal about the optical nature of Paul's visit, as well as the local reception he received at the time. Let us look, for example, at this pamphlet's photograph depicting the papal motorcade going up the Kololo Road toward Rubaga Cathedral and consider what this image might have communicated to a reader in 1969 or 1970. We must remember the official, controlled nature of pamphlets such as "Pope Paul VI in Africa" and others like it: these materials were published by Christian publishing houses and endorsed by state leadership,[416] and thus provide a controlled perspective to the viewer that is mediated

[414] Ibid. p. 2.
[415] "Pope Paul VI in Africa."
[416] Ibid.

through both State and Church control. In this way, these images parallel the official photographs produced by the COI in colonial East Africa (see Chapter III): both offer a view into the kind of Christianity that state and Church officials hoped to project, both locally and globally.

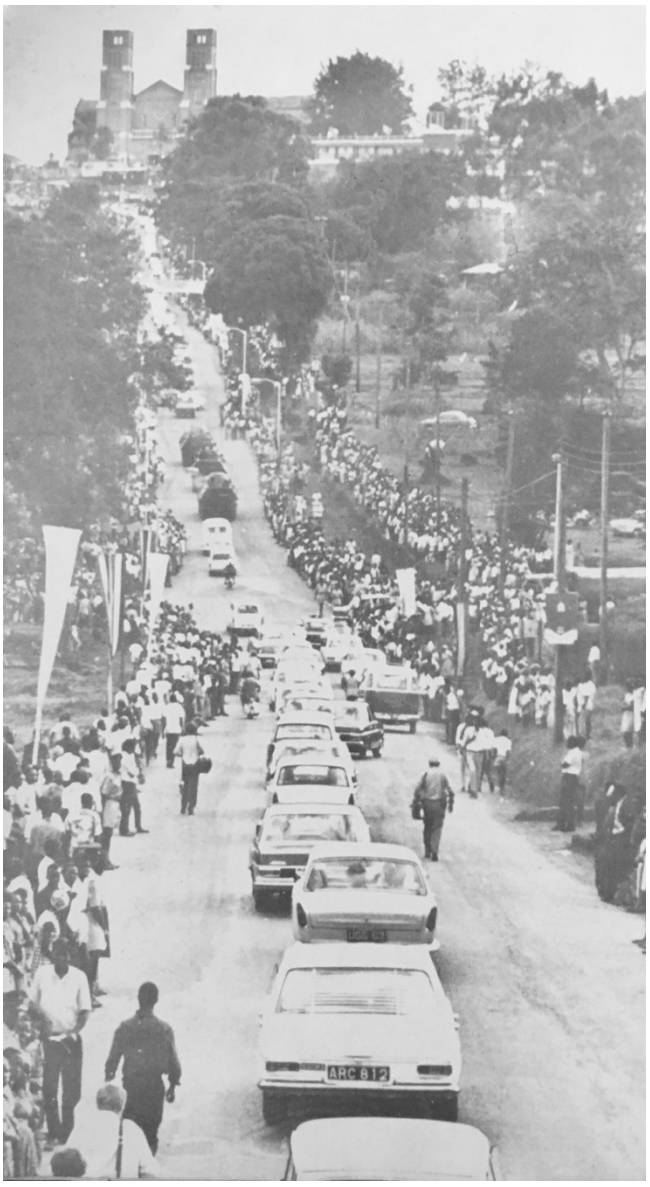

Figure 49: Paul VI's papal motorcade approaches Rubaga, 1969. In: "Pope Paul VI in Africa."

The cathedral, which was the ultimate destination of the procession, is a silhouette on the hilltop: indistinct in detail and yet still unmistakable in its dominating brick form against a backdrop of low trees. The photograph is composed in such a way that the eye is drawn forcibly upward, following the receding line of cars up to the crest of the hill and the holy

building far above, suggesting a feeling of ascension. The scene is also noteworthy for its relative informality: the crowd is enthusiastic and numerous, and yet no formal barricades separate the people from the pontiff as he passes by. People even walk in the road directly next to the motorcade, giving the impression of intimacy and accessibility. It is not a coincidence that these were precisely the kinds of trusting, open-minded emotions that the Pope was trying to propagate during his visit.

The destination of Paul's visit was to Uganda only, but the RCC intended for his message to extend well beyond Ugandan borders and into the rest of Africa. Notably, the official pamphlet containing the image just discussed was entitled "Pope Paul VI in Africa," listing the whole continent as the pontiff's destination rather than solely Uganda, and thus emphasising a broader reach rather than a regionally specific endeavour. It was equally clear that a global observing audience was expected. *The New York Times*, for example, covered the visit, both in its lead-up and aftermath.[417] A British Pathé newsreel covered the event, making clear reference to the role of this visit within the complex political milieu of emerging African states, of which Uganda was only one: "[The RCC is aligning with] a face within Africa that is changing, seeking to break its identification with a colonial past, and find its place within the emerging [independent] nations."[418] Again, these pronouncements suggested that Paul's visit was less about Christianity in Uganda specifically, and more about the growth of a broader continental movement of African Catholicism.

These articles highlighted again the lengths to which Pope Paul VI intended to go to secure a favourable and memorable reception of his visit. A September 1969 articles describes, for example, the collectable silver coins that the RCC forged to commemorate

[417] As an example, see: Doty, R.C., "Pope Paul Brands Racism 'Affront,'" *The New York Times* (2 Aug. 1969), pp. 1, 8.
[418] British Pathé, "Special! Pope in Uganda 1969."

the trip.[419] Publications such as these clearly identified the link between the Vatican Council and the Uganda visit, fulfilling Paul's aim to use the visit as a means of highlighting and confirming conciliar change.

Conclusion

Pope Paul's visit to Uganda was a highly choreographed visual display of the post-conciliar RCC at work. The choice of Uganda underlined some of the Council's most radical dogmatic and cultural shifts, not least of which had been the canonization of the Martyrs themselves in 1964. By revisiting the Martyrs at the site of their deaths five years after that watershed moment, Paul and the wider Church leadership attempted to reignite the feeling of change that had been sparked by that canonization. They could demonstrate the Church's continued willingness to expand and support the RCC in Africa as it took on new inculturated forms. As we have seen, however, these forms remained strictly on the terms and commission of the RCC, who often overlooked local artists and traditions as they focussed more on the potential global impact of the images they presented, rather than seeking opportunities for true cross-cultural exchange. Pope Paul's visit to Uganda undeniably provided an authentic celebration of the young country; it also co-opted it into a large narrative of the new Church over which Ugandan actors themselves had little initial control.

In 1964, Uganda had gone to the Roman Church via the inclusion of African song and dance at St. Peter's. Now, five years later, the Roman Church had come to Uganda. In the experiential reception of the sites and buildings made for this visit, this thesis will explore what happened next.

[419] Haney, T.V., "Uganda Will Mark Pope's Visit," *The New York Times* (21 Sept. 1969), p. 186.

VII. Namugongo and Mityana: Competing Modernisms



Figure 50: The view toward the Namugongo Martyrs Shrine (visible behind line of trees) from the island pavilion, photographed in 2017.

As we saw in the preceding chapter, Pope Paul's 1969 visit was a pivotal moment in the postcolonial Ugandan RCC. It touched the lives of thousands of local people,[420] and set a precedent for two further papal visits in the next fifty years—more than any other single site in Africa (see Chapter VIII). What remained unclear, however, was legacy that would remain following Paul's visit. At this time the majority of local people in the Kampala area could not read English, and most did not have access to the western newspapers in which the Pope's visit was fêted. The visit had an immediate and powerful effect on those that could attend its key events in person. But it might be concluded, from these sources alone, that the papal visit would have only a transient impact in Uganda, and that it would be

[420] Lukwago, J., "Uganda After his Visit in 1969," *New Vision*, Vol. 30, No. 236, 27 Nov. 2015, p. 75, in B. Ocwet, *Editorial Coverage of the Holy Father Pope Francis' visit in Uganda Commemorating 50 Years of Uganda Martyrs' Canonization, Nov. 15, Presented to His Grace Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, Kampala Archdiocese*, Jul. 2016, RAA.

more significant for the European audiences observing from afar, looking for signs of conciliar change, than it would be for the faith of Ugandans themselves.

In order to secure the public memory of the papal visit, the RCC funded the construction of new modern shrines at two sites of central importance to the Martyrs' story: Mityana and Namugongo. These two buildings would provide permanent monuments to the new visualisations of the RCC in Africa propagated by the intense, albeit momentary spectacle of the papal visit in 1969.

This chapter will, thus, discuss the creation of these key buildings in greater depth, as well as the motivations of their architect Justus Dahinden. Both the buildings and their designer are vital to understanding the unexpected, vernacularized legacy of the Uganda Martyrs. Dahinden's work, and the differences between his views regarding European and African ecclesiastical structures, demonstrate many of the ambivalences already identified in earlier chapters of this thesis. The Ugandan shrines, constructed in 1964 and 1969 with funds from the RCC—including some personal funding from Pope Paul VI (see Chapter VI)—were designed to specifically embody, in steel and wood, the same ideological RCC principles being espoused in word and text at the time.[421]

In the shifting and divergent manner in which these two buildings have been understood, we can find visual representations of the struggles and limited success of RCC attempts at creating a broadly global 'universal' Church at this time. Thus, these buildings and the process of their design were as much representatives of the Second Vatican Council as any of the post-conciliar events and documents we have discussed so far. In their complexities and contradictions, they affirmed the strengths—and, at times, weaknesses—of RCC attempts to affect conciliar change in Africa.

[421] They were hardly the only churches of the era to do so. For an overview of these guiding principles; see: Samuel, F., and I. Linder-Gaillard, *Sacred Concrete: The Churches of Le Corbusier* (Basel, 2013).

Emerging Trends in Architecture: Global Modernisms

In order to fully understand the provenance and significance of the two Martyrs' shrines, we must first have some understanding of the broad and chaotic intellectual milieu in which these buildings were designed and produced: the competing modernist architectural movements of the early to mid-twentieth century.



Figure 51: "Kampala Road, the Main `Street in Kampala," photograph, May, 1966, Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information, Box INF 10, Folder 377, Number 14, TNA.

This photograph depicts Kampala Rd., the main thoroughfare of downtown Kampala in 1966. It is possible to observe, from this image, the visual aesthetic that dominated the city through the late colonial and into the postcolonial period: a rectilinear internationalist style dominated by the automobile, similar to that being used in post-Second World War design

projects across Europe at the time.[422] In these post-war urban designs, modernism was often used to convey a kind of transnational universality. As Anthony King explains:

> What is being assumed here is that architecture is best understood in relation to the territorial nation state where it exists or originates. Internationalism, there, must imply something that is present in, and/or appropriate to, all nations, irrespective of culture, religion, local of economic or technological development, or geographical location.[423]

Ironically, these designs often sought to create a national identity even as they espoused globalist ideals. For example, in the case of English modernism, as William Whyte explains, "the architects and architectural critics of the English modern movement were preoccupied with national identity—and, more particularly, with establishing an English pedigree for modern architecture."[424] These views are ostensibly in direct opposition, and yet many of the modernist buildings created at this time, in Europe and across the globe, were celebrated for embracing any combination of these competing ideals. These two quotations provide only the briefest of introductions to this large and complex field of study, and yet in them we can see immediately that architectural modernism at the dawn of the 1960s was a movement of inbuilt tensions and contradictions.

With the new independence of Uganda and other African nations in the early 1960s, these ambivalences took on new expressions as the leadership of new African nation-states sought an architectural style to project strength and liberation from the colonial past. In

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[422] For further reading on modernist urban planning in post-war cities such as Coventry in the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, see: Larkham, P.J. and K.D. Lilley, "Exhibiting the City: Planning Ideas and Public Involvement in Wartime and Early Post-War Britain," *The Town Planning Review*, 83/6 (2012), pp. 647-668.

[423] King, "Internationalism, Imperialism," p. 65.

[424] Whyte, W., "The Englishness of English Architecture: Modernism and the Making of a National International Style, 1927-1957," *British Studies*, 48/2, Special Issue on Material Culture (Apr., 2009), p. 445. For further reading on this same kind of national identity production in another region of the emerging British commonwealth, see: Birns, N., "Australia's International Styles: The Idealisms of Architecture and Mobility," in *Contemporary Australian Literature: A World Not Yet Dead* (Sydney, 2015).

West African nations such as Ghana that gained independence before Uganda, modernism emerged as the vocabulary of new capital cities, where "architecture became one of the principal means with which young nations expressed their national identity."[425] Scholars such as Janet Berry Hess have studied the burgeoning national style of Ghana in the late 1950s and early 1960s, demonstrating how Nkrumah utilised the modernist aesthetic in public works such as Independence Square in Accra to project a new, free, and strong nation-state. These ideals formed a distinct counterpoint to the colonially expansionist aesthetic seen in the use of the Queen Anne Revival in colonial Uganda, for example (see Chapter III). Hess explains ambitious public works projects like Independence Square in explicit terms of national identity creation:

> The task of promoting pride in a nation detached from a colonial administrative structure—at the same time that unification within colonial boundaries of diverse culture was rationalised—resulted in the abstraction and objectification of specific cultures, even as cultural differences were identified as the new nation's defining characteristic.[426]

Thus, modernism in these projects could be used to highly specific nationalistic purposes, promoting "a consciously managed ideal" of the new Ghana.[427]

[425] Holim, M.J. and M.M. Kallehauge (eds), *Africa: Architecture, Culture, Identity: Catalogue on the Occasion of the Exhibition at the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art* (Esbjerg, 2015), p. 236.
[426] Hess, "Exhibiting Ghana," p. 61.
[427] Hess, "Imagining Architecture," p. 35.



Figure 52: Public Works Department, Independence (Black Star) Square, Accra, Ghana, 1961. In: Holim, M.J. and M.M. Kallehauge (eds), Africa: Architecture*, p. 237.*

These African nationalist aims were often complicated, however, by the involvement of British architectural design firms that still operated widely in the former British colony, and which offered the most innovative services and designs. As Hess observes, "Architecture manifested the desire for national unity and prosperity, but also [remained] a symbolic manifestation of colonial authority."[428]

One such firm was the husband-wife team of Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, who pioneered the new school of tropical modernism that swept across West Africa in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This movement sought to transform the seeming uniformity of post-war modernism into one that, while using modern materials and portraying a sense of utopianism, responded to the climactic needs of the built environment. Thus, in hot and humid regions of Africa, these new tropical modernist buildings would use passive cooling that would make them cheaper and more efficient to operate, while still adhering to aesthetic motifs of modernist design. Architectural firms such as Fry and Drew were also drawn to the region as a new architectural frontier; Africa provided European firms with

[428] Hess, "Imagining Architecture," p. 50.

manifold opportunities to innovate and experiment. As Rhodri Liscombe describes of Fry and Drew:

> West Africa offered Fry and Drew a more liberated sphere of activity engaged with the traditional cultures admired by the modernists for their natural integrity and vigour of expression… they wished to test the singular beauty in the bundles of ideals governing the modern movement in architecture.[429]

However, while Fry and Drew sought to develop an architectural vocabulary that could flourish in the new Africa, they remained entangled in the same paradigm of colonial authority identified by Hess. Fry and Drew sought to use architecture to promote economic and social equality for all people regardless of global geographic location, and yet they venerated the African regions in which they worked, describing them in a primitivist manner that suggested that their African clients possessed inherently different 'natural integrity' or 'vigour of expression' than their European counterparts.

The projects produced by Fry and Drew across West Africa at this time sought to create a new kind of lived environment for an emerging independent African middle class. And yet, in their dependence on British architects, these buildings could not be fully described as 'African' in the nationalist sense that they were meant to produce. Instead, they still relied on postcolonial British control, where designers in London determined the tastes and aesthetics of buildings thousands of kilometres away. This tension—between independent localised growth of the kind idealised by these firms, and the neo-colonial realities they instead embodied—remained a constant in the works of architectural firms such as Fry and Drew. As Liscombe describes of the British couple:

> While Fry and Drew sought to resolve the divergent expectations within the modernist theory concerning the application of universal principles to local conditions, they were constrained in their aim of initiating a legitimate modern African architecture… [They,] in company with the

[429] Liscombe, "Modernism in Late Imperial British West Africa," p. 193.

> officials of British colonialism, acknowledged indigenous knowledge, but, like modernism itself, they were culturally anchored elsewhere, in their case in London, still an imperial center [sic].[430]

The work of Fry and Drew thus encapsulated the Janus-like quality of the modernist movement seen earlier in this chapter, that could be described simultaneously as internationalist and nationalist, globally broad and locally specific, and somehow all and none of these things at once. In postcolonial Africa, these architectural styles became simultaneously entwined with threads of nationalism and neo-colonialism, further complicating their intended message and the lived response of their work.

To see the kind of modernist architecture that could more accurately be described as local, we must turn away from the large official projects of Fry, Drew, and others, and look instead to the vernacular modernist buildings constructed at the time by largely anonymous local contractors and construction crews. As we have seen, modernist architecture struggled to find local reception in the developing world. An emerging body of scholarship seeks to upend these traditional conceptualisations of architectural provenance, however, by examining the unplanned, anti-programmatic buildings of local contractors in urban areas of the developing world. This style, known as vernacular modernism, has been studied in regions such as Brazil by the scholar F.L. Lara:

> In the case of Brazil, a vocabulary first introduced by architects for cultural buildings and houses of the wealthy was later appropriated by middle-class home builders and widely disseminated in millions of their homes.[431]

These buildings utilised the modernist aesthetic in improvisational, unplanned ways, expressing a localised embrace and growth of the modernist movement in their

[430] Ibid. p. 195.
[431] Lara, "Modernism Made Vernacular," p. 45.

environments. In this way, they represent a more novel iteration of the visual hybridisation observed in some colonial structures in Chapter III. Analysis of vernacular modernism is still limited in scope and remains an understudied means of examining the global growth of modernism outside of the dominant initiatives of European architectural firms. There has not yet been a study of vernacular modernism in Uganda. The style, however, flourishes in Kampala, with examples in almost every neighbourhood:



Figure 53: Vernacular Modernist Buildings, Muyenga and Kabalagala, Kampala, construction date unknown. Author's photographs, 2017.

These buildings often raise more questions than they answer. Often, a lack of source material makes explaining a building's origin impossible to discern. And yet, they provide a glimpsed understanding of the impact of the modernist movement in Kampala that official Eurocentric building contracts cannot provide. It is undeniable that the official, well-documented building plans of the official structures of Kampala—including the two shrines to the Martyrs at Mityana and Namugongo—represented the beginning of an architectural system in which European designers informed their African clients of the aesthetics of their new city. In these anonymous local structures, however, we can see fragments of the lived reception of this dominant narrative.[432]

[432] For further reading, see: Passanti, "The Vernacular;" Pieris, "Modernism at the Margins of the Verncular."

Modernism, as we have seen, provided new African leaders and urban planners with an idealistic style with which to build the cities of the new independent continent. Its aesthetic sought specifically to break with the past in a way that directly appealed to nationalist leaders striving for an independent and postcolonial lived environment.

And yet, these buildings were created in a state of contradiction, often perpetuating neo-colonial forms of influence while touting independence and freedom. The purpose of this examination is not to question whether these process were neo-colonial. It is rather to demonstrate that the study of modernist architecture in this region can provide a revealing view of the emerging visual specificities of neo-colonialism, even whilst simultaneously robed in the rhetoric of anti-colonial independence. It was precisely within these contradictions—the very same kinds of tensions that also existed within the RCC at the time—that the shrines to the Uganda Martyrs came to be situated.

Justus Dahinden: Architect to Uganda's Ecclesiastical Modernism

In early 1964, when it became clear that the Uganda Martyrs would be canonised at St. Peter's, Archbishop Nsubuga realised that a permanent location would be needed in Uganda to honour them. Ultimately, Nsubuga commissioned two shrines. Justus Dahinden was chosen as the architect for both projects in 1964 following the Martyrs' canonization. The precise reasons for this selection are not clear. Indeed, Dahinden was hardly the obvious choice for such a building project, as he was a Swiss national who had not, to that point, ever visited Africa. The majority of his works at the time had been built and commissioned in Switzerland, and were largely secular buildings. He was not a scion of the tropical modernist school of Fry and Drew, but instead aligned himself with the significantly more niche metabolist movement, a Japanese form of modernist design with limited global reach at the time (see below).

We have no clear account of the process by which Dahinden was appointed as architect for these projects.[433] By examining his own written manifestos and a sample of his designed buildings in the years surrounding his 1964 appointment, however, we can see profound shifts and contradictions in Dahinden and his works. There was a significant gulf between the designs Dahinden produced for European audiences and those he would design for African ones. In his own inconsistent approaches to concepts of universalism, nationalism, and local authenticity as he attempted to give architectural expression to Vatican II in his African works, we can see the same difficulties that existed within both the Council itself and the canonization contained within it.

Dahinden's European architectural work came largely in the form of business parks and leisure centres, though he did have an increasing body of ecclesiastical designs in the late 1960s. One of the most notable early works of Dahinden's secular oeuvre was a complex of pentagonal stand-alone holiday cabins created for a vacation village in Switzerland in 1964.

[433] The first official mention of Dahinden within Uganda came with the official announcement of his commission at Namugongo. See: Central Offices, "Pope Paul's Visit to Uganda, Release No. 5."



Figure 54: Dahinden, J., Vacation Village, Valle Della Tresa, Tessin, Switzerland, 1964.

These highly geometric, repeating hut units were emblematic of what could be considered Dahinden's dominant design aesthetic. The Valle Della Tresa vacation village was intentionally futuristic, utilising an unusual pentagonal shape that was dropped in improbably amongst the natural environment and repeated identically for dozens of units. Contemporary architectural journals marvelled at its cutting edge use of modern materials and engineering that made the cabins cool in summer without need for air conditioning.[434] Dahinden intended these built elements to suggest a new kind of organic growth, where inanimate structures such as these otherwise anonymous holiday rental cabins took on independent life in the city of the future, writing: "The growth of urban forms has two

[434] Ibid.

distinct aspects. On the one hand it is a case of simple expansion, while on the other it involves a process of metabolic regeneration."[435]

The language of 'metabolic regeneration' linked Dahinden with a specific group of modernist architecture of the time: the metabolists, a Japanese design school started in the early 1960s by a group of architects including Kenzo Tange, Kiyonori Kikutake, Kisho Kurokawa, and Fumihiko Maki. The metabolist aesthetic utilised geometric shapes to simulate organic expansion, as if a building could continue to spawn new growths and expand independently. It envisaged the building as an organic unit, operating without direct human—or state—control. Kurokawa described the movement thus:

> It is my belief that the cultures of different countries will stand individually but together, allied with technology, to provide the future language of architecture… the ideal is to design a city so flexible in its connections that its parts could grow, transform themselves, and die while the whole animal went on living.[436]

Dahinden echoed these transnational concepts in his own written manifestos. Of the futuristic and transnational nature of his buildings in an imagined city of the future, he wrote, "of the many tasks that will have to be surmounted, the most important are the establishment of supranational systems."[437]

The result of Dahinden's association with the metabolists were the geometric, expandable leisure and business centres that he designed throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s, of which the holiday village at Valle Della Tresa was one example. In all of these designs, Dahinden sought to move toward a universal architectural ideal that could be equally effective in any environment by growing and responding with a sense of self-propelled geometric expansion. This universalising architectural vocabulary was perhaps

[435] Dahinden, J., tr. G. Ohn, *Urban Structures for the Future* (London, 1972), p. 16.
[436] Kurokawa, K., *Metabolism in Architecture* (London, 1977), p. 9.
[437] Dahinden, *Urban Structures for the Future*, p. 7.

one of the qualities in Dahinden's work that appealed to commissioners of the Martyrs' shrines. Additionally, the concepts of organic growth that underpinned Dahinden's buildings at this time, where a city could sustain itself without human intervention, also suggested a sense of unmediated authenticity. It is plausible that this stylistic approach would have attracted RCC officials at the time who, in their work with the Martyrs in Uganda, sought to create official images of modern Christian worship in Africa that gave the appearance of being spontaneous and localised (see Chapter VI). Dahinden was a modernist, but a kind of modernist free from the nationalist (and simultaneously, contrapuntally, neo-colonialist) associations of the tropical modernists and other novel architectural movements that were taking hold in Africa at the time. In his emphasis on universal shapes and organic forms, Dahinden was therefore an excellent candidate to give shape to the universalising aims of Vatican II.

This transnational optimism was equally present in Dahinden's growing number of ecclesiastical designs in the 1960s, such as his 1969 Wildegg, Switzerland, church, St. Antonius:

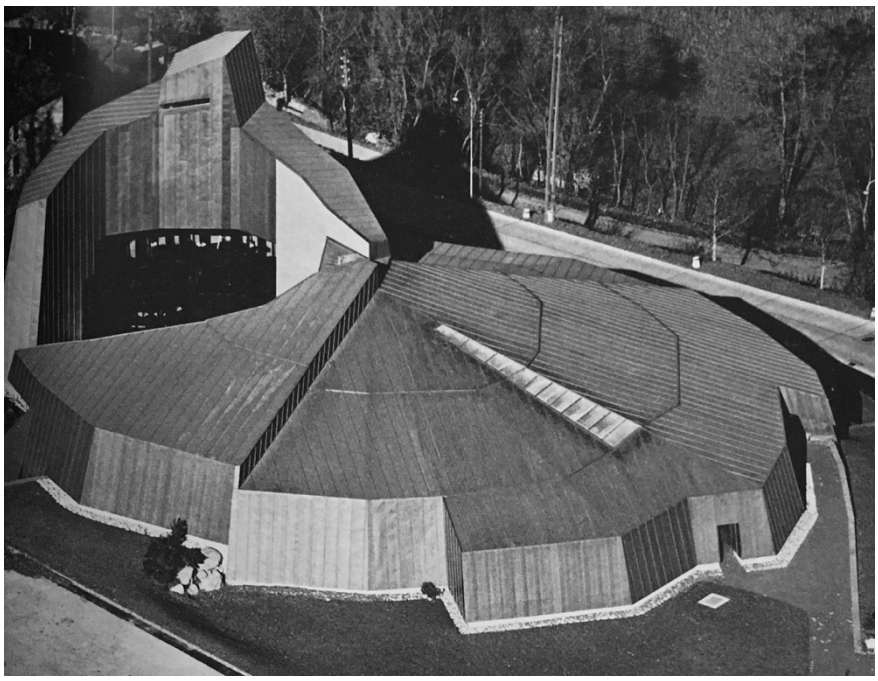

Figure 55: Dahinden, J., St. Antonius Church, Wildegg, Switzerland, 1969.

This church remains exemplary to this day of his European ecclesiastical approach. The structure is a windowless, irregular polygon, with fan-like sections that give a metabolist sense of opening up and growth. In these European works, we can see Dahinden as a futuristic, ideologically driven architect who sought to embody ideals of universality and internationalism in the buildings he created. While we cannot know the full reasoning behind his commissioning for the Uganda Martyrs projects in 1964, his pedigree of universalist modern design free from conflicting associations with nationalist movements certainly made him appropriate for the job.

And yet, as we will shortly see, Dahinden's Uganda projects fundamentally altered his approach to architectural design. Like the bishops who had venerated the Martyrs at their canonization in 1964, there was a core disconnect between the globalised universalism Dahinden espoused in his European designs, and the localised, even nationalist approach that he ultimately embraced in his designs for the shrines: first, only passingly at Mityana, and then much more directly at Namugongo.

The Uganda Martyrs' Shrine, Mityana, 1964

We have already spoken at length about Namugongo and the significance of that site in the Martyrs' story (see Chapter VI). The first shrine to the Uganda Martyrs, however, was not built at this most famous location in the narrative, but was constructed instead at Mityana, a small town sixty miles west of Kampala. Mityana was not the site of any ceremonial killings in 1885 and 1886. Rather, it was the home of two of the martyrs, Mattia Mulumba Kalemba and Luka Banabakiutu, who had taken up the catechetical cause of instructing others in the faith when Christianity became outlawed in the region, and before their

deaths.[438] The legacy of Mityana, then, was that of learning, rather than of mortal suffering as it was at Namugongo.

Thus, when the RCC commissioned the construction of a shrine to the Martyrs in 1964, well before Paul VI's visit, it was to be more than just a memorial: it would be a community centre, a catechetical teaching centre, a health clinic, a communal place of worship, and also a site to honour the memory of the Martyrs.[439] The shrine exists now much as it did upon its completion in 1967, situated at the end of a long drive in a small valley between two hills: the health centre, community church, and convent are still in use today.[440]



Figure 56: Dahinden, J., Uganda Martyrs' Shrine, Mityana, Uganda, 1964. Author's photograph, 2017. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 2.

The Mityana shrine remains a striking structure to this day: from the peaceful silence of the tree-protected grounds, the broken hemispheres of the central church building shoot abruptly up and outward, like a cracked egg from which some unknown newly born

[438] *Lux*, 11, p. 12.
[439] Elleh, *African Architecture*, p. 168.
[440] These observations are the result of a personal visit to the shrine conducted on 1 Mar. 2017.

creature might at any moment emerge. Dahinden meant for these hemispheres to allude to local religious iconography:[441] a blend of Catholicism and local religion in one space. The overall impression of the structure is one where "Dahinden studied assimilation to the environment, the historical traditions, the forms and colours of soil and vegetation, the rhythm of the life of the people and their customs."[442]

Dahinden's 1972 monograph *New Trends in Church Architecture* encapsulated the transformation of his ideological approach. Here, in sharp contrast to the 'supranational structures' of his leisure designs, Dahinden advocated an entirely different set of guiding principles: "For the universal church to have prominence, she must readjust her thinking, she must participate in that which is national and assimilate with peoples' expressions."[443]

This pronouncement was at odds with Dahinden's earlier design principles, but echoes the views on religious inculturation advocated by bishops such as Maestrini at Vatican II (see Chapter V). Compare, for example, Maestrini's suggestion that "the Church must become 'native' to each country: that is, Indian in India, Japanese in Japan, African in Africa"[444] with Dahinden's views on ecclesiastical architecture after the completion of the Namugongo shrine:

> Since today's world mission must depend upon active cooperation of the lay apostolate, she must also place her buildings in the hands of competent architects and artists and not into the hands of imported missionaries. These architects and artists must become part of the local culture and must, in their personal outlook, be compatible to native expressions and local behaviour.[445]

[441] Elleh, *African Architecture*, p. 169.
[442] Berry, "Art and Architecture," p. 156.
[443] Dahinden, *New Trends in Architecture*, p. 13.
[444] Maestrini, "Foreign Missions," p. 6.
[445] Dahinden, *New Trends in Architecture*, p. 14.

Dahinden's view uneasily combined competing ideas of globalism and regionalism, just as the Council itself had done. Dahinden was himself keenly aware of these conciliar debates, prefacing his own work with an acknowledgement of their importance:

> Partly through the visible change from a Church of authority to one of dialogue as a result of the Second Vatican Council, a rejuvenated Church is being built which expresses in Her substance all the signs of a rediscovered youth.[446]

Taken together, the views espoused in *New Trends in Church Architecture* indicated a departure from Dahinden's origin as a metabolist-style European modernist, driven by utopian supranational and globalist ideals. Instead, they articulated a kind of regionalised nationalism that we have already seen to be a crucial part of the story of the Uganda Martyrs and its relationship to the RCC. Indeed, Dahinden explicitly distinguished his African ecclesiastical work from that which he was designing for European sacred spaces, stating:

> In explicit contrast to the Latin Christian Church of the West, fundamental differences in local traditions and cultures exist which will affect church architecture, even though the same basic truth exists everywhere.[447]

The difference between his European and his African designs, especially the radical departure demonstrated at Namugongo, gave expression to irreconcilable shifts in Dahinden's ideological approach. It is not accurate to say that Dahinden's views shifted over time, as many of his core European designs postdate the shrines at Mityana and Namugongo. Instead, it would appear that Dahinden altered his approach following the construction of the Mityana shrine for his next project at Namugongo, creating an aesthetic that diverged from his otherwise demonstrated ideological beliefs. The inconsistencies of Dahinden's approach underline the disconnection between theory and reality in applying

[446] Ibid. p. 11.
[447] Ibid. p. 11.

universalising ideals to the lived experience of Christianity in Uganda. Thus, he simultaneously maintained two parallel, but not necessarily complementary, sets of guiding principles for his work in Europe and Africa respectively.

As we will see, however, the shrine at Mityana in reality is less a true 'assimilation' of the Ugandan environment than it is a close relative of Dahinden's contemporary European works. The Mityana 'assimilations' found specific points of inspiration in organic forms such as local species of leaves, and the construction styles of huts in the area, but large portions of the overall design aesthetic closely matched works completed elsewhere.

To understand these contested parallels, we must look at the initial understanding and reception of the shrine. However, very few contemporary commentaries on these buildings exist. A handful of European architectural journals did produce articles on Mityana, though many of these were published some years after the shrine's completion. Articles such as a 1972 entry in *Bouw*, a Dutch journal, epitomised this enthusiastic but limited coverage. The article documented the visual parallels between organic forms and Dahinden's Mityana design in order to highlight the 'assimilation to the environment' he purportedly sought to achieve:

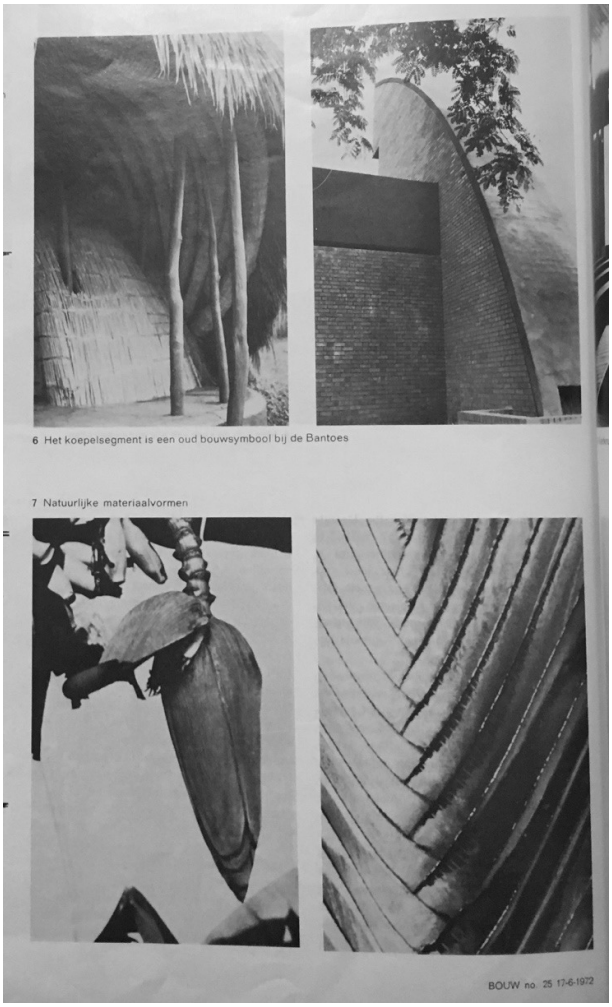

Figure 57: A series of photographs demonstrating analogous organic forms, "Church and Parochial Centre, Mityana, Uganda; Architect: J. Dahinden," Bouw*, 17 (Jun., 1972), p. 884.*

These forms, in their use of repeatable patterns based on organic life, could at first glance be seen as analogous to the metabolist approach. And yet the building lacks the sense of geometric expandability and spawnability key to a metabolist structure. Instead, these organic forms appear to be an attempt to return to the kind of hybridised material usage that had been part of Ugandan ecclesiastical architecture for over fifty years.

Compare this use of organic-inspired forms to the reed-ceilinged roof at Natete discussed in Chapter III:



Figure 58: Tucker, Natete Church (Entryway Ceiling), Natete, Uganda, 1912, in Berry, "Art and Architecture," p. 50.

When this ceiling was created in 1912, it was the result of an unintended hybridisation between European design aesthetic and the construction skills and knowledge of local craftsmen. In 1964, these same construction principles were co-opted by a European designer and fabricated using modern, non-traditional materials. It was a form of inculturated ecclesiastical space that, even as it incorporated local motifs, remained fundamentally European in its design, in ways that can be compared to the standard used to celebrate the canonization of the Martyrs designed by the German artist Herborth (see Chapter V).

The interior of the church at Mityana also relied strongly on the same principles employed in Dahinden's European designs, rather than on novel 'assimilations' of the

Ugandan environment. The interior is a dark and complex interior space: there are no windows except for a large open entryway without vestibule, the effect of which is that when one enters from the brightness of outside the sensation is of being plunged into darkness, and while inside the open doorway becomes a blinding beam that forces other worshippers into silhouette. The altar is neither central nor axial, but instead lies slightly to the left of the main entrance, faced by a series of irregular niches with varied sections of bench seating.[448]

If we compare the floor plan and interior design of Mityana to that of some of Dahinden's European designs, however, we can see that these effects are not unique to the African structure:

[448] These observations are the result of a personal visit to the shrine conducted on 1 Mar. 2017.

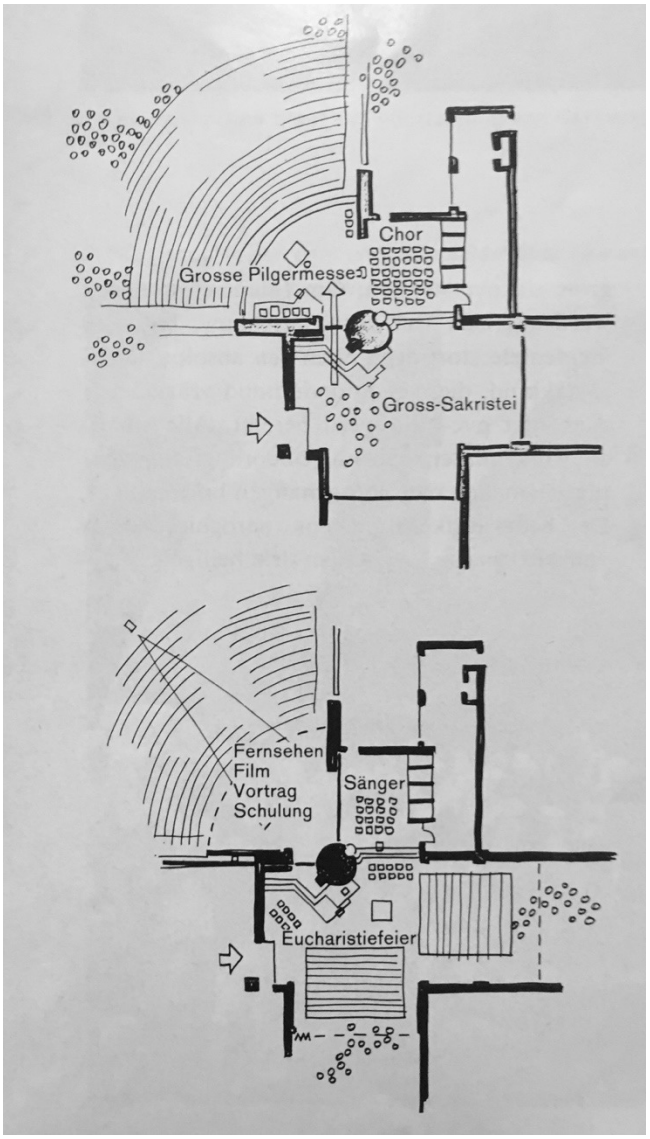

Figure 59: Mityana Martyrs' Shrine, floor plan, [1] *"Church and Parochial Centre, Mityana, Uganda; Architect: J. Dahinden," p. 884.*

The plan at Mityana is an off-set Greek Cross, set within an irregular and incomplete circle. It is not a direct copy of other works, but does share many core characteristics with Dahinden's European churches such as St. Antonius:

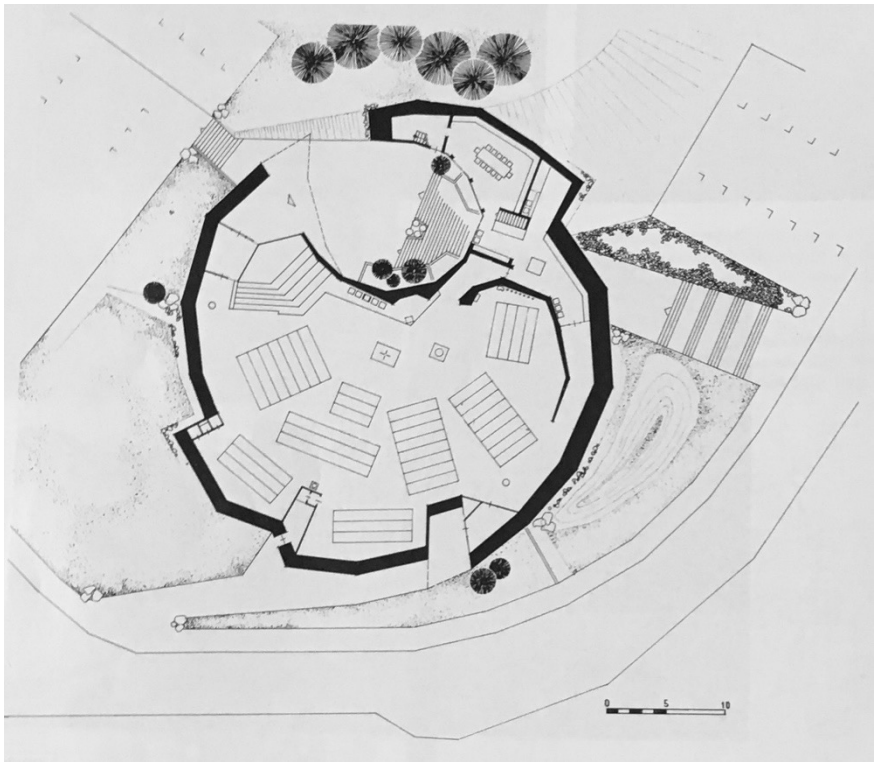

Figure 60: St. Antonius Church, floor plan, "Katholische Kirche St. Antonius in Wildegg A.G., Justus Dahinden Arch.," p. 810.

St. Antonius, like Mityana, features an irregular and incomplete circle as its fundamental shape, with an asymmetrical non-central altar and banks of seating that vary in size and orientation. St. Antonius is also situated in the cleft of two hills, seemingly below the level of the earth, just as Mityana is. Thus, though clearly unique in some aspects, the churches remain conspicuously similar in their key points of architectural approach.

In interior design and aesthetic, Mityana also finds parallels in Dahinden's contemporary European projects. The Swiss church St. Michael, for example, shares a strikingly similar concrete altar space:



Figure 61: Mityana Martyrs' Shrine, altar and entryway, with silhouetted worshippers, "Church and Parochial Centre, Mityana, Uganda; Architect: J. Dahinden," p. 885.

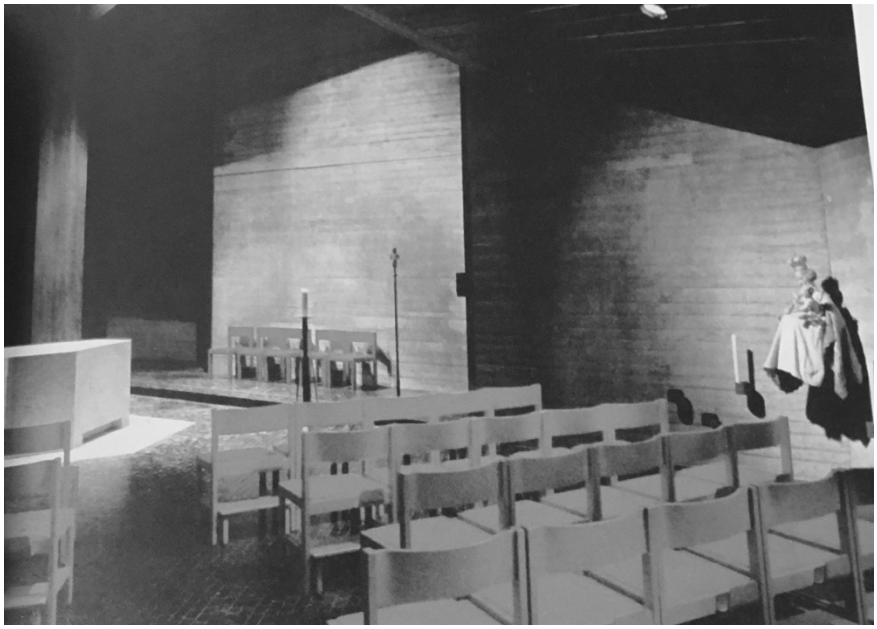

Figure 62: St. Michael Church, altar, "Pferkirche St. Michael, Vettelshoß," Bauen + Wohnen*, 34/1-2 (Jan./Feb. 1979), p. 62.*

In both, thick concrete walls and a lack of windows (except, as previously noted, the large entryway at Mityana) lend the interiors a dark, cool, contemplative ambience.[449] Compared to these two roughly contemporaneous churches, the shrine at Mityana seems less like an

[449] At St. Michael, even the entryway is separated by a vestibule and an extension of the exterior cladding, such that very little light would enter the main church through the doorway.

original 'assimilation' of the local environment of southern Uganda, as it does a single entry in a larger collection of this European modernist's response to ecclesiastical architectural trends at this time.

Yet at the time the shrine was celebrated in Europe as a bold attempt at ecclesiastical design in a newly independent and postcolonial African country. In addition to the coverage in *Bouw* already mentioned, Mityana was also discussed in other European architectural journals, including *Bauen + Wohnen* and *Liturgical Arts*.[450] By the standards of coverage for churches of a similar size in East Africa—Mityana was a parish church in a rural area, not a vast cathedral serving thousands in an urban centre—this represented an unusually high level of written interest, though still remained modest in comparison to European modernist ecclesiastical designs being produced contemporaneously. The majority of these articles came not in 1967 at the time of the shrine's completion, but in 1969 or even later, indicating a link to the surge of global interest in the Martyrs as a result of the Pope's visit.

These articles are mainly descriptive of the building, with little original analysis on the church's larger significance, either architecturally or on the lives of the congregants it would now serve. Encoded within these descriptions, however, was an insistence on the 'otherness' of the African space. The altar was not described as the holy centre of Christian worship, as it would have been for a European church, but instead as a multipurpose table, "built for the numerous celebrations often practiced in Africa"[451]—though the nature of these multifaceted celebrations is not clearly articulated. It is true that the wider site at

[450] For example: "Wallfahrtskirchen und Pfarreizentren in Uganda," *Bauen + Wohnen*, 6 (1969), pp. 228-232.
Liturgical Arts discussed the shrines in two separate issues: "Editorial," *Liturgical Arts*, 38 (Dec., 1968), p. 1;
"Editorial," *Liturgical Arts*, 40 (Feb., 1971), p. 1.
[451] "Wallfahrtskirchen und Pfarreizentren in Uganda," p. 231.

Mityana was intended to serve a variety of purposes of the kind already identified, but there is little evidence that the altar itself was ever meant for anything other than Catholic Christian worship. These articles further insisted that "church buildings in Africa must be informal"[452] by definition, despite evidence that Mityana was in fact a significant formal centre of worship. These descriptions fetishized African Christianity by presenting it as somehow fundamentally 'other' to European Christian design needs at the same moment that they also generalised its diverse practices with essentialising descriptions that fail to engage with the specific detail of the Mityana shrine.

Though articles such as these represented a relatively high degree of media interest compared to much of the reporting on the Martyrs seen in this thesis so far, these European magazines cared little for an accurate or detailed examination of the Mityana shrine. Instead, they were happy to include Mityana as an example of the global spread of modernist design, doing little to present the building in a nuanced way.

The photographs used to publicise the new shrine, both in Uganda and abroad, are also representative of the complex messaging and reception of the new structure. As we have already seen in the Central Office of Information (COI) images discussed in Chapter III and published images of Pope Paul's 1969 visit in Chapter VI, these official photographs tell us a great deal about both the architectural specificities of the building but also, more subtly, the social milieu in which the image was created, and the type of vision the photograph's creator hoped to cultivate. Compare, for example, the official commemoration photograph of the Mityana shrine's opening in 1967 with that of the consecration ceremony at St. Stephens in Kenya examined in Chapter III:

[452] Ibid. p. 228.



Figure 63: "Consecration of St. Stephens Church."



Figure 64: Mityana Martyrs' Shrine, opening, 1967, "Church and Parochial Centre, Mityana, Uganda; Architect: J. Dahinden," p. 882.

The parallels in these two images are manifold: in both, a crowd gathers between the new building and the camera lens, thronging the space. The church itself stands in the background, framed by a cloud-studded blue sky. And yet the differences in these two crowds, and the two buildings they are present to visit, are striking. In the colonial image, a group of adult worshippers, all neatly dressed in Western-style suits, queue in an

organised manner to gain entry to the new, traditionally European church. There is a sense of muffled noise in this image, as if no one pictured could be speaking at a volume above a respectful murmur.

In the Mityana image, by contrast, a flock of scattered children occupy every plane between lens and church. There is no queue; shirts hang loosely over shorts as young people mill freely. The low angle of the camera gives the viewer a sense of being amongst the gathered crowd, as opposed to the 1950 COI image, where a raised tripod creates a sense of looking down from above.[453] The photograph of the Mityana opening is thus a strategically more informal image. Coupled with the intentional futurism of Dahinden and other modernist architects, this compositional choice seems deliberate: the young people pictured here are intended to be emblematic of the new, young, 'vibrant' Africa that Dahinden would later write about in *New Trends in Church Architecture*. The photograph proclaims that this church, and its new generation of young faithful, would catapult the RCC into a new century of worship.

Dahinden's design for the shrine at Mityana, and the European coverage it received at the time, epitomised the same kind of utopian, futuristic, and globalist ideologies of his European work, and not the shifted and regionally localised ideals espoused in *New Trends in Church Architecture*. Journals such as *Bouw* and *Bauen + Wohnen* were not interested in the locally specific reception of this building, but rather in the global growth of modernist design to a new part of Africa evidenced by Mityana's creation. In its design

[453] The different effects produced by changing the angle of the camera and other techniques are covered in manuals of photography such as: Adams, A., *The Camera (New Photo Series #1)* (New York, 1995).
A more descriptive meditation on the theoretical qualities of good photography, including the technical mastery of camera angle, can be found in: Evans, W., "Photography," *The Massachusetts Review*, 19/4, Photography (Winter, 1978), pp. 644-6.

and execution, it made attempts at incorporating elements of local design, but in many ways fell short of the effective, if basic, forms of hybridisation seen in the parish church of Natete studied in Chapter III.

The design at Mityana was architecturally meaningful at the time of its creation, but the shrine itself has been largely forgotten. Mityana remains a small upcountry village, little visited by outsiders.[454] It largely failed in its attempt to 'assimilate' Ugandan motifs, and instead relied on Dahinden's European design vocabulary. The organic and cultural elements that Dahinden sought to include were too general to be meaningful to anyone except the readers of niche European architectural journals. It was not so much a celebration of the Martyrs as it was a European church dropped into an unfamiliar milieu.

Mityana was however merely the first African building project for Dahinden. Three years later he would be again commissioned to design a shrine to the Uganda Martyrs. The setting of this memorial would however be significantly different to the quiet contemplative peace of Mityana, however: in the capital of the new nation, at the centre of a growing local pilgrimage movement for the Martyrs that would grow into one of the most important sites for the RCC in all of Africa.[455] At Namugongo, the limited experimental optimism shown by Dahinden in Uganda at Mityana thus far would be placed on a much broader international stage.

The Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, Namugongo, 1968

The origin of the current shrine at Namugongo, and the role of Paul VI in personally securing its funding ahead of his 1969 visit, has already been discussed in Chapter VI. This

[454] These observations are the result of the extreme surprise with which the author was greeted by Mityana's nuns during a personal visit to the shrine conducted on 1 Mar. 2017, and the comments these nuns gave to that effect.
[455] Nakabazzi, "Special Events Based Tourism."

thesis has also examined the shrine's hasty (and delayed) initial phase of construction, and the vast global stage onto which it was immediately thrust as the setting for the first ever papal visit to Africa. In an instant, the shrine became visible through the wider world. It appeared in the news sources we have already discussed in Chapter VI, and also in the same architectural journals that had covered Mityana's creation. In several of these journals, an identical image of Paul VI kissing the new altar was reproduced widely:

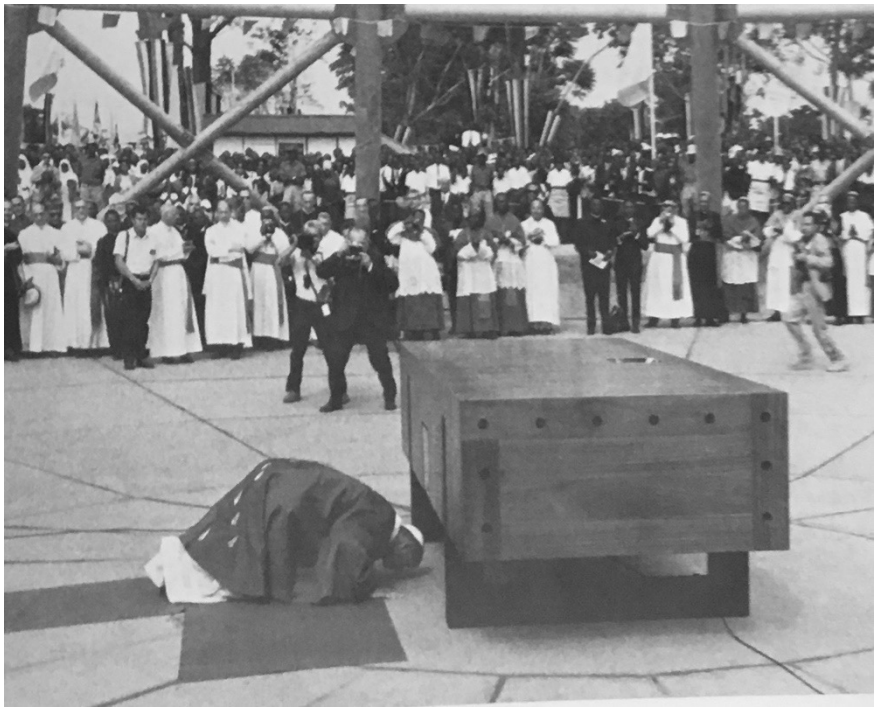

Figure 65: Paul VI kissing the altar at Namugongo, "Kirchliche Bauten in Uganda, Justus Dahinden, Zürich und Wien," Bauen + Wohnen*, 13/7-8 (Jul./Aug. 1976), p. 295.*

This image is striking for the sense of spectacle it conveys: the most powerful figure of the RCC, on his hands and knees in front of this symbol of the 'new' Church in Africa, as throngs of observers and photographers looked on. It engaged with the very sense of 'optical' outreach identified at Vatican II by bishops such as Buchholz as necessary for the Church's growth in the developing world (see Chapter V). That even secular architectural journals would utilise this image as a central feature of their coverage of the shrine underlines the critical focus of the visual, spectacular nature of these buildings for a global

audience. Indeed, the wide dissemination of this central image was precisely the kind of positive re-imagining of the RCC in Africa that Paul hoped to propagate during his visit.

This thesis has not yet examined the building itself, however, or the shift in design principles for Dahinden as an artist that it represented, that also codify the challenges of building for the 'new' African Church. If Mityana can be understood as a more 'purely' modernist building—that is, one that corresponded to Dahinden's larger body of European work—the shrine at Namugongo was the culmination of his shift to a more culturally specific, nationalist, and Vatican II-centred approach. Ironically, even though this building largely abandoned the universalising ideals that had guided both Mityana and Dahinden's European churches, the shrine at Namugongo had by far the most lasting widespread popularity and legacy of all his works. By not attempting to (ineffectively) 'assimilate' Ugandan design, as he had done at Mityana, and instead embracing a strange and futuristic aesthetic that specifically addressed the Martyrs and their story, the Namugongo shrine proved to be a more successful attempt at creating a lived environment, one that would be enthusiastically taken up and embraced by local people.

The structure still appears today much as it did at its original time of construction, barring some renovations undergone ahead of Pope Francis' visit in 2015 that were designed to repair damage and return the shrine to its original splendour.[456]

[456] Mukiibi, G., and C. Kiwawulo, "A Peak at the 'New' Basilica," *New Vision*, (25 Nov. 2015), p. 3, in B. Ocwet, *Editorial Coverage of the Holy Father Pope Francis' visit in Uganda Commemorating 50 Years of Uganda Martyrs' Canonization, Nov. 15, Presented to His Grace Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, Kampala Archdiocese*, Jul. 2016, RAA.



Figure 66: Dahinden, J., Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, Namugongo, Uganda 1968. Author's photograph. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 1.

It is a circular structure with a conical, sloping roof, terminating in a central oculus. The cone is supported by twenty-two steel beams—the same number as the martyrs who died at Namugongo in 1886.



Figure 67: Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, interior. Author's photographs, 2017.

Inside, sloped rows of seats look onto a central altar: the very same one that was kissed by Paul in 1969 (see Chapter VI). The dark mahogany wood utilised on the interior emphasises the cavernous volume of the space above the altar and makes the light coming through the oculus seem even more dramatic.[457]



Figure 68: Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, skylight. Author's photograph, 2017.

Unlike Mityana, the interior design of this shrine is a departure from Dahinden's earlier irregular, organic forms. Instead, the plan at Namugongo is of precise geometric circularity, with the altar placed at the exact centre of the space.[458] This shift demonstrated a response to changes in ecclesiastical design espoused by major architects following

[457] These observations are the result of a personal visit to the shrine conducted on 3 Mar. 2017.

[458] The floor under the altar was hollowed out in the decades following the shrine's construction as local people took handfuls of dirt as miraculous keepsakes. See: Official Tour of the Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, conducted 3 Mar. 2017.

Vatican II, such as Le Corbusier. Samuel and Lin-Gaillard explain these changes in the preface of their study of Le Corbusier's post-conciliar architectural works:

> The altar, symbolic of Christ's sacrifice, was moved out from the wall and made the centre of attention, taking on a new symbolic importance. Behind it, the priest was to face the people (instead of having his back towards the congregation) and include them in the liturgical rites, voiced in the vernacular, the aim being to celebrate the role of the community in the body of Christ.[459]

The floor plan at Namugongo fully embraces this approach, in sharp contrast to the irregular, organically-inspired forms of his earlier ecclesiastical works. Thus, the shrine at Namugongo, with its axially central altar, conformed with the shifts in design called for by Vatican II. It was Dahinden's first fully circular church, diverging from the Greek cross and fan-shaped designs previously seen in this chapter. Namugongo was not unique in its circular design, as round churches can be found across Europe and America going back centuries.[460] However, what is unique about this structure within Dahinden's oeuvre is the combination of elevation and floor plan, which give the shrine an unusual and individual appearance:

[459] Samuel and Linder-Gaillard, *Sacred Concrete*, p. 28.
[460] Round churches have existed in the United Kingdom, for example, since medieval times. A notable example still in use today is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge constructed around 1130. See: "Church of the Holy Sepulchre" https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1126260 (9 Jan. 2019).

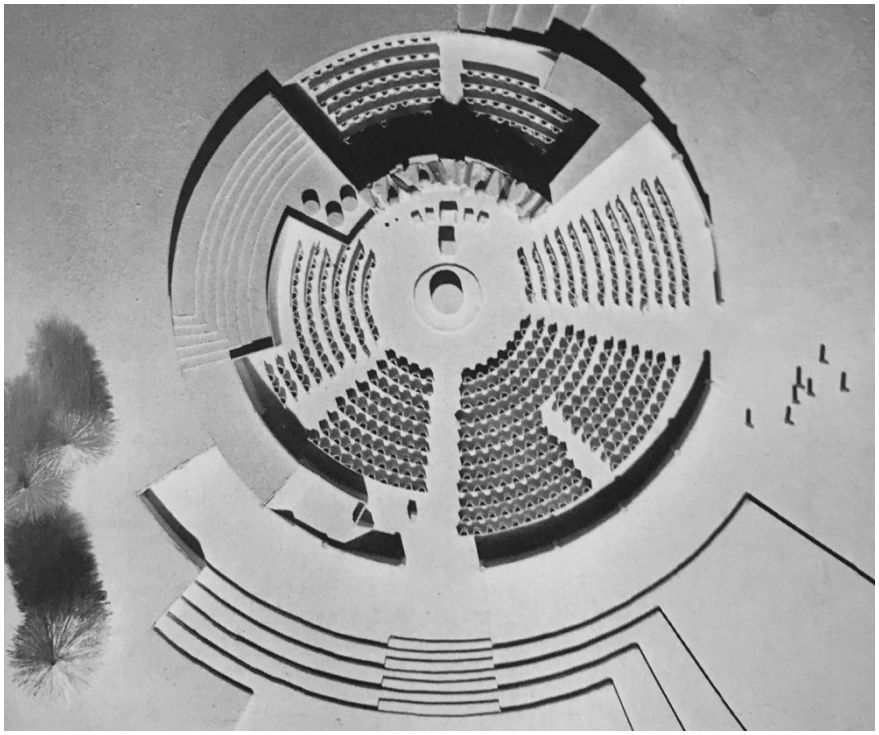

Figure 69: Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, conceptual model of the floor plan, "Wallfahrtskirchen und Pfarreizentren in Uganda," Bauen + Wohnen*, 6 (1969), p. 232.*

Unlike the church at Mityana, which sought to co-opt traditional African forms, in Namugongo Dahinden had no clear parallel within his previous or later oeuvre (as opposed to Mityana where many of the forms fit into his larger aesthetic vocabulary). If anything, the structure bore a passing resemblance to a theoretical "moon chapel" described in the editorial of an issue of *Liturgical Arts* that also dedicated some space to the Namugongo shrine in a brief descriptive article within the main body of the journal.[461]

[461] "Editorial" 1971, p. 1.

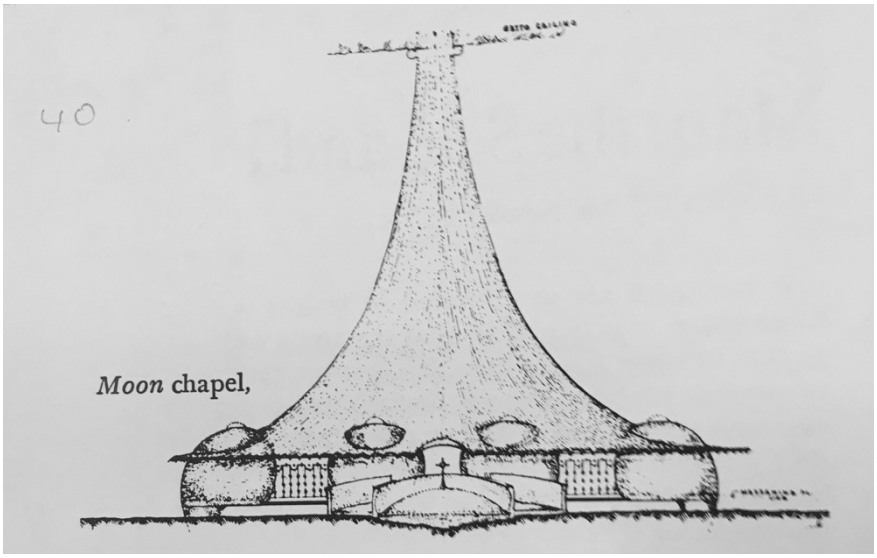

Figure 70: "Editorial," Liturgical Arts, 40 (Feb., 1971), p. 1.

It is clear that the design of Namugongo embraced an overtly futuristic aesthetic that was a step beyond even what Dahinden had produced in earlier works such as the 1964 holiday cabins in Switzerland. Dahinden intended that the shrine's shape would be symbolic of the martyring event that had occurred on the very spot of the shrine's construction eighty years previously. In his vision, the cone of twenty-two steel beams represented the unified bundle the Martyrs made when, tied together, they were set upon the pyre as one, and the chimney-like oculus represented the towering flames that consumed them.[462] Unlike the general 'African' imagery and motifs utilised at Mityana, the designs employed at Namugongo spoke specifically to the story of the Uganda Martyrs and the site on which the shrine was built.

In this way, we can see the shrine at Namugongo as the conclusion of Dahinden's theoretical transformation, from transnational metabolist to the kind of architect who could advocate that architects and their buildings 'must become part of the local culture.' It was also a much deeper and truer representation of the kind of inculturation encouraged by

[462] Official Tour of the Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, conducted 27 Feb. 2017.

Vatican II: one that utilised key regional specificities—the Uganda Martyrs—in order to bring the faithful back to the universal truths of the RCC.

And yet, as with the canonization of the Martyrs in 1964—and their eventual transformation into a nationalist symbol—the ultimate reception of this building also lay beyond what Dahinden, or the bishops of the Council who had influenced him, could have intended or imagined. We can see the beginning of this transformation even in the official dedication of the shrine upon its final completion in 1975. Conducted at the height of the turbulent reign of Ugandan President Idi Amin, this ceremony offered a rare, brief opportunity for individual expression in a regime that largely silenced all non-state voices.

Major General Amin had come to power on 25 January 1971, staging a swift military coup whilst President Obote was out of the country.[463] Months after taking power, Amin had established a strict authoritarian rule, eliminating political opponents, ordering ethnically motivated killings within Uganda and, in August 1972, expelling 50,000 Asians from the country in a move fuelled by xenophobia and extreme nationalism.[464] International diplomatic links rapidly crumbled; major embassies such as that of the United States were closed by 1973. Many southern African countries such as Tanzania, Botswana, and Zambia boycotted the meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) when it was held in Kampala and chaired by Amin in 1975.[465] Thus, by the time Namugongo shrine was officially opened that year, Uganda was in a far more turbulent and volatile situation than it had been at the time of the shrine's commission in 1969. This opening ceremony,

[463] "Coup d'Etat in Uganda, 25 January 1971, Led by Army Commander, Major General Idi Amin," 25 Jan. 1971, Records of the Foreign Office, Box FCO 31, Folder 1023, TNA. For discussion of political events in the later 1960s, see Chapter VI.
[464] Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*, p. 60.
[465] Ibid. p. 65.

therefore, offered a brief moment to reflect on the more optimistic milieu in which the shrine had been created.

Amin himself was present at the ceremony, but the speakers were all religious leaders. It was a moment of notable ecumenical cooperation—with the Catholic Archbishop, Anglican Archbishop, Muslim Supreme Council Chief, and the leading bishop of the Uganda Orthodox Church all giving remarks[466]—and also of shared national pride. Bishop Theodore Nankyama of the Orthodox Church remarked, "Its [the shrine's] size and beauty are magnificent. This is the first structure of its kind in Uganda. We offer thankfulness to Almighty God having allowed us to witness its completion together."[467]

This emphasis on togetherness was poignant, as Janani Luwum, the Anglican Archbishop present, would be murdered by Idi Amin less than two years later (see Chapter VIII). It also emphasised the shared unity and sense of Pan-Ugandan identity conveyed by the shrine. In the shrine's scale and the global publicity it had already brought to Uganda, it had become much more than merely a Catholic site of worship. Instead, even as early as 1975, it was swiftly becoming a central feature of Ugandan national identity and pride even amidst the hardships of the Amin regime.

The Muslim Supreme Council Chief present at the ceremony echoed these sentiments, declaring: "This does not only indicate the feeling Uganda has toward religion but also approves the fact that we are all sons and daughters of one man."[468] Though relations between Christians and Muslims were relatively good in Uganda, it remained a notable act of ecumenical cooperation that the Kadhi had been asked to attend these ceremonies along with the leaders of the other Christian faiths. The feeling the shrine

[466] "Programme and Messages: Dedication of Uganda Martyrs' Shrine, Namugongo, 3rd June 1975," official programme, Marianum Press, Kisubi, RAA. I have utilised this programme in lieu of other source material that has not been available.
[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid.

produced at this moment was one of national unity and shared identity that crossed religious and social boundaries. In the national pride present at this moment, we can see the beginnings of a very different future for the Martyrs' story than any White Father or Vatican Council participant could have first predicted.

Conclusion

Modernist architecture in the 1960s encapsulated a dizzying array of extremes, from Japanese metabolists to tropical modernists to the vernacular modernist structures just beginning to be constructed by local workmen in capital cities like Kampala and elsewhere across the developing world. In the works and words of Justus Dahinden, we can see many of the ambivalences and contradictions central to the modernist project in Africa, as it sought to spell out a bright and independent future while almost always utilising the intellectual frameworks of Europe. It often aspired to transnational, supranational, globalist ideals, and yet in many of the newly independent nations of Africa came to represent nationalist pride and fervour. In Dahinden's own creations, there remained an uneasy tension between these competing concepts.

And yet Dahinden's shrines, and especially his second project at Namugongo, have endured in popularity through fifty years of hardship and renewal in Ugandan social and religious life. They contain in their design and execution a multitude of contradictions, false parallels, and confused visions of what type of lived space would be needed by African Christians. Yet they did succeed, and have remained some of the most enduring national symbols of pride in the country to this day. They took on the counsel of Vatican II, and demonstrated it to the world. It has been the legacy of these buildings, and the Martyrs they honour, that has shaped Ugandan Christianity in profound and unexpected ways in the decades following their completion.

It is to these unexpected, vernacularized visions of Ugandan Christianity that this thesis now turns, to conclude the story of the Martyrs and their impact on religious life in Uganda.

VIII. The Image of the Martyrs: Endurance and Evolution



Figure 71: "Welcome to the Land of Martyrs," Daily Monitor (27 Nov. 2015), in B. Ocwet, Editorial Coverage of the Holy Father Pope Francis' visit in Uganda Commemorating 50 Years of Uganda Martyrs' Canonization, Nov. 15, Presented to His Grace Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, Kampala Archdiocese*, Jul. 2016, RAA.*

The central focus of this thesis has been 1962-72: the ten critical years between both Ugandan independence and the start of the Vatican Council, and the completion of the Namugongo shrine. In these ten years, a multitude of hopes for the 'new' RCC in Africa found clear but contested voice and visual representation.

In many ways, however the story of the Uganda Martyrs was only just beginning in 1972, when our 'official' timeline ends. 1972 marked the completion of the sponsored RCC projects surrounding the Martyrs: the canonization, Paul VI's 1969 visit, and the construction of the shrines at Mityana and Namugongo. It was merely the start, however, of an entirely new and less official re-imagining of the Martyrs: one that would, over the

coming decades, transform the Martyrs into pre-eminent figures of Ugandan national pride who transcended religious and social barriers.

This chapter will explore these shifting conceptualisations of the Martyrs from 1972 to the present day by examining three illustrative vignettes from this period, before reflecting more broadly on the legacy of the Martyrs at this time. These glimpses into the growth and popularity of the Martyrs take three distinct forms: first, in the 1977 murder of Janani Luwum and its intertwinement with the Martyrs' story; second, in the press coverage and reception of the two subsequent papal visits to Uganda that have occurred since 1969; and third, in the imagery of the Martyrs in everyday objects. Thus, this chapter does not aim to give a full narrative retelling of the period from 1972 to the present day. Rather, it will utilise these brief illustrations as a lens toward understanding both the changes in these turbulent years and, fundamentally, the manner in which the Martyrs remained of central ideational importance throughout.

In the range of sources and media with which these vignettes engage, they are representative of the methods of investigation that have been central to this project as a whole. They are different, and yet all depend on enduring conceptualisations of the Martyrs and their story. In these disparate post-1972 examples, we can see thematic confirmation of just how vital the Martyrs have been in recent history of Uganda to the present day.

Janani Luwum and the Nationalism of the Martyrs

Though Uganda's independence in 1962 had been viewed as an optimistic moment,[469] problems in state leadership arose from as early as the mid-1960s (see Chapter VI). Conditions worsened significantly, however, when Idi Amin staged a military coup to oust

[469] Weeks, S.G., "Kampala: Profile of a City," *Africa Today*, 9/8 (Oct., 1962), p. 6.

President Milton Obote and take power in January 1971.[470] The years that followed ravaged the young nation, as Amin diverted nearly all state funding to either the military—which increasingly became his own personal execution squad—or to his own personal accounts, murdered any voices that were critical of his leadership, and left his citizens in a state of impoverished terror.[471]

Through the 1970s, the Churches—both Anglican and Catholic—remained largely silent in regards to Amin. RCC officials accepted Amin's word that the Church would be protected, forming an uneasy coalition between Church and State similar to that already observed in Paul's courting of Obote in 1969 (see Chapter VI).[472] In early 1977, however, this arrangement was broken when the Anglican Archbishop of Kampala, Janani Luwum, wrote an open letter to Amin criticising his regime. Referencing an incident several weeks earlier in which an Anglican bishop had been threatened at gunpoint, he wrote:

> The gun which was meant to protect Uganda as a nation, the Ugandan as a citizen and his property is here being used against the Ugandan to take away his life and his property.[473]

This letter went on to draw upon the same sense of ecumenical unity that had marked previous public ceremonies such as the opening of the Namugongo shrine in 1975 (see Chapter VII). Luwum's letter represented the sharpest rejection of the Ugandan government by the Church since independence, and served to shatter the façade of passive positivity that Church officials had thus far maintained through Amin's presidency.

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[470] Sabiti, E., Letter to the Members of the Annual Meeting of the Uganda Church Association, 16 Mar. 1971, Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Uganda Church Association Papers, Box CMS/ACC870, Folder O2 Pt. 1, CRL.
[471] Brittain, V., "Uganda Scratches for a Start," 7 May 1979, in *The Guardian Third World Review* (Newspaper), Relationship in Mission — Gwen Cashmore, Box 421.445, Folder: Uganda Correspondence up to 1980, WCCA.
[472] Pirouet 1980, p. 15. See also: Mujaju, A.B., "The Political Crisis of Church Institutions in Uganda," *African Affairs*, 75/298 (Jan., 1976), pp. 67-85.
[473] Luwum, J., Letter to President Idi Amin, n.d. [1977], Relationship in Mission — Gwen Cashmore, Box 421.445, Folder: Uganda Correspondence up to 1980, WCCA.

In truth, however, Luwum's letter was merely the most overt and recent signal of distress for Christian church organisations, both Anglican and RCC, in Uganda at this time. In 1972 Amin had expelled a large group of white missionaries in conjunction with his Asian expulsion orders, meaning that RCC schools and hospitals were severely strained or forced to close completely. As Timothy Shaw described in 1973, Amin's hostility toward the missionary members of the Christian Churches also put the remaining populations of African clergymen in danger:

> This attack on 'western' religion also challenges the positions of Africans in the Church. It undermines the security of established bourgeoisie and encourages conversion to Islam. The Baganda Catholic community had been a notable target.[474]

Thus, the strength of the RCC and other mission-based organisations was swiftly eroded during the years of Amin's reign, not only from direct expulsion and the targeted antagonism of state officials, but also from the conversion of previously Christian faithful to Islam and other religions. By 1977, the relationship carefully forged between reformist Church and independent State in moments such as Paul's visit in 1969 (see Chapter VI) had become a distant memory.

Luwum's rebuke was a highly visible public response to the privately held tensions that had been growing in the five years since the white missionaries had been expelled. Amin responded by promptly staging a 'car accident' in which Luwum was killed.[475] The Archbishop's body was then kept in government custody and requests for an official funeral were refused.[476] Nevertheless, mourners gathered in their hundreds at Namirembe

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[474] Shaw, T.M., "Uganda Under Amin: The Costs of Confronting Dependence," *Africa Today*, 20/2 (1973), p. 36.
[475] In fact, Luwum was arrested and tortured before being murdered. See: Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*, p. 61.
[476] Cafe, E., "Archbishop Janani Luwum," memo, n.d. [1979], Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Papers Relating to Missionary Service in Uganda, Box CMS/ACC730, Folder F2, CRL.

Cathedral the following Sunday, where Luwum's murder immediately took on a martyr-like tone:

> On the Sunday they came in their hundreds to the usual 10am service in the Cathedral; other congregations joined them, walking many miles to Namirembe, and the cathedral was filled to bursting, with a crowd outside also. As the congregation came out of the west door, they faced the plot of garden where the martyred Bishop Hannington [of the 1885 martyring episode] and other famous missionaries and church leaders are buried. They saw the open grave prepared for Archbishop Luwum. Suddenly a surge of joy went through the mourners and they sang the Martyrs Hymn.[477]

As we can see from the choice to sing the Uganda Martyrs Hymn[478] at this service, Luwum's death became immediately linked to the story of the country's most famous Christian victims: the Uganda Martyrs. There are also significant parallels between the language used to describe this impromptu memorial service, which paradoxically produced a 'surge of joy' through suffering, with that of the characterisation of the 'joyful martyrs' discussed in Chapter II.[479] The 1886 martyring had been considered as a scene without precedent in Uganda. Now in 1977, Luwum's mourners sought to link his death to the Martyrs' singular legacy as a guiding example of resistance to state control, just as the original twenty-two men and boys had done so against the *kabaka* Mwanga just under a century earlier.

The Martyrs reappeared in this critical moment in the history of Ugandan Christianity, when both the Anglican and Catholic Churches faced murderous repression from the state under Amin, just as they had in 1885 by Mwanga, prior to the martyring episode. Luwum's

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[477] Ibid.
[478] Dewey, "The Uganda Martyrs Hymn," in *Daily, Daily, Daily Sing the Praises*, hymnal, publication info unknown, 1927, System Number 004711969, Music Collections, The British Library.
[479] "The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of Faith."

death became a new chapter in the martyring story, and equally served as a communal rallying point around which all Ugandan Christians could gather to find strength. Just as had occurred a century previously, This killing served not to quash Christian spirit, but instead to spark it to new national religious zeal.[480] As a Ugandan bishop wrote at the time:

> The sound of victory is still being passed on. It rang in the memorial services that were held for Archbishop Luwum in many cities on several continents. He is still speaking the truth in love in the hearts of all suffering Ugandans, and in the minds of those who put him to death. *The story is not yet finished.*[481]

Thus, we can see the enduring manner in which the Martyrs were repurposed and re-imagined in order to provide a new basis for religious perseverance amid the chaotic turmoil of Amin's regime. In this conceptualisation, they represented a highly localised kind of Ugandan national identity, founded on suffering and resistance in the face of unjust state control. The story of Luwum's murder expanded and revitalised the narrative of the Martyrs back to its perceived pre-colonial clarity as a signal against state persecution, using the same methods of narrative construction as the first White Father missionaries had used a century previously (see Chapter II). This transformation significantly increased the Martyrs' role in the formation of a post-Amin national identity in ways that persist in Uganda to this day.

Papal Visits and the Globalisation of the Martyrs

As the story of Luwum's murder demonstrates, the Martyrs were capable of being readily co-opted into highly specific localised Ugandan narratives. And yet they were still part of

[480] Scholars have examined and commented on the rhetoric of Christian martyrdom since the second century. For a more recent discourse on the differentiation between martyrdom and 'voluntary martyrdom,' a category that the Uganda Martyrs would plausibly occupy, see: Moss, C.R., "The Discourse of Voluntary Martyrdom: Ancient and Modern," *Church History*, 81/3 (Sept. 2012), pp. 531-551.
[481] Kivengere, *I Love Idi Amin*, p. 56.

the canon of the global RCC, and so were equally capable of being mobilised to benefit transnational Church efforts. The clearest of these efforts came in the two subsequent papal visits to Uganda: a 1993 visit by John Paul II,[482] and a 2015 visit by Francis.[483] In the shifting manner in which these trips were covered and received in Uganda, especially in both pontiffs' return to the Namugongo shrine, we can see the changing nature of the Catholic approach to African Christianity. Although the motivations and preoccupations of the Church shifted significantly between these visits, the use of the imagery of the Martyrs remained a constant touchstone throughout.

Pope John Paul II came to Uganda in February 1993 primarily in response to the AIDS crisis,[484] and to mark the uneasy peace following the civil war that had pitted the northern and southern regions of the country against one another for nearly a decade.[485] In the sixteen years since Luwum's murder, Uganda had undergone successive waves of violence and instability. Amin was first overthrown by a mix of Tanzanian and Ugandan rebel forces in 1979. Subsequent elections in 1980 returned Obote to the presidency nine years after the coup that had removed him, though the fairness of this election was widely contested. Obote's second term was starkly more autocratic and violent than his first had been, and fuelled instability and infighting through the beginning of the 1980s, led by groups such as Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM). In 1986, Museveni ultimately secured the presidency for himself, and has gone on to lead Uganda for the last thirty-three years.[486]

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[482] Cowell, A., "Pope Finds Faith Glows in Uganda's Squalor," *New York Times* (10 Feb. 1993), TimesMachine (15 Dec. 2018).
[483] Kron, J. and J. Gettleman, "Pope Francis Offers Mass in Uganda at Shrine for Christian Martyrs," *New York Times* (28 Nov. 2015), TimesMachine (15 Dec. 2018).
[484] Cowell, A., "Pope, in Uganda, Urges Chastity as AIDS Defense," *New York Times* (8 Feb. 1993), TimesMachine (15 Dec. 2018).
[485] "Visit of Pope John Paul II to Uganda," pamphlet, Leadership Press, Kisubi, 1993, RAA
[486] Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*, p. 79.

AIDS then came to Uganda with particularly lethal force, killing tens of thousands of people a year through the mid-1990s.[487] Continued civil unrest, especially in the north, further compounded the toll of the disease. To celebrate the diminution of fighting, John Paul II visited the northern city of Gulu, where he gave a mass at Gulu Cathedral and addressed the assembled crowd in Luganda:

> Baena banga abagalwa, mbalemusizza mwenna. Mwebale okujja. Katonda kitaffe tumulgulumize.
> *My beloved sons and daughters, I greet you all. Thank you for coming. Let us praise God our Father.*[488]

This visit thus built on the ideals of Pope Paul's visit twenty-four years previously (see Chapter VI): by using the local language of the assembled people, John Paul embodied the conciliar changes of *Lumen Gentium*. In this personal embrace of Catholic dogma, John Paul paralleled the manner in which John XXIII's feeling of transnational freedom from any 'earthly country or nation' had inspired him to initiate Vatican II (see Chapter IV). John Paul himself confirmed this parallel in his 1995 apostolic exhortation *Ecclesia in Africa* (also known as *The Church in Africa*).[489] In this text, he cited *Lumen Gentium* as he explained:

> The local churches of Africa hold a rightful place in the communion of the Church, that they are entitled to preserve and to develop 'their own traditions, without in any way lessening the primacy of the Chair of Peter.'[490]

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[487] See, for an overview of scholarly discussion on the AIDS crisis: Kuhanen, J., "The Historiography of HIV and AIDS in Uganda," *History in Africa*, 35 (2008), pp. 301-325.
[488] "John Paul II in Gulu, Namugongo," *New Vision*, (27 Nov. 2015), p. 50, in B. Ocwet, *Editorial Coverage of the Holy Father Pope Francis' visit in Uganda Commemorating 50 Years of Uganda Martyrs' Canonization, Nov. 15, Presented to His Grace Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, Kampala Archdiocese*, Jul. 2016, RAA.
[489] John Paul II, Pope, *Ecclesia in Africa*: *Post-Synodal Exhortation on the Church in Africa* (Nairobi, 1995).
[490] John Paul II, Pope, *Ecclesia in Africa*, quoting *Lumen Gentium*, p. 13.

In this way, John Paul II used his visit to Gulu to explore specific elements of post-conciliar change, just as Paul VI had done in his earlier visit to Uganda.

John Paul II's trip to Gulu was novel, but it was his visit to Namugongo that offered the most direct means of comparing the impact of his Uganda tour to that of his predecessor Paul. We can see parallels in the means by which his trip was depicted in local sources by examining the images utilised in the local official pamphlets for both papal visits. As in 1969, Christian printing presses produced pamphlets that widely disseminated an official view of the visit and its success. However, from the shifts in compositional approach in these images, we can see a significant change in the nature of this RCC spectacle and its intended reception. Compare, for example, an image of John Paul recessing from a mass in 1993 with the processional image of Paul driving toward Rubaga previously discussed in Chapter VI:

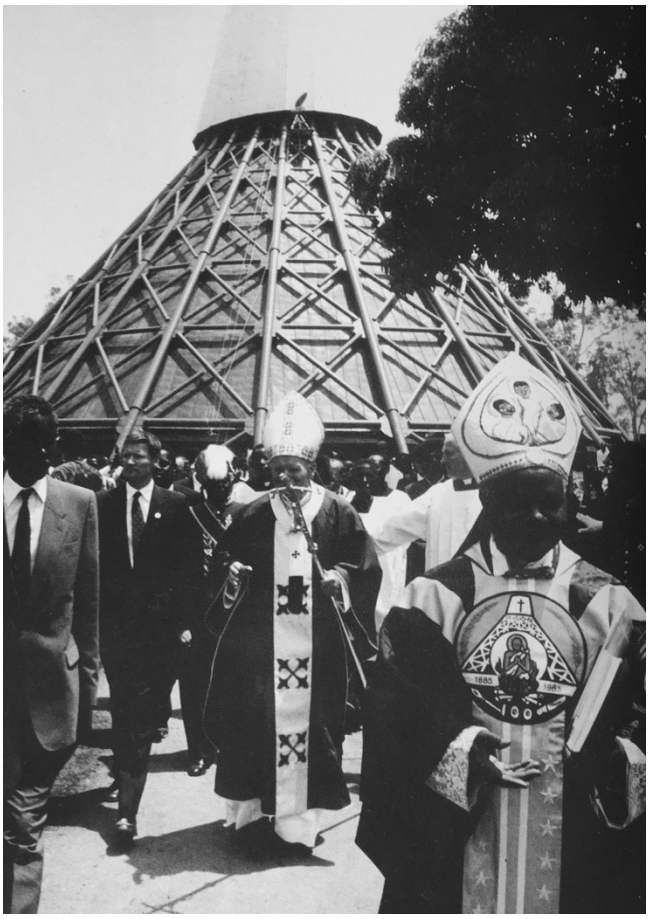

Figure 72: Pope John Paul II exits the Namugongo shrine, Feb. 1993, "Visit of Pope John Paul II to Uganda."

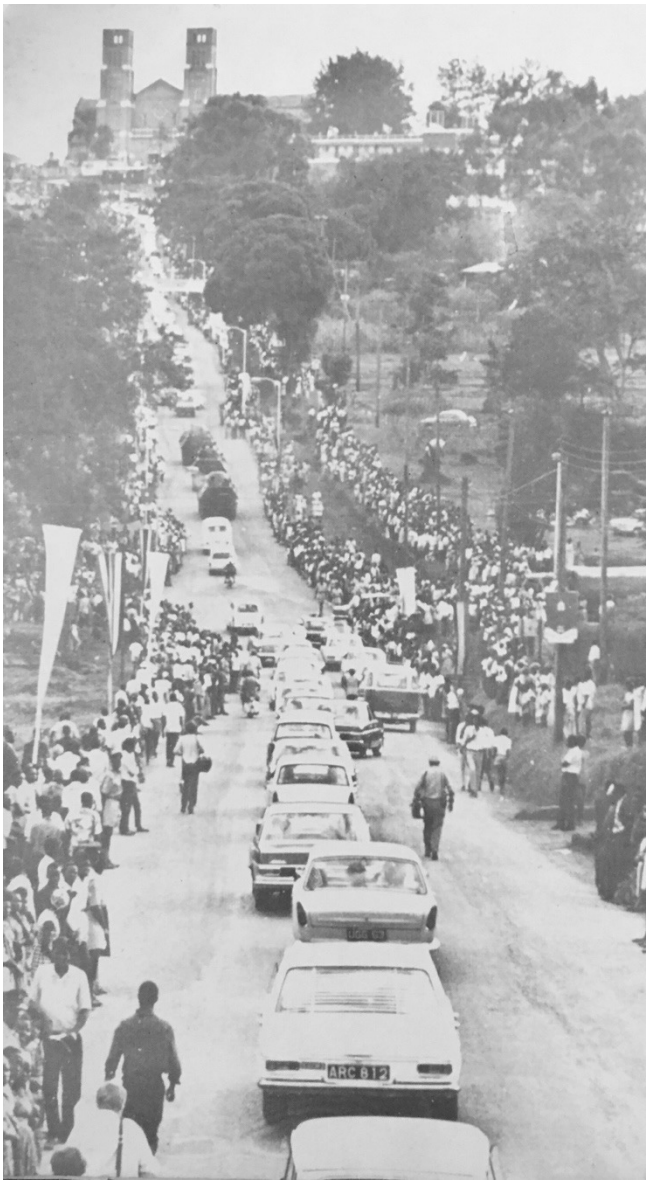

Figure 73: Paul's papal processional to Rubaga Cathedral, in "Pope Paul VI in Africa."

The 1969 image is, as previously discussed, notable for its calm sense of informality. And yet, in comparison to the 1993 image of John Paul, it suddenly seems strikingly conservative. Paul is hidden within the motorcade in 1969 and is invisible to the gathered crowd as the processional approaches Rubaga Cathedral, the traditional Archdiocesan seat of the Catholic Church in Kampala. In the 1993 image, by contrast, we see John Paul walking among the people directly toward the viewer; the low angle of the composition places him directly at eye level with the camera, with the Namugongo shrine looming futuristically behind him. The Namugongo shrine is in fact doubled to the viewer, pictured

not only as the backdrop of the scene but also as the closest element of the composition in the brocade of the foremost Ugandan bishop's vestments. Because the pope appears at the same line of sight as the viewer, the image feels intimate in a way that the 1969 image is not. Additionally, the choice to be pictured in front of the Martyrs' shrine, rather than the official cathedral, suggests a key shift toward their localised story as one of central importance between 1969 and 1993. Looking further back to the COI images of churches produced in colonial East Africa (see Chapter III), we can see an even stronger shift in the nature of this officialised vision of African Christianity: from a world of geometrically perfect and largely unpopulated Europeanised cathedrals, to snapshot-style images of the pontiff amongst the people.[491] Critically, the Martyrs also emerge in the history of these images as an increasingly central visual feature. In these images, then, we can see evidence of the Martyrs, and their shrine, as a critical pivot point around which the RCC would reorient itself in the coming years.

Twenty-two years later, it was Pope Francis who would lead a third papal visit to Uganda in general and Namugongo in particular. In those intervening two decades, the RCC had experienced profound drama: the AIDS crisis that had preoccupied John Paul II in the early 1990s had not been resolved, but had been superseded within the RCC by a cascade of sex abuse scandals that had rocked the Church to its foundation and indirectly resulted in the resignation of Benedict XVI in 2013, after a pontificate defined by a return to pre-conciliar levels of ideological conservatism and an inability to respond adequately to the crisis.[492]

[491] This image, in its conveyed sense of momentary informality, takes some meaning from the theoretical underpinnings of snapshot photography, even though it is a professionally produced image. For some examples of the literature on this topic, see: McCrum, S., "Snapshot Photography," *Circa*, 60 (Nov./Dec. 1991), pp. 32-36; Zuromskis, C., "Ordinary Pictures and Accidental Masterpieces: Snapshot Photography in the Modern Art Museum," *Art Journal*, 7/2 (Summer 2008), pp. 104-125.
[492] Hoban, B., "A Time for Courage," *The Furrow*, 60/6 (Jun., 2009), p. 348.

Francis' initial mission as Pope was, thus, perceived as one of managing and minimising the damage of the past decade.[493]

In his decision to come to Uganda, Francis sought to recapture the optimism and goodwill of Paul and John Paul's earlier visits. As a fiercely religious nation, Uganda provided a good opportunity for a pontiff seeking a positive reception. Additionally, Uganda was simultaneously grappling with its own issues of tolerance and scandal: in this case, of homophobia and anti-gay legislation that had made the country infamous. The year prior to Francis' visit had been marked first by the adoption of an extremely harsh anti-homosexuality law in December 2013,[494] and then a series of tabloid articles that claimed to reveal the sexuality of various public figures.[495]

Resistance to these events was largely muted within Uganda, though some efforts existed. A rebuke to these publications, albeit an indirect one, came in the form of a 2015 journal article which recognised that the nineteenth century *kabaka* Mwanga—now regarded a national hero—had been gay, a fact which had been taken up by the pro-gay rights lobby.[496] This revision of Mwanga's legacy also by necessity affected the legacy of the Martyrs who were his victims, who had been defined in earlier decades by their refusal to partake in homosexual behaviour (see Chapter II). In this volatile milieu, Francis' decision to visit the country with a message of tolerance and acceptance of past transgressions was clearly significant.

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[493] See, as an example of this kind of coverage: "Editorial," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 102/408, Revisiting the Murphy report (Winter 2013), p. 376.
[494] Warner, G., "Uganda Passes Anti-Gay Bill That Includes Life in Prison" https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2013/12/20/255825383/uganda-passes-anti-gay-bill-that-includes-life-in-prison (9 Jan. 2019).
[495] Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*, p. 86.
[496] Rao, R., "Re-membering Mwanga: Same Sex Intimacy, Memory and Belonging in Postcolonial Uganda," *Journal of East African Studies*, 9/1 (2015), pp. 1-19.

By 2015, Uganda had become a country where a strong majority of the population claimed Christian religious affiliation, though Catholicism now competed for believers not only with Anglicanism but also a sharply increasing belief in Pentecostalism.[497] Pope Francis' visit was widely and excitedly received throughout the country, with the main national newspaper, *New Vision*, providing extensive coverage before, during, and after his visit. International papers also covered the visit extensively. The *New York Times* described Francis' arrival at the Namugongo shrine:

> The crowd in front of him seemed to stretch to the horizon. All types of people were there: Catholics and Anglicans, taxi drivers and presidential hopefuls, clergy members, police officers, babies carried on backs and tiny children in tiny suits. Vendors works through the lines, wads of Ugandan shillings in their hands, doing an excellent business selling clocks, fans, T-shirts and visors—all emblazoned with the pope's face.[498]

In these articles, published both abroad and within Uganda, the importance of the Martyrs to Francis' visit became, as for previous pontiffs, swiftly clear. One *New Vision* headline even proclaimed: "The Uganda Martyrs are the Reason Popes Keep Coming to Uganda."[499] Another heralded the pontiff's arrival by welcoming him to "The Land of Martyrs."[500] At Namugongo, Francis drew on the Martyrs specifically in his comments to the assembled crowd, telling them to emulate the qualities embodied by the Martyrs in their daily lives. An article in the *Sunday Monitor* recounted his speech:

> "Because they had tended to their faith and deepened their love of God, they were fearless in bringing Christ to others, even at the cost of their lives," the Pope said to wild cheers, adding, "Their faith becomes

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[497] Kirimura, D., "Planning for the Location and Distribution of Religious Institutions: A Case Study of Rubaga Division" (Masters dissertation, Makerere University, 2005).
[498] "Pope Francis Offers Mass in Uganda."
[499] "The Uganda Martyrs are the Reason Popes Keep Coming to Uganda," photograph, *New Vision* (27 Nov. 2015), p. 24, in B. Ocwet, *Editorial Coverage of the Holy Father Pope Francis' visit in Uganda Commemorating 50 Years of Uganda Martyrs' Canonization, Nov. 15, Presented to His Grace Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, Kampala Archdiocese*, Jul. 2016, RAA.
[500] "Welcome to the Land of Martyrs." See: the cover image of this chapter, p. 248.

> witness, today, venerated as martyrs, their example continues to inspire people throughout the world.[501]

The Martyrs, and the shrine at Namugongo, were iconic and central features of Francis' 2015 visit in a manner that had only begun to be realised in John Paul II's 1993 trip, and which represented a marked departure from the globalised approach of Paul VI in 1969. Though Paul had declared that he had come to Uganda specifically to venerate the Martyrs (see Chapters I, VI), in the 1969 conceptualisation the Martyrs were a lens into a generalised African Christianity. By 2015, however, this approach had significantly changed. In all three of these pontifical visits, the locally published pamphlets we have utilised previously in this thesis (see Chapters VI, VIII) provide insight into the 'official' vision of Catholic presence in Uganda that the RCC sought to propagate. It is striking, thus, to observe the radical shift in visual strategy present in the pamphlet produced for Francis' visit in comparison with the 1969 and 1993 versions. Compare the cover of the official souvenir pamphlet created for his visit with the cover of the pamphlet for Paul VI's 1969 trip featured previously in Chapter VI:

[501] "Pope Tells Ugandans to Emulate Martyrs," *Sunday Monitor* (29 Nov. 2015), p. 2, in B. Ocwet, *Editorial Coverage of the Holy Father Pope Francis' visit in Uganda Commemorating 50 Years of Uganda Martyrs' Canonization, Nov. 15, Presented to His Grace Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, Kampala Archdiocese*, Jul. 2016, RAA.

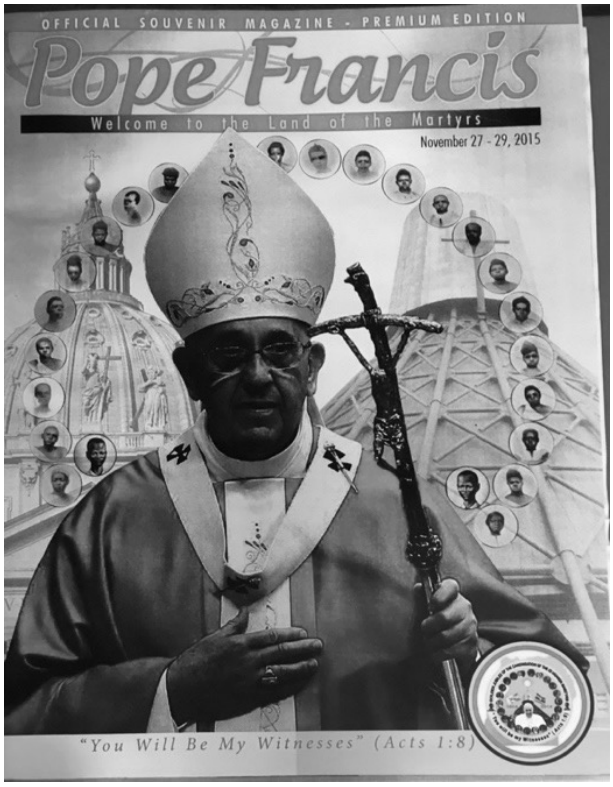

Figure 74: Pope Francis: Welcome to the Land of Martyrs, (27-29 Nov. 2015), in B. Ocwet, Editorial Coverage of the Holy Father Pope Francis' visit in Uganda Commemorating 50 Years of Uganda Martyrs' Canonization, Nov. 15, Presented to His Grace Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, Kampala Archdiocese*, Jul. 2016, RAA.*

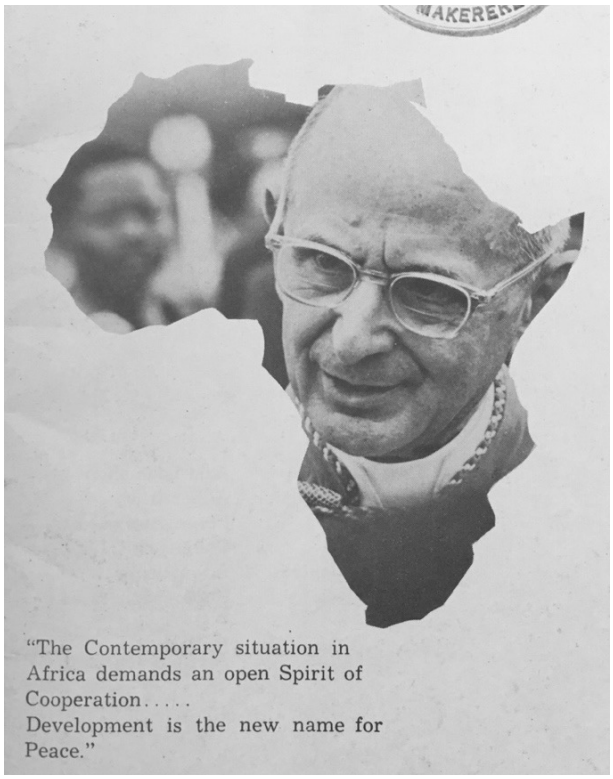

Figure 75: "Pope Paul VI in Africa."

Here we can see a shift from global to local, as already discussed in this thesis. In 1969, Paul's trip to Uganda was a leitmotif for the entirety of the 'new' RCC in Africa. By 2015, however, RCC officials such as Francis understood that a more specific appeal to the Martyrs and their story was more effective in Uganda. Thus, Francis' visage is imposed not on the entire African continent, but is instead enmeshed within the highly specific iconography of the Martyrs themselves. This shift represents the completion of the pivot seen in the coverage of John Paul II's visit, as RCC interests moved from an interest in 'The Church in Africa' broadly (as John Paul's 1995 apostolic exhortation still proclaimed) and toward a more specific vision of the Ugandan Church as 'The Land of Martyrs.'

Stamps and the Everyday Imagery of the Martyrs

In 2017, two years after Francis' visit, signs heralding his arrival were still everywhere throughout Kampala. The face of the Pope—as well as those of the Martyrs, and the instantly recognisable conical form of the Namugongo shrine—graced street signs and advertisements, homemade flags and signs, and pennants that were draped over power lines and between buildings. The Martyrs, through their association with the RCC, had become part of the fabric of everyday life in Uganda.

One example of these kinds of everyday images of the Martyrs has been in stamps. Stamps are an often overlooked, quotidian part of modern existence. They have, however, often been used as important pieces of state propaganda, promoting everything from positive images of world leaders to agriculture to public health initiatives.[502] As George Griffenhagen described in 1972 at the announcement of UNESCO's stamp series

[502] An example of the literature includes: Brunn, S.D., "Stamps as Messengers of Political Transition," *Geographical Review*, 101/1, Popular Icons (Jan., 2011), pp. 19-36.
For an example of scholarship on African stamps in Nkrumah's Ghana, see: Fuller, H., *Building the Ghanaian Nation-State: Kwame Nkrumah's Symbolic Nationalism* (London, 2014).

commemorating the International Book of the Year, "Postage stamps have become one of the major mass media to publicize national, as well as international, campaigns."[503] They provide an overtly mediated view, but they often slide past our active perception: they are carefully shaped and controlled by the state that produces them, but also fundamentally part of the everyday. The repeated use of the Martyrs' symbology in Vatican and Ugandan stamps, especially in the silhouette of the Namugongo shrine, demonstrates how firmly enmeshed these figures have become in the process of creating a vision of African Christianity.

The Martyrs were first depicted on stamps not in Uganda, but in the Vatican City, where a 75 Lira stamp was produced in 1964[504] to celebrate the canonization:

[503] Griffenhagen, G., "Philately: And International Book Year — 1972," *Journal of Library History, Philosophy, and Comparative Literature*, 8/1 (Jan., 1973), p. 4.
[504] Vatican stamps have been produced by the Philatelic and Numismatic Office of the Vatican since 1929. See: "Philatelic and Numismatic Office" http://www.vaticanstate.va/content/vaticanstate/en/servizi/ufficio-filatelico-e-numismatico.html (9 Jan. 2019).



Figure 76: Stamp commemorating the Uganda Martyrs, Vatican City, 1964. Author's personal collection.

Compare the figuration of the Martyrs in this stamp with that used in the 1920 beatification painting that was hung in St. Peter's previously discussed in Chapter III:



Figure 77: "The Martyrs of Uganda," 1920

In both, the Martyrs have been painted using traditional European figurative techniques. While the stamp does include some stereotypical 'African' motifs, including a border of spears and antelope, it remains, as we have have seen many times throughout this thesis, a fundamentally Eurocentric vision of the Martyrs and the place they occupy within the RCC.

A 1979 stamp series produced in Uganda utilised a similar Europeanised figurative strategy. In its utilisation of the Martyrs' shrine as an indirect but key organising feature, however, it demonstrated the beginnings of the same pivot toward regionally specific expression seen in the imagery of the later papal visits examined above. These stamps were produced in the midst of an increasingly hostile and chaotic relationship between the Ugandan government and the churches, following the 1977 murder of Luwum, a time when, as Pirouet describes, "the churches found themselves dragged, against their will,

into becoming foci of opposition."[505] Nonetheless, these stamps, designed by government officials to commemorate one hundred years of Christianity in Uganda, portray a remarkable and deceptive sense of cooperative calm.



Figure 78: Stamp series commemorating the Uganda Martyrs, Uganda, 1979. Author's personal collection. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 17.

In this collection, the Martyrs are featured through the inclusion of the Namugongo shrine in the crest on the right hand side of each stamp.

[505] Pirouet, "Religion Under Idi Amin," p. 13.



Figure 79: Detail.

Three out of these four stamps, however, still focus on the European contributions to the Ugandan Church: the influence of St. Peter's, the construction of Rubaga Cathedral, and the work of Father Lourdel of the White Fathers. Nevertheless, even in these otherwise disparate and Europeanised visualisations of Ugandan Christianity, the Uganda Martyrs remain a critical organising feature. Notably, it was the shrine that forms the basis of the crest and not, for example, the outline of Rubaga Cathedral, even though Rubaga was and still remains the seat of the Archdiocese of Kampala and thus is hierarchically a much more important RCC building than the shrine. Clearly, however, it was the shrine that was the most memorable and recognisable visual feature of the Ugandan Christian landscape, suggesting a fundamental ubiquity to the story of Christianity in Uganda. Between these disparate Eurocentric and localised visions of Ugandan Christianity, we can see the same ambivalences that marked RCC interactions with the Martyrs discussed throughout this thesis.

Stamps produced in 2015 for the arrival of Pope Francis were still in circulation in 2017 at the time of the fieldwork for this thesis. In the markedly different design of these

stamp images from the two studied so far, we can see the same chronological transition as in the imagery of papal visits discussed above: a shift toward strategically emphasising the regionally specific figures of the Martyrs in official imagery.



Figure 80: Stamps depicting wildlife, Pope Francis, and the Martyrs, Uganda, 2017. Author's personal collection. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 18.

In addition to stamps directly honouring Francis, the silhouette of the Namugongo shrine is the key feature of the 3,400-Shilling stamp:



Figure 81: Detail.

As in the cover of the commemorative pamphlet discussed earlier in this chapter, Francis appears in this stamp surrounded by the Martyrs, with the shrine as a background, all superimposed on the geographic profile of Uganda. In the chronological progression of these three stamp images, we can see an encapsulation of the same progress analysed by this thesis as a whole: from purely European, to an uneasy and uncertain mix of global and local 'African' elements, to a much more specific vision of Ugandan faith. These otherwise quotidian objects of everyday life encapsulate the profound degree to which the Martyrs have become intertwined with fundamental concepts of Ugandan national identity.

Conclusion

These three vignettes have covered a broad range of territory, from a brutal 1977 killing to joyfully commemorative 2015 stamps. They have remained constant, however, in the prominent role of the Martyrs: one of a lasting legacy of visual importance, in narratives

of national unity, solidarity, resistance, and even enduring optimism through hardship. Even as the Church moved away from the globalising strategies that guided the decade from 1962 to 1972 that have provided the focus of this thesis, the image of the Martyrs has remained of critical importance in the expression of Christian belief in Uganda to the present day.

IX. Conclusions: The Visual Vernacular



Figure 82: 'Jesus, Lead Me:' the visual vernacular at work. Kampala, Uganda. Author's photograph, Feb. 2017.

To visit Kampala today is to witness a city, and a country beyond it, profoundly shaped by the Martyrs. Tell any taxi or *boda-boda*[506] driver that you are interested in the Martyrs, and you will get a full retelling of their history and legacy.[507] The story of these figures has become one of the driving narratives of national identity in Uganda today.

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate how this phenomenon has come about: how twenty-two men and boys killed over a hundred years ago have gone on to become a by-word for Ugandan resilience and religious faith. The highly vernacularized, nationalist vision of the Martyrs seen in Uganda today is the result of decades of imagining and re-imagining of their story. This process began with the beatifying efforts of missionaries,

[506] Local motorcycle taxi.
[507] These observations are based on the author's experience during a twelve-week fieldwork period in Kampala in early 2017.

before being amplified by the conciliar and post-conciliar RCC, and ultimately taking on localised meaning in its own right.

This concluding chapter will seek to identify the areas in which this thesis has offered novel answers to scholarly queries, and suggest ways in which these findings may be further expanded. Specifically, it will examine the concepts of ideological transmission, ecumenism and interfaith solidarity, political significance and nationalisation, the quest for 'authenticity' in the study of African Christianity, and finally methods of visualisation and memorialisation, all of which have shaped the findings of this study. This thesis has laid the groundwork for rethinking the story of the Uganda Martyrs in fundamentally new ways, which provide multiple avenues for further interdisciplinary scholarship.

Transmission and the Changing Ownership of the Martyrs' Story

In the preceding chapters, this thesis has demonstrated that ownership of the story of the Martyrs has changed hands many times over the last 130 years in ways that have decisively influenced the narrative that has been told. It was initially the provenance of missionaries and the local faithful (see Chapter II), then the RCC—first in the 1920s (see Chapter III), and then much more fully and enthusiastically during and directly following Vatican II (see Chapter V, VI, and VII). These changing official narratives were increasingly displaced by a localised appreciation of the martyrs, leading to the pilgrimage phenomenon that exists today. Successive papal visits to the Martyrs' shrines have attempted to give their story continued meaning within official RCC channels (see Chapter VIII), but the story of the Uganda Martyrs has been one that has increasingly defied control.

We may therefore usefully ask: to whom do the Martyrs truly belong? A local episode of resistance that was quickly co-opted by missionaries even before the official imposition of colonialism, the Martyrs' story developed through the first seventy-five

years of the twentieth century in such a way as to suggest that it would represent a gradual cementing of their narrative into official channels of RCC control. This thesis has analysed the motivations and mechanisms of this appropriation, through canonization and celebration, spectacle and design.

The RCC's renewed interest in the Martyrs at the time of their canonization took place in tandem with the Second Vatican Council, the most ambitious attempt at creating a universalised Church in the history of the RCC (see Chapter IV). The Uganda Martyrs in many ways provided the perfect case study for the kind of new and more globally relevant Church that the RCC sought to be at that moment. Their story traversed pre-colonial and colonial narratives, spoke to a critical mission region for the 'new' RCC, and provided the opportunity for exactly the kind of spectacular moment needed to symbolise and broadcast the changes of Vatican II as widely as possible.

The canonization of the Martyrs (see Chapter V) was just such an opportunity to use a local story as a means of transmitting new global values: on 18 October 1964, the Uganda Martyrs embodied the hopes and expectations of the post-conciliar Catholic Church. The Pope's subsequent visit to Uganda in 1969 sought to cement the official transmission of these changes (see Chapter VI), fulfilling Paul's declaration that he would be a 'pilgrim Pope' and demonstrating to a global audience the kind of universalised, mission-focussed church organisation the post-conciliar RCC claimed to have become.

This thesis then examined, in Chapter VIII, the ways in which these official narratives engaged with and sometimes diverged back into more localised phenomena in the years following 1972. It is clear, from these post-1972 narratives, that the directed messaging of the post-conciliar RCC illuminated the story of the Martyrs in ways that served as a catalyst for a proliferation of further interpretation and memorialisation that often paradoxically subverted official RCC control. These new visualisations took on

forms as diverse as government-designed postage stamps, or the singing of the Martyrs' Hymn at a memorial service intended to critique authoritarian rule.

Ecumenism and Interfaith Cooperation

One of the most notable features of the Martyrs' story is the overt form of ecumenism it encourages. From the very first accounts of the Martyrs' story, they have embodied ecumenical cooperation, as the twenty-two men and boys who were killed were a mix of Protestant and Catholic faithful who had worked together to propagate the faith in the six months before their deaths (see Chapter II). From the beginning, minor distinctions in liturgical specificities mattered less to these early believers than the unifying Christian message. This ecumenical origin has fostered a point of common ground between faiths in Uganda, even as most official early twentieth century Catholic dogma actively discouraged interfaith cooperation of any kind (see Chapter V). It was then this aspect of their story, amongst others, that made the Martyrs so appealing during the Vatican Council, at a time when improving ecumenism was one of the major aims of the RCC (see Chapter IV). And, indeed, ecumenism has remained one of the most complex and often difficult concepts to implement following the Council's conclusion.[508] Ecumenical messages formed a key part of the Church's public relationship to the Martyrs' story as expressed in the 1975 opening ceremony of the Namugongo shrine (see Chapter VII). The Uganda Martyrs embodied many of the ecumenical hopes for the post-conciliar RCC, representing to the worldwide Catholic (and Christian) community a narrative wherein interfaith cooperation is not only possible but integral to daily Christian life.

[508] A summary of some of the ecumenical successes, and continued struggles, following Vatican II can be found in: Ang, D., "Fifty Years after Vatican II," *The Furrow*, 63/11 (Nov., 2012), pp. 532-542.

Further study of the Martyrs could usefully explore the continued reception and influence of Vatican II and other subsequent RCC policies designed to address these ecumenical shortcomings. The annual pilgrimages currently associated with the Martyrs draw a strikingly diverse crowd that includes not only Catholics and Anglicans but also increasing numbers of Pentecostal and other designations of believers.[509] Statistical analysis of the attendees of the annual Martyrs Day celebrations over time could tell us a great deal about the changing nature of ecumenical cooperation and interfaith crossover in Uganda and East Africa. Research conducted at Makerere University has laid the groundwork for this kind of project,[510] but more detailed analysis connecting these pilgrimages to more recent shifts in Catholic dogma (such as the Catholic Charismatic Revival (CCR) of the early 1990s) could link these changing pilgrim populations more clearly to the RCC and its continued activity and influence in Africa.

Nationalism and Politicisation

In Uganda, the Martyrs are today much more than Catholic religious figures. Starting in the 1970s under the brutal regime of dictator Idi Amin, where the Martyrs' story became entwined with contemporary stories of resistance and suffering such as the murder of Janani Luwum (see Chapter VIII), the Uganda Martyrs morphed into more general symbols of national pride. They are thought to embody, as we have seen, many of the characteristics that hold local communities together, even through periods of extreme hardship and terror: perseverance, fellowship, and fearlessness in the face of suffering.

[509] Nakabazzi, "Special Events Based Tourism."
[510] In addition to Nakabazzi 2004, other examples include: Mwebembezi, A., "A Critical Analysis of Catholic Charismatic Renewal as a Strategy for New Evangelization to Counteract Christian Lukewarmness: A Case Study of Uganda Martyrs Parish Mbarara Diocese," (Masters dissertation, Makerere University, 2013); Senyondo, A., "Importance of Public Relations in Tourism Development at the Uganda Martyrs Shrine Namugongo in Kireka," (Masters dissertation, Makerere University, 2006).

These are the same qualities identified by Reid as "an expression of *ekitiibwa* in Ganda culture: honour, dignity, self-respect, a requirement to be stoical in the face of personal suffering."[511] It is this last quality that has become a particular point of pride, through the 1986 revolution that brought Museveni to power and into the present day. The Martyrs have become a communal rallying point that has provided one means for Ugandans to understand and accept the harsh realities of living through civil war and dictatorial regimes.[512]

It was in brief moments of resistance to the official, broadly globalised RCC version of the Martyrs in the early postcolonial period that these seeds of localised pride were sown: for example, during the profound reorienting of the canonization narrative by the *kabaka* Mutesa II (see Chapter V). Even though the Martyrs of today represent in many ways a sharp rejection of the globalising principles at the heart of the 1964 canonization and subsequent RCC activity in Uganda, they would not exist in their current form without the active curation of their memory by the RCC at that time. Thus, the story of the Uganda Martyrs is one of competing and entangled threads of globalism and nationalism in the twentieth century, where the interests of the global RCC and those of local Ugandans intersected and diverged at the meeting place of the Martyrs' story in complex ways.

Further exploration of non-RCC articulations of the Martyrs' story, especially in political and militaristic arenas, could provide a striking counterpoint to the broadly cooperative, internationalist narrative espoused in this study. The role of the Martyrs in the formation of the Uganda Martyrs Guild (UMG) and other spirit-led movements in the

[511] Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*, p. 176.
[512] For further examples of the Martyrs as a source of national solidarity, see: Hamilton, K., "Colonial Legacies, Decolonized Spirits: Balboa, Ugandan Martyrs and AIDS Solidarity Today," *Journal of Bisexuality*, 10/1-2 (2010), pp. 121-136; Nzwili, F., "Weeks of Prayer and Pilgrimage Before Ugandan Martyrs' Feast Day," *The Catholic World Report* (14 Jun. 2017) https://www.catholicworldreport.com/2017/06/14/weeks-of-prayer-and-pilgrimage-before-ugandan-martyrs-feast-day/ (17 Jan. 2019).

1990s, for example, could provide such an avenue for future scholarship. These locally organised, politically potent, often violent groups rallied under the image of the Martyrs in this period just as Catholic faithful had used their story as a means of projecting unity and solidarity only fifteen years earlier.

The UMG, for example, was a lay Catholic organisation comprised of mainly poor women that engaged in witch and cannibal hunts in the 1990s: it was a response to an explosion of suspected witchcraft following a confluence of social and religious events such as political unrest and the strengthening of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), the sudden growth of Pentecostal movements in the country, and the rise of mysticism within the RCC following the beginning of the CCR in 1992, amongst other factors.[513] Though they are the eponymous namesake of the UMG, the Martyrs themselves, and their connection with the official institution of the RCC, are a less studied feature of this period, especially in terms of visual material of both personal and group-wide significance. Notice, as an example, the inclusion of a previously 'official' RCC image of the Martyrs in the personal shrine depicted on the cover of Behrend's book on the subject:

[513] For further reading on the UMG and other spirit-led movements of this period, see: Behrend, H., *Resurrecting Cannibals: The Catholic Church, Witch Hunts, and the Production of Pagans in Western Uganda* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2011).

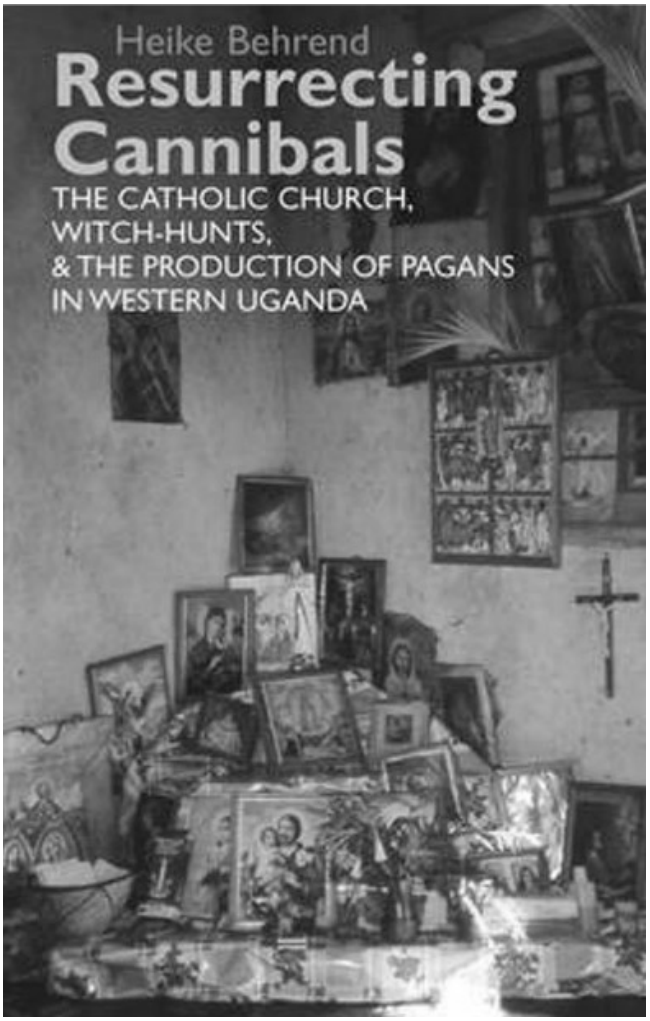

Figure 83: Resurrecting Cannibals: The Catholic Church, Witch Hunts, and the Production of Pagans in Western Uganda*, cover.*

The painting of the Martyrs visible on the right-hand wall was originally painted by Cecil Todd, the same professor at Makerere University who designed the seventeen-foot crucifix that decorated the stage for Pope Paul's All-Africa mass in 1969, and who curated the official art exhibition that accompanied the papal visit at that time (for both episodes, see Chapter VI). This painting graced the cover of special magazines designed to celebrate the 1964 canonization across East Africa and Europe, such as the French publication *Missi*:



Figure 84: The Uganda Martyrs. For a colour plate of this image, see Appendix II, Fig. 19.

Some scholarly attention has already been paid to this painting itself and its significance within the political milieu in which it was created in 1964,[514] but its specific revival within the UMG, LRA and other 1990s religious and political movements has so far been overlooked. This drastically different utilisation of the Martyrs' story could build from the foundational study of this thesis to better situate movements such as the UMG within a larger narrative timeline of the RCC and other Church institutions, and their role in shaping cultural and political discourse in Uganda.

The Search for 'Authenticity'

Many of the conciliar debates surrounding mission activity within the RCC attempted in some way to address a fundamental question: what makes a church, or a religious

[514] Sanyal, S., "Modernism and Cultural Politics on East Africa: Cecil Todd's Drawing of the Ugandan Martyrs," *African Arts*, 39/1 (Spring, 2006), pp. 50-59.

experience, 'authentic' to its local environment or to the person experiencing it? As this thesis has demonstrated, the search for Catholic 'authenticity' in Africa has often been chimeric in nature, as institutional efforts to define authentic expressions of faith tend by definition to inhibit localised growth. In the story of the Martyrs, RCC efforts to overly emphasise continental concepts of 'African-ness' in the Martyrs' story—in the form of broad characterisations and Eurocentric generalisations about African Christianity that sought to appeal to a much larger audience than just Ugandan Catholics—often fell short. Key examples of these failings are the visual accoutrements to the canonization (see Chapter V) and the first shrine to the Martyrs constructed at Mityana (see Chapter VII). In both of these European designs, we see attempts to connect the Martyrs to a generalised theme of 'Africa' that reflect minimal specific appreciation of Uganda or the Martyrs as historical actors. In their inherent Eurocentrism, these objects and structures exoticised African Christianity and failed to capture the passion and interest of local worshippers as they were ostensibly meant to.

These designs can also be considered as forms of a visual augury: though they represent relatively minor shortcomings in the broad sweep of the fervour and excitement surrounding the Martyrs' story, they ultimately remain emblematic of one of the broadest and most overarching conclusions of this thesis: that producing change in the African Church was a far more complex, arduous, and time-intensive process than many Council bishops hoped or believed it would be. Indeed, it is clear that these changes ultimately could not be achieved by decrees from Rome, but could only occur *in situ* over time. We saw perhaps the most damning written evidence of this disconnect in Chapter IV, in the divergence between the rosy outlook of Holmes-Siedle writing in 1964 during the Council

itself,[515] and the pessimism of Hastings writing from Uganda a decade later.[516] Spectacles and papal visits could do much to energise people and communicate with intense immediacy the aspirational directions of the 'new' RCC, but they could not replace the work of hours, weeks, and years required to produce actual change in many parts of the African Church, most which would necessarily be left to African church leaders and congregants to make manifest. The RCC in Uganda is significantly stronger today for having received this official attention fifty years ago, but largely because of the work performed by local church actors to bring these conciliar changes into effect in their own ways.

It is my conclusion that 'authenticity,' as it was often promoted in Vatican-II era discussions, is an impossible concept to achieve. African Christianity is inherently hybridised, and attempts to distinguish between 'European' or 'African' binaries fail to capture its essential religious complexities. This is not to say, however, that further study of the precise nature of these hybridised interactions would not be fruitful. An examination of the Uganda Martyrs within the specific context of post-conciliar AICs, for example, would provide further insight into the interactions between the institutional work of the RCC analysed in this thesis, and that of more localised actors working within a more focussed regional milieu. Linking the Martyrs into this discussion could also serve to bridge the extant scholarly literature surrounding AICs[517] with the officialised and RCC-focussed work of this thesis. The Martyrs were the means by which the RCC transmitted their official post-conciliar message to Africa, but further study could demonstrate how

[515] Holmes-Siedle, "The Council and the Missions."
[516] Hastings, "The Council Came to Africa."
[517] Examples of AIC scholarship can be found in Chapter I. Current examples of studies that include the Martyrs in their work include: Behrend, "The Rise of the Occult Powers;" Hamilton, "Colonial Legacies."

these transmissions were received, reworked, and amplified back in alternate directions by local AIC leaders.

Visualisation and Materialisation

The Uganda Martyrs have undergone a multitude of imaginings and re-imaginings, both ideologically and in the visual physicality with which they have been portrayed. These ways of seeing the Martyrs have provided a means of understanding the complexity of their story in ways that the written record has often failed to capture. This thesis has built on a foundational understanding of the visual in Ugandan Christianity by further examining the objects, photographs, and buildings relating to the Martyrs produced in the 1960s and 70s: the purely European visions seen in works such as the Martyrs' beatification painting displayed at St. Peter's (see Chapter III); hybridised architectural approaches seen in colonial ecclesiastical architecture (see Chapter III); attempts at post-conciliar 'assimilation' of African motifs into European modernisms (see Chapter VII); and ultimately more conceptual, original, and outlandish modernist designs such as the shrine at Namugongo (see Chapter VII).

These works have varied widely in the reception they received in printed journals and European publications, but these publications often elide true understanding of these buildings: viewing the written source material alone, in its limited and Eurocentric form, would lead us to believe that structures such as Mityana, for example, were clarions of a new age of African design. In truth, even the relatively higher level of coverage of Mityana remained extremely modest by European ecclesiastical building standards, and our ability to understand the success and life of these buildings must come from alternate forms of source material. RCC officials aspired toward mass global reception of these churches, but

ultimately their lived experience was often more focussed and localised in its nature due to the limited scholarly interest of the West.

It was, however, the designs that spoke to 'the local' most closely, either by employing local craftsmen in the hybridised colonial church at Natete studied in Chapter III, or in the highly specific symbolic engagement with the location and narrative of the Martyrs' deaths at Namugongo, that proved to be the most successful. In a story as locally specific as that of the Uganda Martyrs, it is clear that more than just Eurocentric sources in the form of architectural journals or other Western scholarly critiques are required to fully understand the meaning of these structures.

Understanding the design and reception of the objects and buildings dedicated to the Martyrs gives us a way of understanding their story that written sources alone cannot provide. These visual sources have provided a critical lens, both of official intention in the glossy pamphlets and COI images studied, and of organic reception in the way these images and church buildings took on significance of their own that existed well beyond the original intentions of their creators. This conceptualisation of the visual as critical is not novel in the study of African Christianity. Consider how difficult it would be to comprehend the following anecdote from Paul Gifford's study of an event involving the UMG in the early 1990s without the use of visual media, for example:

> Once the cannibals and witches had been identified and all their objects and instruments collected, they were publicly displayed in front of the church, often photographed and the photos put into albums to show the Ugandan Martyrs Guild's power and success. After being displayed and photographed, these objects were burned.[518]

Without a clear understanding of the distinctive visual features of this event— the prioritized space of the physical church grounds, the seemingly ritualistic nature of the

[518] Gifford, *Christianity, Development and Modernity in Africa*, p. 114.

display, and the engagement of multiple visual media (both the 'evil' objects and the 'good' documentary photographs)—a full reckoning of the significance of the episode would not be possible. The visual forms a critical analytical lens, shaping both the events of the narrative and our ability to parse meaning from the events that occurred.

Future study, however, could fruitfully expand on vernacularized, local variations on these official visual media. A study of family photo albums and personal snapshots, for example, could provide a meaningful counterpoint to the official images of the papal visits studied in Chapters VI and VIII.[519] These vernacular snapshots would be no less mediated and rhetorically charged than their official counterparts—all images, by their definition, have a source and a bias from which they have been created, even informal personal photographs that initially appear to have been snapped without directed thought. Such snapshots could nonetheless provide an alternate means of understanding the papal visits: less as the directed and focussed actions of a transnational institution, and more as a series of local receptions and explorations with the 'new' Catholic Church in Africa from below.[520] Such a study would be especially fruitful in analysing the more recent history of the Martyrs, as pilgrimages for the annual Martyrs Day at Namugongo have grown into a truly continental phenomenon.

Similarly, there is great potential for further study in the field of architectural change and construction in Uganda. This thesis has already identified potential for further examination of vernacular modernist homes of the kind still found in many neighbourhoods of Kampala (see Chapter VII). These buildings are, for the most part,

[519] This thesis focussed on official photographs, and so did not find any such albums or snapshots.
[520] Renewed interest in snapshot and other vernacular forms of image-making can be seen in: Reyburn, S., "Finding New Value in the Work of Anonymous Shutterbugs," *New York Times* (9 Jan. 2019), NYTimes.com (10 Jan. 2019).

secular private homes. Thus, they represent an evolution of the modernist style seen in this thesis: one that moves toward a more habitable reality for Kampalans today.

Beyond these homes, however, is a multitude of local informal religious shrines, often much smaller and more temporary than the Mityana and Namugongo structures. These transient spaces and monuments can provide another means of examining a more ephemeral, localised understanding of the Martyrs that exists outside of official RCC control. As Reid explains, these shrines are an often ubiquitous feature of Ugandan roadsides:

> In recent years, shrines have proliferated along the roadsides of rural Uganda. They continue to be of use and attract large communities, even within Kampala itself. Along Mityana road, for example, a veritable shrine industry is in motion—with various groups being served by various spirits.[521]

These shrines differ from the official structures studied in this thesis in several key ways. Primarily, they are not dedicated to one set of icons, but to a panoply of figures from different faiths. Second, they exist outside of the urban environment of Kampala that has been the focus of this thesis. In these two ways, then, they can provide a means of extending the scope of this project into a broader understanding of memorialisation and faith in Uganda as a whole, and not merely amongst Christians in the capital of Kampala.

A study of such shrines, in addition to providing the same kind of alternate and expanded view as a study of snapshot photographs may open further avenues for analysis of other pilgrimage figures in the region. The Uganda Martyrs are the most iconic symbols of martyrdom in the country, but they are hardly the only ones. In the years following the CCR and during the rise of Pentecostalism in Uganda, as faith healing and other local religious practice have found their way into mainstream Christian worship, the opportunity

[521] Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*, p. 173.

for a wider group of local figures to take on iconic significance has grown rapidly. This kind of study could link the more specifically Catholic focus of this thesis with the rapidly expanding Pentecostal and mystic Christian communities of Uganda that have experienced exponential growth in the last twenty-five years.

The Visual Vernacular

This thesis has focussed on the transmission of the global into the local: in action, word, and built environment. It has sought to identify the means by which these factors have combined to make the Uganda Martyrs such compelling figures in the canon of the African Catholic Church.

This thesis concludes that it has been the moments where visual spectacle has combined with local experience and lived reality—the 'visual vernacular'—that have been the most effective at transforming the Martyrs into the religious and social phenomenon they are today. Our contemporary understanding of these figures would not be possible without the enthusiastic optical utilisation and expression of their story into the post-conciliar goals of the RCC. Neither, however, would they exist in their current form without the active embrace and re-imagining of that story by local actors. In the Uganda Martyrs, we can see the hopes, expectations—and diverging realities, as visions of global homogeneity led ultimately to a much more nationalised Christian vision—of the modern Catholic Church in Africa.



The Visual Vernacular: The Canonization and Celebration of the Uganda Martyrs as a Mark of Post-Conciliar Change in the Catholic Church

VOLUME II

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APPENDIX II: COLOUR PLATES

1.



Dahinden, J., Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, Namugongo, Uganda 1968. Author's photograph.

2.



Dahinden, J., Uganda Martyrs' Shrine, Mityana, Uganda, 1964. Author's photograph.

3.



Le Corbusier, Ronchamp Chapel, Notre Dame du Haut, France, 1954. Image available at: https://www.archdaily.com/84988/ad-classics-ronchamp-le-corbusier. Accessed 14 June 2018.

4.



Wright, F.L., Unitarian Society Meeting House, Madison, Wisc., USA, 1951. Image available at: https://www.archdaily.com/133819/first-unitarian-society-meeting-house-tkwa/5014464a28ba0d5b490006fb-first-unitarian-society-meeting-house-tkwa-image. Accessed 14 June 2018.

5.



White Fathers of Uganda, Rubaga Cathedral, Kampala, Uganda, 1925. Author's photograph.

6.



Br. Joseph, W.F., Rubage Cathedral (Stained Glass), Kampala, Uganda, 1925. Author's photograph.

7.



Lutyens, E., St. Jude on the Hill, Hampstead, United Kingdom, 1909. Image available at: http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2490320. Accessed 14 June 2018.

8.



Kasubi Royal Tombs, Kampala, Uganda, nineteenth century. Image available at: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1022. Accessed 14 June 2018.

9.



"The painting model for the canonization standard tapestry," 1964, Archives Généralice M.Afr., Rome. Image available at: http://peresblancs.org/archives/martyrugandaa.jpg. Accessed 1 Oct. 2018.

10.



di Giovanni, M., *The Assumption of the Virgin*, Italy, tempera and gold on wood, c. 1474. The National Gallery, London. Author's photograph.

11.



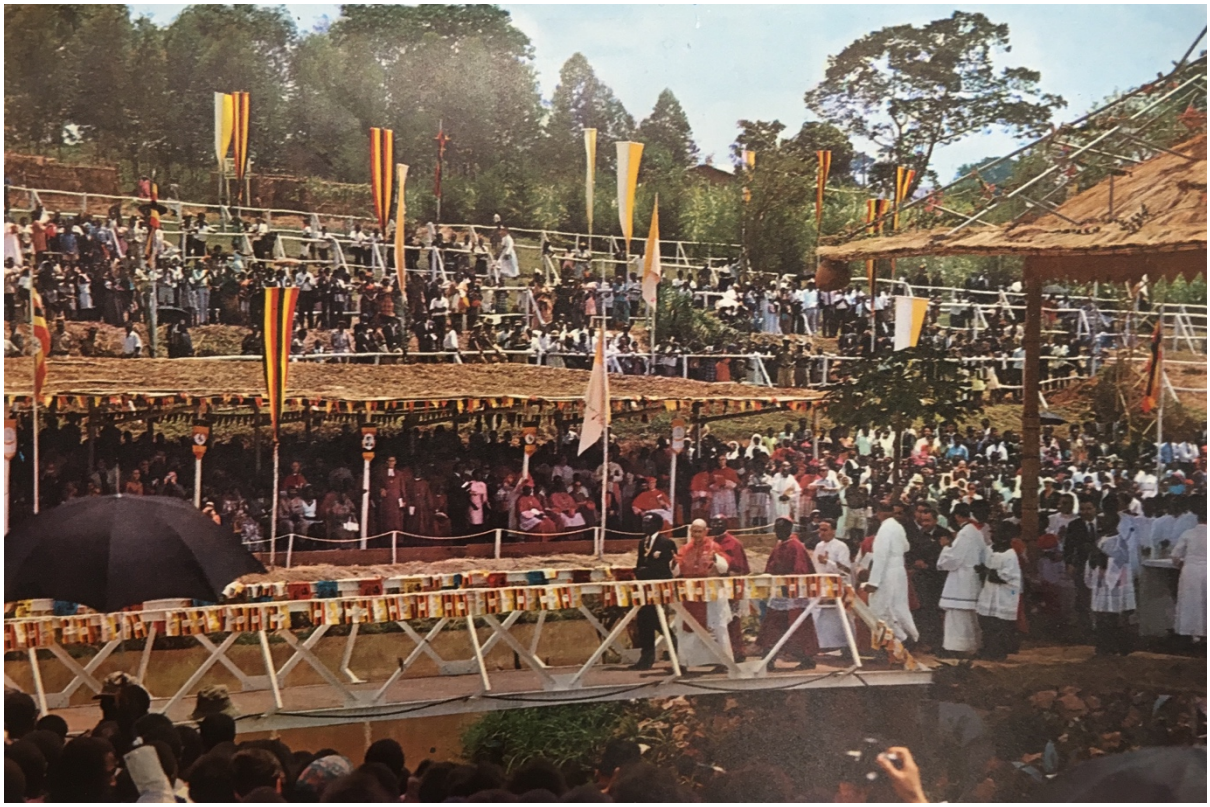
An example of traditional Ugandan bark cloth design still in use today. Image available at: http://barkcloth.blogspot.com/2010/11/uganda-welcomes-us.html. Accessed 1 Oct. 2018.

12.



Relics and Medals of the Canonization of the Uganda Martyrs, Vatican City, gold plated commemorative coins and sacred relics, 1964. Rubaga Archdiocesan Archives. Author's photograph.

13.



Milton Obote, in black, walks next to Pope Paul VI and Bishop Nsubuga at the conclusion of the 2 August mass at Namugongo, in “The Road to Namugongo,” 1970.

14.



Altar, Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, Namugongo, Kampala, 1968. Author's photograph.

15.



Island Pavilion. Dahinden, J., Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs, Kampala, Uganda, 1968. Author's photograph.

16.



Pope Paul VI rides toward Rubaga. Image available in “The Road to Namugongo,” 1970.

17.



Stamp Series, commemorating the Uganda Martyrs, Uganda, 1979. Author's personal collection.

18.



Stamps, Uganda, 2017. Author's personal collection.

19.



The Uganda Martyrs. Image available in: "Les Martyrs de l'Ouganda, Gloire de l'Afrique," *Missi*, 284 (Nov. 1964), pp. 303-322, Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers - Papers Relating to Uganda, Box CMS/ACC385, Folder O5, CRL