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Missions and Institutions: Henri-Philippe Junod, Anthropology, Human Rights and Academia between Africa and Switzerland, 1921–1966¹

Eric Morier-Genoud

The study of Christian missions has regained much impetus in the last twenty years, thanks to the «cultural turn» of the 1990s and the concomitant rise of «transnational studies».² This came about because missions are an ideal object for both these approaches as they are concerned primarily with religion and culture and they act across borders almost by definition.³ But this revival in the study of mission should not be idealised and one needs to highlight the risks of reviving the old history of missions dressed in new clothes. Indeed, while a transnational approach looking at social facts across borders, in a back-and-forth movement, can be very innovating, it can also remain limited to a study of mission in two discrete locations, «at home» or «abroad», just as it did in the past, without looking at how each influenced and shaped the other and at how both existed in interlocking and interdependent systems. Further, a truly transnational approach needs to also investigate the synthesis produced by the dialectic of «home» and «abroad». In fact, I would argue that the great promise and possible leap forward of the new transnational approach in mission studies lies

¹ I wish to thank Patrick Harries and Iris Berger for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper; Caroline Jeannerat for her comments, her help with South African material and her editing work; and Delphine Debons for sharing information and thoughts on Junod at the International Committee of the Red Cross. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the Conference «Celebrating Gavin Williams», Oxford University, 9–10 July 2010 and at the Sociology department seminar, Queen's University Belfast, 9 February 2011.

² For an overview of the field, see the special issue «A State of the Field» of the journal *Social Sciences and Missions*, 24 (2011), 2–3.

³ There were of course missionaries and mission societies working on the home front too. «Home missions» (also known as «urban missions», «interior missions», etc) were usually aimed at lower classes and non-Christians groups (not least Jews). The main emphasis of mission societies in the 19th and 20th century, however, was the people who were considered «heathen», and these were located in the areas that Europe «discovered» and conquered in the 19th century.

precisely in the investigation of new (global) ideas, norms, cultures and institutions which emerged as a result of, or at least connected to, the missionary exchanges and encounters worldwide.⁴

The promise and possible leap forward of the cultural approach to the study of missions lies, in turn, in the analysis of faith institutions and actors beyond the religious field. All too often research looks at Christian missions within the religious field only, or as a closed field that attempts to exert an impact on other closed fields such as the humanitarian or the academic worlds. In this manner, the heritage of missions in other fields is frequently overlooked, if not dismissed. Missions are regularly presented as having contributed to the creation of a field only before it was solidified and became autonomous, not during or after it was established. For example, there is much research about the interaction between missionaries and the anthropological field, but most authors take it for granted that the interaction only lasted until anthropology became an institutionalised (secular) academic discipline. Yet the reality is far more complicated and a cultural approach should allow us to uncover a more complex and porous reality. Historically speaking, a cultural and transnational approach should lead, and allow, us to revisit genealogies and thereby unpack connections little-thought of between missionaries and other domains – a sort of archaeological investigation à la Foucault.⁵

On the basis of such a cultural, transnational and genealogical approach, this article studies a Swiss missionary, Henri-Philippe Junod, between Europe and Africa. It looks at how he not only interacted with non-religious fields, but also contributed to the establishment and development of some of the latter's institutions. While Junod's contribution might have an even wider significance, such as in relation to religion, this paper concentrates on three areas in particular, each of which constitutes a section: the discipline of anthropology, social policy and human rights, and the setting up of an academic institution specialised in the study of Africa. In the coming pages, the text will show how Junod played a role in the formation of professional anthropology worldwide; contributed to the creation of the Penal Reform League in South Africa and the implantation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Africa; and was a key player in the launch of the Geneva Africa Institute in Switzerland.⁶ While the article can be

⁴ Ann Laura Stoler/Frederic Cooper, *Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda*, in: Ann Laura Stoler/Frederic Cooper (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Berkeley 1997, 1–56.

⁵ For an inspiring investigation on mission and humanitarianism, see Guillaume Lachenal/Bertrand Taithe, *Une généalogie missionnaire et coloniale de l'humanitaire: le cas Aujoulat au Cameroun, 1935–1973*, in: *Le Mouvement Social*, 227 (April–June 2009), 45–63. For an investigation in relation to academia, see Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South*, Princeton 2010.

⁶ The complex and so far untold story of Henri-Philippe Junod's professional career is examined on the basis of research in the archives of the Département Missionnaire: Échange

read as a biography of Henri-Philippe Junod, the aim of the study is to look at how an individual's life back and forth between Africa and Switzerland contributed to the launching and development of new global ideas and institutions.

Ethnography and the Anthropological Field

Henri-Philippe Junod was born in 1897 in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, the son of Henri-Alexandre Junod, a famous Swiss missionary *cum* lepidopterologist and anthropologist.⁷ His mother, Emilie Bioley, was the daughter of a rich industrialist from western Switzerland. During his very early years, Junod lived in South Africa where his father was working as missionary, but when his mother died unexpectedly in 1901, his father sent him back to Switzerland to live with his grandmother. He spent his youth in Switzerland where he went to school and graduated from the University of Neuchâtel in 1920 with a Bachelor's degree in theology.

Strongly influenced by his (mostly absent) father, Junod chose to become a missionary, applying to the Swiss Mission in South Africa (SMSA) and recruited by it in November 1920.⁸ The SMSA sent him to the United Kingdom to attend a missionary preparation course (following a well-trodden Reformed trail among the Swiss French-speaking Protestants) as well as to Portugal, together with his fiancée Idelette Schnezler (a trained nurse), to learn Portuguese, the language of colonial Mozambique. After they were married, the Junods left for Lourenço

et Missions in Lausanne, Switzerland, the successor organisation of the Swiss Mission in South Africa (DM Archives); the archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva (ICRC Archives); the archives of the Geneva Graduate Institute (GGI Archives); and the Royal Anthropological Institute in London (RAI Archives).

⁷ On Henri-Alexandre Junod, see Patrick Harries, *The Anthropologist as Historian and Liberal: H.-A. Junod and the Thonga*, in: *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 8 (1981), 37–50; Patrick Harries, *Butterflies and Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries and Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa*, Oxford 2007; Henri-Philippe Junod, *Henri-A. Junod. Missionnaire et Savant, 1863–1934*, Lausanne 1934.

⁸ The SMSA was a religious organisation formed by Free Evangelical Protestants from francophone Switzerland in the mid-19th century after they broke away from the mainstream Reformed state churches. The SMSA developed an interest in southern Africa as a result of its links to the Paris Evangelical Mission which worked in Lesotho. In the 1870s it decided to run its own works and opened a first station in the former Transvaal among refugees from the eastern coast (soon to be called «Tsonga» people) in 1875. From there, the SMSA expanded into the rest of the Transvaal and into Mozambique. The Mission was well endowed and it was able to build a solid network of churches, schools and health facilities in Mozambique and South Africa. For a history of the Swiss Mission in South Africa, see Caroline Jeannerat, Eric Morier-Genoud and Didier Péclard, *Embroided: Swiss Churches, Apartheid and South Africa*, Münster 2011. For a history of the church in Mozambique, see Charles Biber, *Cent ans au Mozambique. Reportage sur l'histoire de l'église presbytérienne du Mozambique*, Lausanne 1987.

Marques in June 1922. They were then stationed at the rural mission station of Manjacaze in southern Mozambique, where Henri-Philippe was to work for seven years.⁹

The mission station of Manjacaze was a new station, without built structures when the Junods arrived. Conditions in the area were harsh health-wise, as the weather was particularly hot and prone to malaria, as well as materially, because the wooden houses were of temporary nature and constantly attacked by termites.¹⁰ From 1925, Idelette Junod and the couple's children regularly fell ill and increasingly had to leave the mission station to recover in the town of Chaï Chaï (today's Xai Xai) or Lourenço Marques (today's Maputo) or in even more temperate South Africa. The conditions for spiritual work in Manjacaze were also difficult. There was much competition from the Roman Catholic Church and from Protestants (Wesleyans, Methodists, the Nazarene church, etc.). The area had been the seat of the major pre-colonial Gaza Empire which had controlled half of present-day Mozambique in the late 19th century and it had become a much sought-after area for mission work. The SMSA also had to deal with strong opposition from the Portuguese administration as the Lisbon government became increasingly nationalistic and pro-Catholic in the 1920s.¹¹ After the publication in 1925 of a very critical report on labour recruitment in Portuguese Africa by Professor Ross to the League of Nations' Temporary Slaving Commission, the situation worsened for foreign, non-Catholic mission societies. Some areas became closed to the Swiss Mission and harassment by the colonial government became a constant.¹²

With religious work thus constrained and his family increasingly absent, Henri-Philippe Junod began to devote ever more time to ethnographic research. Junod had become interested in anthropology even before leaving Europe. While in London, he read books and took extra classes in anthropology at the Board of Study for the Preparation of Future Missionaries (taught by evolutionist Reverend Professor Edwin Oliver James).¹³ In 1921 he described his interest in anthropology in a letter to the head of the Swiss Mission in the following way:

⁹ For a short autobiography, see Henri-Philippe Junod, Penal reform in South Africa, in: *African Affairs*, 51 (1951), 36.

¹⁰ DM Archives, Box M 633, Folder B: Letter to the Council, 15 February 1923, and letter from 2 April 1923.

¹¹ *Ibid.* More generally, see Alf Helgesson, *Church, State and People in Mozambique: A Historical Study with Special Emphasis on Methodist Developments in the Inhambane Region*, Uppsala 1994; Teresa Cruz E. Silva, *Protestant Churches and the Formation of Political Consciousness in Southern Mozambique (1930–1974)*, Basel 2001.

¹² DM Archives, Box 672/E: Letter to the Council, 3 December 1925.

¹³ DM Archives, Box 1711/E, Letter to M. Lenoir, 14.05.1921. On Professor E.O. James, see D.W Grundy, Professor E.O. James, 1888–1972, in: *Numen*, 19, 2–3 (1972), 81–83.

«I have obtained free entry to the British Museum Library and was loaned a book on the study of anthropology. I hold that my beloved father's strength lies in his making the Mission known through this domain [anthropology], and I hope to be able to follow on the same path, if with my more modest intelligence.»¹⁴

Two aspects should be highlighted in this particular quote. First, there is a desire to do missionary work using anthropology. That is, anthropology was to Junod a means to an end, and not an end in itself. Over and over in his life Junod continued to emphasise that, above all, he was a missionary; for example, in 1936 he declared that «my charisma [god-given grace] is evangelisation» (see more below).¹⁵ Second, there is in the quote a clear desire on the part of Junod to follow and build on his father's legacy. This too was an important and lasting characteristic, until at least the late 1930s, if not over all of his life. Tellingly, he referred to his father's work in his own articles and book.¹⁶ In fact, in 1935 he explained in a letter that his investigations all aimed to «clarify certain hypotheses that father had already put forward in his great work on the Thongas».¹⁷

Henri-Philippe Junod's location in Manjacaze was important in shaping his work. Manjacaze allowed him to investigate new social groups which had not been studied ethnographically and was thus pioneering. His location allowed him to study not one, but three ethnic groups and to compare them. When he arrived, Junod learned Thonga (today's Tsonga/Shangaan), as recommended by his Mission which, by and large, worked within this ethnic group. He soon realised, however, that Tchopi was the dominant language to the south-east of his mission station so that he went on to learn this language and to study the customs of its people. Junod also discovered many spirit medium in his mission area came from the Ndaou ethnic group, based further north, and he went on to investigate them as well. His very first publications were thus on the Thonga, then on Tchopi origins and folklore, and, in the 1930s, on Ndaou demography, totemism, spirit possession, and history.¹⁸

Junod's views on Africans in the late 1920s were liberal and evolutionist. His liberalism (believing in a gradual and peaceful emancipation of Africans) stood in contrast to the political views of the older missionaries whose feelings he occasionally seems to have hurt. Junod respected Africans and demanded that African evangelists of the Mission were not treated as children, and advised

¹⁴ DM Archives, Box 1717E: Letter to Mr Lenoir, London, 22 February 1921.

¹⁵ DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Letter [to head of SMSA in Switzerland], 8 July 1936.

¹⁶ Henri-Philippe Junod, *Les Vandau de l'Afrique orientale portugaise*, in: *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie*, 1, 44 (1935), 22. See also *Les cas de possession et l'exorcisme chez les Vandau*, in: *Africa* (London), 8, 3 (1934), 270.

¹⁷ DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Letter to friends and family, 24 September 1935, 2.

¹⁸ Henri-Philippe Junod, *Some Notes on Tchopi Origins*, in: *Bantu Studies*, 3, 1 (1927), 57–71; *The Mbila or Native Piano of the Tchopi Tribe*, in: *Bantu Studies*, 3, 3 (1929), 275–285; *Spécimen du folklore de la tribu des baTchopi*, in: *Africa*, 6, 1 (1933), 90–95; and *A Contribution to the Study of Ndaou Demography, Totemism and History*, in: *Bantu Studies*, 8, 1 (1934), 17–38.

transparency in church affairs in relation to evangelists. While he thought that a degree of mistrust towards Africans was still appropriate, and that there was a need to keep a strict hierarchy between missionaries and Africans, Junod argued that one needed to show them love.¹⁹ He was shocked by the labour conditions he witnessed in southern Mozambique in his mission field and complained about the unjust labour recruitment practices of the Portuguese. At the same time, however, he believed that Africans were profoundly different to Europeans, were indolent and lazy, and that forced labour was a necessity as long as it was done «justly». By this he meant, among other things, that a person was not to be placed into forced labour repeatedly, that no women should be enforced, and that no chains should be placed on the labourers.²⁰ In 1926, Junod explained in a report about his mission:

«I am among those who believe that compulsory labour is still a necessity in view of the present state of things, as the native is indolent and lazy, and active men are extremely rare. But it is also true that the present *corvée* [in Mozambique] reminds me of, and is worse than, the Old Regime system in France where people were liable to the *corvée* at mercy [...]. There is very little justice in the way forced labour is commanded.»²¹

More generally and theoretically, Junod thought of Africans in terms of «race» and along an evolutionist scheme where Africans were located on a lower evolutionary level than Europeans in terms of intellect, culture and social structure. As other anthropologists of his time, Junod viewed Africans as divided into discrete tribes that were characterised by a unifying political leadership, culture and language in a similar manner to how European nations were defined after the 1850s. Looking at the Tchopi in 1933, he situated them among other «tribes», he looked for (and speculated on) their common origins on the basis of language, and discussed their subsequent evolution. He suggested that the Tchopi had a common origin with the Vatonga (near Inhambane), but proposed that they had developed a separate identity as a result of the Ngoni and «Thonga» invasions of the 19th century. Junod thought Africans were still «primitives» on the evolutionary scale of societies, even though he deemed them, the Tchopi for example, «intelligent», «hard working» and «skilful with their hands».²²

Aside from tracing the historical roots of the tribes in south-eastern Africa, Junod's interest lay with the recording of folklore, history, language and other forms of culture in view of their probable disappearance in the future. In an article published in 1927, he explained that the Tchopi

¹⁹ DM Archives, Box 1150/B: HP Junod, «Quelle attitude devons-nous prendre vis à vis des noirs? Les traiter en «amis» ou en «subordonnés»», 25 June 1927, 3p. [report for a missionary conference?].

²⁰ DM Archives, Box 30/D: HP Junod, «Rapport sur la vie de la station de Manjacaze pour l'année 1926», 1.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Junod, Spécimen du folklore (see note 18).

«[b]eing a small unit, not having their tongue written, will probably disappear in the more or less near future. It is the aim of the present paper, and of some other to be published later, to save from total disappearance something of its originality and ethnological features, and especially something about its so disputable origins.»²³

In another article in 1931 he similarly declared that it «was important to fix on paper, while it is still time, the traditions, songs, tales, and proverbs of African people».²⁴ And, in a 1937 article, he declared that:

«In a period when the rapid disaggregation of tribal institutions is increasing, it is urgent to study the forms which the custom of marriage [...] takes in different tribes. And this is one of the reasons which push me to describe here some aspects of Ndaou marriage.»²⁵

Socially and politically, Junod's views were close to his father's.²⁶ He reckoned that «our encroachment on Bantu life is in many ways detrimental, although it is necessary and beneficial in other ways».²⁷ That is, Junod thought that Africans were losing some of the pure elements of their culture as a result of the imposition of capitalism and colonialism, something which was a problem. But in his mind, Christianity would compensate for the loss of these pristine cultural elements. This is where missionaries and the Christian church came in and had a mission to bring in values and morals that countered the negative influence. The solution to the African problem was not a return to the past (which he deemed impossible), but a move forward towards Christianity that came with work and education. In relation to the latter, Junod explained: «In education lies our real hope. The answer of the Bantu race to education has already proved that there is a splendid scope for Bantu development.»²⁸ Looking into the future, Junod's hope and aim was for «cooperation between races» with due respect for differences. This was only possible, in his view, if one «harmonize[d]» the races, thus bringing Africans to the level of Europeans and substituting their waning «tribal customs» with Christian values.²⁹ As with many other missionaries, this implied a support for «protective segregation» – segregation to protect the Africans so they could «catch up» at their own pace. Such position was starting to become unpopular among professional anthropologist, however, as they had discarded

²³ Junod, *Some Notes on Tchopi Origins* (see note 18), 57–58.

²⁴ Henri-Philippe Junod, *Quelques proverbes thonga*, in: *Actualités Missionnaires* (Lausanne), No. 10, 1931, 3.

²⁵ Henri-Philippe Junod, *Coutumes diverses des Vandau de l'Afrique Orientale Portugaise. Mariage, divination, coutumes et tabous de chasses*, in: *Africa*, 10, 2 (1937), 159. See also the preface of his *Bantu Heritage*, Johannesburg 1939.

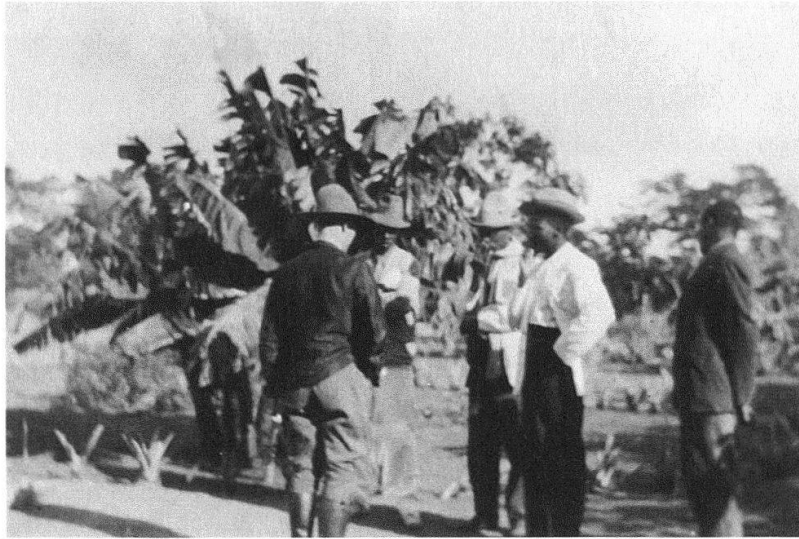
²⁶ See Harries, *Butterflies and Barbarians* (see note 7), ch. 8 and ch. 9.

²⁷ Junod, *Bantu Heritage* (see note 25), 138.

²⁸ Junod, *Bantu Heritage* (see note 25), 141.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

the evolutionist model and begun to see missionaries as contributing to the problematic Westernization of Africans.³⁰



Source: (c) DM-échange et mission, Lausanne.

The original caption reads «M. Junod à Thetcha avec les responsables [n/d]»

Junod published his first academic article in 1927 after which he published one to two articles a year on anthropological topics. However, while his publishing record grew rapidly, his contribution to academia soon hit a wall. Anthropology was undergoing critical changes in the first decades of the 20th century as a result of its institutionalisation at universities and increasing professionalization.³¹ Professional associations, journals and anthropology chairs at universities were being created worldwide (the first overseas chair of anthropology was created in Cape Town in 1920 with Radcliff Brown holding the chair) and, as a result, competition developed between professional anthropologists and missionaries as to who had the best insight into the cultures and social life of Africans. During the first half of the 1930s, the competition turned to the advantage of professional anthropologists and their success meant the exclusion of missionaries from the academic field.³² Professional anthropologists, led by structural-functionalist «revolutionaries» such as Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliff-Brown, argued that their professionalism contrasted with the way missionaries did anthropology, i.e., on the basis of a religious agenda and lacking a theoretical foundation.³³ Patrick Harries sees the split in the relation between professional

³⁰ Patrick Harries, *Anthropology*, in: Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, Oxford 2005, 238–260

³¹ William D. Hammond-Tooke, *Imperfect Interpreters: South Africa's Anthropologists, 1920–1990*, Johannesburg 1997, ch. 1.

³² Harries, *Anthropology* (see note 30); Hammond-Tooke, *Imperfect Interpreters* (see note 31).

³³ Hammond-Tooke, *Imperfect Interpreters* (see note 31); Harries, *Anthropology* (see note 30); Patrick Harries, *Butterflies and Barbarians* (see note 7), ch. 9.

anthropologists and missionaries as taking place between 1928 and 1934.³⁴ The latter date relates to a conference in Johannesburg (organised by the New Education Fellowship) which Henri-Philippe Junod attended and at which leading anthropologists, including Malinowski, strongly criticised missionaries, their lack of acceptance of native customs and lack of criticism of the impact of western civilization. For Junod this marked the formal split between professional anthropology and missionaries.³⁵

Junod was particularly sensitive to these matters since his father had just died the same year as the conference and he was in the middle of writing his biography.³⁶ Still (or maybe therefore) Junod went on to write a vigorous article critiquing the Johannesburg conference. In the piece, Junod discussed much of the criticism against missionaries and, surprisingly, accepted most of it. Yet, unlike the anthropologists, Junod did not separate radically between anthropology and mission work, but emphasised rather on the interrelations between them. Towards the end of his article, Junod defended the importance of anthropology for missionaries, argued for the need for a spiritual dimension to science, and pleaded for collaboration between educationists, missionaries, and anthropologists.³⁷ In this way, Junod did three things: (a) he accepted the separation between anthropology and missionaries, (b) he pleaded for collaboration between missionaries and scientists, and (c) he went on to redefine each sphere. Within the sphere of missions (in which he un-mistakenly situated himself), he pleaded for a use of anthropology in line with the leading missionary-*cum*-anthropologist of the time, Edwin G. Smith.³⁸ He argued:

«[...] anthropology can help us greatly. It can widen our views, it can open our eyes, it can teach us to understand, it can improve our educational policy and point out to us the dangers of the way [...]. The approach of the missionary is incomplete if not pervaded by a thorough knowledge of his subject and the love of truth.»³⁹

Aside from re-defining disciplinary borders, Junod's realisation that the academic field was closing for missionaries led him gradually to abandon academic anthropology. Though he still published academic work over the next five years, most of which was already in the pipeline, Junod no longer published any re-

³⁴ Harries, *Anthropology* (see note 30), 250–257; Harries, *Butterflies and Barbarians* (see note 7), 254–257.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 255–256.

³⁶ Henri-Philippe Junod, *Henri-Alexandre Junod, Missionnaire et Savant, 1863-1934*, Lausanne 1934; see also: Henri-Alexandre Junod, *missionnaire et savant*, in: *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, 52, 5–6 (1934), 224–227.

³⁷ Henri-Philippe Junod, *Anthropology and Missionary Education*, in: *International Review of Missions*, 34 (1935), 228.

³⁸ On Smith, see John Young, *Smith, Edwin. W.*, in: *Dictionary of African Christian Biographies* (<http://www.dacb.org>, accessed 03 August 2011); and W. John Young, *The Quiet Wise Spirit: Edwin W. Smith 1876–1957 and Africa*, Peterborough (UK), 2002, especially ch. 14.

³⁹ Junod, *Anthropology and Education* (see note 37), 228.

search in academic journals after 1938, at least in non-religious ones. His last contribution was a monograph published in 1938 entitled *Bantu Heritage*, published by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines. Interestingly, in this book Junod was careful to state in the introduction that his opus did not «purport to be scientific in nature»: «The author is aware that it is far below the high standard set by the growing school of Bantuists.»⁴⁰ In the conclusion, he returned to this concern and wrote further: «I have to apologise to my friends the anthropologists, to the linguists, the ethnologists and the sociologists, for the very practical nature of many of my descriptions of Bantu life.»⁴¹ After this book, the little which Junod did publish was folklore material for his church,⁴² or social policy pamphlets (see below). This did not prevent him from becoming a member of the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) in London in 1949, a move that indicates that the separation between anthropology and mission work was less radical than some anthropologists of the time might have wished. Junod was invited to join RAI by the two great missionary-*cum*-anthropologists of the time, D. Westermann and Edwin G. Smith, the latter of which was the president of the Institute at the time, the first and only missionary to ever hold the post.⁴³

Overall, one can say that Junod's career in ethnography and anthropology, at one level, was typical of an enlightened liberal missionary during the early 20th century. His motivation was initially «tactical», to serve evangelisation, his views were evolutionist, and his work was very ethnographic and descriptive. Junod was, however, quite successful in his anthropological venture beyond his missionary milieu, since he managed to publish many articles in academic journals and laid a contribution by publishing the first description of the Tchopi and Ndaou «tribes». On another level, however, Junod's role in relation to anthropology was quite unusual. His involvement at the Johannesburg conference, where he personally experienced the exclusion of missionaries from professional anthropology, led him to contribute to the separation of anthropology and missionary work and to a redefinition of the roles of each. While Junod might have been largely forgotten in anthropology, his passionate claim that missiology should not give up anthropology is still referred to today alongside Edwin Smith's.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ See Preface of Henri-Philippe Junod, *Bantu Heritage* (see note 25).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁴² Henri-Philippe Junod/Alexandre A. Jaques, *The Wisdom of the Tsonga-Shangana People*, Cleveland (South Africa) 1936; Henri-Philippe Junod, *N'wampfundla-maxisana: Fifty Shangana-Tsonga Fables in Tsonga Verse*, Pretoria 1940.

⁴³ RAI Archives: Recommendation form to become a member, ref. 63/9/1950, 18 December 1949. On Smith, see note 38.

⁴⁴ Darrell Whiteman, *Anthropology and Mission. An Uneasy Journey Towards Mutual Understanding*, in: C.E. Van Engen/J. D. Woodberry/D. Whiteman (eds.), *Paradigm Shifts In Christian Witness: Insights from Anthropology, Communication, and Spiritual Power*, Maryknoll (USA) 2008, 8.

Social Policy and Human Rights

Because Junod's wife and children faced increasing health problems in the second half of the 1920s, the Junod family returned to Switzerland in 1929. After their convalescence, the Mission decided to post Junod in South Africa where the weather was more clement. After some hesitation as to where to place him, the Swiss Missions in South Africa sent Junod to Pretoria where he arrived in 1931. This move took place, as we saw, at the height of Junod's involvement in ethnography and anthropology. Yet, this involvement declined rapidly after 1934, only three years after his arrival in South Africa. This section looks therefore at the period when Junod shifted his energies away from anthropology towards social policy and human rights. This was not an exceptional move – other missionaries in South Africa, such as Ray Philips, a missionary of the American Board Mission, made the same shift in the same years as conditions for liberal Christianity changed.⁴⁵ What is of interest in Junod's involvement in the fields of social policy and human rights are the connections, relations and genealogies that existed between missionaries, social policy and human rights organisations, in this case the Penal Reform League and the International Committee of the Red Cross. This section examines each of these in turn.

South Africa and Penal Reform

The mission station of Pretoria was both central and peripheral to the Swiss Mission. It was peripheral in that the heart of the Swiss Mission was located further north and east in the Transvaal and that this parish and its only missionary attended solely to Tsonga migrants in town and in the mines. As this work was relatively limited, the missionary's duties included a mental asylum, a leper colony, and the city prison. The work at the prison was to become particularly important for Junod since all capital punishments in South Africa were carried out there. Indeed, Junod effectively became *the* chaplain to death row prisoners in South Africa, until 1959 assisting more than 1,800 prisoners, 800 of whom were executed.⁴⁶ For the work in his parish, Junod could draw on three African pastors and evangelists, one posted at the mission station itself (who also attended to the Pretoria prison) and two located in different parts of Pretoria. At the same time, the mission station of Pretoria was central for the Swiss Mission because Pretoria was the capital of South Africa and one of the main cities in the country. It was the place where many inter-church and national organisations, to which the Mission belonged (or hoped to belong), had their seat. This was to provide Junod with many opportunities for his church work as well as for his own career, through which he began to channel his new interests.

⁴⁵ Iris Berger, *From Ethnography to Social Welfare: Ray Phillips and Representations of Urban Women in South Africa*, in: LFM. Social Sciences and Missions, 19 (2006), 91–116.

⁴⁶ DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Letter to friends and family, 18 July 1959, 4.

In Pretoria, Junod became involved, on his own initiative, in various English-speaking liberal Christian institutions, such as the Rotary Club, the Toc H international charity, the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, and the Prisoners' Aid Society. Soon after his arrival in Pretoria, he joined the South African General Missionary Conference (GMC) as representative of the SMSA and was soon appointed as its secretary. This position became particularly important for Junod as through it he was able to play a foundational role in the formation of the Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA), the forerunner of the South African Council of Churches, which was underway under the direction of the GMC and out of which it grew.⁴⁷ Even before the CCSA was launched in 1936, Junod had been invited to join its Advisory Committee; and after its inauguration, he was asked to sit on its Executive Board. As an expert on African affairs (thanks to his ethnographic work), Junod was also requested to head the CCSA's Committee on Native Welfare (to be renamed the Social Welfare Committee in 1939) the first achievement of which was a national conference in 1940 on «African Family Life», the proceedings of which were published the same year.⁴⁸ These activities, among others, put Junod in an influential position within his church and, even more, within liberal and ecumenical circles in South Africa.

If Junod gained influence in Pretoria, his work and thinking did not always go uncontested. Junod was quite independent-minded and clashed with his superiors on several occasions. The biggest topic seems to have been around finance (his salary and reimbursements which he deemed insufficient) and his future. In 1933, he clashed with the Mission over the future of the mission station of Pretoria and his own future there. He did not want to be moved (a recurrent worry thereafter) and had plans for the station of which the Swiss directors did not approve.⁴⁹ In 1934, he clashed with the Mission over what he termed an issue of «intellectual property». He was earning money from giving lectures at universities (the University of Pretoria and the University of the Witwatersrand) and was foreseeing the publication of several books. According to Mission regulations, any financial compensation granted for such «extra-regulatory» activities were to go back to the Mission which supported the missionary in this work. Yet,

⁴⁷ Mashangu I. Mathebula, *The Relationship Between Some Ecumenical Bodies and the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa (Swiss Mission), 1904–1975: A Historical Study*, Ph.D. dissertation, UNISA (Pretoria), 1989, 44–46. See also Natasha Erlank, «God's Family in the World»: Transnational and Local Ecumenism's Impact on Inter-Church and Inter-Racial Dialogue in South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s, in: *Southern African Historical Journal*, 61, 2 (2009), 278–297.

⁴⁸ Mathebula, *The Relationship* (see note 47), 44–46; Christian Council of South Africa, *African Family Life: Report and Papers Read at the General Missionary Conference Called by the Christian Council of South Africa, and Held at Pretoria Transvaal, South Africa, on Wednesday and Thursday, 26th and 27th June, 1940*, Pretoria 1940.

⁴⁹ See DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Letter to the S.M.S.A. Council, 18 October 1933 and 5 December 1933.

Junod refused to hand over the payments on the grounds that it was the outcome of his «intellectual property» and that it merely complemented a meagre salary.⁵⁰ Then, after a research trip to Mozambique in 1935, Junod created a major crisis for the Mission when he wrote a circular letter to his family and friends in which he not only strongly criticised the labour conditions at the Sena Sugar Estate in central Mozambique, but also stated that he would appreciate, and offer his help, if this information were passed on to the International Labour Organisation and given wider publicity. Though this transfer only occurred more than a year later, it occurred without the prior knowledge of the Mission, which was surprised and very embarrassed when called upon by the Portuguese governor-general of Mozambique for an explanation. Some of Junod's colleagues, not least the missionary in charge of central Mozambique, Pierre Loze, were very upset at Junod's meddling in politics from outside of Mozambique. It took the Mission over a year, well into 1937, to clarify the situation and defuse the crisis with the Portuguese colonial authorities.⁵¹

Junod's most prominent role after 1934 came from his involvement in yet another liberal institution, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). The Institute was launched in 1929 with forty affiliate bodies (such as churches, universities, women's societies, social welfare organisations, and Joint Councils) and many more individual members. It aimed at encouraging the study and resolution of what it called the «racial problem» in the country. It promoted dissemination of its findings through its scientific journal *Bantu Studies* (based at the University of the Witwatersrand) as well as through conferences and lectures. As to social welfare and inter-racial relations, it acted through its constituent bodies and through support of its constituent members.⁵² Of particular interest to this paper, in 1939 the SAIRR established a Committee on Penal Reform in which Junod became involved in view of his experience as a death row chaplain (he was already a member of the SAIRR Executive Committee).⁵³ In 1946, the Committee, in association with the government's social services, established the Penal Reform League of South Africa in which Junod was offered the position of secretary-general while the anthropologist Winifred Hoernlé was appointed as

⁵⁰ See for example DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Letter to Abel de Meuron, secrétaire de la M.S.A.S., 16 January 1934; Box 1.1, Secretary-General to Henri-Philippe Junod, 27 February 1934 and 30 April 1935.

⁵¹ See the key documents in DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Letter to family and friends, 24 September 1935, and letter to Dr Hefti, 19 January 1937; DM Archives, Box 1/11: Letter from Abel de Meuron to HP Junod, 7 July 1937. See also DM Archives, Box 381/C and Box 381/D.

⁵² C.M. Hore-Ruthven, The South African Institute of Race Relation, in: *African Affairs*, 36, 144 (1937), 311.

⁵³ In an interview, Junod mentioned 1934 as the date when he began his involvement in penal reform work. Yet the SAAIR only created a Penal Committee in 1939. Junod might here have been referring, imprecisely, to his work with the Prisoner's Aid Society. See *Our Neighbours: S.A.B.C. Talks on Eleven African Territories*, Johannesburg 1946, 30.

president – an interesting nomination in view of the alleged separation between anthropology and missionaries at the time.⁵⁴ Junod accepted the position and left the Swiss Mission to take up this full-time post. To him, his departure did not constitute a rupture but rather a continuation of his missionary work by other means. He stated to the SMSA that he intended to continue his work for it and possibly even return to it later.⁵⁵ At the same time, however, his move to the SAIRR clearly marked the final step away from a concern with missionary work through ethnography to one through social policy.

Launched in 1946, the Penal Reform League aimed «[t]o devise the best means for the prevention of crime and to promote the correct treatment of delinquents».⁵⁶ In a recent article, Kelly Gillespie has argued that the prison reform movement in the 1940s was «a space for white liberals to argue the finer points of their custodial responsibilities to Africans».⁵⁷ While maybe correct about the self-serving nature of the politics of white liberals, the aims of the Penal Reform League were broader than this, namely: (a) the end of the death penalty in South Africa, (b) the end of prison sentences for non-criminal offenses, (c) the research and devising of reformist procedures, (d) the improvement of prison conditions, and (e) the removal of prisons from cities.⁵⁸ In the inaugural pamphlet of the League, Henri-Philippe Junod looked at crime and law in African communities and argued that «the legal procedure of the Bantu is reconciliation and compromise [...]».⁵⁹ He critically analysed the problems leading to imprisonment and argued these had to do with social and legal structures in general, and, in South Africa, with racism and the colour bar more particularly. He even wrote:

«As long as the Europeans continue the selfish policy of a colour-bar in industry, agriculture and developments of all kinds, the fundamental poverty of the Africans will breed crime, and no prisons will be able to cope with it.»⁶⁰

Junod's Social Gospel is here plain to see and his concluding paragraph elegantly summarised his position: «In this work, the most neglected part of God's kingdom, it is good to remember that we follow the footsteps of Him who said: «I was in prison and you visited me». [...] Let us discard *Lex Talionis* [the principle of an eye for an eye] and start in earnest *Lex Christi*»⁶¹

⁵⁴ Henri-Philippe Junod, Penal Reform in South Africa, in: *African Affairs*, 51 (1951), 37. On Hoernelé's role in the Penal Reform movement, see Kelly Gillespie, Containing the «Wandering Native»: Racial Jurisdiction and the Liberal Politics of Prison Reform in 1940s South Africa, in: *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37, 3 (2011), 499–515.

⁵⁵ DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Letter to the Council of SMSA, to Mr Cuendet and all the members of the Administrative Commission of the SMSA in the Transvaal, 20 December 1945.

⁵⁶ Henri-Philippe Junod, *Revenge of Reformation? Our Prison System*, Pretoria 1946, 41.

⁵⁷ Gillespie, Containing (see note 54), 515.

⁵⁸ Junod, *Revenge of Reformation?* (see note 56), 40.

⁵⁹ Junod, *Revenge of Reformation?* (see note 56), 6.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

If the Penal Reform League was to occupy Junod fully for many years with some success, the organisation rapidly faced restrictions, especially after the Nationalist party won the election in 1948 on the apartheid ticket and began to implement racial segregation in public facilities, education, health, government, etc. In response, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) organised a conference in 1949 under the title of «The Christian Citizen in a Multi-Racial Society», at which Junod challenged the views of Professor W.W.M. Eiselen, an anthropologist and the principal architect of apartheid education.⁶² The SACC agreed with Junod and stipulated in its conclusions to the conference, among other things, that «of greater significance than the admitted diversities among men is man's common humanity».⁶³ But this did not stop apartheid's progress and, by 1957, the government began to extend segregation to religious affairs.⁶⁴ On that occasion, the SAIRR (of which Junod sat on the Board) condemned the South African government and Parliament for the first time in its history. Junod explained to the Mission headquarters that «we had to take a stand» for the «the limits of compromise [have been] reached».⁶⁵



Source: (c) DM-échange et mission, Lausanne.
The original caption reads «1938»

If this step promised that Junod was developing his liberal political position into an anti-apartheid one, this was not to be. Instead, his career took off in a new direction. In the 1950s Junod increasingly travelled overseas to attend international conferences on criminology and penal affairs, and published on these sub-

⁶² Cynthia Kros, W.W.M. Eiselen: Architect of Apartheid Education, in: Peter Kallaway (ed.), *The History of Education under Apartheid 1948–1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened*, Cape Town 2002, 53–73; Cynthia Kros, *The Seeds of Separate Development: Origins of Bantu Education*, Tshwane (South Africa) 2010.

⁶³ Mathebula, *The Relationship* (see note 47), 63–64.

⁶⁴ Jeannerat, Eric Morier-Genoud and Didier Péclard (see note 8), ch. 2 and 3.

⁶⁵ DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Confidential letter to family and friends, 28 April 1957.

jects.⁶⁶ This was to provide him with new opportunities back in Switzerland as a specialist of Africa. First, he was offered some important work on the African continent for the International Committee of the Red Cross and, later, an important academic position in Switzerland. After he lost access to death row prisoners at Pretoria Central Prison when segregation was implemented in the prison system in 1959,⁶⁷ Junod decided to leave South Africa. He moved back to Switzerland in 1961. Yet, before we can investigate the consequences of this move in detail, we need to trace Junod's work in Human Rights for the International Committee of the Red Cross, particularly in the second half of the 1950s.

Mau Mau and Human Rights

Henri-Philippe Junod played an important role in the development of the International Committee of the Red Cross on the African continent. The ICRC, based in Geneva, is today's prime institution for the promotion and enforcement of the laws protecting the victims of war (Geneva conventions) and for helping people affected by armed violence. Founded in 1863, it first became involved outside of Europe during the Italo-Abyssinian (Ethiopian) war of 1935. During this event, however, as well as during the Second World War, the ICRC only looked after the prisoners of war of the European empires in Africa. Until a new Convention of Geneva was signed in 1949, it was not possible for the ICRC to intervene in «internal armed conflict» or in decolonisation struggles. It thus had no mandate to address conflict in colonised Africa. Even after 1949 the application of the new convention was not easy in view of the context of the Cold War.⁶⁸ It was eventually in the late 1950s that the ICRC finally became involved with the African populations of European colonies, and this came with the Mau Mau conflict in Kenya.⁶⁹ Henri-Philippe Junod played a key role in this affair as well during the Second World War.

A reason for Junod's involvement with the ICRC was the good connections that he (and his father before him) had developed in Geneva over the years. Ju-

⁶⁶ Among others, see Henri-Philippe Junod, *I was in Prison* Mat. XXV. 36: *The Modern Approach to Crime and the Criminal*, Pretoria 1951; *Penal Reform in South Africa*, in: *African Affairs*, 50, 177 (1951), 34–41; *Modern Correction: Outlines of a Modern Correctional System in Society's Fight Against Delinquency and Crime*, Pretoria 1956; and *Reform of Penal Systems in Africa*, in: *East African Law Journal*, 2 (1966), 31–36.

⁶⁷ Sarah Oppler, *A Brief History of Prisons in South Africa*, online at www.iss.co.za/pubs/monographs/No29/History.html (accessed 19 September 2011).

⁶⁸ Fabian Klose, *The Colonial Testing Ground: The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Violent End of Empire*, in: *Humanity*, 2, 1 (2011), in particular 108–111. More generally, see David P. Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*, Cambridge 2005, ch. 2.

⁶⁹ Nicolas Lanza, *Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge et le soulèvement des Mau-Mau au Kenya, 1952–1959*, in: *Relations Internationales*, 133 (2008), 92; Henri-Philippe Junod, *La Croix-Rouge et l'Afrique Sub-Saharienne. Souvenirs et remarques au moment du centenaire*, in: *Genève-Afrique*, 2, 2 (1963), 163–182.

nod regularly gave lectures and courses at the University of Geneva, at various churches in the town and to the local Geographic Society when he was on furlough or on holiday in Switzerland (of which more in the next section). Thanks to these connections and to his experience in Africa, and possibly thanks to his family connections to Marcel Junod (one of the ICRC's most famous and influential field delegates),⁷⁰ Henri-Philippe Junod was invited in 1940 to work for the ICRC in «Italian Africa» to visit the Allied prisoner of war-camps. The Swiss Mission welcomed this development and authorised Junod to take time for this work on the side of his regular missionary duties.⁷¹ Thus, for four years from 1941 onwards, Junod visited Italian and German prisoners of war in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Kenya.⁷² This work seems to have taken place to the satisfaction of the ICRC for, after the war, Junod was nominated as an ICRC delegate for Africa, one of only two delegates for the whole continent. This post-war work consisted mostly of linking up the ICRC with the national Red Cross societies in the various southern African countries and promoting information about the ICRC in these countries.⁷³

It was in 1952 that the ICRC began to focus on Kenya because of the Mau Mau conflict – the first African involvement of the organisation.⁷⁴ For various reasons, ranging from doubt about the duty of the ICRC towards a «primitive» African population to British refusal to open their camps to ICRC inspection,⁷⁵ the Red Cross was not able to intervene in the conflict before 1957 when it finally managed to send Junod and another delegate, Dr Gaillard, to visit prison and rehabilitation camps for two months. Their inspection visit has become tarnished in the historiography of Kenya and of the British Empire because of the claim by some historians that Junod compromised ICRC neutrality by supporting the British practice of torture against Mau Mau combatants. There are several reasons cited to back up this evaluation. First, the observation is made that although Junod witnessed torture personally, the ICRC report that was subsequently submitted to the British government did not complain about it. Second, Junod is alleged to have told one prison camp warden that «compared to the French in Algeria, you are angels of mercy», and the governor of Kenya (whom he knew from South Africa) that torture «was the price to pay» for the full «rehabilitation» of Mau Mau fighters.⁷⁶ Several authors suspect that the British colonial govern-

⁷⁰ After working as a delegate for the ICRC, Marcel Junod became a member of the ICRC board and, in 1959, its vice-president. See his *Le troisième combattant. De l'Ypérite en Abyssinie à la bombe atomique d'Hiroshima*, Lausanne 1947.

⁷¹ DM Archives, Box 1/11: Letter to HP Junod, 3 December 1940.

⁷² *Our Neighbours*. S.A.B.C., 30; *Journal de Genève*, 14 June 1941, 8.

⁷³ ICRC Archives, BAG 063 020.02: Délégation en Afrique du Sud, correspondance entre le siège et le délégué Henri-Philippe Junod, various letters.

⁷⁴ Klose, *The Colonial Testing Ground* (see note 68).

⁷⁵ Lanza, *Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge* (see note 69).

⁷⁶ Caroline Elkins, *Britains' Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya*, London 2005, 331; Helena Coban, *The Role of Mass Incarceration in Counterinsurgency: A Reflection on Caro-*

ment tricked Junod and the ICRC in their inspection mission by not showing them all prison camps without restriction or control. Yet others suspect that the ICRC omitted a complaint against torture because of prejudice on the part of the Committee and of Junod.⁷⁷ The most censorious evaluation of the omission argues, however, that the ICRC and Junod had been negligent of their duty in Kenya.⁷⁸

Concerning the first accusation, research has revealed that Junod did in fact denounce the torture in the prison camps in his report to the ICRC, but that the ICRC headquarters decided to edit these elements out of its final report for the British government.⁷⁹ We do not know why the ICRC withdrew these elements nor whether Junod had a role in such a decision, but it is now clear that Junod did not fail to denounce torture. As to the supportive statement about torture which Junod is alleged to have made towards a prison warden, one needs to note that it was raised in the recollections by that warden in a self-serving auto-biography which he published just as veteran Mau Mau fighters prepared a court case against the British in London in 1999, forty two years after the event.⁸⁰ In other words, while the accusation might still be true, it could also be that the prison warden's memory is imprecise and self-serving, i.e. that Junod did not say these exact words, did not intend to support torture outright, or take the matter lightly (as the tone suggest). Conversely, as to the question of what Junod told the governor of Kenya, there is little ground to doubt that Junod did tell the governor that torture might be a price necessary to pay for the rehabilitation of Mau Mau fighters. The source is from the period and it is hard to see why the Governor General would have changed the exact meaning of Junod's words in what is a telegram to a minister.

As to the accusation of prejudice against Africans, it may seem surprising, at first, in view of what Junod had been standing for in South Africa until then, but (a) we need to understand in detail how Junod understood the situation, and (b) we need to note that some of Henri-Philippe's ideas changed after the Second World War. A series of elements seem to have played a role in this transformation, namely his becoming a South African citizen and his daily exposure to apartheid (his wife worked for the South African Department of Information); the apparent failure of the liberal projects after 1948; and his exposure to new intellectual currents, notably psychology, psychiatry and biology which had an

line Elkins's *Imperial Reckoning in Light of Recent Events*, in: *Radical History Review*, 96 (2006), 126; J. McGhie, *British Brutalities in Mau Mau Conflict*, in: *The Guardian*, 9 November 2002. See also David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*, London 2005.

⁷⁷ Lanza, *Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge* (see note 69), 91–110.

⁷⁸ Klose, *The Colonial Testing Ground* (see note 68), 1118.

⁷⁹ Lanza, *Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge* (see note 69), 102.

⁸⁰ Terence Gavaghan, *Of Lion and Dung Beetles: A «Man in the Middle» of the Colonial Administration in Kenya*, Alms Court (UK) 1999, 235.

important role and impact on criminology and the Penal Reform movement (more *infra*).⁸¹

Junod's understanding of Mau Mau went as follow. He argued that Mau Mau was a «blind African Jacquerie»⁸², a tragedy which had been caused by an ethno-psychological alienation which the Kikuyus had suffered as a result of colonisation and westernisation and the ill-treatment of Kikuyu women.⁸³ Junod referred to Mau Mau as an extraordinary psychological phenomenon, a «true collective mental alienation», a «group paranoia».⁸⁴ Such a view of course concurred well with the official British explanation of Mau Mau, and we may wonder to what extent the British managed to influence Junod's understanding of the conflict – something not to be underestimated in view of Junod's anglophilia. But Junod's view of Mau Mau was too sophisticated to have been shaped by the British only. It was based on a theoretical approach, and on presuppositions, which he articulated clearly to his colleagues and friends of the Swiss Mission and later in a journal article. In his view, all problems in Kenya had to do with functionalist anthropology which had idealized all forms of primitive life. Kenyatta, the leader of the Mau Mau movement and a former student of Malinowski, had idealised such a past (notably in his book *Facing Mount Kenya*).⁸⁵ To Junod it was this idealisation that had led Kenyatta, who he claimed had a «diabolical intelligence», to initiate the Mau Mau movement which aimed at restoring traditional Kikuyu society.⁸⁶ In a letter to family and friends in which he explained his views, Junod recollected that he had met Kenyatta and Malinowski at a conference in 1937 at which he had criticised functionalist anthropology. He now concluded:

«We can see here quite clearly where a certain conception of anthropology leads [...] And I do not regret having attacked Bronislaw Malinowski in 1937, who is, otherwise, a charming and profoundly lovable man.»⁸⁷

⁸¹ A current of criminology developed in 20th century criminology to locate the causes of crime through biology and psychology. Psychiatry also seems to have had an important influence upon the Penal Reform movement. See Richard F. Wetzell, *Psychiatry and Criminal Justice in Modern Germany, 1880–1933*, in: *Journal of European Studies*, 39, 3 (2009), 270–289.

⁸² DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Confidential letter to family and friends, 28 April 1957, 5.

⁸³ DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Confidential letter to family and friends, 28 April 1957, 5. For a slightly more diplomatic version of his argument, see Henri-Philippe Junod, *La Croix-Rouge et l'Afrique Sub-Saharienne. Souvenirs et remarques au moment du centenaire*, in: *Genève-Afrique*, 2, 2 (1963), 173–178.

⁸⁴ Junod, *La Croix-Rouge* (see note 83), 177.

⁸⁵ Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya: the tribal life of the Gikuyu*, London 1938.

⁸⁶ DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Confidential letter to family and friends, 28 April 1957, 4. More generally, see Bruce Berman, *Ethnography as Politics, Politics as Ethnography: Kenyatta, Malinowski, and the Making of Facing Mount Kenya*, in: *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 30, 3 (1996), 313–344.

⁸⁷ DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Confidential letter to family and friends, 28 April 1957, 4.

Said differently, Junod was blaming functionalist anthropology for the development of a particular form of African nationalism (looking «backwards» to restore African societies) which he deemed was irrational and sick – «a mental alienation».

While old influences from his work in anthropology were important in shaping Junod's view of Mau Mau, so were new ones. Junod had always been sensitive to psychology. The Junod and Piaget families were great friends and Henri-Philippe knew Jean Piaget well.⁸⁸ Junod also referred to psychology in his early work, not least in his 1934 study on spirit possession, though he placed his contribution clearly within the field of anthropology.⁸⁹ After attending the First World Congress of Psychiatry in 1950 however, Junod became increasingly predisposed towards psychology and psychiatry (and, to a lesser extent, biology and genetics). He was sensitive not so much to Freud, he claimed, as to Alfred Adler whose preventive and holistic approach corresponded with Junod's social gospel approach.⁹⁰ In an article in 1958, Junod discussed Mau Mau and again criticised functionalist anthropology, before making a plea for what he called a «deeper anthropology»:

«It seems clear to me that it is time for anthropology to try to discover research methods without which phenomena like the bewitchment of the Kikuyu tribe, under the power of a powerful oath, become totally inexplicable. These phenomena are not special to the Bantu. I have seen young men in prisoners' camps under the spell of Hitler, and there was little qualitative difference between the Germanic hypnotised and the quasi paranoiac Mau Mau.»

He concluded: «Anthropology needs to enlarge its field of study and open up to specialists capable of pushing it in the direction of psychological and psycho-analytic research.»⁹¹

Eventually, Junod's support of torture needs to be understood in this context – for there is little ground to doubt that Junod did tell the governor of Kenya that torture was a price necessary to pay for the rehabilitation of Mau Mau fighters. Junod had a very negative understanding of certain forms of nationalism. While he supported reformist African nationalism, he opposed what he deemed reactionary or backward-looking and non-Christian nationalism. Drawing on psychology, he saw the latter as «pathological» and might have thought of torture as an acceptable form of «shock therapy». Tellingly, in his 1957 letter to friends and family, he referred to the «fruits» of the re-education services of the British and of the purification ceremonies which churches had devised. He called that common action «an effort to bring back the Kikuyus to cooperation in a re-discovered common humanity».⁹²

⁸⁸ Patrick Harries, personal communication.

⁸⁹ Junod, *Les cas de possession* (see note 16), 270.

⁹⁰ Henri-Philippe Junod, *L'anthropologie gagnerait à se développer en profondeur*, in: *Civilisations*, 7, 4 (1958), 563.

⁹¹ Junod, *L'anthropologie gagnerait* (see note 90), 563.

⁹² DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Confidential letter to family and friends, 28 April 1957, 5.

As surprising as these ideas may be, we should not take Junod's views as exceptional or going against those of the ICRC. In April 1958 Junod wrote to the head of the ICRC asking if he could publish an article on the Mau Mau uprising and from which the quotations above have been taken.⁹³ Though Junod offered to publish the text anonymously if the ICRC considered the views expressed to pose a potential problem for it,⁹⁴ this offer was declined by the President of the ICRC.⁹⁵ Furthermore, some of the thinking of the ICRC leadership in relation to Africa diverged even more strongly than Junod's from the universalist objectives held by the organisation. Samuel Gonard, who was to become the president of the ICRC from 1964 to 1969, for example wrote a report after an ICRC mission to Equatorial Guinea in 1962 arguing that the ICRC's main challenge in Africa was that the African masses were «naturally cruel» and unable to read or, if they did read, unable to remember.⁹⁶ There were, of course, other more pro-African voices within the ICRC leadership, but they were not dominant and the fact is that the ICRC struggled to deal with, and accept, some of Africa's realities. Taking into account the nature and social make-up of the ICRC (an organisation emerging out of the Protestant bourgeoisie of francophone Switzerland), it becomes clear that these individuals struggled to match their particular universalist objectives with the concrete realities on the African continent, with Junod having an important and telling role as a man coming out of the same milieu and having an established and recognised expertise of African realities.

Junod and the Study of Africa in Switzerland

As we saw earlier, liberal Christianity lost much ground in South Africa in the late 1950s. Aside from the general increase in racial segregation (land, work, education, and social relations), in 1957 apartheid was extended to churches, which led to the first public condemnation of the apartheid government and parliament by the SAIRR, on the board of which Junod sat. Closer to home, in 1959 the South African government ended Junod's access to death row prisoners.⁹⁷ Yet these developments took place in South Africa just as a new opportunity emerged for Junod in Switzerland, thanks in part to his ICRC work. At this time, the University of Geneva and political authorities in Geneva were in the process of opening an institute on Africa in the city, linked to the University and to the state of Geneva, and they decided to offer Henri-Philippe Junod the position of director. Junod accepted the offer and left South Africa with his wife, returning to Switzerland in 1961, after an absence of forty years.

⁹³ Junod, *L'anthropologie gagnerait* (see note 90).

⁹⁴ ICRC Archives, BAG 063 020.02: Letter to the President of the ICRC, 17 April 1958.

⁹⁵ ICRC Archives, BAG 063 020.02: Letter from Jean-G. Lussier to H.-P. Junod, 30 April 1958.

⁹⁶ Cited in Lanza, *Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge* (see note 69), 107–108.

⁹⁷ DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Letter 31 December 1960.

Since he had left Switzerland in 1922, Henri-Philippe Junod had maintained, if not developed, good relations with academics, professionals and churches in Switzerland, and in Geneva in particular. He had written circular letters, following the tradition in the Swiss Mission, as well as regular articles in the Mission bulletin *Actualités Missionnaires*. When on furlough in Switzerland, he had conducted publicity tours to parishes and, on the basis of his academic record and knowledge, was regularly invited to give lectures to learned societies in Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel. He made presentations to the Geographical Society in Geneva, wrote occasionally for the *Journal de Genève*, and in later years gave talks to the Geneva Society of Law and Legislation. He presented lectures at the theology faculties of the universities of Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel, and in 1937 lectured a whole semester in Geneva.⁹⁸ In this way, Junod was able to build a solid reputation in Switzerland as a specialist on Africa, Christian missions, and criminology. After gaining a doctorate *Honoris Causa* from the University of the Witwatersrand in 1957 and after two sets of visits to Kenya for the ICRC, Junod had become one of the leading figures on Africa in Switzerland. It is in this capacity that he was asked to direct the new institute on Africa.

The new Geneva Africa Institute was an initiative of both the university and the state of Geneva. Wishing to do something about the socio-political changes on the African continent, particularly in view of independence that was being granted to French and English colonies, beginning with Ghana in 1957, the government of Geneva in coordination with the Geneva academic milieu, decided to launch the Centre for African Leading Personal, renamed the Geneva Africa Institute (GAI) in 1962.⁹⁹ Financed by the state of Geneva, the Institute's objectives were defined as «to teach and do research in relation to the issues of development in Africa in particular, and other countries or regions of the Third World».¹⁰⁰ Two professors drove the launch of this institute. The rector of the University of Geneva, Jacques Courvoisier, a former pastor from Neuchâtel, like Junod, and a professor of ecclesiastical history, was in contact with Junod and seems to have introduced his name into the discussion for the creation of the GAI. Jacques Freymond, the son of a pastor, director of the influential Graduate

⁹⁸ DM Archives, Box 8.17/J: Letter to Abel de Meuron, 24 July 1937, 1.

⁹⁹ Monique Nobs-Margairaz, *L'Institut Africain de Genève (1962–1973). Une contribution à la problématique du développement*, Geneva 1993, 32. See also *Journal de Genève*, 20 November 1964, 13. The debate over the name of the Center was quite important, as was that of the translation of the name. The name «Geneva Institute for African Leading Personal» is the translation given in one version of the Statutes. See GGI Archives, File IUED A 1/1: *Projet de Statuts pour le Centre Genevois pour la Formation de cadres africains* (gs/18.5.61).

¹⁰⁰ GGI Archives, File IUED A1/3: Statutes of the Geneva Africa Institute, 1. In 1977 the Institute was renamed Institut Universitaire d'Etudes en Développement (IUED) and in 2000 it merged with the Institute of International Studies (HEI) to form today's Geneva Graduate Institute.

Institute of International Studies (HEI)¹⁰¹ and member of the ICRC board, was the academic and strategic brain behind the GAI and weighed in favour of Junod as the director of the new institute in view of his academic references, his living Africa, and his experience of how to deal with Africans. Junod himself had played an incipient role for the foundation of the GAI when in 1960, while attending a criminology conference in Geneva, he met the University leadership and expressed his wish to see the launch of a project for African leaders in Switzerland.¹⁰²

The GAI opened its doors in the autumn of 1961, in time for the academic year of 1961/62, with 16 students. To start with, Junod had much administrative and logistical work to do since the Institute started from scratch and everything had to be put in place with few staff. Junod spent much time materially organising the Institute and writing promotional materials, apart from teaching and managing staff. While Junod disliked administrative work, it was his views for the Institute that soon led to conflicts with staff and students, as well as the Board of the Institute. Junod decided that a superior education, in particular for students from Africa, should include a section on the nature of the Swiss governing institutions as well as on African linguistics. While his colleagues tolerated Junod's views, the African students boycotted his classes and complained about his paternalism, missionary bias and attempt to depoliticize African problems.¹⁰³ After eight months the problems came to a head and Junod was politely asked to step down.¹⁰⁴ He did so gracefully and in his resignation letter referred to the lack of clarity of his duties, the administrative burden, the lack of support personnel while defending his views for the Institute. He believed it should not focus solely on development; while he agreed that issues were economical, he emphasised that they were also pedagogic and moral, and that Switzerland needed to help Africans to «depoliticise» their problems.¹⁰⁵

Junod's views at the GAI cannot be understood as those of a missionary as opposed to secular academics and students. The GAI had many religious ele-

¹⁰¹ HEI was founded in Geneva in 1927, at the time of the League of Nations, and was for long one of the few academic institutions worldwide dedicated solely to international studies. Linked to GAI, it eventually merged with GAI's successor (IUED) in 2000, see previous footnote.

¹⁰² ICRC Archives: Procès-verbal du Conseil de présidence du CICR, 24 novembre 1960 (as communicated to me by Delphine Debons) and Nobs-Margairez, *L'Institut Africain de Genève* (see note 99), 29.

¹⁰³ Jacques Freymond, interview by Eric Morier-Genoud, Genthof, 22 January 1997; Gilbert Rist, interview by Eric Morier-Genoud, Geneva, 8 January 2002; Jean-Pierre Gontard, interview by Eric Morier-Genoud, Geneva, 3 March 2011; Nobs-Margairaz, *L'Institut Africain de Genève* (see note 99), 32; *Journal de Genève*, 20 Novembre 1964, 13. On depoliticising African problems, see GGI Archives, File IUED B1/4: Letter to the member of the Foundation, 15 January 1962, 7.

¹⁰⁴ Nobs-Margairaz, *L'Institut Africain de Genève* (see note 99), 32–34.

¹⁰⁵ GGI Archives, File IUED B1/4: Letter to the member of the Foundation, 15 January 1962, 8p.

ments apart from Junod and these were to continue to dominate the Institute after his departure. His successor was another pastor, Pierre Bungener, who had been the editor of the French journal *La Réforme*, a post from which he had resigned in 1960 to be able to write freely about the Algerian war.¹⁰⁶ A few years later Bungener would help to launch the anti-apartheid movement in Geneva. What had rather been at stake with Junod at the GAI was a clash of generations. The disagreement between Junod and some of the staff and board members (aside students) had to do with the fact that Junod was much older, with different social, political and theological sensitivities. Jean-Pierre Gontard, who had been a student at the Institute in 1962, summarises the motivation of those who led the GAI after Junod in the following way:

«These people were very preoccupied with fundamental questions, with the Third World and Africa, in particular with the heritage of missions, of how to manage the heritage of missions.»¹⁰⁷

In other words, they were Christian individuals too, but they were more radical politically and they tried not to continue missionary works but to manage the heritage of missions.

One of the legacies of Junod at the GAI was the founding of the academic journal *Genève-Afrique* which was launched in 1962 and published four times a year until 1992. Junod had proposed the journal to a Board meeting on 24 November 1961 under the name *Acta Africana*. It was eventually published as the *Genève-Afrique. Acta Africana* with Junod as the editor and Pierre Bungener as the director. In the preface to the first edition, Junod wrote that the journal was not «political, in the narrow sense of the word», but aimed at a «dialogue between Africa and Europe» and helping the construction of a lasting African unity in harmony. In that task, Junod argued, Switzerland had a particular contribution to offer the world:

«Our little country is a place singularly privileged to announce such a dialogue. Six centuries of confederation and the experience of our neutrality should allow us to speak a language understandable to those who want a «community-cratic» and «un-engaged» Africa.»¹⁰⁸

This citation echoes Junod's writing on Mau Mau («community-cratic») and one can, on its basis, easily imagine the gap which existed between Junod and the younger generation of engaged scholars and African nationalist students at the GAI. When Junod was asked to step down from the Institute, he requested to

¹⁰⁶ Nobs-Margairaz, *L'Institut Africain de Genève* (see note 99), 40

¹⁰⁷ Jean-Pierre Gontard, interview by Alice A. Sala, Geneva, 23 March 2009 (within the project *Mémoire vivante de l'Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement – IUED*); also interview by Eric Morier-Genoud, Geneva, 3 March 2011.

¹⁰⁸ *Journal de Genève*, 27 August 1962, 5.

retain the editorship of the journal, but the Board refused.¹⁰⁹ In its place, Junod was granted a sum of money to work on a book until the end of the year when he was due to turn 70 years old.¹¹⁰

After his forced retirement and the death of his wife, Junod decided in 1966 to return to South Africa. He engaged in historical research on the Tsonga people and the SMSA mission station of Shiluvane in the eastern Transvaal near which he lived and where he had spent his very early childhood years with his father.¹¹¹ He wrote a few more circular letters for the SMSA as well as articles for Swiss newspapers. By this point, however, Junod had become disillusioned, notably with what he called his «mediation attempts» between different racial groups in South Africa. He wondered publicly if, after all, the failure at bringing different racial groups together did not have something to do with biology.¹¹² Subsequently he also became ever more hopeful of apartheid's promises. In 1979, for example, soon after the coming to power of P.W. Botha, Junod wrote most eloquently of the prime minister in a circular letter and referred to the «country of Apartheid which, fortunately, seems well on its way towards total change».¹¹³ In the 1970s Junod's views had become out of touch with the sensitivities dominant in the intellectual and church circles of Switzerland, and he became more and more marginalised. Junod passed away in South Africa in 1987 at the age of ninety one.

Conclusion

The argument of this article has been that the worth of a transnational approach is not merely its capacity to study men and institutions across borders, going «abroad» or coming «home», but to study the dialectical outcome which results from this exchange. Accordingly, this paper has not looked at what Junod might have transported to Mozambique, South Africa and Kenya, or brought back to Switzerland from Africa when on furlough or after he left South Africa. Rather it has tried to uncover the new ideas, norms and institutions which Henri-Philippe Junod contributed to establish and fashion out of his back-and-forth movement between Europe and Africa. Specifically, we have uncovered Junod's role in establishing the discipline of anthropology, the Penal League Reform in South Africa, the International Committee of the Red Cross in Africa, the Geneva Africa Institute, and the journal *Genève-Afrique* in Switzerland. In terms of ideas, we have seen his work at promoting not only the separation between

¹⁰⁹ GGI Archives, File IUED1/4: Procès-verbal de la séance du conseil de Fondation, 3 juillet 1963.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ RAI Archives, File 94/10/71.7: Junod to RAI Administrative secretary, 11 October 1971; DM Archives, Box1499/E: Letter to Henri-Philippe Junod (unsigned), 14 February 1975.

¹¹² Rencontre Internationale de Genève, *La Vie et le Temps. Les générations dans le monde actuel*, 17 (1962), 198.

¹¹³ DM Archives, Box 8.17.J: Circular Letter dated 10 October 1979.

anthropology and missiology, but also the use of anthropology by missionaries. We have seen his promoting a liberal form of Christianity, push for a reformist approach to criminality, and struggled with the International Committee of the Red Cross on how to establish human rights principles in an African context. Finally, we have seen Junod's drive to establish a particular form of education at the Geneva Africa Institute (with linguistics and Switzerland as a model) and to launch an academic journal with a lasting impact on Swiss African Studies.

Another argument of this paper has been that we need to look at missionaries not only from a religious or theological standpoint but also from a cultural angle, and look at institutions from a genealogical perspective (*à la Foucault*). Regarding the latter, we saw that Junod was first and foremost a missionary, but that his actions spilled into many other spheres during his life. Looking at his work in the long run, we discovered that fields deemed secular today were not always so at first and that they were often shaped by religious men such as Junod. This is definitely true for the case we looked at – anthropology, social policy and human rights, and the academic study of Africa. The genealogical angle has further revealed interesting, complex and complicated connections for institutions whose past is today narrated in possibly simpler and more linear lines. Thus we have seen in detail how the fields of anthropology and missions separated; we have also seen that this separation was not perfect or absolute, and that some overlap carried well into the 1960s. We have discovered a very religious and complex past (connected to politics, academia, and churches) for the Geneva Africa Institute which has continuation today in the Geneva Graduate Institute. Moreover, we have brought to the surface a complicated and possibly messy past for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Africa, which struggled with the question of how to apply particular universal values on the continent. Finally, we have revealed interesting connections, through Junod, between institutions which constituted the backbone of society in Geneva in the 20th century – the state, the ICRC, academia, and the church/mission.

Missions and Institutions. Henri-Philippe Junod: Anthropology, Human Rights and Academia between Africa and Switzerland, 1921–1966

Drawing on a cultural, transnational and genealogical approach, this article studies the work of a Swiss missionary, Henri-Philippe Junod, between Europe and Africa. It tries not to look at what he brought to Africa, or brought back from Africa, but to see how his back-and-forth movement contributed to the formation of new ideas and institutions globally. The article looks at Junod's contribution in three domains in particular, namely anthropology, human rights worldwide, and African studies in Switzerland.

Missionen und Institutionen. Henri-Philippe Junod: Anthropologie, Menschenrechte und Wissenschaft zwischen Afrika und der Schweiz, 1921–1966

Basierend auf einem kulturellen, transnationalen und genealogischen Zugang untersucht dieser Beitrag das Wirken des Schweizer Missionars Henri-Philippe Junod zwischen Europa und Afrika. Es wird versucht, nicht darauf zu schießen, was er nach Afrika oder was er von Afrika zurück brachte, sondern aufmerksam zu sein, wie sein Hin-und-Her global zur Ausgestaltung neuer Ideen und Institutionen beitrug. Der Aufsatz beschäftigt sich mit dem Beitrag Junods in drei Bereichen, namentlich in der Anthropologie, der Frage der Menschenrechte und der Afrika-Studien in der Schweiz.

Missions et institutions: Henri-Philippe Junod, anthropologie, droits de l'homme et milieu universitaire entre l'Afrique et la Suisse, 1921–1966

Faisant appel à une approche culturelle, transnationale et généalogique, cet article étudie le travail d'un missionnaire suisse, Henri-Philippe Junod, entre l'Europe et l'Afrique. Il ne s'agit pas d'examiner ce qu'il a amené en Afrique, ou ramené d'Afrique, mais de voir comment ce mouvement de va-et-vient a contribué à la formation de nouvelles idées et institutions de manière globale. Cet article se penche sur la contribution de Junod dans trois domaines en particulier, à savoir l'anthropologie, les droits de l'homme dans le monde entier, et les études africaines en Suisse.

Keywords – Schlüsselbegriffe – Mots clés

missions – Missionen – missions, institutions – Institutionen – institutions, Switzerland – Schweiz – Suisse, Mozambique – Mozambique – Mozambique, South Africa – Südafrika – Afrique du Sud, Kenya – Kenia – Kenya, International Committee of the Red Cross – Internationales Komitee des Rotes Kreuzes – Comité international de la Croix-Rouge, Penal Reform League – Liga für Strafrechtsreform – Ligue pour la réforme pénale, Geneva Africa Institute – Afrikanisches Institut Genf – Institut africain de Genève.

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