

PART TWO
MUSOMA PREFECTURE/DIOCESE
AND ROAD TO TANGANYIKA INDEPENDENCE
1947 TO 1962

Part One of this book concluded with developments in the parishes of Nyegina and Kowak up to September, 1947, just one year after the first Maryknollers arrived in Tanganyika. This section will look at several further developments, such as the history of Nyegina Parish from 1947 to 1950, the aborted attempt to have Maryknoll staff the parishes in Ukerewe Island, the establishment of Musoma Prefecture, some of the early innovations and institutions developed by the Prefecture, the history of the nationalist struggle for independence, with some extended comments about Julius Nyerere and his relationship with Maryknoll, and conclude with the erection of Musoma Diocese. We will begin with Nyegina Parish from where we left off in Part One.

Nyegina Parish continued:

By September, 1947, matters were becoming normalized in Nyegina, at least for the Maryknollers. The two Maryknollers ordained in June, Joe Glynn and Ed Bratton, had gone to Kowak and there would be no further Maryknollers come to Nyegina until November, 1948. The changes were with the White Fathers: Archambeault was the new pastor; Junker and Brother Wilfred were gone; Van Riel had gone to Maswa, although he came back to Nyegina from time to time, since he was the Vicar General and Education Secretary for the Musoma-Maswa Vicariate; and Bishop Blomjous stayed for varying lengths of time at Nyegina. He had thought of building a house in Musoma and staying there, but in fact this did not happen prior to mid-1948, when he became Administrator of the Vicariate of Mwanza. From December, 1947, to March, 1948, Blomjous was in Maswa and even when he returned to Nyegina in March he did not stay a full month. By mid-1948 he must have realized that any thoughts he had of living in Musoma would not come to fruition, although he and the Maryknollers did survey the town for a plot for the future parish (cathedral).

As for the Maryknollers, Collins became the local econome for Nyegina and, as was mentioned before, he took charge of the two schools, for boys and girls. He also was in regular communication with the Maryknoll General Council (postal mail delivery between Tanganyika and the U.S. apparently was more efficient in the 1940s than it is in the new millennium). Several matters he wrote about were: the need for more Maryknoll priests and Brothers than the two per year presently planned; that Maryknoll would be opening two new parishes in 1948, Rosana and Masonga; that probably one or two Maryknollers would go to the Ukerewe Islands in 1948 or 1949, to learn the Kerewe language and prepare for Maryknoll adding the islands to the Musoma Prefecture; that it would not be possible for the division of Musoma from Maswa to take place prior to 1951; that there was a need for more money and another lorry (the lorry bought by Blomjous with Maryknoll money arrived in February, 1948, but Blomjous used it as his own, often in Maswa and Mwanza, rather than in Musoma; he never compensated Maryknoll for this expense and, according to Brannigan, he even charged Maryknoll for

use of this lorry); and that the tropical environment was having health consequences for the Maryknollers.

One issue that occasioned much correspondence and discussion between Collins and the General Council was Collins' firm assertion, beginning in July, 1948, that he would not accept to be the Prefect Apostolic of the new Musoma Prefecture. This correspondence went on for almost a year, with the Maryknoll General Council earnestly trying to persuade Collins to accept the post. It should be noted that Collins was always asking that an older Maryknoller come to Musoma but, until Tom Quirk came in 1951, Collins was always the senior Maryknoller, as per year of ordination. (Bert Good, ordained a year after Collins, was actually three months older than Collins.) Collins had been ordained in 1939, whereas Gerry Grondin, who became the Prefect Apostolic, was ordained in 1942. (Grondin came to Musoma in October, 1949.) As Brother Kevin Dargan points out in his Chronology of Maryknoll in Africa, Collins would have easily been approved as Prefect Apostolic by Propaganda Fide, due to his service in Rome and good friendship with Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi. The reasons why Collins adamantly refused to be Bishop have never been fully understood. It was claimed that he felt unworthy or insecure, but no one else ever thought that. Fr. John Graser, who was at Nyegina in the 1950s and was procurator of the Makoko Language School in 1970, when Collins was taking a course in Swahili, commented that if Collins had accepted to be Bishop, he would have been the unanimous choice of the Maryknollers in Musoma.

In addition to his administrative duties, however, Collins was still doing pastoral work. In the March, 1948, diary Collins wrote about a several-day trip to the Basimbiti people at the end of February and beginning of March. Both Collins and Bayless had received their new motorcycles in January, 1948, making these pastoral trips much easier. Additionally, the first three months of 1948 were dry, almost the exact opposite of the previous year. Their safaris in late 1947 and through much of 1948 were made much easier with the lack of rain – and 1949 would prove to be an even drier year. Due to his heavy administrative load as Maryknoll Superior Collins did not have as much time to learn language as would have been desired, but Bishop John Rudin later commented that Collins spoke Kikwaya very well, able to easily converse and joke with the people.

Bayless was likewise continuing to make many pastoral forays – to the Basimbiti, to the Bangorimi, and south to the Bajita, all places that within just a few years would be elevated to parish status. Bayless described what he would do on these visits:

First you would set up camp and then prepare to call in the catechists to see how things were going with them. If I was going to have Mass the next morning, if I arrived in the afternoon, I would see if there are confessions and hear confessions in the afternoon. In the morning I would say Mass about 10:00 or 11:00am, and then go out and visit some of the people. Usually there were baptisms and I would baptize children after Mass. After baptisms there would be shauris to be discussed and at some time there would be catechumens to be questioned. While I was out there I would review the books and go over the Sunday Mass attendance books.

Each kigango had a catechist and in those early years there were about three kigangos (in Swahili the plural is vigango) connected with each main place, such as Kiagata or Busimbiti. The White Fathers used to go on long safaris, for a

week up to ten days. [Bayless seemed to imply that his safaris were for less than a week.] Then they'd come back and give a report to the parish priest. If there were any baptisms they would all have to be entered in the baptism books.

After us [i.e. those at Nyegina and Kowak in the first four years or so] I don't think Maryknollers went out on these long safaris. After that they began to form parishes.

By 1953 six more parishes had been opened in Musoma Prefecture, making distances shorter to outstations. Jeeps were replacing motorcycles – never completely though; motorcycles were used on narrow paths to small outstations. Ease of travel obviated the need to stay overnight at a kigango, unless a priest wanted to do this on occasion. Only heavy rains interfered with travel to outstations, but often safaris were cancelled prior to leaving the mission. As a result, few if any outstations had a place where a priest could stay overnight, although Africans will always find a place for a guest to sleep.

Bayless commented on the change from taking trips of several days in length:

I thought there was a great advantage to having an overnight safari, to go out with the people. They'd come in later in the evening. You would have all day there and then the night, and the next day you would have Mass. I thought that was very helpful. But just to go out and come back in, well it can be helpful but it's not as effective as going out and staying in one place.

But living for an extended period at a kigango did not end completely in the early 1950s. The diaries and many of the interviews of those who worked in Tanzania relate the practice of staying out at kigangos even through the 1960s and 1970s.

The six-month sacramental course was held at Nyegina Parish, to which a number of Bantu tribes came, all of those of South Mara and the Basimbiti from North Mara. All the tribes learned the Mass, sacraments, prayers and Christian instruction in Kikwaya. Some of the tribal languages were close to Kikwaya, whereas others, such as Kisimbiti and Kingorimi, had some differences. Each tribal grouping lived in their own neighborhood of Nyegina, which they called *kambis* (from the English word camp). Teaching in the sacramental course and visiting and trying to know the people in the kambis were important ministries of the priests at the mission, as Bayless explained:

The catechumenates were, I believe, successful programs. They were supposed to come in for at least six months, but every week or every other week they were allowed to go home for three days to get food and other things. But the idea was to bring them all together into what we called a kambi, into a regular camp life, so that they could pray as a community. They would also have their instructions together.

We didn't let them go off to the little villages or small settlements where beer is served or anything else like that. One fellow did go off one time and got drunk; the ones in charge of the kambi excluded him from the community. He had

to go home and then repeat that part that he missed. So, the kambis was, I think, very helpful in getting instructions and getting the Christian community started.

The people themselves originally had to spend a lot of time building their little huts of mud-wattle walls and thatched roofs. In other places, later, they would help in building the churches [this was not needed at Nyegina]. They did small work around the property, the upkeep of the property, and keeping up the cemetery. They also did some cultivating, planting maize, cassava and other crops.

We got to know the people much better this way. We had boys' houses separate from girls' houses, and women's houses, and families, where the husband and wife were together, had their own houses. Then there, too, it was boy meet girl, and then they'd have marriages, right from the kambis. I think it was a great help and was sorry to see it change over time. I liked to see them come in, but it was difficult for them to come in, especially for six months.

These comments, made by Bayless forty years later, indicate that he was not critical of the White Fathers' catechetical program, as was the case of the Maryknollers who went to Kowak. However, Bayless did comment that they were getting a good number of catechumens from the outlying areas, whereas there were very few from the local Bakwaya, for reasons that were not known.

The policy of having six-month sacramental courses at the parish center for all those to be baptized lasted up until about the time that Tanzania (or Tanganyika at that time) became independent in 1961. By then it was realized that social and economic conditions had changed dramatically and that people were too busy to live at the mission for extended periods of time. More will be said on this as we examine Maryknoll's evolving catechetical approach. In his Chronology, Kevin Dargan mentions that he was stationed at Nyegina in the 1980s and that there were still streets with people from the different tribes residing there.

In addition to outstation safaris and teaching catechumens, Bayless was also given responsibility for the dispensary. In his diary of January, 1948, he wrote that he worked in the dispensary for one hour a day, five days a week. He said that often people paid for medicine with food, such as eggs or millet, rather than money.

In that month of January, 1948, Bayless also made an interesting discovery, when out on a hunting expedition with a group of boys. They came across one of the old fortifications (long, thick, circular walls made of burnt red-clay material, similar to red bricks), which the Bakwaya used in the nineteenth century to defend themselves from Maasai cattle-raiding attacks. Bayless wrote that "the Maasai are now prevented from raiding by the government, but in the past there were some bloody battles on this rocky summit." Other Bantu tribes, such as the Kuria and Kisii in Kenya, had similar fortifications, which were still in existence as late as the 1970s.

Bayless also took on responsibility to survey areas for new schools and he went in January, 1948, to a place called Bukabwa among the Basimbiti people in North Mara to measure the distance from the nearest Mennonite school. British government regulations required the distance to be six miles, according to Bayless. Others have written that the distance was five miles. In fact it was five kilometers – three miles –and that was the

distance followed in starting Masonga outside of Shirati (c.f. Part Four, about Kowak). The following month, February, 1948, the priests at Nyegina heard that the Mennonites wanted to build a school at Bukabwa. The priests immediately took action with the administration in Musoma to prevent a Mennonite school being started there.

In addition to schools, the priests were also investigating possible sites for future missions. In March, 1948, Archambeault went to the Bangorimi area for two weeks, in part to look at the site selected for what would be the future Iramba mission. Collins wrote that they were asking for twenty acres, and explained:

Bishop Blomjous reports that the government is getting more generous in giving grants to missionaries. One alleged reason for this is that a United Nations commission is coming. In the previous few years the government has granted hardly any plots of land for mission purposes.

On the first Friday of March, 1948, Collins and Bayless began a new practice of having a First Friday Mass each month for all the school children, from both the boys' and girls' schools. Collins wrote in the March diary that many of the children would go to confession but subsequently only a few would receive communion. In those days one had to fast from midnight before receiving communion, but Collins wrote that most of the children had nothing to eat before noon anyway.

Just two months later, in May, 1948, the girls' school was the site of another tragic fire. Fire erupted on May 19th and burnt down three grass-roofed buildings. In addition to these severe fires, the priests were victimized by occasional in-house petty thefts, usually perpetrated by young men doing the laundry or house servants. But Bayless later commented that they never experienced any large-scale or violent robberies at Nyegina. He also said that he never felt insecure at Nyegina or later missions where he served. (He said this in 1989. In the 1990s and 2000s a number of rural missions in East Africa were attacked by armed robbers in the middle of the night, to steal money, vehicles and other valuable items. Some robberies resulted in physical harm to the priests and Sisters at the missions, including some deaths.)

As events unfolded in 1948 the goal of becoming seasoned missionaries turned out to be the easiest accomplishment for Bayless and Collins, the latter especially. Many decisions made in places other than Nyegina forced Collins to divert his attention to a variety of matters (in addition to the unintended bankrupting of the Maryknoll Musoma account, which continued to hinder Collins' financial flexibility for several years). First of all, the Maryknoll Sisters responded positively in December, 1947, that they would be able to send four Sisters to Kowak in 1948 (they came in December, 1948) and Collins had to organize the building of a convent and dispensary in Kowak. Fortunately, Brother Wilfred returned to Musoma in January, 1948, and went to Kowak, where he was soon joined by Brother Aloysius (nee Jacobus Blekemolen), also a member of the White Fathers. The two of them oversaw the construction of these buildings throughout 1948.

It was also decided in 1947 that Maryknoll would open two new parishes in 1948, in Masonga near Shirati for the Luo and in Rosana for the Kuria. Thus, Collins persistently requested in the early months of 1948 that a Brother come from Maryknoll to help with the building projects in these two places plus in Kowak. The General Council at

first responded that no Brother was available, but finally in April, 1948, it informed Collins that Brother Fidelis Deichelbohrer had been assigned to come in September, along with two new priests, Tom Gibbons and William (Rab) Murphy. (From herein the latter will be referred to as Rab, the name by which everyone knew him.)

Collins was impacted most, however, by two major changes of personnel within the White Fathers: the retirement of Bishop Anton Oomen in Mwanza on June 13, 1948, and the election in May, 1947, of Bishop Louis Durrieu as Superior General of the White Fathers. With Oomen's retirement Bishop Blomjous became the Apostolic Administrator of Mwanza with right of succession, while retaining his post of Vicar Apostolic in Musoma-Maswa. However, he at this time moved his primary residence from Nyegina to Mwanza. It was also decided at this time that when Maswa would be separated from Musoma it would be joined with Shinyanga, which was to be separated from Tabora Diocese (actually still a Vicariate Apostolic in the 1940s; it became the Archdiocese of Tabora on March 25, 1953), with the intention that Shinyanga-Maswa would become a Prefecture or Vicariate Apostolic at some point in the 1950s.

Bishop Durrieu informed Blomjous that he planned to visit the White Fathers' places in Tanganyika in August, 1948, and wished to hasten the separation of Musoma from Blomjous' tutelage as soon as possible. [The following matters, resulting from Oomen's retirement and Durrieu's visit, are covered extensively in Carney's thesis, pages 133 to 165. Here we will summarize these events briefly.]

According to Carney, Durrieu was operating under the previous misunderstanding that Maryknoll would be assigning four priests to Musoma every year and he also thought there were many more White Fathers in Musoma than the two who were in fact there. Thus, he wrote to Blomjous that Musoma should be separated from Maswa by mid-1949. He also assigned all the White Fathers' personnel from Musoma to either Maswa or Mwanza, with the exception of Fr. Binder in Kowak; Binder was still somewhat restricted in his travel in Tanganyika and he liked Kowak. Durrieu had assigned four White Fathers from Mwanza to Europe and wanted to fill the vacancies by taking people out of Musoma, without realizing how few White Fathers were in Musoma. This meant that the two Brothers were to leave Kowak (for Mwanza Vicariate) and that Van der Heijden would not return to Kowak. Compounding this, Blomjous assigned Archambeault from Nyegina to Maswa. Collins wrote to the Maryknoll General Council in June, 1948, that there was only one White Father left in Musoma. (Actually there were two; Binder stayed in Kowak up to 1950 and Archambeault did not leave Nyegina until November, 1948, when the new Maryknollers arrived from the United States.) As a result, Collins said, Maryknoll should try to add on to the number of new Maryknollers coming out to Musoma and that it may be necessary to move up the date of establishing the Musoma Prefecture.

It also meant that Bayless became the pastor of Nyegina Parish in November, 1948, a mere two years after first setting foot in Tanganyika.

Collins was faced with three questions: when the separation of Musoma from Mwanza would take place; whether it would be a Prefecture or Vicariate Apostolic; and whether the Ukerewe and Ukara Islands and the Ukerewe mainland would become a part of Musoma or remain with Mwanza Vicariate.

With regard to the question of Prefecture, Bishop Matthew, the Apostolic Delegate, preferred a Vicariate, arguing that a Bishop would have more authority and prestige with both the colonial administration and the African people. He also thought that Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi at Propaganda Fide would prefer a Vicariate. The Maryknoll General Council preferred a Prefecture, since it would give Musoma time to evolve the structures it needed and learn if the Prefect Apostolic was the right man. This was the practice Maryknoll had followed in the Orient. In March, 1950, Bishop Raymond Lane made his first visit to Tanganyika and stopped in February to talk with Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi in Rome. The latter did not have a strong preference for either vicariate or prefecture and accepted Lane's rationale for making Musoma a Prefecture. This was the decision accepted in 1950.

With regard to the date of separation, the Maryknoll General Council, in letters to Bishop Blomjous, Bishop Durrieu, and to the Cardinal, continued to stress that the Maryknollers needed more time under the White Fathers before setting up an independent Prefecture. Blomjous agreed to continue to administer Musoma, even though he was living in Mwanza and had begun to focus on his responsibilities in the bigger diocese. But it was agreed that the separation of Musoma and Maswa would be held off until 1950.

At the same time, the Maryknoll General Council recognized that the loss of White Fathers in Musoma was a *fait accompli* and that it was inherent on the Council to assign more Maryknollers to Musoma. Thus, in 1949 four priests and one more Brother were assigned to Musoma, followed by two more priests in 1950 and six priests in 1951. At least the first six Maryknollers had had the opportunity to be with the White Fathers for two years.

Ukerewe Island

The final matter, regarding Ukerewe, resulted in the most unfortunate event in the early years. (Cf Carney: pp 144-165) When Blomjous had just become Bishop in Holland, he visited Rome in December, 1946, and recommended that the Ukerewe and Ukara Islands along with the Ukerewe mainland be separated from Mwanza Vicariate and be attached to the new Musoma Prefecture. He gave the following reasons:

- The language and culture of the Bakerewe and Bakara people is similar to the languages of Musoma, especially the Bajita and Bakwaya.
- The majority population in Mwanza Vicariate is Sukuma. With the recent establishment of the Sukuma Union, the Sukuma of Mwanza will naturally be focusing on their relationship with the other Sukuma districts and will ignore Ukerewe.
- He believed that the mainland was a part of Musoma District. In this, as Collins later pointed out, Blomjous was mistaken. The best civil maps put both the mainland and islands within Mwanza District.
- There were already four Bakerewe priests, who could help form a nucleus of local diocesan priests for Musoma Prefecture.
- The addition of 60,000 people of Ukerewe to the 230,000 of Musoma and North Mara would total 290,000, not an unworkably large population for the new Prefecture. Carney, however, quotes statistics listed by Ed Bratton in his

November, 1948, diary that Ukerewe Island had 70,000 people, Ukara 16,000, and the mainland 24,000, a total of 110,000. Of these, 6,500 were Catholic – 6,000 in Ukerewe and 500 at Ukara.

- The White Fathers (two Brothers and one priest) would continue to manage the cotton ginnery on the island, the most important economic enterprise for the Bakerewe people.

The concern of Collins and the Maryknoll General Council was how to come up with enough priests to serve the parishes of Ukerewe by 1951. There were already three parishes on the two islands – two served by the four African diocesan priests – and it was anticipated that a new parish would have to be immediately built on the mainland. It also meant one more language that Maryknollers would have to learn. But Maryknoll tentatively agreed to accept this mission.

When Bishop Durrieu arrived in Tanganyika in August, 1948, Collins joined Durrieu, Bishop Blomjous, and Archbishop Matthew in Dar es Salaam. At this meeting Collins agreed to assign two Maryknollers to Kagunguli Parish, on the big island of Ukerewe, but merely to learn Kikerewe and the customs of the Bakerewe people. They were not to take on any pastoral responsibilities (except for those pastoral activities that help in language learning), and especially not to accept any financial responsibilities or duties. The White Fathers would continue to staff and be in charge of the parish up until the division of Ukerewe from Mwanza was completed in 1950.

In November, 1948, Collins assigned Ed Bratton, who had been stationed at Kowak for a year, and one of the new Maryknollers, Tom Gibbons, to Kagunguli. Collins had to wait until Gibbons arrived, as the 1948 group's departure from New York was delayed from July until August 20th. Gibbons disembarked in Mombasa and arrived at Nyegina in late October, three weeks earlier than Brother Fidelis and Fr. Rab Murphy, who accompanied the voluminous luggage to Dar es Salaam.

In early November, Bratton and Gibbons rode in an Indian-owned lorry to Mwanza and then took the five-hour ferry ride to Ukerewe Island. The two White Fathers at Kagunguli were Fathers Funk and Van Der Wee. As happened two years previously when the first Maryknollers arrived at Nyegina, once again the White Fathers did not know when the Maryknollers were coming. Fr. Funk was at an outstation, but eventually he came and took them to the mission, stopping first to show them the cotton gin at a place called Murutungulu.

The two Maryknollers stayed at Kagunguli Mission only six months, till April, 1949, and the Maryknoll departure from Ukerewe remained a very sensitive issue for the next year. Thus, it is important to point out that the early diaries describe a beautiful place to live, very good relations between the two Maryknollers and the two White Fathers, and how impressed the Maryknollers were with the hard work done by the White Fathers over the fifty years since mission work had been begun in Ukerewe.

In addition to a flourishing parish at Kagunguli, there were two huge primary schools (up to Standard Four only) of 600 boys and 500 girls, employing twenty teachers, a dispensary that was almost big enough to be called a hospital, and two Sisters' groups, White Sisters and an indigenous group of Sisters, to manage the schools and dispensary. The other mission on Ukerewe, Itira, also had a school of 220 boys, with four teachers. In addition, there were a number of bush schools on both Ukerewe and Ukara islands.

Ukerewe was also producing many seminarians; after Christmas sixty-seven seminarians came to Kagunguli for two weeks from the Nyegezi minor seminary (fifth-grade to eighth-grade, or Standards Five to Eight), of whom twenty-four were from Kagunguli Parish.

Gibbons, in his December, 1948, diary, wrote glowingly of the two Bakerewe priests at Itira, Fathers Celestine and Petrus, who had made the mission spiritually rich despite being materially poor. Celestine had already been ordained thirty years, as of 1948. In mid-December one of the Bakerewe priests from Ukara Island, Fr. Patrinus, visited Kagunguli, and likewise made a very good impression on the two Maryknollers.

Unlike the progressive Bakerewe people, however, the Bakara people were described by both Bratton and Gibbons as a backward people, partly as a result of being so cut off from any contact with Europeans and from modern developments. Bratton related a story that in 1895, when the White Fathers first tried to start missions on the islands, two of them unwittingly sat under a sacred tree in Ukara, talking and joking. This angered the Bakara, who grabbed spears and tried to kill the White Fathers. The latter narrowly escaped with their lives by being rowed to Ukerewe Island by some Bakerewe men.

In early December, 1948, another White Father made a visit to Kagunguli, Fr. Simard, a Canadian who had worked in the Ukerewe Islands for fifteen years before going back to Canada for vacation. He had just returned from Canada and wanted to make a short visit to Ukerewe before going on to Mwanza for assignment. Gibbons wrote in the diary for that month that Simard had translated the catechism, the New Testament and the Following of Christ into the Kikerewe language.

Given how smoothly things seemed to be going, it was surprising when in January, 1949, Collins was summoned to Mwanza by Bishop Blomjous, with the report that the Maryknollers were not cooperating with the pastoral work being assigned to them. Collins went down to Mwanza and then took the five-hour ferry trip to Ukerewe to find out what this was about. In the end it turned out that Fr. Funk had asked Bratton to be the econome of the parish – just two months after the Maryknollers had arrived there – and Bratton firmly refused this assignment. He knew that Collins and the General Council had expressly stated that he and Gibbons were not to have any financial or pastoral responsibilities. Perhaps, this Maryknoll directive was not clearly relayed by Bishop Blomjous to the White Fathers at Kagunguli.

In February, 1949, Bratton went to Nairobi to buy a new jeep, which he drove back to Ukerewe, stopping at Kowak overnight (it is the Kowak diary for that month that reported this). Bratton listed the same advantages for having a vehicle that Brannigan also mentioned when he bought his Ford station wagon in 1948: “with a vehicle you can take a cook, safari bed, mosquito net, and whatever equipment you need, and do not need porters carrying all these things.” Brannigan also said that with a vehicle you would need to stay out only one or two nights, and then get around to other places. We do not have a report on how Bratton drove to Ukerewe, but most likely he took the very bad road from Bunda to the Ukerewe mainland rather than going to Mwanza and taking the ferry from there to Ukerewe.

At that point, February, 1949, three Maryknollers had their own vehicles, whereas the only White Father who had a vehicle was Bishop Blomjous. This indicated three interesting factors: individual Maryknollers had access to reasonably ample funds for

personal mission purposes; with financial independence Maryknollers were free to make independent decisions; and Maryknollers were moving away from the White Fathers' mode of mission practice, i.e. walking out to and around villages, and instead putting an emphasis on greater mobility in order to serve a wider area. Whether this created internal, unspoken resentment on the part of some White Fathers has not been reported.

On April 2, 1949, Blomjous came to Nyegina to do confirmations and informed Collins that it would not be necessary to send any more Maryknollers to Ukerewe, as Collins planned to do in the fall of 1949. Blomjous claimed that the four Bakerewe priests were not pleased with the transfer of Ukerewe from the White Fathers to Maryknoll. If true, he said, he would have to transfer the indigenous priests from the islands and then Maryknoll would not have sufficient personnel to staff both the islands and the mainland. Thus, it would be better if Maryknoll planned to merely staff one parish on the mainland and leave both islands in the hands of the White Fathers. This news came as quite a shock to Collins. He began to wonder what really lay behind this change of policy regarding Ukerewe and why Blomjous now wanted to divide the mainland from the islands. The mainland was only 100 yards from Ukerewe Island and it was easier to serve the mainland from Kagunguli than from Musoma.

The final divisive incident occurred in April, 1949. Fr. Simard, mentioned above, was assigned by Blomjous to be the new pastor of Kagunguli and on Easter Sunday – Easter was late that year, not occurring until April 17th – he used the catechists to carry out a secret survey among the Catholics as to whether they preferred Maryknoll or the White Fathers to have pastoral responsibility in Ukerewe. At this point, statements from various White Fathers and the African Fathers become contradictory. Simard stated that this was what Blomjous told him to do at Kagunguli, as part of a survey on political unrest on the islands. Both Fathers Funk and Van der Wee told Bratton that they totally disagreed with this action and were upset about it. When Bratton saw Fathers Celestine and Petrus later, they too said they had no problem with Maryknoll taking over Kagunguli Parish and they did not know what political unrest Blomjous could have been referring to. Furthermore, the survey of the catechists reported that the Christians had no problem with Maryknoll staying on and taking eventual responsibility for the islands.

The Nyegina diary for April reported that right after Easter Bratton drove from Ukerewe to Nyegina, despite the very muddy roads. Presumably he brought news of this new development to Collins.

Collins consulted with Bratton and the other Maryknollers at Nyegina and they came to the conclusion that the real issue was the White Fathers-owned cotton gin that earned \$10,000 a year for the Mwanza Vicariate. They presumed that Bishop Durrieu and Bishop Blomjous came to a realization that it would not be possible for the White Fathers to retain ownership of the cotton gin for very long, once they had given up all pastoral responsibility for the islands. So, the two Bishops decided to keep the islands and hand over merely the mainland to Maryknoll. But they could not tell Archbishop Matthew or Propaganda Fide that the real reason was the lucrative profits from the ginnery. Thus, Blomjous had to engender a supposed political problem that would necessitate the White Fathers remaining on the islands. When Collins saw Blomjous he accused him of “pulling a political rabbit out of a hat,” although he later retracted this statement and apologized to Blomjous.

Collins told Bratton and Gibbons to pack their bags and await his order for them to leave. Collins had already received a letter from Fr. Tom Walsh, the Maryknoll Vicar General in New York, saying that he should remove the two priests from Ukerewe if there was any attempt to have them do more than be merely language students.

Blomjous was returning to Ukerewe at the end of April and Collins informed the two Maryknollers to ask his permission for them to return to Musoma. In the meantime, Collins wrote to Bishop Blomjous telling him that he was withdrawing the Maryknollers from Ukerewe and had asked them to request permission from Blomjous for this move. According to Carney, Blomjous was quite upset with this and felt the removal of the Maryknollers was a "fait accompli." But he gave them permission; on April 30th Bratton and Gibbons returned to Nyegina, and shortly after that Bratton went back to Kowak.

In May, 1949, Blomjous stayed on Ukerewe for several weeks and set about trying to find the source of the political unrest. He finally reported two matters. First, that one of the African priests was trying to stir up support for using this as a time to demand removal of all Europeans/Americans from Ukerewe and take over responsibility themselves. Blomjous never mentioned any name and the African priests denied this. Second, he said that the mainland people wanted the division of the mainland from the islands, so that the Chiefdom on the mainland could be restored. German colonial policy had abolished the mainland kingdom, putting all Bakerewe under one Chief (King). The mainland people, according to Blomjous, wanted to use the ecclesiastical division as validation for their claim to civil division, saying this was "the decision of the Pope and the Church."

In any event, the matter died down once the two Maryknollers were back in Musoma. Collins wrote a letter of apology to Blomjous for saying the latter had created a non-existent political reason for the White Fathers to remain in Ukerewe (although it seems that Collins was correct in his conclusions). Collins was very concerned about retaining good relations with the White Fathers, since they would have to be collaborating closely and using the same seminary (Nyegezi) and catechist school (Bukumbi).

With the division of Maswa from Mwanza imminent in mid-1949 (and Maswa's attachment to Shinyanga), Collins wrote to the Maryknoll General Council saying he feared that the Ukerewe mainland would be given to Musoma at the time of the separation. Thus, Bishop Lane, the Maryknoll Superior General, wrote to Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi of Propaganda Fide in September, 1949, explaining that it was clear that the White Fathers now wanted to keep the Ukerewe Islands. Lane said that the best civil maps showed that the mainland was part of the same civil district as the islands and that, as the people were linguistically and ethnically one, the mainland should go with the islands when the ecclesiastical division is done.

On his trip to Tanganyika in early 1950 Lane met with Fumasoni-Biondi in Rome. The latter accepted the fact that Ukerewe mainland and the islands were geographically and ethnically one entity, and that the roads from Musoma to Ukerewe were either non-existent or almost impassable. He also said that it would be easier for the Musoma Prefecture to have responsibility for only the Musoma and North Mara Districts, certainly in the beginning. Thus, the Cardinal advised Bishop Lane to accept the latter two civil districts only.

Lane met Bishop Blomjous at Nyegina in April, 1950, and they agreed that Mwanza Vicariate would continue to be responsible for both the Ukerewe Islands and the Ukerewe mainland. In May, 1950, both Lane and Blomjous met at the Maryknoll house in Rome along with Archbishop Matthew and Bishop John Joseph McCarthy of Nairobi, where this decision regarding Ukerewe was ratified.

The issue of the cotton gin was never raised publicly as being the crucial issue for the White Fathers. Gibbons and Collins were never interviewed for the history project. Bratton was interviewed in Hawaii decades later and talked briefly about his time in Tanganyika, but did not mention the Ukerewe issue. The only one interviewed who did mention it was Lou Bayless, some forty years after the fact. He was never involved in the decisions regarding Ukerewe and merely said:

That was a sticky wicket. You see, Collins was interested in that work and trying to get that for Maryknoll. But the thing was the White Fathers had the ginnery down there, the cotton ginnery, and that was the problem. That was a touchy problem, because the two Maryknoll men were actually pulled out; but it was resolved.

Bayless was living in Nyegina all those years, 1946 to 1949, when discussion about Ukerewe and the assignment of Maryknollers there was taking place. Carney's thesis seems to clearly indicate that Collins did not want Maryknoll to take Ukerewe, due to lack of personnel and the necessity of learning another language. He only reluctantly agreed to it because Blomjous wanted it, at least initially. Thus, it piques one's curiosity to read that Bayless thought that Collins wanted Ukerewe for Maryknoll. Perhaps Collins never discussed his thinking on this matter in any depth with Bayless, who was very involved in the Nyegina sacrament course and visiting outstations at that time, and Bayless misinterpreted Collins' assignment of two Maryknollers to Ukerewe. Or, perhaps forty years later Bayless' memory was not clear on the matter; he also said that Gerry Grondin wanted Ukerewe, but Grondin did not come to Tanganyika until six months after Maryknoll had left Ukerewe.

In any event, most Maryknollers who were there in 1949 or who came in the years immediately after 1949 have always stated that the issue was the cotton gin. No one has ever said that political maneuvering within the Bakerewe tribe was the issue.

Ukerewe never became a part of Musoma Diocese. In November, 2010, a new diocese was erected at Bunda, taking territory from both Musoma and Mwanza dioceses. All of Ukerewe, including both islands and the mainland, were put in the new Bunda Diocese. Fr Ed Hayes commented:

We thought it was going to be called Ukerewe Diocese, not Bunda Diocese. The Apostolic Nuncio came after Bishop (Justin) Samba died (August 23, 2006) and he and Archbishop Anthony Mayala (of Mwanza Archdiocese, and formerly Bishop of Musoma) came to Bunda, went all the way down to Ukerewe Mainland and out to Ukerewe by boat. They went all the way there and then back to Mwanza. So, we thought they were going to make it Ukerewe Diocese. At least I had no idea it was going to be Bunda; that was a surprise.

They took quite a few parishes out of Musoma, the parish on the Ukerewe mainland, and all the parishes on the Ukerewe and Ukara islands.

Nyegina Parish, 1948 to 1950:

In the meantime, back at Nyegina in the fall of 1948 they were waiting for the new Maryknollers to arrive. As mentioned above, Gibbons, Murphy and Bro. Fidelis were delayed a month in departing from New York, finally leaving on August 20th. In mid-October they arrived in Mombasa, Kenya, where Gibbons disembarked and went to Nyegina via Kenya and Lake Victoria. Rab and Fidelis went on to Dar es Salaam.

The latter two spent over two weeks in Dar, as they were bringing through Customs the jeep, guns for hunting, and eighty mission boxes, which included the boxes of the Maryknoll Sisters who were going to Kowak in December, 1948. While in Dar, they took a visit one day in Fidelis' jeep to Bagamoyo, forty miles north of Dar. Then Fidelis and Rab spent another week in Mwanza, finally driving in Fidelis' jeep to Nyegina on November 15th. Rab wrote in his diary that "Fr. Archambeault was glad to see me as he was supposed to leave as soon as I arrived, in order to go to Nassa to be the pastor."

Gibbons had already gone to Kagunguli and Fidelis soon went on to Kowak, where he was to oversee completion of construction of the Sisters' convent and dispensary. Rab joined Collins and Bayless – now the pastor – in Nyegina and began study of the Kikwaya language. Nyegina became a Maryknoll parish, the center house for Maryknollers visiting Musoma, and the place for language-learning. Kikwaya continued to be the language learned and used at Nyegina, even in its outstations, until they became parishes. Only when priests started a new parish (e.g. Iramba, Majita) did they learn the language at this parish. This meant a second language for some of them. Furthermore, it was still several years before anyone started learning Swahili as his first language.

Bayless now had two years' experience and he continued the same pastoral work he had been doing – overseeing the sacrament course at the parish, visiting people in their villages and homes, going on trips to the major outstations, and running the dispensary five days a week. He was assisted by Collins in pastoral work, although the latter also had charge of the two schools and was the Maryknoll Superior, which entailed trips away from Nyegina. By early or mid-1949 Rab Murphy began to steadily increase the amount of pastoral work he could do to assist Bayless. Then at the end of April, 1949, Tom Gibbons returned to Nyegina, this time to learn Kikwaya.

Neither Murphy nor Gibbons were ever interviewed, so here we will just quote what Bayless said about the two of them:

Rab Murphy was very likeable, always thinking of others, and he had a remarkable memory for names. He would meet someone, say John Mwita, and he would retain that name. About six months later, if he would meet him in the marketplace he would say, 'Hello, John Mwita, how are you.' Oh, that was really very, very good, retaining everyone's name. The men, women and children, he retained those names, which was remarkable.

He was a good missionary, very outgoing and always on the move. He wouldn't waste any time. He would go and visit the people. He was very, very well-liked by the people and by all with whom he came in contact.

Tom Gibbons was more businesslike, but also a good missionary. He carried on with his language learning and his singing practice – although he wasn't much of a singer. He would write out notes for singing the Gloria, Gloria in excelsis Deo, and he'd miss it every time. But he carried on with the people and was very, very thoughtful of others.

The diary of December, 1948, reported that on December 7th Archbishop Matthew flew to Musoma from Nairobi for a two-day visit to Nyegina and was welcomed there by the priests and Bishop Blomjous who had come up from Mwanza for this occasion. Joining to welcome the Archbishop were eight African Chiefs, “many, many people,” loads of traditional dancers, and the schoolchildren, who performed various forms of entertainment. The District Commissioner, Mr. Nirach, “an excellent Catholic,” also came to Nyegina for the welcoming ceremony and invited the two bishops and the priests to his house in Musoma the following evening for dinner. On December 9th Matthew and Blomjous drove up to Kowak and back, and on the following day drove down to Mwanza. The purpose of Matthew's visit is not mentioned in the diary, although just a few days later Brother Wilfred was assigned from Kowak to Mwanza Vicariate, leaving only Brother Alfred and Brother Fidelis, who had just arrived the previous month, in Kowak to finish the convent for the Maryknoll Sisters. Whether there were any discussions among Matthew, Blomjous and Collins about the on-going events and plans in Kagunguli and the separation of Musoma from Mwanza is not known. However, it seems clear that neither Matthew nor Collins were at this time made aware of any impending problem in Kagunguli. At the end of December Collins and Bert Good went to Mwanza for a Pro-Synodal meeting for teachers and superiors led by Bishop Blomjous, but this was separate from the above two issues just mentioned.

The major event that occurred in December, 1948, was the arrival of the first Maryknoll Sisters: Margaret Mary Cannon (the first Superior, who unfortunately had to return permanently to the United States in less than a year due to illness), Margaret Rose Winkelmann (who became the Superior for many years), Joan Michel Kirsch, and Mary Bowes. Their trip from the U.S. to Musoma and the first years in Kowak are covered comprehensively in Sr. K. Erisman's book (pages 1-8), so here we will just mention a few highlights.

After assignment in May, 1948, they waited for months for a freighter to become available. By December there were still no boats to be found, so they flew from New York to Nairobi, a trip of four days, as planes flew only in the daytime in the 1940s. They departed from New York on December 6th, but after spending some days in both Nairobi and Kisumu in Kenya it was only on December 25th, Christmas Day, that they were able to depart from Kisumu by steamer on Lake Victoria for Musoma.

This was to their advantage, as they had three Christmas dinners: first the Franciscan Sisters in Kisumu gave them a fabulous Christmas dinner, they then had a second one on the steamer, and finally when they arrived in Musoma on December 26th in the morning they were taken to Nyegina, where they were feted by Collins, Bayless and Rab Murphy to a third Christmas dinner. Bayless described it this way:

Rab went down to Musoma with the jeep and trailer to meet the Sisters coming on the boat from Kisumu. Many Christians were at the boat to greet the first Maryknoll Sisters to Africa. The Sisters put to good use the few words they knew in Luo (which they had learned in Kisumu), although they were talking to the Bakwaya people instead of the Luo. We had a big dinner for the Sisters and they were surprised to see the rectory all decorated and a Christmas tree in the corner.

At 2:30pm we had a Benediction celebrated by Fr. Collins. The Sisters enjoyed the singing of the natives and even began to sing themselves. Then the priests showed the Sisters around the compound, the boys and girls schools, the new school, the dispensary and everything else there was to see.

God has really blessed our mission in Africa with the arrival of four Maryknoll Sisters and we hope and pray that more will follow. The natives were very much impressed with the Sisters and wanted them to stay at Nyegina instead of going to Kowak. Some of the natives brought eggs as a present for the Sisters, and Maria, a Luo, who cooks at the girls' school, even brought over a live chicken.

The next day the Sisters left for Kowak, crossing Mara Bay by ferry. They were met at Kinesi by Joe Brannigan, who drove them on to Kowak. (More will be said about the Sisters, when we look at Kowak in Part Four.) The Maryknoll Sisters were to begin work also in Nyegina in 1953, when a group of them were assigned from Kowak to start a novitiate for the local congregation of indigenous Sisters, the Immaculate Heart Sisters of Africa (IHSA). This will receive more comment under the section on Musoma Prefecture.

The diary of April, 1949, reported both the departure of Brother Alfred from Kowak to Sumve in Mwanza, leaving only Brother Fidelis to attend to construction needs in Musoma. Musoma received no further assistance for construction from Bishop Blomjous after this, neither in terms of finance or personnel. The April, 1949, Nyegina diary also reported the departure of Bratton and Gibbons from Kagunguli at the end of the month.

This diary also reported the drastic climatic conditions that had been afflicting Tanganyika that year. It had been terribly dry and Rab Murphy wrote: "The heavy rains are long overdue with no sign of relief in sight, and the native crops are beginning to fail. Their main crop is *meribwa* (cassava)." However, in early April the rains began and became quite heavy later that month. On April 27th a "wicked rain storm," followed by a hail storm, tore off part of the roof of the carpenter shop. A violent rain and wind storm had also destroyed the roof over the Maryknoll Sisters' convent in Kowak, preventing Fidelis from moving to Nyegina as he had planned.

The June diary, written by Gibbons, followed up on this: "There was heavy rain throughout most of April but by June it was hot and dry. With the lack of rain famine has swept the countryside. The food situation has become so bad that the minor seminarians had to be sent home. The government is trying hard to have food imported. Usually the people raise maize and groundnuts, along with cotton, potatoes and vegetables." The

diaries of July and October also report how devastating the drought of 1949 was, as has been mentioned elsewhere in this history. The minor seminarians were still home through July, due to lack of food at the seminary. The October diary said that this was Tanganyika's worst drought in forty years and in November Gerard Grondin, who had just arrived the previous month, wrote that the drought and ensuing famine caused children of Nyegina Primary School living with relatives nearby to go back to their homes due to lack of food. He wrote that famine years occur about three times every ten years. From other sources we know that the 1949 famine was exceptionally severe.

Whether connected to the drought or not, the diaries of mid-1949 report several tragic deaths near the mission. The gardener's fifth child died; Rab Murphy wrote, "He and his wife have had five children and all have died." The catechist at Chumwi (Majita), "a real good Christian," who would be difficult to replace, died in July, 1949. On another night Rab went on a sick call to a boy with pneumonia, whose brother and sister had died of pneumonia the previous week. There were so many sick calls that the three Maryknollers in Nyegina had to strictly re-institute the White Fathers' rule that they would not go out on a sick call unless the head of Catholic Action vouched for the legitimacy of the sickness either by coming to the mission or sending in a note with his signature.

Rab Murphy described how sick calls were done in the vicinity of the mission:

The sick calls in walking distance of the mission, about a mile or two, are always performed in solemn fashion: altar boys with candles and bells; the priest vested in cassock, surplus, stole, and humeral veil, which covers the burse, corporal, and pyx.

Other than the small dispensary in Nyegina, which Gibbons was made responsible for in mid or late 1949, the priests were not doing much to try to alleviate the large number of deaths due to poverty, lack of food, and the many varieties of tropical diseases. But they were persistently faithful to going out on sick calls, which included taking people to the hospital in Musoma. Often they went to distant places, on terrible roads, and at times in the middle of the night. The positive impression this might have made on the African people is not known. Presumably, though, Africans did know that the missionaries cared not only about their spiritual needs but also about their desperate material condition.

In early 1949 there was improvement in Nyegina's means of transport. Bayless got his new motorcycle and the mission got a jeep. Trips to Majita and Iramba were done by jeep and often two of the priests went out on these trips, in case something happened to the vehicle.

The April, 1949, diary also reported that four Maryknollers would be coming later that year – actually five, as Brother John Walsh (called Brother Damien at that time) was later added to the group. Walsh was working at the minor seminary in Brookline and when the assignments came out on May 1, 1949, he was assigned to China, but in less than a month the General Council rescinded all assignments to China and sent the men elsewhere. In 1949, the Maryknoll General Council realized that the transfer of Musoma to Maryknoll responsibility was imminent and the Council decided to increase the

number of personnel assigned to Tanganyika. Already new parishes had been opened, Masonga for the Luo and Rosana for the Kuria, and there were plans afoot to start a parish in Iramba for the Bangorimi (in 1949 the Maryknollers in Nyegina thought that Rab Murphy would open Iramba Parish, but this was not to be). The five new Maryknollers arrived in Nyegina on October 18, 1949, of whom the four priests were: Al Schiavone, who went to Rosana to study Kikuria, John Schiff and Bob Moore, who went to Kowak to study Luo, and Gerard Grondin, who stayed at Nyegina and studied Kikwaya.

Both Walsh and Bro. Fidelis, who also returned from Kowak to Nyegina in October, 1949, were supposed to study Swahili, despite the need for them in construction projects. To re-affirm this, the Maryknoll General Council sent a letter to Collins, saying they should be given the opportunity to do language study. However, it's not clear if they were given adequate time to learn Swahili well, although Walsh was still studying Swahili at least up to March, 1950. He had a good joke about language study: "I have now reached the point where I can think in Swahili; the only trouble is I need a dictionary to find out what I'm thinking about."

The July, 1949, diary mentioned a minor event that is worth citing here. On July 31st, Collins dressed in his official suit and went into Musoma to meet the new Governor of the Tanganyika Territory, Lord Edward Twining, who had arrived at the beginning of 1949. Much more will be said in this section about Twining when we look at the nationalist movement in the 1950s, including Maryknoll's relationship with it. Here we will just quote John Iliffe's characterization of Twining:

He was a career administrator and a natural autocrat, who cared little for constitutions. He believed Tanganyika needed economic development and good administration, not politics. He toured the country eliciting opinions, but felt that both Europeans and Africans were apathetic towards politics, primarily because he arrived a year or two after the post-war ferment. [More will be said about this later. This was alluded to in Bratton's remarks about the dock strike of September, 1947, that hindered his travel from Mombasa to Dar es Salaam.]

In October, 1949, Twining offered his proposals by which local councils would elect members of multi-racial municipal and provincial councils, which would then elect one African and one non-African to the Legislative Council. He had not realized that these were almost exactly the same proposals put forward by the African Association in 1946. The Colonial Office welcomed them and an unofficial Committee on Constitutional Development was formed to formulate a program. Thus began Tanganyika's "time of politics."

The diaries of the 1940s and early 1950s do not give any hint that the Maryknollers were overly interested in the politics of Tanganyika, at least as of 1949. Rab Murphy merely wrote of Collins' meeting with Twining that "he had a chance to talk with the governor for a few minutes, so it was worthwhile going there." However, it is possible that Collins and the others were more conversant with what was happening than the diaries let on.

Iliffe goes on to comment that:

Europeans were split into three factions, with the majority, based in the north's coffee and grain farmers, totally opposing UN trusteeship and advocating for complete segregation of the races as in Kenya. Twining was to discover that race relations in Tanganyika were not as complacent as he thought. The other two factions, though, advocated multi-racialism, one primarily sisal planters and other capitalists led by Sir Eldred Hitchcock, whose concerns were economic, and a third group led by Ivor Bayldon, an ambitious farmer in the Southern Highlands and a firm believer in multi-racialism, who was to become the country's leading European politician in the 1950s.

Africans in general were not prepared for the new politics. Some of the few who did understand were progressive members of the native authorities, and they were deeply suspicious. Among Africans, as among Europeans, Britain's concern with race intensified racialism.

In Musoma, there were extremely few Europeans, merely those already noted: mine-owners, hotel and ferry owners, a few farmers in the Tarime area, and of course those who worked in the colonial administration in the towns of Musoma and Tarime. Maryknollers cultivated good relations with these people and did not perceive this as in any way affecting their relations with Africans. For instance, in October, 1949, when District Commissioner Nirach, a good Catholic, left Musoma, the Nyegina diary opined that, "Musoma will lose the best District Commissioner it has ever had. He has been an excellent inspiration to the natives." The wife of the next District Commissioner was a Catholic, enabling good relations between the priests/Brothers and those doing District Administration to continue.

Despite the fact that the Maryknollers were primarily focused on religious matters and getting the new prefecture started, there was a very interesting report in the January, 1950, diary, written by Tom Gibbons, indicating that Maryknollers were aware of growing nationalist sentiment.

On January 6th Marie (sic) Gabriel paid us a visit. Marie is attending Stella Maris College in Uganda, trying for her B.A. while her husband is at Edinburgh University in Scotland taking his Ph.D. in Education. Both Marie and her husband, Julius Comminge (sic) are originally from Nyegina. Julius had been teaching at St. Mary's School at Tabora and was awarded a scholarship abroad by the government.

While Julius is pursuing knowledge in Scotland, Marie is rounding out her education in order to be a fit wife to her distinguished husband. Two fine examples of the future African are both Marie and Julius. May God speed them on.

[Several of Gibbons' comments need correction: their correct names are Julius Kambarage Nyerere and Maria Waningo Gabriel. They were married at Nyegina on January 21, 1953, by Fr. Bill Collins, several months after Nyerere returned from Edinburgh. Nyerere was born in Butiama, of the Zanaki tribe, on April 13, 1922. He went to Mwisenge Primary School, in Musoma town, often walking on foot the full 27 miles from his home; Tabora Boys Secondary School; and Makerere University in Kampala,

Uganda, graduating with a Diploma in Education in 1946. He then taught at St. Mary's Secondary School in Tabora until he got a scholarship to go to Edinburgh University in 1949, from which he graduated in 1952 with an M.A. in history and economics. On his return to Tanganyika he taught at St. Francis College (i.e. Secondary School), Pugu, near Dar es Salaam until he became the head of TANU in 1954.]

[Maria, his wife, was a member of the Basimbiti ethnic group, of the area later to become Komuge Parish. The Bazanaki and Basimbiti are both Bantu ethnic groups with many cultural similarities, which are distinct from the Bakwaya/Bajita group of peoples who live near the lake in South Mara. Nyerere married a woman outside his own ethnic group, as there were no Catholic Zanaki women at that time.]

Pastoral matters, however, are the main concerns expressed in the diaries of the 1940s and 1950s. In November, 1949, Grondin wrote that Bishop Blomjous had recently instituted a rule that payment of bride price was mandatory to ensure the stability of marriages but that no more than twelve cows should be paid. Grondin commented that this was irrelevant for the Bakwaya and was creating difficulties in Nyegina Parish. Being a matriarchal people, the Bakwaya did not have a bride price system.

He also wrote that they were still following the White Fathers' system of going out on pastoral visits all day on Wednesdays and on two other half-days each week. A later diary noted, though, that the White Fathers' daily schedule of rising and going to bed early had been abandoned, as the priests liked to stay up playing cards until 10:00 pm. They also liked listening to sports events from America on the Armed Services network on their short-wave radios, especially the World Series games, which would be on from about 8:00 to 11:00 pm in Musoma/Nyegina, which was seven hours ahead of Eastern Daylight Savings time in the U.S. [In the 1940s and 1950s baseball was played in the afternoon.]

An even stricter rule of the White Fathers was also being relaxed, namely that no native was ever, under any circumstances, allowed into the priests' residence except for those working there. One of the mission workers went hunting, killed an impala, and brought a leg of meat into the dining room unannounced while the priests and Brothers were eating. He was immediately excused for breaking the White Fathers' rule. There was one routine still being followed, however: the weekly organizational meeting of the parish priests every Saturday morning.

In January, 1950, Gibbons began teaching religion in the government primary school in Musoma for an hour and a half each week. He started with 76 boys (out of 200) and six girls (out of twenty). He noted that government schools were co-educational, whereas the mission schools were still segregated by gender. Gibbons kept up this practice until Musoma Parish was started in 1952, at which time the priests of Musoma tried to keep it going.

Gibbons also noted that there were four native Brothers in what was soon to be Musoma Prefecture: Brother Thomas in Rosana, and Brothers Michael, Dionysius and Laurenti in Kowak. Maryknoll never established an indigenous Brothers' congregation and only Brother Laurenti, who had already taken a vow of obedience, remained a Brother. He later taught at St. Pius Seminary in Makoko for many years.

A constant refrain in many of the diaries related to problems with their motorcycles and jeeps, and the delays in getting them fixed in Musoma. The mechanic in

the town could make more money fixing the lorries of the Indian merchants and put off repairing motorcycles for two or three weeks at a time. The Maryknollers realized they had to become mechanics themselves.

In early 1950 they were still actively seeking to start new outstations and bush schools, but at one place, called Buruma near Zanaki, the local people burned down the school-church building. The diaries state that they are very unfriendly, backward, walk around naked, have no development, and do not want Whites to come to the area, even purposely keeping the roads in terrible condition. But this was the exception. In July, 1951, Rab Murphy met with Chief Musira and the Headman of another area and was readily allowed to start a new kigango, i.e. a church/bush-school. Rab commented in the diary that "I sympathize with our fellow missionaries in the Orient when I see what an easy time we have here with the officials."

By March, 1950, the rains had returned, making the roads impassable at times. The previous month "a large group of pagan women and girls, some wearing traditional clothing, some completely naked, each with branches on her head and carrying spears and knives, all the while shouting and singing, went into the woods to put on dances asking for rain." In his diary Rab Murphy termed this "superstition." Conversely, the women probably thought their dances were what caused the rain.

The next diary from Nyegina was written in October, 1950, so we will now turn to the establishment of the Apostolic Prefecture of Musoma, which took place in 1950.

Apostolic Prefecture of Musoma:

At this point we will leave off the history of Nyegina. Of course, the Prefecture headquarters were located in Nyegina up till 1956, when it moved into Musoma, and its early history is integrally connected with Nyegina's history. But we will try to distinguish between the two.

In February, 1950, Bishop Raymond Lane, the Maryknoll Superior General, finally departed on his first visit to Tanganyika and stopped first in Rome, where he met with Cardinal Fumisoni-Biondi, who agreed with Maryknoll's recommendation that Musoma start as a Prefecture Apostolic. Fumisoni-Biondi merely asked that a terna (consultative vote) be taken of the Maryknoll priests in Musoma of their preference for Prefect. After that the General Council would recommend the one chosen and the Cardinal would appoint him.

In Tanganyika Lane visited the Maryknoll missions (only four at that time), met with all the Maryknollers in Musoma (fourteen at that time), and went on to Mwanza to meet with Bishop Blomjous. At the beginning of May Lane went to Rome, accompanied by Bill Collins, who was going for a vacation. Collins, Lane, Bishop Blomjous, Archbishop Matthew, the Apostolic Nuncio of East Africa, and Bishop McCarthy of Nairobi met in Rome in early May and decided that the Prefecture Apostolic of Musoma should be immediately erected. Collins visited Fumisoni-Biondi, who appointed him to be temporary Prefect Administrator while the terna was being held. The Prefecture Apostolic of Musoma was then formally erected on July 7, 1950, and Maswa was

separated from Musoma and added to Mwanza Vicariate. In the following months the terna was held and Gerard Grondin, who had been ordained in 1942, was chosen to be the first Prefect Apostolic of Musoma and was officially installed on December 7, 1950. Just to make clear what was said in the previous sentences: for the five months from July 7 to December 7, 1950, Bill Collins was both Maryknoll Superior and temporary Prefect Apostolic of Musoma. After Grondin was installed, Collins remained the Society Superior in Musoma, until Fr. Tom Quirk, who had been appointed the new Society Superior for Tanganyika in May, 1951, arrived in Nyegina in September, 1951.

Joe Brannigan offered the opinion that the Maryknoll General Council had decided in 1949 to send Grondin to Musoma because Bill Collins had absolutely declined to become the first Prefect Apostolic and the Council wanted an older man to be chosen for this position, a choice ratified by the terna. Art Wille road in the train with Grondin from Dar es Salaam to Mwanza in September, 1951, (Grondin had gone to Dar that month for a Bishops' meeting) and commented that Grondin loved to play cards, but was extremely competitive. Lou Bayless, who lived with Grondin in Nyegina for several years, offered the following observations:

He was a very intelligent man and had Maryknoll at heart. He was strictly a Maryknoller to his fingertips and was a leader. He got things done; don't waste time with him. He was very good that way. He was helpful too, and he was understanding. But sometimes he tended to be a bit blunt. Sometimes it was difficult, but we would have to accept him as he was.

Regarding the long history of the establishment of Musoma Prefecture, it is interesting to read the comments of Fr. Lambert Van de Schans, a White Father who was stationed in Gula Parish in 1954 when Maryknoll began working in what was to become Shinyanga Diocese. He was interviewed by Fr. Carl Meulemans in 1989 and discussed the manner in which Musoma Vicariate was first begun and why Maryknoll was requested to take on this territory. As early as 1937 the Apostolic Nuncio to East Africa, Antonio Riberi, was looking to a possible division of Mwanza Vicariate and, according to Van de Schans, he talked with Bishop Joseph Trudel, the White Father Bishop of Tabora about making a new vicariate between Tabora and Mwanza, which is currently Shinyanga Diocese, and giving it to the Benedictines. When Bishop Oomen of Mwanza heard this, he immediately sent objections to the White Fathers' headquarters, saying it would not be possible to work with a non-missionary, monastic order such as the Benedictines. Oomen said Riberi should look for a missionary society to take over a part of Mwanza. According to Joe Carney, Maryknoll made its first tentative offer to work with the White Fathers in Tanganyika in November, 1939.

At the same time, Bishop Oomen was sending in his five-year reports to Rome and each time was requesting that the northern part of Mwanza Vicariate, i.e. Musoma/North Mara, be subdivided from Mwanza. The reasons were that there were many tribes and languages in that region and it would be necessary to have a mission for each tribe. With the White Fathers' rule of having three stationed in each mission they would not have sufficient personnel for the number of missions required. Oomen said he would agree to any order taking Musoma, even the Benedictines.

When Blomjous was named the Vicar Apostolic of Musoma/Maswa in April, 1946, Bishop Oomen of Mwanza apparently did not yet know that Maryknoll had two months previously been allocated Musoma-Maswa Prefecture by Propaganda Fide. In fact, he gave serious consideration to having Maryknoll take over Geita, according to Van de Schans. But at some time in mid-1946, while Van de Schans was pastor of Sumve Parish near Mwanza, the three White Father Bishops, Oomen, Trudel, and Blomjous (actually Blomjous was not yet Bishop; he was ordained Bishop in Holland in October, 1946) came together in Sumve and decided to offer Musoma/Maswa to Maryknoll. As seen above, the White Fathers in Mwanza and Nyegina were still unclear as to the plans for Maryknoll even as late as October, 1946, when the first four Maryknollers arrived in Nyegina, and Van de Schans' comments confirmed this lack of clear communications.

Van de Schans said that another problem was that Musoma and Maswa were not contiguous districts. To go from one to the other it was necessary to pass through a little section of Mwanza, where Nassa Parish was located. This was unacceptable to Bishop Constantini of Propaganda Fide in Rome, when Oomen visited him in 1946. Thus, Nassa was attached to Maswa, becoming a part of Musoma-Maswa Vicariate and later a parish within Shinyanga-Maswa Diocese.

Perhaps the best summary of the transfer of authority from the White Fathers to Maryknoll in the years 1946 to 1950 is Joe Carney's concluding paragraph of Chapter Five of his thesis:

When one puts in perspective the project of four American missionary priests in 1946 beginning their life's work under the tutelage of the White Fathers in Musoma, Tanganyika, one is impressed by the generosity and concern of both missionary societies in attempting to accomplish an effective and cooperative transfer of ecclesiastical responsibility as well as language learning techniques and missionary methods. Financial limitations and personnel needs are seen to create quite a bit of pressure on missionary societies in general, and on Superiors General, local ordinaries and regional superiors in specific. The success of the transfer of Musoma from the White Fathers to Maryknoll was due to all the missioners concerned and specifically to the vigorous new mission vision of Bishop Blomjous in the immediate post-World War II era, the wise action of Fr. Thomas Walsh, Vicar General on the Maryknoll General Council (of which this history has said almost nothing, unfortunately), and the warm, generous and human leadership of William Collins as Superior of the Maryknoll Mission in Musoma from 1946 to 1951.

Grondin was officially installed as Prefect Apostolic of Musoma on December 7, 1950. His first tasks were setting up some essential offices for the Prefecture, such as Education Secretary. Schiavone had gone to Rosana with Joe Brannigan in 1949 but in October, 1950, he came down with polio and was paralyzed over half of his body. Schiavone was immediately re-assigned to Nyegina and tentatively assigned to be Education Secretary. However, in the following month, November, 1950, he and Grondin flew to Nairobi and from there Schiavone went to Mombasa for quite a few months for rehabilitation and full recovery. On return to Nyegina (he was back at least by July, 1951)

he started learning Swahili and was assigned by Grondin to become first pastor of Musoma. While in Nyegina, both he and Grondin began a routine of going into Musoma to swim. The diaries don't state where they swam – most likely a pool and not the lake – nor how often they went. Others occasionally joined them. When Schiavone had to go for rehabilitation, Grondin asked Bill Collins to be Education Secretary, a post that Collins held for the next five years. However, he continued to live in Nyegina until 1956 (or possibly to late in 1955) and did some pastoral ministry there. In either 1955 or 1956 he moved into Musoma town.

In October, 1950, two new Maryknollers arrived in Tanganyika, Del Robinson, who had been ordained in 1947, and newly ordained Joe Reinhart. Reinhart spent only a few days in Nyegina and then went to Rosana to replace Schiavone. Robinson began studying Kikwaya but in December Msgr. Grondin decided to open a parish in Iramba as soon as possible and assigned Robinson and Tom Gibbons to this parish. They immediately began study of the Kingorimi language, at Nyegina with informants, and on July 4, 1951, they departed to officially open the new mission.

In his first months after becoming Prefect, Grondin also made the decision to open three other parishes as soon as possible: Musoma (1952), Komuge (1952), and Majita-Mabui (1953). In 1951, Schiavone was appointed as the first pastor of Musoma, although he continued living at Nyegina. To help in building the rectory and church in Musoma, Joe Glynn was assigned from Masonga at the end of 1951, and assisted Schiavone in Musoma until the beginning of 1953.

Ed Bratton had already begun coming from Kowak to Nyegina every month to reach out and minister to a large number of Luo people living in scattered areas of South Mara. In July, 1951, he was assigned to build the new parish in Komuge and he moved to Nyegina to begin study of the Kisimbiti language. Art Wille arrived in September, 1951, and in December he was assigned to also learn Kisimbiti and join Bratton in Komuge.

Seven new Maryknoll priests came to Tanganyika in late 1951 and early 1952. Three had worked in Asia: Tom Quirk, who we will discuss below; John Graser, who arrived shortly after Christmas in 1951 and went to Nyegina as procurator of the mission and Prefecture; and Paul Bordenet, who was assigned to study Kikwaya and work at Nyegina Parish. Of the other four, three – Art Wille, Edward 'Eppy' James, and Dan Zwack – were newly ordained, and the other, Alden 'Mike' Pierce, had been ordained in 1947. Zwack and Pierce were immediately assigned to Kowak to study Luo, but for three months Grondin was not sure where to assign Wille and James. Finally in December, 1951, Wille was assigned to Komuge and James to Rosana, where he began study of Kikuria.

In 1952 Gibbons suffered problems with excessive anxiety at Iramba Mission and was re-assigned to Nyegina. He was replaced in Iramba by Lou Bayless, who remained there for only a year. With Bayless in Iramba, Grondin decided in July, 1952, to assign Rab Murphy as the first pastor of Majita parish, which was opened in 1953. He began study of the Kijita language, which was similar to the Kikwaya language, and in late 1952 Rab was happily informed that Brother Fidelis would join him in Majita to oversee construction of the rectory and church.

There were many assignments that Grondin made over his six years as Prefect, but these were some of the early ones. In September, 1952, three priests came, Frank

Murray and Jim Kuhn, who went to Kowak, and Frank Flynn, who was assigned to Iramba to replace Lou Bayless, who was going on furlough in the beginning of 1953.

Nairobi Society House:

As mentioned above there was one very important assignment to Tanganyika in September, 1951, that of Fr. Tom Quirk. In February, 1951, a consultative vote for the new Society Superior for Tanganyika was held and in May that year Bishop Lane informed Grondin that Quirk, who had been ordained in 1930 and had worked in China for many years, was appointed to be the Society Superior (today called Regional Superior) for Africa. He arrived in Nyegina in September and may have tried to learn some Swahili, but at the end of 1951 or beginning of 1952 he went to Nairobi to search for a place to live.

The reasons for choosing Nairobi were the culmination of a series of events and discussions prior to the choice of Quirk as Superior. In November of 1950 Grondin and Al Schiavone had flown to Nairobi, according to the Nyegina diary. The reason for this trip was not stated, but most likely it had to do with getting a place for Schiavone to do rehabilitation following his polio outbreak. A little over a month later, in January, 1951, Grondin wrote to the Maryknoll General Council, saying that Nairobi would be the ideal place for a Society house and guest residence for men coming up from Tanganyika for shopping, medical care or vacation. In October, 1951, a month after Quirk had arrived in Nyegina, Grondin went to Nairobi to look for a house that could be used for vacations. In December, 1951, Bishop Lane wrote to Grondin, saying that it was approved that the Society Superior, Tom Quirk, live outside of the mission area.

Quirk began living in Nairobi in early 1952, but it was not until August, 1952, that he was given permission to purchase a plot of land on which to build a society house. Bishop John Rudin, who was Regional Superior in Nairobi from 1956 to 1957, after Quirk finished his term and returned to Taiwan, offered some of the following information about those early years.

Quirk was able to get a two-acre plot at the far end of land owned by the Holy Ghost Fathers. From what we can ascertain, this plot was granted to Maryknoll for free, and in 1980 Maryknoll obtained the title deed. The original Holy Ghost priests were French and had been granted – in the 1800s according to Rudin, but more likely in the first decade of the twentieth century – a square mile of land in the Msongari area five miles northwest of downtown Nairobi, considered rural at that time. One way in which they used the land was to grow coffee, which they brought from their missions in Reunion. The Spiritan Congregation, as the Holy Ghost Fathers are officially known, was the first group to grow coffee in Kenya. Coffee helped fund not only the mission but the educational institutions they built on this land.

Quirk got permission from Maryknoll in August, 1952, to begin building a society house, but construction was delayed until 1953 because of the outbreak of the Mau Mau insurrection. In the meantime, Quirk stayed in houses entrusted to him by British residents when they went to Britain for six-month leave. According to Rudin, “Quirk was a great man for meeting families. He was very well liked and very much of a gentleman.” Maryknollers coming up from Tanganyika, usually for medical reasons or when they

were going on leave, were able to stay at these houses, although at times they would have to sleep on roll-out cots in the sitting room or wherever there was room. At times they also had to stay at a hotel in downtown Nairobi. In his interview, Lou Bayless said that the hotel was called the Spread Eagle Hotel.

Fr. Norman Batt drew up the plans for the society house, which had two stories for the large recreation room, dining room and kitchen on the ground floor, and rooms for the superior and treasurer along with a chapel on the second floor. This section was attached to a long, one-story section that had eight guestrooms with toilets and showers at the end of the corridor. The foundation was built strong enough to add a second story of guest rooms, which Rudin did when he was superior in 1956/57.

Nairobi was also chosen, as Bishop John Rudin later explained, “because Maryknoll wanted these regional houses not in the locale where the men were working but a little bit away. But also in a city where they could get medical attention, where they could see doctors, where they could get their glasses taken care of, and where they could get better food and medications, if they needed them from a drugstore. And then perhaps go to the movies and take in other forms of recreation. [Editor note: golf became very popular.] Or even possibly go down to the coast, for swimming, diving or scuba diving.” This followed the pattern practiced in Maryknoll missions in Asia, separation of the society superior’s residence from the Maryknoll dioceses, a policy which had proven to be effective.

The separation of locale symbolized the separation of responsibilities. The diocese (i.e. Prefecture) would be responsible for construction of buildings, obtaining land and permits, assignments to parishes and diocesan offices, and ecclesiastical matters such as sacramental and catechetical policies. The Maryknoll Regional Superior (to use the current term) would oversee disbursement of Mass stipends, personal allowance, viatique and special budget requests from Maryknoll, make requests for new personnel to the Region (and later respond to requests for people to do society service in the U.S.), and most importantly be attuned to the health, morale, spiritual welfare, and educational updating of all Maryknollers in East Africa.

Just as an aside on the question of assignments: Maryknollers today are familiar with the Region requesting personnel for the Region and the Regional Superior assigning the person to a particular diocese and apostolate, but in the 1950s it seems that Grondin was communicating directly with the General Council requesting priests and Brothers, and that Bishops Ed McGurkin and John Rudin in Shinyanga and Musoma followed that practice at least up until the early 1960s. In Africa it might have been Joe Glynn who took more control of assignments, especially when he began assigning personnel to other places in Tanzania and to other countries. There will be more comment on this when we look at the six years that Moe Morrissey was Regional Superior, from 1972 to 1978.

As for the society house construction, the original part was completed at the end of 1954 and Maryknollers who visited Nairobi in January, 1955, luxuriated in being able to stay in their own society house. The house was designated first and foremost as the residence of the Regional Superior and regional treasurer and only secondarily as a guest house. Thus, Maryknollers were obligated to pay half-a-day’s viatique for each day they stayed at the society house. This rule was later abolished around the year 1970. When the second story was built it was also decided to have a Brother come to be full-time guestmaster.

After Rudin, subsequent Regional Superiors – Paul Bordenet (1957-62), Joe Glynn (1962-72), and James ‘Moe’ Morrissey (1972-78) – stayed in Nairobi up till the Africa Region was divided into the Tanzania and Kenya Regions in 1978. After that, till 1998, the Kenya Superior stayed at the Nairobi Society House (or Gleason Residence adjacent to the society house), and the Tanzania Superior stayed in Makoko, either at the language school or the Brown House. [Editor note: it seems that by 1978 the original intent of separating the society house away from the dioceses in which Maryknollers worked was either abandoned or forgotten – or perhaps inconsequential, since in both Tanzania and Kenya Maryknollers were working in a number of dioceses and even in several countries.] After the regions were joined again into one Africa Region in 1998, subsequent Africa Regional Superiors have stayed at their own places of ministry, in Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, and Nairobi University.

For further information on the Nairobi Society House refer to Volume One of this history. The house in Nairobi has become primarily, in fact almost exclusively, a guest house, although it has a large office at which financial administration is done for the whole Africa Region. There is also an office available for the Regional Superior, although it is seldom that the Superior is physically present in the office. More will be said about the Brown House later in this Volume.

New catechetical protocol:

The most important decision of Msgr. Grondin in his first few months was to call a priests’ conference that began on May 7, 1951, with a retreat led by a White Father from Kipalapala Seminary. Grondin intended that this would be the first of the annual clerical conferences to be held in Musoma Prefecture. Although called a ‘clerical’ conference, in fact all sixteen Maryknollers in Musoma attended, including the two Brothers. According to Joe Carney’s thesis, Grondin had two main goals of the 1951 conference: “Maryknoll policy concerning the annual budget for Musoma, and the nature of the catechumenate, as it was used by the Maryknoll men.” (For a thorough examination of this topic, cf Carney, Chapter Six, ‘The Evolution of Maryknoll Catechetical Systems,’ pages 166 to 240. For the 1951 conference itself, cf pp 180 to 188.)

Three of the original Maryknollers who came in 1946, Lou Bayless, Bert Good, and Joe Brannigan, prepared and delivered papers on the period of probation prior to Baptism, the catechumenate itself, and on the content of the catechetical instruction.

Bayless recommended shortening the probation period from four years to two years, but make it more intensive, with the course aimed at sincerity and depth of knowledge rather than merely on weekly attendance records.

Good discussed the superficiality of the attractions to joining the catechumenate, such as reception into the Church, getting a Christian (i.e. non-African) name, and being known as a reader. But he said that Luo customs, particularly marriage customs, were leading to apostasies after Baptism and that Luo Christians were not willing to give up their customs. To counter this, there was need of a more intensive sacramental course before Baptism, at the mission, at which Christian community life and ways in which this life can be sustained would be discussed.

Brannigan stated that numbers should not be important and that memorization should be replaced with an understanding of the meaning of Christianity and how it

affects one's life. The content should concentrate on Jesus' life and Christian virtues. Brannigan also talked on the importance of the catechist as being key to modeling the Christian life by exemplifying Christian virtues. Thus, he called for plans to be devised and implemented as soon as possible for the education and training of catechists. He also said that a proportional pay scale was required, in accordance to their increased training and spending more hours in teaching.

At the end of the conference the following consensus was accepted by all those in attendance:

- A 21 month catechumenate, rather than four years, divided into the following sections:
 - A three-month Introduction to the Life of Christ, to be taught at the outstation four hours weekly
 - Six months on Christian truths, at the outstation, four hours a week
 - Six more months on Christian truths, at the outstation, four hours weekly. Each of these two six-month periods would be concluded with oral exams at the mission, called "welo" week. Most of the parishes also kept the tradition of awarding medals at the end of these periods.
 - The final six months would be the Sacrament Course, in which all those who passed their medal exams would come to live at the mission, as had been the White Fathers tradition. The course would be divided into two sections of three months each. At the end of each section, each catechumen would be examined by two priests, to ensure no one was being passed on the basis of friendship with a particular priest. The purpose of the course and the exams was to seek a quality understanding of Christianity

- All outstations would be kept open.

- Unsuitable catechists would get further training.

- There would be a higher pay scale for catechists: 15/- TShs a month would be average, but 20/- could be paid to an excellent catechist.

- No plans were made at that time for catechist training.

- Msgr. Grondin wanted to have a second probation period after Baptism, but this was rejected by those working with Luo Christians, and was not approved by the conference.

This model, the 21-month catechumenate, remained in effect for the next ten years and was followed in all the new parishes opened in Musoma Prefecture/Diocese up to 1961 as well as in all the parishes of Shinyanga Diocese. Eppy James was in Nyegina for three months at the end of 1951 and he wrote in the December diary of Nyegina's 21-month catechumenate. It basically followed the above-stated model, although he did not indicate that the final six-month Sacramental Course was divided into two sections. He also mentioned that just prior to Baptism all the baptizandi made a three-day retreat.

There were very slight differences in other parishes, but nothing essential, and some parishes had Baptism twice a year whereas others had it four times a year.

When we go through the histories of the respective parishes we will discover the continuing difficulties the priests were having with respect to keeping Christians, especially in the outstations. Priests also began commenting on the changed social and economic circumstances when Tanganyika was approaching Independence and even more so afterward. Changed circumstances required changes in catechetics, and Maryknollers were to prove that if anything they were open to creative and innovative change.

As to why Brannigan's call for catechist training was not followed up on in 1951 is not clear and even Joe Carney offers no explanation. The establishment of catechist training schools will be treated in the section on Shinyanga Diocese and the section on Musoma Diocese for the years 1962 to 1978.

A second clerical conference was held in December, 1951, although the outcome of these discussions is not recorded in diaries or interviews. After that, there were annual clerical conferences in Musoma Prefecture up to the end of Grondin's tenure as Prefect.

Immaculate Heart Sisters of Africa (IHSA):

The next major decision of Musoma Prefecture was the establishment of the Immaculate Heart Sisters of Africa (IHSA). As was mentioned in Part One, Fr. Erwin Binder of Kowak had started, prior to 1946, having a few girls stay at the mission in a special hostel, with the intention that eventually there would be a Sisters' congregation for them to join. After the Maryknoll Sisters arrived in Kowak in December, 1948, Binder turned over tutelage of the five aspirants to the Sisters. Of the five, only one knew how to read and write, but Sr. Margaret Rose Winkelmann began tutoring them and said: "They were our teachers, our companions and our friends. The aspirants taught us the Luo language and from our close association with them we learned their culture and their customs." (Quoted in Erisman, page 6)

The number of aspirants grew slowly and in 1952 girls from Bantu tribes also joined. Several Maryknoll Sisters were involved in the training of the girls in various types of subjects, including vocational skills. On August 17, 1952, the new IHSA congregation received approval from Rome to begin a novitiate.

Msgr. Grondin had been requesting the Maryknoll Sisters to open a second place in Nyegina and in 1953 there were sufficient Sisters to fulfill this request. Three Sisters, Mary Bowes, Ann Klaus, and Rose Miriam Dagg, moved to Nyegina and engaged in three ministries: staffing the dispensary, supervising the primary school, and running the new novitiate. The novitiate immediately gained valuable additions when four young women from Musoma who had joined a group of religious women in Mwanza opted to join the IHSA Sisters.

Rose Miriam became the first Director of the Novitiate. Unfortunately, she became ill with cancer and had to return to the U.S. Mary Bowes replaced her as head of the novitiate and remained in this position for many years. The first postulant to become a novice of the IHSA was Felicita Ngofira on November 21, 1953, and took the name Sr. Miriam Letitia. Finally, on July 29, 1955, Msgr. Grondin, considered the founding father of the congregation, canonically erected the IHSA Sisters as a full congregation.

In 1958, Sr. Pat Madden joined Bowes on the novitiate staff, and in 1959 the novitiate moved to Makoko. The aspirants' school, which was a middle school for grades five to eight (also referred to as an upper primary school), was also moved from Kowak to Makoko that same year. In 1962, when the Maryknoll Sisters realized that very few girls were going into the Novitiate after finishing grade eight, the school was expanded and renamed Makoko Girls School. These four years served as the girls' postulancy years, after which they went on for two years of novitiate. Following novitiate those who had made first vows were taken to secondary schools that had been started by the Maryknoll Sisters. Later in the 1970s, the novices were able to take some of their secondary school courses at St. Pius Seminary, located right next door in Makoko.

A number of Maryknoll Sisters came to teach at Makoko Girls School, including Gert Maley, who became Principal, Julie Fitzsimmons, Assistant Principal, Pat Cain, Pat Gallogly, Margaret O'Brien and Ann Klaus, although Cain and Klaus left in 1961 to start the upper primary school in Buhangija, Shinyanga Diocese. Gallogly described the type of girls who came to the postulancy, their ages, and the normal daily routine at the school.

The girls were from rural areas of Musoma and Shinyanga Dioceses and were aged from twelve to up to twenty years old, older than what we would consider middle school age. They were being trained to become Sisters and their aspirancy was rather regulated, with a strict routine preparing them for the novitiate. They arose at 6:00am, had Morning Prayer, Mass and breakfast, and then classes from about 8:30am to 4:00pm. They would then have manual labor, which included a lot of gardening on the large school property. After supper they went back to the classroom to study for an hour or two with kerosene lanterns, and then slept in dormitories.

As time went on we realized that many of the girls were not coming there specifically to be Sisters. They were coming because it was a good school and they wanted a good education. Since the girls were older, and it was located right next to the junior seminary for boys (also an upper primary school at that time), of boys who were also not particularly interested in going on for the priesthood, we did have quite a bit of trouble with cavorting going on between the two groups. So, we had to recognize the reality of the situation, that these were both upper primary schools for boys and girls who did not necessarily have vocations.

In 1967 the Maryknoll Sisters closed the girls school, as Gallogly explained:

As the years went on we noticed that they were getting younger and younger so that when they finished grade eight they were fourteen or fifteen, much too young to go into the novitiate. So, we saw then that the school was no longer needed.

The buildings remained empty for one or two years. Then, in 1968, Fr. Dave Jones and Sr. Margaret Monroe started a family course for couples from all over the diocese, utilizing the buildings of the former Makoko Girls School. After 1967, the few

girls in postulancy who needed to finish primary school went to Mwisenge Primary School not far away. (Cf Erisman pp 17-18, 21-22)

The Maryknoll Sisters also handed over the responsibility for the training and supervision of the IHSA Sisters in 1969, when Sr. Maria Consolata John was chosen to be the first Tanzanian Mother General of the congregation. The IHSA Sisters recruit girls/young women primarily from Musoma, Shinyanga, Mwanza, and Geita Dioceses – and now also from the new Bunda Diocese – but other women join from Bukoba and even as far away as Arusha and Moshi. Up until the 1990s most of the girls entering Aspirancy had finished only Standard Seven of primary school. Today, the congregation seeks primarily secondary school graduates and, if possible, those with post-secondary education or job experience.

The IHSA congregation grew slowly and had only around 100 professed Sisters as of 1992, none of whom were university graduates. As of the beginning of 2012, however, there were 180 professed Sisters, over 30 novices and postulants, and over a dozen university graduates, with six more who were to graduate later that year. One of the Sisters is a teacher at St. Augustine University, the Catholic university outside of Mwanza, and another is the Headmistress of Kowak Girls High School, which goes up to Form Six.

In 1978, through the help of Fr. Art Wille, who was pastor of Komuge at the time, the congregation obtained 800 acres of unsettled land at a place called Erengo, near the village of Kiabebe, located adjacent to the lake nine miles north of Komuge Parish. They were assisted in this by Joseph Gabrieli, the brother of Maria Nyerere. The place was renamed Baraki Farm and they began farming 150 acres in the valley using machinery, hybrid seeds, and modern agricultural inputs and methods. Irrigation was provided from the lake by means of a windmill and generator, which pumped water two miles from the lake. The farm also has a large herd of dairy cattle. Free water for home use was also provided to Basimbiti people who began moving around the Sisters' property. In addition to a source of income for the Aspirants/Postulancy section (two years in all), which moved to Baraki, work on the farm has a secondary purpose of teaching the Sisters and Basimbiti people modern methods of agriculture, including maintenance of tractors and other machinery. Over the years the number of acres farmed has increased and farm produce funds much of the congregation's operating expenses, especially of the training programs. At Baraki, the Sisters also run a large health center that has an outpatient section and four wards.

More will be said about Wille's work in Komuge later in this history, but his comments on the rationale of the Sisters obtaining this farm are worth noting here:

The purpose of this farm is to make the Immaculate Heart Sisters self-reliant in their training program. Since their beginning Maryknoll supported their training program, but a number of years ago the Tanzania Region decided to gradually lessen support over a ten-year period until it would be completely done away with. So this farm was started and the postulancy was built here to fulfill this goal of self-reliance.

In addition to Baraki Farm, in 1986 the Sisters obtained 1000 acres near the border of Kenya called Kitenga, an area located between the Luo and Kuria peoples, seen as a buffer zone and therefore never developed. It is remote and cut off from roads by two rivers that are impassable when it rains heavily. The Sisters have built a convent there, and as of 2012 have either built or are in the process of building a medical center, primary school and secondary school. Until a bridge is built over one of the rivers it is difficult to start operation of any of these projects. The secondary school will be for girls, highlighting the Sisters' intention to make girls/women's progress one of their primary goals.

The following IHSA institutions remain at Makoko: the Novitiate, the Motherhouse, which accommodates retired Sisters and has rooms for guests, and the Generalate, which is slightly up the hill above Makoko, at a place called Nyarigamba. Although the Motherhouse and Novitiate are separate buildings, Sisters of both places use the Novitiate chapel for Mass and other liturgical services.

The IHSA Sisters today work in the Dioceses of Musoma, Bunda, Shinyanga, Mwanza, Geita, Singida, Dodoma and Dar es Salaam, and staff one parish in the United States, at Salinas, California. Their work is primarily in health, education and parish work, but they also care for disabled children, and do agricultural training, social work, and community development.

St. Pius Seminary, Makoko:

With an indigenous Sisters' congregation started, Grondin next turned his attention to opening a seminary. When Bert Good returned from his furlough in March, 1954, he took over as Diocesan Education Secretary from Bill Collins and was also asked by Grondin to stay at Nyegina and begin the process of establishing a minor seminary for both Musoma and Shinyanga. At that time, boys expressing interest in the seminary went to Nyegezi Seminary in Mwanza for Standards Five to Eight, but Musoma Prefecture now had eight parishes and Maryknoll had just committed to taking on responsibility for the new Diocese of Shinyanga, which had six parishes. There were many boys seeking to join the minor seminary from these two dioceses and Grondin and his consultants determined that Musoma needed its own seminary. As mentioned in Part One, opening a seminary in Musoma had been one of Bishop Blomjous' goals back in 1946, although nothing had been done prior to 1950.

Good visited Nyegezi and learned of the seminary curriculum and other aspects of organizing and directing a minor seminary. In late 1954 Frank Flynn, who had come to Tanganyika in 1952, was re-assigned from Iramba Parish to Nyegina, in order to learn Swahili and assist Good in starting the seminary. In January, 1955, they started a one-stream Standard Five seminary class at Nyegina, utilizing one of the classrooms of the primary school.

In November, 1953, Flynn had had a terrible accident on his motorcycle, which almost cost him his life and he was forced to convalesce for months afterward. This was the first of what fortunately have been only a few really serious vehicular accidents involving Maryknollers in East Africa (there have been lots of spills on motorcycles and some minor vehicle accidents), and missionaries to East Africa still talked about Flynn's accident for years afterward. Fortunately, none of these road accidents has taken the life of any Maryknoller, although over a half dozen Tanzanian priests in Musoma and

Shinyanga Dioceses have died in road accidents. And, of course, as cited in Volume One, Fr. Tom Mantica died in a plane crash in Sudan in 1978. By mid-1954 Flynn was working again at Iramba Parish and going out to outstations on his motorcycle.

Regarding his assignment to the seminary Flynn said:

I'd say first that I was very disappointed when word came out that I was assigned to study Swahili and join Bert Good in running the seminary. I'm still not a good teacher and I was displeased at it. I was happy at Iramba.

However, in mid or late 1955 Flynn returned to Iramba for several months, when Del Robinson went to Europe for his mid-term vacation. Msgr. Grondin did not want to leave Dick Quinn and Dennis O'Brien alone in Iramba without an older missionary.

In the seminary's first year there were about 25 students in the class. Since there was still only one classroom available, in the following year, 1956, these students went to Nyegezi for Standard Six and a full class of 35 boys came for Standard Five at Nyegina. Good and Flynn were joined in either 1955 or the beginning of 1956 by Brother Laurenti, who had been at Kowak and was the only one of the four indigenous Brothers remaining.

Accommodations were very simple the whole four years that the seminary was at Nyegina. There were just two classrooms, or perhaps three by 1958, the boys slept in a very plain mud hut with a thatched roof, and even the priest-teachers had a simple house with a thatched roof and outdoor latrine.

In 1956 Grondin and Collins both went to Maryknoll, NY, for the Chapter, and Bert Good was appointed acting, temporary Prefect Apostolic of Musoma. Grondin had said that Good would remain rector of the seminary, even though Flynn would be the one overseeing things every day. However, two days after Grondin departed Good wrote a letter to Flynn appointing him permanent rector.

Illustrative of differing perspectives on seminary policies between Europeans and Americans is an anecdote told by Flynn:

One day Brother Laurenti came to me saying we have to buy underwear in Musoma, because the boys have just come back and don't have any underwear. I responded that the boys can write home to get underwear. But Laurenti said that the underwear was needed immediately, because when the boys go to the lake three days a week to bathe, they do so naked.

I still didn't see what the problem was, but Laurenti explained that when he was in Nyegezi Seminary all the boys had to wear underwear when they went to the lake to bathe. They were absolutely not allowed to bathe naked!

Two days later at spiritual reading I got up and announced that when the boys go bathing they do it the same way they have done since they were young children. They wash their clothes and put them out to dry, but there is nothing wrong with seeing a naked body.

I guess I rather shocked Laurenti that I didn't keep up with the old White Fathers' tradition.

It should be noted, however, that the boys were not what we consider fifth grade age level. Most were aged fourteen to seventeen and the cut-off age for admission to

Standard Five was eighteen. Flynn explained that there was discussion by Grondin, Collins and Good whether middle school was the right level for a seminary. Due to traditional customs, the children did not start primary school until at an older age than in the U.S. and by the time they finished Standard Four they averaged about sixteen years old. “Now if you consider those ages, you had to get them while still relatively young before they were spoiled or before they picked up non-Christian customs.”

Despite this reasoning, in 1965 St. Pius began to be phased over into a secondary school. By the mid-1970s most of the boys joining Form One were of normal secondary school age (thirteen to fifteen). By then, sending young children of six or seven years old to the first year of primary school had become more common in Tanzania, although there were still many who were older.

For the remainder of 1956 Flynn was the only Maryknoll priest in the seminary, but in 1957 he was joined by Dan Zwack and Tarcissius Sije, who was on his pastoral year from Kipalapala Seminary. Flynn says of Sije, “He was quite good and very diligent in teaching and watching the students.” Tom Burke also came in 1958 from Shinyanga Diocese, since Bishop McGurkin told him that Shinyanga also had to supply at least one priest to the seminary.

Burke had been informed of this by McGurkin early in 1956 when he had just finished six months language study in Kisukuma and started working at Kilulu Parish. McGurkin told Burke to start studying Kiswahili, but to keep its purpose a secret. This meant he had to learn two languages at the same time, but he said, “Swahili was much easier, because there were books available, grammar books and good vocabulary books; and the structure of the language is very close to Sukuma. So, in that sense it wasn’t all that difficult.” His ability in Swahili came in handy when he returned to Shinyanga Diocese, to Chamugasa Parish near Lake Victoria, in 1965, as there were non-Sukuma living there and Burke used Swahili in ministering to them. This was another factor in his assignment to Dar es Salaam in 1966, where Swahili would be the only language used.

In 1956 Paul Bordenet made the arrangements to get about 200 acres of land in Makoko, “an excellent piece of land that slopes down to Lake Victoria,” according to Bishop Rudin. “The supply of water was a big thing, not only for the seminarians but for the Sisters, who still had the Postulancy in Kowak, where water provision was very difficult. They put a pump in the lake and pumped water up into good-sized water tanks.”

In 1957 Bordenet, assisted by Brother John Walsh, started the construction of the seminary buildings at Makoko, but in October, 1957, Rudin was ordained Bishop and Bordenet went to Nairobi to become Regional Superior. Rudin then assigned Brother Brian Fraher to build St. Pius Seminary.

Fraher had come to Tanganyika in October, 1953, and studied Swahili for about six months. However, he began overseeing the building of six classrooms in different places even before he finished language study. He was able to learn at least the necessary rudimentary vocabulary for explaining the work to his team. He discovered that the carpentry/masonry skills in Musoma were almost non-existent at that time. “They wouldn’t be that proficient in the work, but as you get along you give a test all the time and they finally get going pretty good.”

After finishing the classrooms, he was assigned to build a new front to the church at Nyegina. Two towers in the front of the church had been infested with termites. One

day Bordenet took action to exterminate the termites but that night one of the towers fell down. The termites were holding the towers up. Fraher made the necessary corrections to the church, which lasted up till it was decided to build a new church. He got used oil from a mechanic in Musoma and soaked all the new timbers in the oil to keep them safe from termites.

On finishing this, in 1956/57 he built the new Bishop's house in Musoma town – “about eight rooms plus the dining room and chapel and everything else that was put in there.” This is the house that provided guest facilities for priests coming in from the parishes throughout the diocese, either on business or just to spend a couple of days. Although this house was not completed until 1957, both Collins and Grondin had already moved into Musoma town before 1956.

Fraher was well qualified for construction as he had studied at Wentworth Institute of Technology in Boston for three to four years, sandwiched around his service in World War Two, and he then worked for General Electric as a draftsman in his home town of Lynn, MA, for a year, prior to joining Maryknoll in 1947. Regarding his assignment to the seminary construction, Fraher explained:

At that time I had about twenty men working with me, and we went over and drew the plans for the junior seminary, where we built fifteen single-story buildings, including classrooms, dormitories, and outside lavatories and wash basins. Instead of using wooden trusses, because of the termites, I decided to use angle-iron trusses, welded, and put them up with cement block.

They had hoped to move in to the new seminary in January, 1959, but it was not finally completed until March of that year. By then the seminary was up to Standard Eight, although due to lack of space at Nyegina at least one of the classes was at Nyegezi Minor Seminary each year. After moving to Makoko they were able to house all the boys in the four years, who numbered from 140 to 150 a year. The boys who finished Standard Eight and wanted to continue in the seminary went to Nyegezi for secondary school and then on to Kipalapala Major Seminary in Tabora. After St. Pius became a secondary school, its graduates who wanted to continue in the seminary went directly to Kipalapala.

While the seminary was still at Nyegina in 1957 and 1958, Flynn says they also began adding qualified lay teachers to the staff.

First of all, we tried to raise the standard of teaching by recruiting better teachers and paying them a higher incentive pay. By coming to teach in the seminary they were losing their pension, so we were giving them an increase in incentive pay for the time they worked there. So, we were getting better people, who knew more English and could teach science. We were raising the educational level and in fact by the time they reached Standard Eight we were teaching Form One studies and using Form One books. (Form One is the first year of secondary school.)

Before I left in 1958 I thought it would be made a secondary school in one or two years and I made preparations for Latin books, teachers and upgrading it to a secondary school. But it was delayed until two or three years after I left.

In July, 1958, when Flynn went on home leave, Zwack became Rector (briefly) and Tom Burke was appointed Vice-Rector. While on home leave Flynn raised a lot of money for books and other needs and he was back in Tanganyika when the seminary moved to Makoko. Flynn stayed at the seminary until the end of 1959, when he was asked by Bishop Rudin to study Kikuria and open a new parish in Kiagata. While Flynn was home on furlough in 1958, Zwack left the seminary in November, 1958, and returned to work in Luo country and Tom Burke became Rector, a position he retained until 1961.

Beginning in late 1958 a number of Maryknoll priests came to teach at St. Pius Seminary, some for a year or two, some for several years. Brendan Smith came in late 1958 and in 1959 Bert Good returned to the seminary for a year. George Mikolajczyk, who had been in Shinyanga Diocese since 1955, also came in 1959 for one year. In April, 1960, there was a big change, as Jim Lehr, Les Rogers and Eppy James replaced Good, Smith and Mikolajczyk.

There were some well-known ordinations from those boys of the 1950s and early 1960s, such as Aloys Balina, who was later Bishop of both Geita and Shinyanga Dioceses, Fr. Laurenti Magesa (the younger), who went on to get a PhD in Theology, Tobias Magesa, Julius Kwili and Norbert Ngusa, plus a few others, but in general very few who finished the middle school and secondary school went on for the priesthood. Frank Flynn offered the following reflection on this, similar to what other priests have said.

Miss Mary Hancock, the Education Secretary for Mara Region, was very helpful in getting a place for students who we dropped for not having a vocation. Some years after I left the seminary I would meet people in various government offices, in Mwanza or Dar es Salaam for example, and they would say, “Don’t you remember me?” I would see a face that’s slightly familiar and when he would tell me his name I would say, “Well, when I knew you, you were a 15 or 16-year-old boy in the seminary.”

And they’ve always been very cooperative. Even if at that time they didn’t agree with the reasons for being dropped, they have been very helpful. When dropping a kid I tried to explain to them the reason, and even though they mightn’t agree with it, afterwards they agreed because they found their vocation.

The twenty-five or so high school seminaries have consistently been in the top fifty high schools in Tanzania, and Tanzania’s civil service is full of former seminarians. Not only is this helpful to the church, but a famous White Father, Fr. Bernard Joinet, once remarked, “Muslims think that calling them seminaries is a diversion, and that in fact they are government civil service training centers.”

[Regarding Mary Hancock, she will pop up from time to time in this history.]

Jim Lehr had been in Majita Parish from 1953 to 1959, and then went on home leave. On his return in 1960, he was asked to teach at St. Pius Seminary, but he first was given a couple of months to study Swahili. He began teaching at the seminary in April, 1960, which included teaching the Standard Five boys math and history – in Swahili. In 1962 Burke was assigned to the Venard in the U.S., and Lehr became rector.

While Lehr was rector the students and staff of what was to become Mara Secondary School – or Musoma College, as it was called then – came to live at the seminary and use its classrooms. Bishop Rudin was having classrooms built to make the seminary a secondary school, but Musoma College needed them at that time. The college (despite its name, it was just a regular secondary school) had started at Nyegina in 1960, in buildings that were to become Nyegina Middle School, but then moved down to Makoko for the beginning of the 1962 academic year. The college students remained at the seminary until they were able to move to the school's current site in 1964. Lehr said that he was opposed to the mixing of boys of a regular secondary school with boys who were in a seminary, and only a middle school at that, but that Bishop Rudin, Del Robinson, who was Diocesan Education Secretary at that time, and the Bishop's consultors forced the seminary to accept the Musoma College students.

Late in 1961 Moe Zerr, who had been assigned to Shinyanga Diocese in 1955, came to St. Pius and was made rector either in 1962 or at the beginning of 1963. Lehr remained teaching at the seminary until 1964, at which point he returned to Majita. Zerr also finished up as rector, either at the end of 1963 or beginning of 1964.

In 1964, two other Maryknollers came to St. Pius Seminary, Joe Reinhart from Musoma Diocese and George Egan from Shinyanga Diocese, both of whom stayed until 1970 and alternated as Rector for three years each. Egan took over as Rector from 1964 to 1967, and then Reinhart was Rector from 1967 to 1970. Prior to coming to the seminary in 1964 Reinhart had been in Kuria work for twelve years, in Rosana and Tarime, which he started in 1959, and had also been Diocesan Education Secretary for two years. For this latter assignment he studied Kiswahili on his own.

The six years from 1964 to 1970 were when the major transition of middle school to secondary school took place. "When I first arrived," said Reinhart, "it was only a middle school, up to Standard Eight, and when I left it was only a secondary school, grades nine to twelve. We kept it a single stream school, and had a total of about 160 boys in the school during most of the late 1960s."

The seminary staff also got a broader mix, which included three De La Salle Christian Brothers (the same congregation that had been teaching at Musoma College), Brendan Foley, Tom Jenkins for one year, and Jerry Cox, who replaced Jenkins in 1969. The Brothers taught science and math subjects. Also joining the staff were two Maryknoll Sisters, Pat Gallogly and Eileen Manning, and other Maryknoll priests, such as Bill Knipe and Ed Baskerville, and two lay men whose names Reinhart was able to remember, Anselm and Valentine Musilanga. Assisting the staff were two Maryknoll Brothers, Carl Bourgoin and Kieran Stretton, who took care of the water pumps, vehicles, and the electrical power.

According to Reinhart, "We had a real strong staff and the students were certainly well trained academically, although not too many went on to get ordained. Afterwards they got good jobs, in government or in other areas, and some of them did very well. But you don't expect too many of them to go on. At least I didn't and I told them so."

At the same time, Reinhart said that he did not have any serious discipline problems the whole time he was at the seminary and as far as he remembered none of the students was expelled from the school. Bishop Rudin was also very much involved with the students, frequently coming to visit the school and students, and arranging transport for various club excursions, even to as far as Mwanza.

The Maryknoll Sisters came to the staff of the seminary after they closed the Makoko Girls Middle School in 1967. Sr. Pat Gallogly arrived in mid-1968 and stayed for three years until the end of 1970, and offered several interesting comments:

While at the Girls School I recognized that women were an oppressed group. I became very interested in women's education, if they're going to advance in the country. I also saw a need to educate men on behalf of the women, to see the role of women in the country, to appreciate women. When they needed teachers at the seminary I applied, with the thought in mind that I might help the role of women in the country. By being one of the first women on the staff I could advance the cause of women through my education of the young men in the seminary.

That was a time of questioning, however. The Vietnam War was going on and the students had many questions about the U.S. role in Vietnam. I also began questioning our role in Vietnam and throughout the world in third world countries.

I also began to question my presence in the seminary. These young men were there for their education, but very few had interest in becoming priests. Yet the whole focus of the education was towards the priesthood, which I felt was unrealistic. I didn't feel it was a free educational environment and I didn't want to remain in that.

It was also after Vatican II and we Maryknoll Sisters were questioning ourselves as religious women, looking internally at our own community and then at the ministries that we were in. The document *Ad Gentes* challenged our missionary presence. Witness became the key word, which had never even been mentioned before. Before we were bringers of the good news, but now we realized that our lives were to witness to this good news. It was an exciting time but there was a lot of turmoil.

This was also the time of independence on the continent of Africa and in Tanzania in 1967 a whole new philosophy had been developed, which we called *Ujamaa*. [Editor note: much more will be said about this in a later section on Musoma Diocese in the 1960s and 1970s.]

There was the movement for the Africanization of all the institutions in the country, including Church institutions. We realized that we were no longer to be in charge of our schools, etc., but to step back to be assistants, and then try to see where we fit in, what our role was. The Arusha Declaration in 1967 also called for socialism, but we knew that it was based very much on our Christian values. I found it very stimulating and exciting and an ideal that we were working for.

Sisters Gallogly and Manning both left the seminary at about the same time, both of them going to Kenya for their next ministries.

By 1970/71 it was not only Reinhart and Gallogly who were dubious of the value of a secondary school seminary that produced almost no ordinations and that in fact was not even looked at as a seminary by the boys who applied. It was arguably the best school in Mara Region and this is what was attracting the applicants. Thus, the Bishops of both Musoma and Shinyanga began questioning the purpose of St. Pius Seminary and many of

the Maryknoll priests in parishes were also skeptical of a high school seminary. In the United States practically every diocese and religious order had already closed high school seminaries by the end of the 1960s and this strongly influenced the perspectives of Maryknollers in Africa.

At the same time, two other critical decisions were made, the appointment of the first African Rector, Fr. Alexander Choka, and the expansion of the seminary to double stream in Form One. Choka had been ordained for only a few years and the task of Rector was one for which he was probably not prepared. Brendan Foley opined that Choka was unsure of himself; furthermore, he ran into the period of intense questioning of whether to keep a high school seminary. Reinhart and Egan had left and Choka was the only priest for a short time until George Pfister came on the staff. Compounding these problems, Maryknoll and the dioceses were trying to cut back on funding of the seminary, creating major financial problems for Choka. At the end of one year as Rector, Choka was assigned to be pastor of Musoma Town Parish.

In 1971, Fr. Dick Hochwalt was assigned to the staff, remaining there until 1975. Ordained in 1951, he was first assigned to Rome where he was personal secretary to Cardinal Fumasoni Biondi for three years. He then taught Moral Theology and Canon Law at Maryknoll, NY, up till 1957, when he was assigned to Shinyanga Diocese in Tanganyika. For the next fourteen years he worked in several parishes in Shinyanga, most notably as pastor of Buhangija Parish, which was the Cathedral Parish in those years, and also taught at Kipalapala Major Seminary for two stints in the late 1960s.

Hochwalt commented in 1989 about the pressure to close Makoko in the early 1970s and that Bishop McGurkin of Shinyanga was especially critical.

There was a real push to get rid of Makoko, to close it down. In fact, Bishop McGurkin wrote me a letter when I was in Makoko – I'll never forget it – saying, "We have no trust in it; close it down. It's not producing what it should." He said this because there were not enough kids in the major seminary from Makoko going on.

I consider those five years, from January, 1971, to December, 1975, the best times, the most fruitful times, when we saved the seminary at Makoko. We fought and worked those five years to keep Makoko alive, to put the seminary back in the seminary, as I said, and to make it a place that people again had confidence in.

Luckily, that first year, 1971, eight young men decided to go on to the major seminary and that more or less blunted the criticisms of other people.

Bishop Rudin called for a vote of the priests from around the Diocese as to whether it should retain a minor seminary. The vote was divided, but Rudin gave greater weight to the votes of the African priests, who were strongly in favor of keeping the seminary open. Three important actions were then taken to change the atmosphere of the seminary. In 1971 Fr. Alexander Choka was replaced as Rector by Fr. John Rupya, who came from a different part of Tanzania and had strict ideas on how to run a seminary. Secondly, a decision was made to eliminate Form One intake for two years, 1972 and 1973, and just let the older students finish their four years. Brendan Foley said that there

had been no discipline problem until the boys thought that the seminary was being closed, at which point some pilfering started to occur.

The third decision was to instill firmer discipline and a strict seminary schedule into St. Pius, a philosophy of seminary training shared by both Rupya and Hochwalt. Rupya, coming from a very European and traditional model of seminary formation, thought that under previous rectors at St. Pius discipline was too lax. Foley commented that:

Rupya came in with rather strong ideas as to how the place should be run. He demanded more respect from the students and more respect from the staff. He was somewhat aghast at the level of informality or lack of discipline on the part of students. Where he came from it was different. So, this was something that he tried to stress.

It seems, though, that only Rupya and Hochwalt thought discipline was too lax at Makoko Seminary, as Brother Jerry Cox explains:

The discipline was not rigid, but there was certainly a disciplined atmosphere. There was a period of prayer starting at 6:00 or 6:30 in the morning, a period of mental prayer before Mass. There were Rector's conferences, evening prayer, and night prayer. So, there was certainly a structured prayer life. And the boys knew that this was a seminary, preparing them for priesthood.

In Cox's opinion, the only negative matter affecting the seminary was the divided opinion in the dioceses about whether the seminary should continue.

Cox commented, though, that in the early 1970s nationalist fervor was very strong in the country. Every morning school students had to run out from the school and back, in a form of military drill, called *mchakamchaka*. They would also be singing nationalist songs/slogans to the beat of their running. The students at St. Pius Seminary, who also had spiritual exercises to carry out, were not exempt from this daily drill. Both students and expatriate missionaries felt that the purpose of the drill was not merely to promote Tanzanian nation-building but also to indoctrinate young Tanzanians to anti-western sentiments. One day, one of the seminarians went into Musoma town, to the TANU party office, to accuse the seminary of an unpatriotic remark or action. Nothing came of this, however.

In 1974, boys were again admitted to Form One, but the only class ahead of them was the Form Four class, who apparently did not pass on any negative views of seminary structure. Furthermore, the seminary went back to having just a single stream. Double stream had proven impossible, due to the grave difficulty in getting qualified teachers and sufficient funding. And then in 1974 or beginning of 1975, for whatever reasons, Rupya was replaced as Rector by Hochwalt. Hochwalt believes that the three changes listed above saved the seminary.

We re-started the seminary with a new intake of Form One according to the idea that this place is a seminary solely for seminarians. The whole idea was

that it was not just another secondary school and that some of the kids would go on to the major seminary.

With the crisis over, a new Rector was appointed in 1976, Fr. Aloys Balina from Shinyanga Diocese, who had been ordained in 1971. Although the seminary and vocational focus of St. Pius remained, Foley and others state that St. Pius improved markedly under Balina, to a great extent due to his positive relationship with the boys. A cooperative spirit and good rapport among the staff helped keep the school's academic performance at a high quality. Balina also introduced development projects, such as gardens, which all the boys were required to till, and a fishing project with a boat bought by the seminary (with grant money from overseas). The income from the produce of these projects, sold in Musoma town, helped to keep school fees low. The idea of development projects at the seminary was inspired by President Nyerere's call for self-reliance, especially through agriculture, an ideal that greatly appealed to Balina.

There was another unusual and innovative extra-curricular activity brought to Makoko in 1976 – boxing. Already sports were a valued part of seminary life: the boys naturally loved to play soccer and, due to the American character of St. Pius and particularly due to Brother Brendan Foley, the seminary had a very good basketball team. Foley himself was a good basketball player and adept at coaching the boys this new sport that they were eager to learn. Then, in 1976, Fr. John Eybel was assigned to Makoko, bringing with him boxing skills that he had picked up at the seminary in Glen Ellyn.

Eybel came to Tanganyika in 1970, learning Luo at the Language School, after which he was assigned to Kowak Parish, remaining there from 1971 to 1974. While in Kowak he taught boxing to several youth, which established his reputation throughout the Mara Region as an expert boxer. "I became known as a shadow boxer, or something of the sort, someone who gave Muhammad Ali his boxing lessons. I never discouraged that opinion."

He then studied Swahili in late 1974 and for a year filled in at the parishes of Tarime and Nyegina. While learning Swahili and briefly working in Musoma town, he assisted MM Sr. Paul Mary Moriarty at the youth program at the Mwembeni Social Center, where he started a boxing club. When he arrived at the seminary, the boys immediately requested him to start a boxing club there, which Eybel initially resisted.

When I arrived at the seminary, I was Vice-Rector to Aloys Balina, Spiritual Director, Prefect of the Senior Class, and teacher of English. I also gave spiritual conferences. So, I was interested in those jobs first and did not think at all about starting boxing.

However, there was a young fellow who was small in stature, who got in trouble and was temporarily suspended for using foul language with a woman along the road outside the seminary. When he came back, I decided he needed an activity to make him more self-disciplined. He was too small for basketball, so I told him: "Come on; we'll make a boxer out of you." I found someone his size to box with, and the boxing program got off the ground.

There was a Ugandan man who was employed by East African Railways, building a hotel there in Makoko. He was experienced in boxing and he came and helped us to coach boxing. This inspired Musoma (formerly Alliance) Secondary

School and Mara Secondary School (formerly Musoma College) to start teams, and the Army had a team. So, we had competition. Fortunately, there were enough boxing gloves to go around, so that we had a lot of boxing activity in the Musoma area at that time. In fact, at the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles, of the eleven Tanzanian boxers who went, seven were from Musoma, although nobody won a medal.

Through his involvement in boxing Eybel has gotten to know many men, many of them non-Catholic, in ways not typical for priests, who normally relate to parishioners in vertically oriented clerical-lay relationships. But in the seminary, he says:

What was most significant for me was teaching English Literature, whereby important growing issues for young men can be talked about. I enjoyed seeing how fast a boy can grow in four years and in being a part of that from day to day.

In June, 1980, Eybel went to the U.S. to study Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE), became certified as a supervisor, and later went to Mwanza to establish a CPE course there.

He commented that the seminary continued to have a well-qualified and diverse group of teachers on the staff, of whom Foley was the mainstay. He had been joined by Brother Jim Perry, who replaced Jerry Cox. Also on the staff in the late 1970s were John Dickinson, a VMM volunteer, several IHSA Sisters at varying times, a number of very good lay teachers, one of whom, Simon Sabayi, coached the soccer team and had a very good relationship with the boys, and Fr. Justin Samba from Musoma Diocese, who came during Eybel's final months. Samba replaced Balina a few years later as Rector.

Foley believes that those years under Balina and Samba were the high point of St. Pius Seminary, at least in terms of morale and academic performance. And, as we will see, both of them became Bishops, Balina in Geita and then Shinyanga, and Samba in Musoma. In June, 1986, Samba went to Rome for studies, and Foley became temporary Rector for one year, till March, 1987, at which time Fr. Valentine Musilanga was appointed Rector – the same man who taught as a lay man over twenty years previously. Since then all subsequent rectors have been Tanzanian diocesan priests.

By the late 1980s St. Pius Seminary had become a double stream school, with about 250 students. The same buildings built by Brother Brian Fraher are the ones used today; there were enough to expand to a double stream. Throughout the years its academic performance has remained at or near the top in Mara Region. The compound is fenced off now and many trees have been planted on the property, making it a pleasant, well-shaded place next to the lake. As of 2012, as it was since the beginning in 1954, very few graduates go on for the priesthood, but most remain close to and involved in the church as adults.

Having a high school seminary is still considered not merely normative but mandatory in East Africa, and there is no sentiment at all to close St. Pius Seminary. In 1989, Brother Jerry Cox, who by then had had mission experience in both Tanzania and Kenya, said that 80% of African diocesan priests in East Africa have come out of the minor seminary system, including almost all the African Bishops, and they remain firmly

in favor of retaining high school seminaries. Furthermore, more and more African priests are now going on for degrees, including Masters and Doctorates, after ordination. At the same time, it is probably true to say that 80% to 90% of boys who go to high school seminaries do not go on for ordination. As of 2013 Rome is still willing to subsidize minor seminaries in Africa, and so high school seminaries remain an integral part of diocesan structures.

Ordination of first diocesan priest:

By mid-1953 Musoma Prefecture had a total of seven parishes, and a total of twenty-four Maryknoll priests and two Brothers, although four priests were in non-pastoral work: Tom Quirk was Society Superior in Nairobi; Gerard Grondin was the Prefect Apostolic; Bill Collins was Education Secretary; and John Graser was full-time procurator at Nyegina. Furthermore, beginning in 1953 the original Maryknollers started going home on furlough, reducing the number of priests available to staff the growing number of parishes, and in 1953 only three new priests and one Brother came to Tanganyika, barely enough to fill in for those going on furlough.

It is likely that Monsignor Grondin desired to open a third parish among the Luo, but Nyarombo Parish was not open till 1956, probably due to lack of personnel rather than to a lack of resources. Furthermore, in 1954 Maryknoll was granted Shinyanga-Maswa Vicariate and for three years many of the new Maryknollers coming to Tanganyika went to Shinyanga – and several of the priests working in Musoma Diocese also went to Shinyanga.

Thus, there was great jubilation when time came for the ordination of the first diocesan priest for Musoma Prefecture, Laurenti Magesa, in 1954. Magesa was an Mkwaya, from the Nyegina area, although his mother was an Msweta, a neighboring tribe to the Bakwaya. Magesa was born on August 10, 1923, and baptized the very next day. As his parents were still catechumens Magesa's older brother, who was already baptized, was his sponsor. As a young boy Magesa used to be an altar server while he was in Standards One to Four at Nyegina Primary School and serving Mass was what led him to an interest in becoming a priest. "I decided I would like to go to the seminary, if it was possible, and eventually to become a priest and serve in my own country."

There was an examination for the seminary, which he passed, and in 1935 he began seminary training at Nyegezi, outside of Mwanza, where he did the four years of upper primary (also called middle school) and the four years of secondary school. All the seminarians boarded at Nyegezi, coming home for vacation about one to two months in the school year. After finishing Nyegezi he was accepted for the major seminary in Kipalapala, outside of Tabora, joining it in 1944. In 1952, he did his probation year in Nyegina, after which he returned to Kipalapala in 1953 for his final year in the seminary.

Magesa was ordained at Nyegina in January, 1954. Msgr. Grondin, of course, was not a Bishop and had to seek a Bishop to come do the ordination. Bishop Blomjous of Mwanza would have been a logical choice, but Laurian Rugambwa had been ordained Tanzania's first African Bishop just three years previously in 1951, and appointed the ordinary of a new diocese, called Rutabo, outside of Bukoba, across the lake from Musoma. Grondin crossed the lake and requested Rugambwa to ordain Magesa, a request which was accepted. The Maryknollers in Musoma felt honored that Rugambwa would come for this and afterwards they felt a special sentiment for him. Ed Hayes said, "When

Rugambwa was made a Cardinal (on March 28, 1960; the first African Cardinal on the whole continent) all the Maryknollers who were in Musoma in 1954 were cheering. The White Father Bishop of Bukoba resigned and Rugambwa became the Cardinal-Bishop of Bukoba, which is a very prominent diocese. Being a Cardinal he should have gone to Dar es Salaam, but Archbishop Maranta wanted to stay on in Dar, which he did until 1968, when the Cardinal was able to move there.”

After ordination as a priest, Magesa was assigned to Rosana for six years, after which he moved to Musoma Town Parish, becoming the first diocesan pastor in 1961.

In 1954, Rugambwa also ordained the first two African priests in Shinyanga, Fathers Zachary Buluda at Sayusayu and Joseph Kaboye at Busanda. Shinyanga had been separated the previous year from Tabora Diocese and joined to the Vicariate of Maswa to form a new diocese, called Maswa, although it did not yet have a Bishop.

Tanganyika's road to Independence, 1946 to 1962, and Maryknoll's connection with President Julius Nyerere:

As mentioned in Part One, in the post-World War Two years a number of events occasioned a changed outlook for Tanganyika and for Britain's role in that territory, beginning with the UN mandate in 1946 calling for a series of determined steps to be taken leading to independence. The strikes in the 1940s, especially the dockworkers' strike of 1947, brought a sizeable increase in wages for African laborers. From 1946 to 1960 more and more Africans entered into small business trade and over 400,000 rural households engaged in some type of craft production, accounting for ten percent of rural income. Likewise, many more Africans were becoming engaged in small retail business, running ninety percent of shops in remote areas, and a similar percentage in a few towns, such as Moshi. However, Africans accounted for only one-third of the volume of retail business in the country, as their shops were small.

In rural areas a small number of progressive African farmers were becoming a nucleus of capitalist formation, expanding the number of acres they farmed, buying equipment, including tractors, and employing labor. These were the men who encouraged their tribesmen to establish cooperatives for marketing crops, most notably cotton in Lake Province. A prime motivation of this was to wrest control of cotton-marketing away from Indian traders. Many of these men, particularly Paul Bomani in Mwanza, eventually became prominent in the nationalist movement and in TANU.

At the same time, there was an increase in European settlement, mainly British, actively encouraged by the colonial administration. In 1946 a plan to designate a huge swath of land from West Kilimanjaro along the Sanya Plain to East Meru solely for European settlement was accepted by the administration (in the 1920s, when the plan was first devised, there was serious consideration given to have this area secede to Kenya). Chagga living there received 9,000 hectares of former German land.

However, in the eastern foothills of Mount Meru, instead of using a fair and just reimbursement as motivation for relocation of Meru people, British troops used force to remove the Meru from their land. Meru people had bought back land from Europeans in the 1920s and 1930s but in 1949 the colonial government decided to transfer this land to Europeans, a violent and tragic incident known as the “Meru Lands Case.” This refers to the expulsion of 513 settled, tax-paying land-owner families in 1949 from fertile, well-

watered Engare Nanyuki and Leguruki to lowland Kingori, which was hot, malarial, tsetse-infested, and waterless. For two years the Meru tried legal means to revoke this order, including contacting the British Parliament and the United Nations. Finally on October 17, 1951, armed British troops violently evicted all the families, burning all their houses, arresting 25, and killing two unarmed, non-violent Meru men. Despite international revulsion at this outrage and a Soviet resolution in the United Nations calling for restoration of land to the Meru, Britain adamantly refused to reverse this action.

Iiffe commented, "This was a direct consequence of the new land utilization policy, emphasizing export-crop production." Forcible expulsion, however, made the Meru people politically aware and the leader of the Arusha TAA, Japhet Kirilo, became a national organizer.

Between 1948 and 1959 European-owned land increased from 660,000 hectares to 1.3 million. In that same short time frame the number of Europeans living in Tanganyika likewise rose dramatically, almost doubling from 10,600 to 20,600.

There were benefits for Africans, however, as Tanganyika's agricultural economy became more diversified. Exports of cotton and coffee steadily took a greater share of the country's export income, reducing the share of sisal. Tanganyika was the world's primary source of sisal in the 1940s and early 1950s, and world prices were high at that time, but most of its sisal was sold to Britain, in a classic example of colonial dependency. As a result, Tanganyika did not earn as much as it could have. The prices of cotton and coffee also were very good in the 1940s and 1950s, but after 1960 began to drop. Subsistence food crops were also being diversified, as maize was replacing sorghum and millet in many places. Cassava was being grown in more places. Pyrethrum and groundnuts had become profitable cash crops in several areas (the ground-nut scheme failed, however, as was noted in Part One).

Great advances in health, such as clearing wilderness areas infested with tsetse fly, new, effective treatments for malaria, an increase, albeit modest, in hospitals and rural clinics, new strains of food (e.g. Chagga developed a new type of banana that could grow in the dry lowlands), and efficient food-relief programs in the droughts of 1948-50 and 1952-55, all enhanced human welfare. Population began to grow rapidly: from 5.8 million in 1945 to 8.7 million in 1957, a fifty percent increase in just twelve years.

There were two contradictory results to these changes, however: on one hand, every district had been pulled into the monetary economy (even marginalized Buha had begun to sell sorghum, beans and cassava in the modern market-oriented, national economy), but on the other hand many rural peasants had become landless, especially in the most densely populated districts.

Thus, despite a definite increase in national income and in regional incomes, only a few benefited in any appreciable way. Very, very few Africans were becoming wealthy, comparable to the European community in Tanganyika. Average annual earnings for a Chagga coffee farmer in 1955 were only Shs. 1,600 (\$230).

Britain had stated the goal in 1940 of helping Tanganyika and other colonies achieve greater development, but over the next ten years it allocated only half what was initially budgeted, and mainly for roads, with little for education and agriculture. In education the colonial administration concentrated on the first four years of primary

school, with an emphasis on agriculture taught in vernacular languages. Only one-fifth of these students were expected to go on to middle school, also taught in vernacular languages, and very few to go on to secondary school. Only a smattering of Tanganyikans were taken to Makerere University; there were only 41 Tanganyikans at Makerere in 1950, although this number had increased to 150 by 1955, following an increase in secondary schools. The stress on agriculture and vernacular languages rather than on European subjects taught in English caused many Tanganyikan parents to refuse to send their children to primary school in the 1950s. Furthermore, there were huge regional variances in education: in many marginalized areas only five percent of children were literate, whereas in Chaggaland ninety percent of children were in school. Chagga were also the ones pressing for more secondary schools, at least in their own districts.

Part of Britain's plan was to increase industrial production in Tanganyika, but in fact little more was done other than along the Pugu Road corridor in Dar es Salaam. Import substitution industries developed few linkages with the indigenous economy. However, in 1956 Dar es Salaam's deep-water berths were opened and in 1957 factory textile production began in various parts of the country. Despite this, in 1958 manufacturing made up only five percent of Tanganyika's gross domestic product and employed only 75,000 workers, half of them in agricultural processing.

One of the most important facets of Tanganyika's progress in these years was cooperative development and the Sukuma people, with whom Maryknoll was to work beginning in 1954, led the way. John Iliffe made the following comments about the cooperative movement in Sukumaland:

The most important agricultural development in the 1950s was in Sukumaland. Lack of transport in the 1920s prevented it from benefiting then. But in the post-war years price controls, cheaper motor transport, improved seed, official encouragement, and the beginnings of cooperative organization resulted in a dramatic expansion of cotton production. Production rose from 41,000 bales in 1951 to 91,000 in 1954 and 151,000 in 1957. Cotton became as central to the Sukuma economy as coffee to Chagga or Haya. The creation of a peasant society in Sukumaland was among Tanganyika's most important post-war developments. Use of ox-drawn plows became increasingly common – from 5,000 to over 20,000 in Sukumaland from 1952 to 1961. African-owned maize mills mushroomed. Fertilizer use increased thirty-fold.

In other parts of Tanganyika designation of land as free-hold was becoming common, especially in Kilimanjaro, where it was universally accepted by 1960, but also in Buhaya, Meru, Rungwe, and even to an extent in Mara and Buha. Sales of land and use of land as security for loans started becoming common. In Sukumaland, however, although commercial farms utilized hired labor, land was not yet marketable.

A deeply held belief persisted that every man had a right to a piece of land (not only in Sukumaland but throughout the country, even in Chaggaland), a belief that encouraged sub-division and fragmentation (owning or renting tiny, unconnected plots) in densely populated areas. As a result, involution of the land was taking place (i.e. progressive decline in the arability of the land due to a long, complicated process). Sukuma responded to population growth by reducing

livestock, abandoning millet and sorghum, growing larger acreages of maize and cotton, and exporting men and cattle to colonize new areas.

The appeal of cooperatives showed that African traders were unable to wrest the produce trade from Asian control. In Sukumaland African traders took the initiative in forming cotton cooperatives, which composed the Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions (VFCU), the biggest cooperative organization in Africa. The two places that started were in Geita, by five progressive farmers, who started the Buchosa Farmers Union, later called the Mweli Farmers Union, and the other was in Mwanza. Paul Bomani, the son of a Sukuma Adventist preacher, initiated meetings in December, 1950, in Mwanza and Ukerewe Districts, discussing cooperatives and stressing Sukuma unity. For two years Bomani studied cooperatives in Uganda, toured Sukumaland collecting funds, and in 1952 founded the Lake Province Growers Association, obtaining government recognition. In 1955 the societies were amalgamated into the VFCU and by 1959 this handled the whole cotton crop and was gaining control of ginning.

The Sukuma cooperatives were true community enterprises, although the leaders were literate, educated men, usually with employment or trading experience outside the locality. Most of these men had also engaged in large-scale agricultural enterprise. In Mwanza the early leaders were Bomani, Masanja Shija, and Daudi Kabeya Murangira from Majita.

Similar descriptions of the leaders apply to many other cooperative unions in Tanganyika.

The nationalist movement and TANU:

Within Tanganyika the beginnings of the modern nationalist movement began around 1948/49 with the concurrence of several factors: a new post-war political strategy within the British Colonial Office arising from the realization that Britain could not keep its colonies for much longer; the effective demise of the African Association, which was replaced by the Tanganyika Africa Association (TAA), which evolved into TANU in 1954; the emergence of Makerere graduates within the TAA, who brought to it a national focus, an awareness of international events and debates, and a methodology of national organizing; the formation of tribal/regional unions that combined economic activity and advocacy with political advocacy, albeit with reference only to local matters, but which became amalgamated to TANU in 1954; and the arrival in Tanganyika in early 1949 of the new Governor, Lord Edward Twining.

(Sources for this section are John Iliffe's book, "A History of Tanganyika from 1800 to 1961," and Cranford Pratt's book, "The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968: Nyerere and the emergence of a socialist strategy," published by Cambridge University Press, 1976. Comments about Julius Nyerere by Maryknollers are from a variety of sources, such as interviews and written documents. Another book on this era that is highly recommended but not read by this author is "Towards Uhuru in Tanzania: The Politics of Participation," by Andrew G. Maguire, published by Cambridge University Press, 1969.)

In the years 1946-1949 Britain's Colonial Office engaged in a major reassessment of its policies in Africa, based on a very perceptive study published by Lord Hailey in 1942. Their starting point was that "nationalism was going to become a powerful force

throughout Africa and that the British colonies therefore very much needed what we are here calling a political strategy.” This assessment was accepted by Andrew Cohen, head of the Africa Division of the Colonial Office, and by Arthur Creech-Jones, the Labour Government’s Secretary of State for the Colonies. Creech-Jones stated in February, 1947:

The rate of political progress cannot be regulated according to a pre-arranged plan; the pace over the next generation will be rapid, under the stimulus of our own development programs, of internal pressure from the people themselves, and a world opinion expressed through the growing international interest in the progress of colonial peoples.

For Tanganyika it was recommended that there be rapid advancement of Africans within the civil service, and that there be a significant increase in the number of popularly elected members of both the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. This strategy was vehemently rejected by the Governors of East Africa, most strongly by the Governor of Kenya. Then, in 1949 the Labour Party in Britain was replaced by the Conservative Party, which decreased the impetus for de-colonization. Pratt says:

The strategy followed by the Tanganyikan government in the late 1940s was fundamentally different from that recommended to it by the Colonial Office. The Tanganyikan government anticipated a long period of colonial rule; it saw no need to Africanize the civil service; it had no confidence in educated Tanganyikans; it was willing to consider significant constitutional advancement for Africans at the level of the central government only after the successful implementation of a protracted and gradual conversion of the Native Authority system into a representative local government system; and it relied upon the continuing authority of the colonial regime to maintain national integration, to promote development and to assure stability during a transition to independence which was to be very lengthy.

When Twining arrived in 1949 he issued three major policy initiatives which unintentionally assisted the emergence of TANU as a powerful national movement, by uniting the African population against the colonial government. This needs to be highlighted: it was not economic marginalization nor lack of national political power nor the cleverness of TANU’s leaders that effected a territory-wide demand for immediate independence, but the blunders of the Twining-led administration.

The first of Twining’s decisions was to move only slowly and cautiously with the development of representative African local governments to replace the Native Authorities. The Colonial Office in 1947 had advised that representative local institutions be quickly established to provide a channel for political ambitions. This advice was ignored by the Tanganyikan government and a few years later TANU benefited significantly.

The second program was the government’s insistence on using Native Authorities to enact and enforce a wide range of burdensome measures which were intended to improve agricultural practices, such as terracing, cattle dips, methods to reverse soil

erosion, and reductions in the number of cattle. The government's intentions were good but its coercive methods were bitterly resented by the average Tanganyikan peasant. Furthermore, some of the recommendations were not viable, which discussion with the African people would have made apparent. Pratt says:

(Prior to 1946), if the government wished to call upon the Native Authorities to enforce orders whose purposes were new to the community, it did so only after the chiefs had been convinced of the need for these orders, and after they and the District Officers had secured wide-spread public acceptance of this necessity. From 1946 to 1956 the government of Tanganyika chose instead to use the Native Authorities in much blunter and more aggressive ways to enforce (new) practices.

Success was achieved in only two places: in Sukumaland there was partial success, in that 5,500 square kilometers of bush land was reclaimed from the tsetse fly. Geita's population doubled and by 1956 it was producing one-third of Tanganyika's total cotton output. But enforcement aroused great hostility, until force was dropped in 1958. In Mbulu the Development Scheme was a great success, opening 1,700 square kilometers of new pasture through communal bush-clearing. But the reason for the success was that it was a development scheme, which reduced agricultural drudgery while increasing land available to cattle-owners and grain-farmers. However, in the other places the new methods were counterproductive: in Iringa non-dipping of cattle did not produce an epidemic; in Kondoa, Usambara and Uluguru increased work did not produce more crops nor increase soil fertility; in Morogoro terracing actually made the soil worse, and there were riots in Morogoro in response to strict enforcement of the extra work.

Pratt sums up this program as follows: "Enforcement of agricultural improvement had two profoundly important political consequences: first, in District after District, it accelerated the undermining of the position of the Native Authorities. And secondly, it generated a rural discontent that was directed simultaneously against the colonial administrators and the Native Authorities."

This enforcement program was abandoned in 1958.

The third and most crucial blunder of the Twining administration was the attempt to make Tanganyika a 'multiracial' country, i.e. a nation in which the minority European and Asian communities would have political parity with Africans. This was the "genuinely national issue," which served to unite the rural peasantry with the educated, modern leaders of TANU and create a common movement. Pratt says:

The effort to impose a multiracial pattern of constitutional development upon Tanganyika originated in London. It was an integral part of British political and constitutional policies for East and Central Africa. For a crucial decade, 1949-59, the British sought to deny that the obvious political destination for Tanganyika was that it would ultimately be ruled primarily by Africans.

In Tanganyika, the British tried to impose multiracial parity at both the national and local levels, despite the fact that for every one European in Tanganyika there were

four Asians and 430 Africans. [Multi-racialism was a code word that meant in 1950 that even after Independence the former colonies would have representation at the highest level of government that would be one-third White, one-third Asian, and one-third African, even though the population would be 99% African.] In 1951, Twining proposed that the Legislative Council be increased to forty-three members, of whom twenty-one would be appointed by the government (official members) and twenty-one would be elected as 'unofficial' members, of whom seven each would be from each of the three racial communities. At the local level, the Local Government Ordinance of 1953 established a two-tier system of local government. Local Councils at the District level would continue to be made up solely of Africans and would replace the Native Authorities. But an intermediate system, between the local and the national, of County Councils representing several Districts, would be mandated to have multi-racial representation. The intention was to make Tanganyikan Africans accustomed to having Europeans and Asians having equal authority at the national level and insure that tiny minorities (i.e. Europeans) would have entrenched rights and privileges even in an independent country. If TANU had not immediately and forcibly opposed these arrangements, then Tanganyika's fight for African majority rule would have lasted for decades and perhaps been very bloody (e.g. Zimbabwe and Mozambique).

Opposition to multi-racialism became the main cause by the mid-1950s, resulting in TANU growing at a phenomenal rate. When formed in July, 1954, it had 15,000 members but by September, 1957, it had at least 200,000 members.

However, African majority rule was fully enabled only by Nyerere's brilliant political strategy in 1958, as we will see.

We will look now at the role that Nyerere played in the formation of TANU, the reaction of the British, the inadvertent involvement of Maryknoll, and the subsequent steps that hastened independence. As already mentioned, the African Association had almost completely died by 1947, but pro-settler statements by Governor Twining in 1949 alarmed educated people in Dar es Salaam and revived the AA as the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). From 1949 to late 1951 it was led by Vedast Kyaruzi, an Mhaya doctor, but when he was transferred to Morogoro the TAA went into decline. Julius Nyerere returned to Tanganyika from Edinburgh in late 1952 and began teaching at St. Francis College (i.e. secondary school), Pugu, in Dar es Salaam. In April, 1953, he was elected national president of TAA. Iliffe's description of Nyerere's life and road to this junction will be cited here.

Nyerere was 31 years old in 1953 and the son of a government chief among the backward and previously stateless Zanaki, whose egalitarianism the young Nyerere had inherited. Christianity was another foundation of his character, for he had been one of the first Zanaki to become a Roman Catholic. A first-generation convert of sparkling intelligence, Nyerere had been the archetypal mission boy, whose academic success had carried him from primary school to Tabora, Makerere, and finally Edinburgh University in October, 1949.

His friends' recollections suggest a slight, diffident, but ambitious and competitive young man gradually emancipating himself from the intellectual constraints of a mission education without abandoning its moral or cultural

imperatives. One part of the young Nyerere was student politician. He had been the African Association's first president at Makerere and an active member while teaching at Tabora in 1946. In Britain he had joined the Fabian Colonial Bureau, had sympathized with the Fabian variety of gradualist socialism, had written for the Fabians an angry but unpublished pamphlet on East Africa's racial problems, had interested himself in Ghana and the Central African Federation, and apparently had sat at the feet of George Padmore, the West Indian pan-Africanist who had been Nkrumah's mentor.

Nyerere had been in Britain when the great issues of race and liberation in Africa were first being defined. His political concerns were not the grass-roots material problems on which most politicians build careers but the grand issues of political morality. Nyerere could have been a great teacher and had he not lived in the Africa of the 1950s he might well have remained one.

In 1953 grievances with colonial rule were already intense in Sukumaland and in the northeast (Chagga, Meru, Pare), but were primarily local in nature. Nyerere brought to this a national focus and awareness of the methods being used in Ghana and India. He had hoped the TAA could move cautiously, but he knew that Africa was moving towards conflict and liberation, and he feared Conservative Party complicity with settler ambitions. Nyerere knew practically every secondary school graduate of the 1940s and was joined at the TAA by John Rupia, Kasella Bantu, and Dossa Aziz.

In December, 1953, violent protests against the colonial administration broke out at Kamachuma in Bukoba, met by police firing tear gas. Nyerere was home in Musoma that month and he hastened to Bukoba to investigate. He was acutely conscious of the horrific violence taking place in Kenya at that time, during the Mau Mau rebellion, and feared an outbreak of disorder in Lake Province that would embroil the TAA into open confrontation with the government. Iliffe refers to the Mwanza TAA members as "the unsophisticated militants of Lake Province," of whom Oscar Kambona was a radical leader. Nyerere and others knew that non-violent methods were needed and that he had to take control of the nationalist movement. After TANU was started, however, Kambona proved to be a very effective organizer.

In April, 1954, the TAA met and approved a new constitution, stating that its purposes were to prepare the African people of Tanganyika for self-government and independence and to struggle relentlessly until these were achieved. The government responded in June, 1954, that the first legislature with racial parity would be nominated rather than elected. As a UN mission was coming in late 1954, Nyerere called the first territory-wide conference of TAA in seven years to meet in Dar es Salaam on July 7, 1954 – a day which henceforth became known as Saba Saba Day (Seventh Month, Seventh Day). On the first day concessions were given to the Lake Province leaders, on the second day a new constitution was approved (Nyerere's real goal for the conference), and on the third day the name was changed to TANU (Tanganyika African National Union).

The colonial administration seemed incapable of understanding the level of African resentment and senior administrators were hostile to nationalism. Twining was later quoted as saying: "TANU was not a home-grown spontaneous political combustion

but the result of outside influences and pressures.” Pratt comments, though, that British officers at the District Commissioner level and lower had a very different view than Twining.

The government responded to the establishment of TANU with a series of rules and regulations that it hoped would blunt TANU’s ability to organize. Already in 1953 the government had ruled that all civil servants, including teachers, could not join any political movement, or else resign. Other ordinances and Acts were as follows:

- The Societies Ordinance of 1954, requiring formal registration of each branch of a society, giving the government much tighter surveillance of all organizations.
- The Incitement to Violence Act of 1955. TANU was concerned if it could even promote an African State, as the onus of proving absence of hostile intent was on the defense.
- An amendment to the Penal Code in 1955 that made it an offense to print, publish, or make any statement to an assembly likely to raise discontent amongst any of the inhabitants of the territory. One result was that for three years TANU was in effect an illegal organization throughout Lake Province.
- To increase the powers of Chiefs, even over District Councils, in 1957 the government passed the African Chiefs (Special Powers) Act and created the Territorial Convention of Chiefs. When he spoke to the Chiefs’ Convention in 1957, Twining said that Britain intended to remain in Tanganyika for a very long time and that the Chiefs were the true leaders of the African people.
- In 1956 Twining encouraged the establishment of the United Tanganyikan Party (UTP) to challenge TANU in the election for members on the Legislative Council. UTP was led by Ivor Bayldon and was well financed by European and Asian businesses in Tanganyika.

Europeans were divided into three groups, one being a group of extreme racists in the Arusha/Meru area, the second wealthy Europeans, such as owners of sisal plantations and led by Eldred Hitchcock and Ivor Bayldon, and a third which wanted to promote true inter-racial cooperation, led by Derek Bryceson from southern Tanganyika. The Asian community was also divided into two groups: one was older and more conservative and supported the UTP, whereas the second was made up of young professionals who had formed the Asian Association in 1950. They formed an uneasy alliance with TANU.

The UN mission came to Tanganyika in August, 1954, and issued its report in January, 1955, which actually exceeded TANU’s wishes. It called for self-government within one generation and described TANU as a national movement. Maryknoll Father Art Wille wrote a long reminiscence in 2005 about Julius Nyerere, much of which we will now be quoting from. With regard to the UN report Wille says, “The local government authorities were infuriated by this report. They were especially upset by the pro-African view of the American delegate of the Trusteeship, Mason Sears, on the subject of independence.”

Two months after this report, in March, 1955, Nyerere traveled to New York and made a celebrated visit to the UN Trusteeship Council, despite many restrictions put on him by the British government. Art Wille explains the types of pressure the government was exerting.

Before Nyerere went to the Trusteeship Council at the United Nations the government tried to get both the Catholic and Protestant Churches to forbid their teachers from joining TANU. They refused. Fr. Richard Walsh, who had been Headmaster of St. Mary's Secondary School in Tabora when Nyerere was teaching there, and who had got the scholarship for Nyerere to study in Edinburgh, Scotland, had by 1955 become the Executive of the Bishops' Conference for Educational Affairs and was responsible for the staffing of St. Francis, Pugu, where Nyerere was teaching.

It was evident that Walsh was following the Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Bishops of 1953. In his official capacity Walsh wrote a letter to Nyerere that the Catholic Church was most anxious for Africans to advance to full development. Therefore it would never forbid teachers, except priests, to join TANU or to become TANU office bearers. As for Nyerere himself, the Catholic Bishops Conference had always found him an excellent teacher, efficient, loyal and hard-working. If he were to decide that he could no longer afford to be both a teacher and a leader of a nationalist movement, the conference would see him go with regret and would like him to know of their grateful appreciation of his services.

The government then tried to put pressure on Walsh to forbid Julius from going to the United Nations. Because Nyerere would be gone for a month, permission had to be obtained from the Department of Education that paid the salaries of all teachers. The head of this Department sent Walsh to see Governor Twining. The Governor told Walsh that it didn't make sense for the government to pay the salary of the man who was working to undermine his own administration. Governor Twining had completely misread Nyerere's character and activities. Nyerere complained to me that Twining considered him a rogue and rabble-rouser.

Walsh took the chance and let Julius go to the United Nations. He did not know where the salary would come from. Finally the Chief Secretary called in Walsh and told him to refuse to give Nyerere permission to go to New York because he represented a subversive movement. Walsh replied that it was not a subversive movement. The government had passed a law on subversion and had not used the law against Nyerere or TANU.

The Governor and his ministers continued to try to influence the bishops in not supporting Nyerere and TANU. The Bishops responded it would be wrong to deprive a growing and powerful movement among the Africans of just those men and women who were the only people acting responsibly and whose influence could be relied upon to support moderate policies.

At the end of February, 1955, the government gave Nyerere a passport to go to the United Nations. The UN members marveled at how young he was, only 32, and equally at how articulate he was, with Nyerere clearly stating that TANU was preparing Tanganyika for non-racial independence, but insisting that although the country was multi-racial it was primarily African. Shortly after his return to Dar es Salaam thousands attended a mass meeting on March 20, 1955, and by September of that year 25,000 had become members of TANU, out of a total population in the city of 110,000.

That same month, on March 22, 1955, Nyerere resigned as a teacher at St. Francis College, Pugu, and took his wife and two children back to his home of Butiama. It is at this point that Maryknoll started becoming more closely associated with Nyerere. We will quote in some length several excerpts from Wille's long document.

Julius' father was one of eight chiefs of the Zanaki people and had many wives. Julius was the son of the fifth wife. It was common for chiefs' sons to go to primary school but his father, Burito Nyerere, did not want to send his sons to school. One day a neighboring chief visited Burito, who was busy with his chief's duties, and played the African game *bao* with the very young Julius. Despite how young he was Julius easily defeated the chief, who afterward told Burito that he must send his son, obviously very intelligent, to school. After the British took over Tanganyika from the Germans they had built a boarding primary school for sons of chiefs, grades one to four, in Mwisenge, not very far from the center of Musoma town and this is the school that Julius went to. He was aged eight or nine when he started first grade.

At Mwisenge he became friends with another Zanaki boy, Magomba Marwa, who was later baptized Oswald. Julius later told me that he became a Catholic "by accident." One day when the bell rang for religion classes, his friend Oswald Magomba said, "Let's go study with the padres." Under the British there was a period for religion in all schools, and the children and their parents could choose whichever religion they wanted. But Julius was not baptized until just before he went to Makerere University.

Julius was a very bright student and won scholarships to go to middle school and to Tabora Boys Secondary School, the elite government secondary school in Tanganyika at that time. While at Tabora he was made prefect. It was the custom to give the prefect twice as much food as the others, but Julius protested this to the Headmaster, saying that this was not fair. This may have been his first protest of what he saw as unjust, but it would not be his last. After finishing at Tabora, he won a scholarship to go to Makerere, which the British had started in order to educate an elite for their East African countries.

Before going to Makerere he wanted to be baptized. He went to Nyegina and told the pastor, White Father Mathias Koenens, that he had studied the catechism for ten years and knew it well. However, Koenens told him that he had to be taught religion by the catechist, Petro Maswe Marwa, an uneducated man and a member of the Bangorimi ethnic group. Julius humbly submitted to this order, and later chose Marwa to be his sponsor for baptism. Julius was baptized at Nyegina by Fr. Aloysius Junker on December 23, 1942, and received the sacrament of Confirmation at Ruboga (sic; perhaps Rubaga) Mission on May 30, 1944 (in Uganda).

Julius told me that he wanted to understand his faith well and at Makerere he read all the papal encyclicals, books by Catholic philosophers, and whatever else he could read on the Catholic faith. He became leader of the Catholic students, and organized retreats and pilgrimages to shrines, such as the Uganda Martyrs Shrine in Kampala. He also became the president of the students' branch of the Africa Association.

On return to Tanganyika from Makerere the Headmaster of the elite Tabora Boys Secondary School presumed that Julius would teach there, but he chose the new Catholic St. Mary's Secondary School in Tabora. The government wrote him a letter saying he would not get the same salary teaching at a Catholic school, but Julius was furious and responded, "Your letter has settled the matter. The mission teachers are doing as much as the government teachers are."

The Headmaster of St. Mary's, Fr. Richard Walsh, soon discovered that Julius Nyerere was someone special. He raised money for a scholarship in Europe, which Julius twice turned down, fearing that spending a few years in Europe he would return less an African. Finally he accepted, but gave some of the money to his older brother Wanzagi and some to his fiancée, Maria Waningo, daughter of Gabriel Magige of the Baraki location (current place of the IHSA Sisters' Novitiate). Gabriel had been among the first group of five Basimbiti baptized in 1933, at the newly found parish of Butuli (moved to Kowak in 1936), which was started for Luo Catholics.

[By the 1940s the Basimbiti Christians were being served from Nyegina, as they are Bantu people, and in 1952 they got their own parish, Komuge. Wille was one of the first two priests to start Komuge Parish, where he got to know Gabriel Magige very well. A visit by Maria Nyerere to Nyegina in January, 1950, has been noted above on page 18.]

While at Edinburgh, Julius wrote to Walsh that he thought he had a vocation to be a priest. Walsh knew that he was also very much interested in politics and the independence of his country, and wrote back saying he did not have a vocation. In Scotland Nyerere lived with a family of Scottish miners, whom he found to be very different from the Europeans he had known in Tanganyika. He told me that it was during this period that he gave up the politics of complaint and came to tackle the problem of colonialism.

Julius flew back to Tanganyika in 1952 and was met at Dar es Salaam airport by Archbishop Edgar Maranta and his fiancée Maria. Julius and Maria were married at an outstation church of Nyegina near to Musoma town on January 21, 1953, presided over by Fr. Bill Collins.

When they returned to Dar es Salaam, Julius began teaching at St. Francis College, Pugu, on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam. St. Francis was the elite secondary school for Catholics, equal to St. Andrews for Protestants and Tabora Boys for the government. The government wanted Julius to teach in one of the government schools but when he chose a mission school they paid him only three-fifths of the salary comparable to his Masters Degree qualifications. They originally paid even lower, but Fr. Walsh intervened to get it to that amount.

When Julius became president of TANU in 1954 one of the co-founders, Abbas Sykes, said: "Usually if a man went away to a university when he came back he would not be one with us; he would be very sophisticated. But here was a man who had the same kind of education, higher in fact, because he had an M.A., who was willing to be with his people. This humility made everyone forget that he was from upcountry and he wasn't a Muslim." There are as many Christians as

Muslims in Tanzania as a whole (in 2005), but the coastal region is heavily Muslim.

One of the great challenges that Julius foresaw and spoke to me about was a conflict between religions, especially between Christians and Muslims. It is ironic that the law that Governor Twining passed that forbade anyone receiving a government salary from joining TANU could have increased this danger. The educated people who held government jobs at that time were predominantly Christian. Muslims were businessmen and were not affected by the law. [This is an important insight, mentioned neither by Iliffe or Pratt. The Christian/Muslim divide will receive considerable mention when we get to the Part of this book on the current era.]

In March of 1955 Julius resigned from St. Francis and took Maria and their children, Andrew and Anna, to Butiama in order to build a home for them. It was fortunate for me, because I had just been asked by Msgr. Grondin to start a new parish in Zanaki and learn the Zanaki language. I asked Julius if he would be my teacher in Kizanaki. He agreed and moved with his family to Musoma to live with his good friend Oswald Marwa. He walked from his house in Mwisenge to the rectory at Musoma town every day to teach me. I paid him Shs. 700/- (equals \$100) a month.

In addition to teaching me he also made up for me an English-Zanaki grammar and an English-Zanaki dictionary. Other books that he also translated into Kizanaki were: two catechisms from the Kwaya language; catechists' teachers' guides that the White Fathers had composed; a hymnal; and all the Sunday epistles and gospels. He used not only the old Duoay-Rheims English bible, but also the Latin missal and the Greek New Testament. He had studied both these languages for a year in the university.

This was the beginning of a life-long friendship between Nyerere and Wille. Nyerere was thrilled that a parish was being started for the Zanaki people and attended daily Mass there whenever home from Dar es Salaam. He also flew in for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the parish in 1981. Zanaki Parish was officially started in 1956, as we will see later in this book.

Two points should receive extra notice here, first regarding Muslims and Nyerere and the second regarding Maryknoll's relations with Nyerere. Since the year 2000 there have been meetings of Tanzanian Muslims in several parts of the country, claiming that they were the ones who brought Independence to Tanzania and that the British deliberately put Nyerere into power to counter Muslim control of the country. When one looks at the documents of that era, the 1950s and 1960s, one sees that there was very good cooperation between coastal Muslims and upcountry Africans, many of them Christian but decidedly not all. No one ethnic group brought Independence to Tanganyika; Muslims did not and could not have done this on their own. Furthermore, the paucity of Muslims in the civil service and teaching corps was due to coastal Muslim indifference to modern education, a cultural pattern that has persisted even into the new millennium.

As for Britain, Twining did all he could to obstruct Nyerere. Nyerere told Wille in 1955 that he feared he would be detained by the British, although he never was. True

cooperation with Nyerere only came when Sir Richard Turnbull became Governor in 1958, at which point the handwriting of imminent independence was on the wall.

Secondly, there were very good relationships between various Maryknollers and Nyerere, primarily because he and his wife Maria were very good Catholics from Musoma Diocese and Nyerere took his faith very seriously, especially Church teachings on social justice. But this in no way implies that Maryknollers were getting directly involved in the nationalist movement. Maryknoll priests and Brothers wrote diaries each month or several times a year from Maryknoll parishes in both Musoma and Shinyanga Dioceses in the 1950s, yet barely mention the ongoing struggle of the African people for Independence. Maryknollers, however, were far more aware of what was happening than the diaries let on.

One who did talk about this matter to a little extent was Fr. Rab Murphy, the pastor of Majita Parish from 1953 to 1962. In his diary of February, 1959, he wrote several long observations about TANU organizing, the government response and the priests' predicament in the middle of all this. He said he was doing this only out of obedience to his Regional Superior, who had told him that Maryknoll, NY, wanted "to know and hear about the political situation taking place in the territories." The following are selected comments from that diary.

There is trouble all over the world, especially in Africa, where countries are looking for freedom and independence, such as Tanganyika. Because of cool heads and clear thinking we avoided the trouble that flared up in other countries. TANU is the native opposition party. Julius Nyerere is a very fine Catholic and a very good friend of Bill Collins.

The most trouble is from Lake Province, i.e. Mwanza and Musoma Districts. And Majita is the number one hot spot, and Zanaki comes in second. But here at Majita Catholics are advised to join TANU as long as it remains peaceful and does not cause riots. The reason is because when Tanganyika does get independence we want Catholics to have the high jobs and positions. Otherwise, the new government will be run by Moslems and pagans, and that will be bad for all.

Majita is the largest territory in all of Musoma District and the largest concentrated tribe. The District Commissioner, Mr. Weeks, says that it is the toughest section of the District; the Chief of Police, Mr. Winthrop, says that Majita has the most murders and robberies.

In late February Fr. Bill Madden and I returned from a trip to Nairobi and stopped into the police station in Musoma to report that we had returned. The Chief of Police began saying that the Bajita are the worst people, but I responded that the Bajita are a wonderful and fine people. He asked me if I knew the people there. I said that I knew the people very well and had been there for six years. The Chief of Police did not like these responses and began to ask me many questions about the Majita area. In fact, they fear Majita and the Chief of Police avoids it. Last year the police came out to arrest a suspected murderer but the people beat them and took away their guns.

He then began to question me about TANU activities: how many offices do they have; where are the offices; when do they hold their meetings; who are

the ringleaders; how many members do they have? To all these questions I responded, "I don't know." I told him that I am the head of the Catholic mission, I can not mix into politics, and that I am not a spy for the government. My job is to teach religion and to provide for the education of the people. Priests are not interested in politics nor in the politics of the country. The conversation ended there.

I invited him to come out and walk around with me. He could find out for himself what is going on. He replied that he was too busy. I consider him a cocky individual, with a chip on his shoulder, who is afraid for his job. The Bajita call him a coward because he never comes to Majita.

Actually, I could state the names of most of the leaders of TANU, their meeting places and their plans. But I will be careful because I don't want this to fall into the wrong hands. I have been offered membership in TANU but I have refused, saying that as a priest I should not get involved in politics. But the people know that we priests support them. In fact, the chief of TANU in the whole Majita area is also the head of Catholic Action.

Murphy also mentioned that the Europeans in Musoma were scared. Some were taking target practice and there were hiding places for all the Europeans and Asians in Musoma. Bishop Rudin and the priests were not notified of these hiding places but they wouldn't have been interested anyway. They knew the people would not bother them.

Murphy added that when Governor Turnbull came to Musoma to give a speech troops and armored vehicles came up from Mwanza and soldiers walked around town with guns. Six Land Rovers full of police and guns went out to Majita, but nothing happened. Rab went on to explain the situation for the Maryknollers in Majita.

The only White men in all of Majita are the four priests, forty miles from Musoma in the heart of TANU country. Several days before the Governor delivered his message, TANU had a big meeting in Majita, a quarter-mile from the mission. Several hundred men were gathered around a house, coming and going. After the meeting many men came up the hill to the mission; some stopped in the church for a visit. Half of the men at the TANU meeting were Catholics. Jim Lehr and I talked with them, asking how things had gone. They said they were waiting for the Governor to come and speak.

I asked them if they would start a riot or harm the priests. "No Father," they said. "All the people in Majita know that the Fathers are the only friends they have, that the Fathers are here only to help them out and they have proven that. The Fathers have nothing to do with the government." Also they did not look on us as *Bajunjus*, a pejorative name for colonialists, but rather as one of their own.

We also try to avoid Europeans, especially government people. Even if it is only a friendly chat, natives might come to the conclusion that we are in the same boat as the Europeans and we would lose the people's confidence.

Rab Murphy mentioned the political situation in Tanganyika briefly in several other diaries from 1959 to 1961, but only to say that it is peaceful and that in 1961 the

country would be gaining independence. None of the diaries from other parishes in Musoma Diocese have much if any mention of the nationalist movement.

In contrast to the Maryknollers' terseness with regard to their relations or lack of relations to TANU and the people's aspirations for independence, John Iliffe stated in his book that Maryknollers were very much involved in promoting nationalism. Furthermore, in late 1956 Great Britain's government formally requested Vatican assistance to stop Maryknoll interference in Tanganyika's politics. We will first quote in full Iliffe's interesting and curious comment:

Christian attitudes to nationalism were characteristically diverse. Missions were extensively intertwined with the colonial state, which paid 90% of their teachers' salaries. In some places Christians had important positions in local government and nationalists suspected missionaries of obstructing them in those places. In Dodoma a leading missionary took office in the UTP.

Yet other missionaries, like the Maryknoll Fathers in Musoma, who were of Irish nationality, sympathized with nationalism and even helped TANU branches to register, while Catholic Bishops permitted their teachers to join TANU, so that it would have good leaders. Moreover, Christian churches controlled 75% of primary school places and 56% of secondary school places, and had trained many TANU leaders. Such leaders gave the party's ideology a distinctly Christian altruism foreign to indigenous ethics.

Art Wille is probably amused to learn that he is of Irish nationality. Where Iliffe got his information about Maryknoll is a mystery.

However, it is probably true that most Maryknollers sympathized with nationalism. Fr. Ed Hayes commented on this point in 2012: "What Maryknoll did in Musoma and Shinyanga was because they were Americans. In those days America didn't have colonies. We believed in freedom; we didn't believe in colonies. I think it had a lot to do with the success that Maryknoll had with the people, the way they treated people. It was different."

Hayes went on to mention that in December, 1961 he, Fr. Wayman Deasy, who was working with the Luo at that time, and Fr. Bernard Meyer, who was visiting East Africa, went to Uganda and talked with European missionaries. "Independence had already been announced and many of the Europeans were very concerned. They asked us if we were concerned. But we thought it was great. We didn't see any problem. But the Europeans were worried about it."

Did Maryknoll interfere with the colonial administration's policies in 1955/56? Let us look at the evidence. Wille said that in 1955 Nyerere told him that TANU had received scholarships from the Soviet Union for ten of its leaders to study in universities behind the Iron Curtain. One was Oscar Kambona, who visited Nyerere in Musoma once or twice. Nyerere did not want TANU leaders to study in East-bloc countries – it was the height of the Cold War – and was especially concerned about Kambona, but he knew that it would be impossible to stop his young followers from getting higher education. Wille relates what happened next:

When he told me this concern I wrote to Fr. Albert Nevins at Maryknoll, NY, to find a scholarship for Kambona. Nevins was the editor of Maryknoll Magazine and had good connections. He was able to get a scholarship for Kambona to study law at Fordham University, a Jesuit-run university in New York City.

But when Kambona went to get a passport the British government refused to give him one, because he wanted to study behind the Iron Curtain. Kambona told them that he was going to Fordham University in New York. When the British heard this, they said they would give him a scholarship to a university in Britain. Kambona had done very well in secondary school and had qualified for a scholarship, but was denied since even then he had gotten involved in politics.

Nyerere and Kambona decided that it was better to study law in Britain because he would be returning to Tanganyika (British colonies follow British law). Nyerere told Kambona that they would need lawyers to formulate the new constitution and laws when they got independence. Unfortunately, Kambona returned without his law degree; while in Britain he had become involved with members of Parliament and other politicians in England. Nyerere was quite upset with this.

In late 1956 Maryknoll went beyond getting a scholarship by actually issuing an invitation to Nyerere to visit the United States. Again, we will quote Wille's comments in full:

In 1956 Nyerere went to the United States for the second time at the invitation of the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers. They invited him to give lectures in various universities in Washington, Boston, New York and Chicago, to give him a chance to look for scholarships for his youthful followers. Fr. Bill Collins, who had witnessed Julius' and Maria's wedding in Musoma, met him when he arrived. (Collins had gone to the Maryknoll General Chapter in late 1956 and was then elected to the General Council.)

On December 20, 1956, Nyerere appeared before the Fourth Committee of the UN. Once again he described the multi-racial situation in Tanganyika, where 20,000 Europeans dominated the Executive and Legislative Councils. He pleaded for a common roll and universal suffrage. If these demands of TANU were accepted, the administration would demonstrate to the people that they could realize their legitimate aspirations through democratic means. In the discussion Nyerere showed that the Asian Association also opposed a system of voting that would give virtually universal suffrage to the minority of European inhabitants while denying it to the majority. Nyerere stated that there was no conflict between Africans and Europeans. TANU was opposed only to British policy.

It was at this time, late 1956 or early 1957, that the British government sent a formal complaint to the Vatican, stating that Maryknoll was interfering with British policy in Tanganyika and demanding that the Vatican take appropriate action against Maryknoll. Ed Hayes explains what happened:

When a letter is sent to Rome, it goes to the proper Congregation, which in this case was Propaganda Fide, led by Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi, a good friend of Bill Collins. The Cardinal wrote to Maryknoll's Superior General (Father John W. Comber, later made Bishop in 1959).

Comber discussed this with Collins, who was the Secretary General of the Maryknoll General Council. Collins wrote an official reply and report on February 11, 1957, titled REPORT ON JULIUS K. NYERERE AND HIS RELATIONS WITH THE MARYKNOLL FATHERS IN TANGANYIKA, BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

Collins elaborated on the history of Nyerere's relations with Maryknollers in Musoma, including that his wife Maria Gabriel had been a teacher at the girls' school in Nyegina. Collins said that it was only by coincidence that Nyerere's arrival home in March, 1955, coincided with Fr. Art Wille's need to learn the Kizanaki language. Collins stated, "In an area where it is difficult to find a language teacher, Julius' help was a God-send, since he saved the Father years of work in this new language. At the same time, his influence in the Zanaki tribe was a factor in obtaining land for a mission and a school."

Collins pointed out that Nyerere had already taken a trip to America in 1955 and also had gone to England in August, 1956, to seek scholarships for education of future leaders. While he was in England, his pastor in Zanaki Mission wrote to Maryknoll that Julius had expressed desire to go to America again, to try to get scholarships. Maryknoll agreed to pay for the round-trip ticket between England and New York; TANU paid for the ticket between Tanganyika and England.

Nyerere arrived in New York City on November 13, 1956, and left on January 5, 1957. In New York he lived at Leo House, run by the Sisters of St. Agnes. From there, he traveled to Washington, staying with the White Fathers, and to Chicago and Boston, where he stayed with the Maryknoll Fathers.

Then Collins concluded with the most pertinent part of his report:

The Maryknoll Fathers agreed to finance this trip from England and back to England because Julius Nyerere is a Catholic leader, a man from the Prefecture of Musoma, known and respected by our Fathers. Since it is the declared policy of the British authorities in Tanganyika to prepare leaders for eventual self-government, the Maryknoll Fathers felt that any help we could give Catholic leaders would be a help to the Church. He is a good Catholic, a man with moderate views in promoting the political ambitions of his people. He is not unaware that there are some radicals and hot-heads in his Union but he is trying to guide the Union along a reasonable path. This Union is registered with the government and is not a clandestine movement.

Apparently this report satisfied Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi. Whether it fully satisfied the British authorities in Tanganyika is not said, but Maryknoll did not encounter any further difficulty. These events and communications give evidence that Maryknoll priests and Brothers definitely sympathized with Africans' desire for independence and supported a nationalist campaign that was moderate, legal, and non-violent. But is it justified to call this 'interference in politics?' Governor Twining

apparently did, but this was probably a perspective shared by only a few elite, Conservative Party members of the British Colonial Office.

Another question needs to be briefly addressed: was the United States and were Americans really opposed to colonies? During that same decade when African colonies were attaining independence, the U.S. State Department was led by John Foster Dulles, who “had been shaped by three powerful influences: a uniquely privileged upbringing, a long career advising the world’s richest corporations, and a profound religious faith” (Stephen Kinzer, “Overthrow,” published by Times Books, 2006). Dulles had run for U.S. Senator in New York in 1949 with the slogan, “Enemy of the Reds.” Under Dulles (Dwight Eisenhower was President) the U.S. CIA, run by his brother Allen Dulles, engaged in the following three international actions: the overthrow of Mohammad Mossadegh in Iran in August, 1953; the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman in Guatemala in 1954; and the nullification of democratic elections in Vietnam that would have led to unification of the country, instead installing Ngo Dinh Diem as President of South Vietnam.

John Foster Dulles died in 1959, but Allen Dulles was still in charge of the CIA in the months of September, 1960, to January, 1961, when the CIA conspired with Belgian and French forces to overthrow Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, put the infamous Joseph Mobutu in charge, and then on January 17, 1961, orchestrate the brutal killing of Lumumba and two associates in a remote area of eastern Congo. Three days later John F. Kennedy was inaugurated President, but it would be a month before he was informed that Lumumba was dead. Several months later, on April 17, 1961, the CIA and Cuban exiles stormed the Bay of Pigs in Cuba. The defeat of U.S. sponsored forces was so ignominious that Kennedy removed Allen Dulles as head of the CIA a few months later. (For more information on the Dulles brothers, read a new book published in 2013 by Stephen Kinzer, called “The Brothers,” also published by Times Books.)

In 1965 Lyndon Johnson was President, but similar actions took place: the sending of troops into Dominican Republic to prevent Juan Bosch from becoming President, and the sending of troops to Vietnam. U.S. involvement in these countries may not have been colonialism but there were strong similarities. The various U.S. administrations claimed to be fighting Communism. Cooperation with many other military regimes and dictatorships, ostensibly to prevent Communism, could also be cited.

In addition, some Maryknollers working in Tanganyika in the 1950s believed that preventing Communism from making inroads into Africa was an important part of their ministries. They did this, of course, by means of Catholic spiritual discussion groups. But politically they may have supported the overthrow of governments, even democratically elected leaders, who were painted, often without just rationale, with a Communist hue. However, Maryknollers in Tanganyika overwhelmingly supported Nyerere, because they knew him and knew he was a very good Catholic.

TANU’s final victory and Independence:

By 1958 Twining’s three-pronged strategy was in a shambles. (Most of these comments come from Pratt’s book.) The promotion of rural development through an extensive use of Native Authority rules and orders had been abandoned. The

establishment of multiracial District Councils proved to be a hopeless endeavor. And the third component of the government's strategy to crumble was the government's reliance upon the chiefs as a political counterweight to TANU. Chiefs were losing the loyalty of their people, and in 1958 one of the leading chiefs, Fundikira, decided to run for the Legislative Council with TANU support.

In 1957 it was finally decided that the Legislative Council (commonly referred to as LEGCO) would be made up of thirty unofficial members, of whom ten would be from each of the three racial communities. The elections would take place in two stages, one in September, 1958, and the other in February, 1959. The UTP party put forth a slate of ten Europeans and ten Asians that it felt would easily win.

The question for TANU was whether or not to take part in this election. At a crucial meeting of TANU in March, 1958, this question was hotly debated, with radical members advocating a boycott. Nyerere, however, argued that TANU had enough African voters that it could decide the outcome of the election of European and Asian members, in addition to the ten African members. Art Wille had the following comments:

The debate became hot and furious. Many delegates under the leadership of Bhoke Munanka were advocating a boycott of the elections. They were calling for a general strike and mass demonstrations against the elections. After four days of furious debate Bhoke Munanka and Julius Nyerere both stood up to talk. Nyerere ended the debate with his wisdom and common sense. He gave forth a simple example: there is a large and beautiful house before us, but in front of it is a mud puddle. For us to get into that beautiful house we must walk through that mud puddle. Are you not willing to walk through a little mud to get into this house? This ended the argument.

TANU put forth European and Asian candidates to oppose the UTP and set about organizing its African voters, who outnumbered European and Asian voters combined. This tactic succeeded beyond expectations; in the September, 1958, election TANU or TANU-backed candidates won all fifteen seats. In the February, 1959, election TANU achieved a similar success.

This was the crucial turning-point in the rapid achievement of independence in Tanganyika. In October, 1958, the Legislative Council met with the new Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull. He accepted that District Councils would probably not have any non-Africans as members and that multi-racial parity in the legislative and executive branches would not be a feature of government when Tanganyika gained self-government.

Pratt concludes this chapter by stating:

Tanganyika was finally recognized by the British for what it transparently had always been, a predominantly African country. Ten years which might have been spent in developing institutions appropriate to that fact had been spent instead in the pursuit of a political strategy which stood no chance of winning African acceptance.

Beginning after Turnbull's statements in October, 1958, relations between TANU and the government became much more conciliatory. TANU accepted European and

Asian representation in the legislature, did not overtly object to patronizing statements with regard to possible desegregation of the elitist and very expensive Whites-only St. Michael's and St. George's Secondary School ("Africans will be eligible for admission provided their lifestyle is compatible"), exerted much greater control over local branches to prevent protests and mass agitation, especially in Geita District and other parts of Lake Province, and helped the Chiefs to overcome peasant opposition to cattle inoculation and rabies control. Pratt says however that "there was no indication at the end of 1958 that Turnbull intended to move Tanganyika towards independence nearly as rapidly as he was later to do."

Turnbull devised a strategy in which elections for an independent Tanganyika would take place in 1964, did his best to keep the economy dependent on export commodities and commercial farmers, and tried to institute constitutional changes that would decentralize power away from the central government after Independence. But he agreed to reform the Executive Council with elected TANU members, but wanted racial parity with three members. After skillful bargaining, Nyerere got Turnbull to accept five elected Ministers, three African and one each for European and Asian. Nyerere consulted with TEMO (Tanganyika Elected Members Organization) and nominated:

- Derek Bryceson, who had infuriated many fellow Europeans with his support for TANU;
- Chief Fundikira from Tabora, a graduate of Makerere and Cambridge University;
- George Kahama, a cooperative union manager who had studied about cooperatives in England;
- Solomon Eliufoo, a Makerere graduate who was soon to replace Chief Marealle (whom most Africans considered a British stooge) as elected head of the Chagga;
- And Amir Jamal, a Tanganyikan-born Asian active in his family's business in Dar es Salaam and one of the first Asians to identify fully with African nationalism.

These five men did not represent all the factions in TANU, particularly the popular, radical wing, but were competent, judicious in manner, and able to work well with the mainly British senior civil service. At the same time, Nyerere and TANU did not abandon their demand for responsible government in 1959. Nyerere was gambling that moderation would hasten acceptance to self-government, a gamble that was becoming more tenuous as the months edged to July and August of 1959.

According to Pratt, the British decision to withdraw as rapidly as possible from Tanganyika occurred sometime after March, 1959. It was given in an address by Governor Turnbull to the Legislative Council on December 15, 1959, in which he said that LEGCO would be expanded to 71 seats, fifty of them open and the others split between eleven for Asians and ten for Europeans. The voter roll was dramatically increased from 60,000 to over one million. The election was held on August 30, 1960, and TANU's victory was overwhelming; 58 seats were uncontested and TANU lost only one of the remaining thirteen – and even this was a special case, as the victor was supported by the local TANU branch. Immediately after the election the Governor appointed Nyerere as Chief Minister and nine elected members recommended by Nyerere as Ministers.

Iain MacLeod, the Colonial Secretary came to Dar es Salaam in March, 1961, for constitutional talks which lasted only three days. On March 29th he announced that

Tanganyika would acquire full internal self-government on May 15, 1961, and Independence on December 9, 1961. MacLeod quoted the words of Nyerere about lighting a candle on top of Mount Kilimanjaro that would shine beyond its borders and added, "The time has come to replace the candle of responsible government with the lantern of full internal self-government and then with the beacon of independence." Enormous crowds were outside Karimjee Hall where the talks had taken place and welcomed the announcement with cheers and dancing, as they accompanied Nyerere driven in slow procession throughout the city.

Pratt summed up what many people have opined: independence came rapidly because "of the racial harmony and moderate political leadership which were such striking features of Tanganyika in the late 1950s."

Britain, though, had its own political designs on post-independent Tanganyika: first, that the nation's political elite would accept continuing close association with and major dependency on Britain; second, that the economic policies initiated by the colonial government would be continued; and third, that British officers would predominate in the civil service for a long transitional period. The British were gambling that TANU's leaders would choose to rely heavily on British officers and that Nyerere could control the more assertive nationalists within TANU. For a while Nyerere accepted these policies; and retention of as many British civil servants as possible for several years after independence was crucial for maintaining good governance at the regional and local levels.

Nyerere had his own priorities, however, such as promoting economic development that would be egalitarian and democratic, although not necessarily an exact copy of Western liberal democracy. Nyerere formulated the major challenges to Tanganyika as poverty, ignorance and disease (in Swahili: *umaskini, ujinga na ugonjwa*). He wanted to assure the minority communities in Tanganyika that their basic human and civil rights would be protected, although this did not mean that large private land-holdings would be sacrosanct. He had to oppose radicals in his own Party who wanted to completely Africanize the civil service immediately. However, Tanganyika had very few university graduates as of 1961 and it was estimated that at the end of 1960 there were only about 2,000 Tanganyikan Africans who had completed secondary school. A compromise plan was struck by which 1,200 of 1,700 British civil servants stayed on for two years, and there would be a rapidly stepped up program of training Tanganyikans for assuming middle and high level posts within two to three years.

This arrangement was necessary but also furthered Britain's strategy for keeping Tanganyika dependent, as the senior civil servants, all British, would propose policies in Britain's interests rather than Tanganyika's. However, a means of implementing a rapid transition to an Africanized civil service was being proposed. We will quote Pratt:

The Ford Foundation had by this date (late 1960) already identified staff development and training as one of the most crucial of the tasks facing the independent African states. It had indicated to the Minister of Finance (Sir Ernest Vasey; more on him below) that it would be willing to advise in a general way on problems associated with the rapid development of an indigenous staff, which he accepted and requested. Two reports were produced, one in November 1960, and

the second in May 1961 (by J. Donald Kingsley and J. L. Thurston, both Americans). Some specific recommendations were: relaxation of entry requirements, special and highly specific training programs, and the identification of those positions that must be given highest priority in the allocation of scarce African senior staff.

The senior British officers were cautious and ambivalent about an emergency training program for Tanganyikans, particularly when this was being proposed by Americans. They were anxious to protect the standards of the service and to avoid any action which might unsettle the expatriate officers. Thurston and Kingsley began from a quite different standpoint. On the basis of the experience of West African governments, they argued that no independent nation will, or can, long delay the nationalization of its civil service and the problem is one of determining how one best produces an adequate administrative machine in time with the human material at hand. Fresh approaches are required.

Although Nyerere continued to listen to his British advisors, he had begun to shift his position to that of the Ford Foundation's reports. He also decided to radically change the structure of the administration of rural areas. He abolished the position of Chief and replaced Provincial and District Commissioners, who were appointed by the Civil Service Commission and therefore sympathetic to the dependency strategy, with TANU Commissioners, who would receive directions regarding policy from the central government. Pratt explained thusly:

The senior expatriate civil servants were an important barrier to politically necessary reforms and innovations. The British officers were not sabotaging policy. But too often they sought to dissuade Ministers from initiatives that made excellent political sense.

On the other hand, by mid and late 1961 Nyerere was challenged by forceful calls from TANU activists for myriad radical and rapid changes, of which immediate Africanization of the civil service was merely one. Party functionaries were demanding positions of more prestige, the immediate integration of the school system, the replacement of European and Asian female secretaries in government offices by African women, more African control over the economy, and the question of who could become a citizen (many wanted only Africans to be Tanganyikan citizens). Nyerere felt impossibly pulled between African demands and the necessity of moderate, responsible governance. Nyerere talked in the Legislature about "decolonization of the mind," and that with the changed circumstances at the approach of Independence there was no further need for the language of opposition.

A famous (or infamous) incident further exacerbated the pent-up, hostile feelings of Africans: in early January, 1962, just a month after Independence, a tourist hotel in Dar es Salaam ordered the Mayor of Dar, his wife, the wife of a Minister, and the famous and feisty Bibi Titi Mohamed, a Member of Parliament, out of the hotel for not ordering food or drink. The proprietor claimed he didn't recognize them, but he was deported from the country anyway. Even Nyerere lost his temper over this incident, saying Africans have suffered enough humiliations.

Trade union agitation and labor unrest were other dimensions that Nyerere had to deal with, from early in 1960 up into 1961. (We will read later that worker protests and work stoppages affected even parishes in Musoma Diocese in these years.) Nearly one and a half million man-days were lost in one year through strikes and over 25% of the work force were involved in these strikes. Several of the most outspoken parliamentary critics were trade union leaders and their criticisms struck a deeply responsive chord within TANU. At times Nyerere had a difficult time keeping control of LEGCO.

Nyerere was also disappointed at Britain's reneging on the amount it would give to Tanganyika for its first three-year plan, 1961-64. Vasey, the Finance Minister, had budgeted for 24 million pounds, but Britain proposed only 10 million. After many remonstrations, including a threat by Governor Turnbull to resign and go public with his reasons for resigning, Britain did restore most of this, but it was one of several matters that made TANU much more realistic in assessing its relations with Britain.

Nyerere had an additional challenge of finding a way to educate the average Tanganyikan citizen that independence did not mean they would become rich overnight. Hard work and self-help were imperative; the slogan in Swahili, *Uhuru na Kazi* (Freedom and Work) was coined. In 1962 Nyerere traveled around the country speaking with crowds of ordinary people about self-reliant development. Art Wille says that with an investment of only \$300,000 from 1961 to 1963 a total of 515 wells were dug, 10,400 miles of roads built, and 166 clinics, 368 schools, 267 village halls, and 308 dams constructed. Much of the work was done by people themselves, responding positively to Nyerere's outreach to them.

Shortly after Independence, however, Nyerere felt that the meaning of independence was being misunderstood. He resigned as Prime Minister on January 24, 1962, handing over power to Rashidi Kawawa, a Muslim who had worked very closely with Nyerere prior to Independence. There were several reasons for this decision: first and most importantly, it signaled the end of TANU's acquiescence in the dependency strategy; Nyerere had no political base and needed to build one from among all of Tanganyika's citizens, especially rural dwellers; and he wanted to educate the populace to his basic political and social values, which had been evolving and growing in the last years of the independence struggle. For the next ten months he traveled all over Tanganyika, meeting with throngs of people, engaging in educating them – it is from this time that he became known as *Mwalimu* (Teacher) – but also dialoguing with and listening to the people. He also wrote three important pamphlets during this year: on African Socialism, on citizenship, and on self-correction. These pamphlets identified four crucial priorities:

- 'Parasitism' should not be permitted to develop.
- The government must act to prevent the emergence of sharp income differentials within Tanganyika.
- The party must arouse the people to greater effort on its own behalf.
- The party and particularly its leadership must remain open to criticism.

When Kawawa became Prime Minister there were immediate and far-reaching changes, changes that Nyerere recognized as necessary but that he by temperament would not have been immediately inclined to do. In essence, under Kawawa political

considerations, i.e. what Africans wanted now, trumped administrative considerations, i.e. what British civil servants thought was orderly and judicious. Kawawa immediately formed a new Cabinet, retaining the experienced Ministers listed above (page 60, except that Paul Bomani replaced Solomon Eliufoo), but shifted the balance of influence from this group to the more actively political wing, such as Oscar Kambona and Job Lusinde of Dodoma, who both were given very important Cabinet posts. Other activists were given ministerial posts or appointed as Permanent Secretaries.

Most importantly, Kawawa removed Vasey, the Finance Minister, and also C. M. Meek, the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister. Under Vasey, who was trained in the western models of economics and was very friendly with the multilateral financial institutions (often referred to MFIs), economic and fiscal decisions had been consolidated within the Treasury, in effect sidelining the Prime Minister. With Vasey gone, economic decisions were henceforth discussed with the active involvement of all Ministers.

Kawawa moved rapidly as well in replacing British civil servants with Africans – “give the fellows a job and they will learn” was his perspective. He also immediately replaced civil service Provincial Commissioners with political Regional Commissioners. [Editor note: having unelected Regional Commissioners relay orders to local leaders to implement decisions made at central government headquarters with no participation of people from the local area is a system of governance that American missionaries naturally were not accustomed to. Not every American missionary was able to adjust. Some thought it was a continuation of colonial-style governance under another name.]

Kawawa likewise moved forcefully against trade union leaders who were opposed to trade unionists within TANU, such as Kawawa himself. There was an ideological conflict between two groups over whether unions should support the TANU government or be autonomous champions of workers’ interests. Kawawa used the power of government, including four new Acts of Parliament such as the Preventive Detention Act, to limit factional opposition and to control economically trade union activity. It would be decades before trade unions would begin to regain independent power in Tanzania. However, the minimum wage was significantly raised, resulting in an average wage increase from Shs. 80 per month in 1960 to Shs. 165 in 1963.

Kawawa also moved expertly in the Africanization of the civil service, managing to satisfy African demands without causing an immediate mass exodus of expatriates. Fortunately, an experienced officer from the Ford Foundation, David Anderson, was brought in to the Prime Minister’s office to handle this sensitive transition. He had previously been involved in the successful Africanization program in Ghana.

Pratt sums up Kawawa’s reign as follows:

The main thrust of policy under Kawawa was nationalist and oligarchic, not radical or socialist. Nevertheless, the Kawawa period is an important stage in the movement of ideas in Tanganyika from the acceptance of a major dependence upon Britain in 1960, to a strong commitment to socialism in 1967. They were equally the first steps towards authoritarian rule by a political elite. Nyerere’s continued absence would lead to oligarchic rule rather than to a socialist democracy.

Nyerere concluded his travels around the country in October, 1962, and ran for the office of President, which he won overwhelmingly. On December 9, 1962, the first anniversary of Independence, he became the first President of the Republic of Tanganyika.

Tanganyika's population was close to eleven million, with about 95% living in rural areas. In 1962 only eight percent of children went to upper primary school (Grades Five to Eight), less than two percent went to secondary school, and only 0.1% went to Forms Five and Six, which at that time were required for university admission.

Erection of Musoma Diocese:

At the end of 1956 Monsignor Gerry Grondin, who was still Prefect Apostolic of Musoma Prefecture, went to the United States to attend the Maryknoll General Chapter, along with the elected representative, Fr. Bill Collins, and the Regional Superior, Fr. John Rudin. Rudin had replaced Tom Quirk in March, 1956, as the latter wanted to return to Asia where he had previously worked, although this time to Taiwan rather than China. While Rudin was Regional Superior in Nairobi, he oversaw construction of the second floor of the guest quarters, making it possible to accommodate sixteen guests.

During the time that Grondin, Collins and Rudin were in the U.S., Bert Good was appointed acting Prefect of Musoma Prefecture and acting Regional Superior. He was the rector of the minor seminary in Nyegina, but after these appointments he informed Frank Flynn that he was Rector of the seminary. Collins was elected to the General Council as Secretary General. Rudin returned to Nairobi as Superior after the Chapter was over. Grondin stayed on in the U.S. for his leave, but while there – according to Rudin – he came down with a heart attack. Because of this, both the Maryknoll General Council and the Apostolic Nuncio in East Africa decided it was better to seek someone else to be the first Bishop of Musoma Diocese; it had already been decided in early 1957 that Musoma would be erected to be a diocese. Grondin returned to Musoma in March, 1957, and stayed on as Prefect until a new Bishop would be ordained later in the year.

Once again the Maryknollers were consulted about their preference for Bishop and the choice settled on John Rudin, the Regional Superior in Nairobi. Musoma was officially erected as a Diocese on July 5, 1957, and Rudin was ordained the first Bishop on October 3, 1957. At that time there were eleven parishes (this includes Muhoji, which closed in the late 1960s), thirty-eight Maryknoll priests and one diocesan priest, although some of the Maryknollers may have been home on furlough. There were approximately 40,000 Catholics (a rough estimate), out of a total population of perhaps 340,000 (also a rough estimate, based on the official population statistics of 1950 and 1970). If these estimates are fairly close, then Musoma's Catholics had grown from 4% in 1950 to 11% or 12% of Musoma's total population in 1957. However, Fr. Bert Good had sent in official statistics for January 1, 1957, stating that there were only 22,000 Catholics in Musoma as of that date. This figure would be only about seven percent of Musoma's total population and indicate that the period of fastest growth took place after 1957. In any event, Musoma's Catholic population had obviously grown steadily in the six years since it became a Prefecture, both in actual numbers and in percentage of the total population,

and it would grow rapidly up till the year 1970. [After 1970 the percentage of Catholics in Musoma Diocese remained stable at about 18%, as will be mentioned again in later sections of this book, wherein we will try to offer some analysis of this statistic.]

John Rudin was ordained a priest in 1944 and went to the Catholic University in Washington, DC, for one year's study in moral theology. He then taught at Maryknoll's seminary at the Venard for two years, at which point he was sent to Rome for two years of study in both moral theology and canon law (1947 to 1949). From 1949 to 1951 he was Rector of a special Maryknoll seminary in Brookline, Massachusetts, for about seventy veterans of World War Two and the Korean conflict. Study of Latin was the primary purpose of this seminary, but the vets may also have studied other subjects, such as philosophy. Rudin says the vets found their year or two at this seminary very hard, but that he enjoyed their company. Then from 1951 to 1954 Rudin taught at Maryknoll's major seminary in Ossining, NY. In 1954 he was part of the first seven Maryknollers to be assigned to the new Diocese of Shinyanga, three of whom came from the U.S. and four who had been working in Musoma Diocese. Two years later, in March, 1956, he was appointed Regional Superior and moved to Nairobi. After Rudin became Bishop of Musoma, Paul Bordenet was appointed Regional Superior.

One of the first things that Rudin did as new Bishop was to ask Del Robinson to live in Musoma town and help set up unified sacramental registers and other records for all the parishes of the diocese. Robinson had worked in Iramba Mission from 1950 to the beginning of 1957 and then went on leave to the U.S. He returned to Musoma a month or two after Rudin had been made Bishop, as Robinson recounted:

[Bishop Rudin] first asked me to make a canonical study, if you will, an administrative study of all the forms that were needed to have a unified system in the diocese for purposes of record-keeping, parish registers, the granting of dispensations, and things of that nature. So, I spent a six-month period making the study from inquiries, developing the program and implementing it.

Rudin gave further explanations of this when he was interviewed in 1991:

When Musoma became a diocese we had a whole chancery to set up. I knew something about this but did not have the time. So I asked Del, "Will you go around and find out, and write to people back in the U.S., about what is needed to set up a chancery office?"

He worked over that thing, cut it down, made it as simple as possible, as less work as possible. He put things in the registers for baptisms, confirmations, marriages and deaths. He then went out and showed the men in their places how to fill out the registers and then send in duplicates so we would have them at the diocese. He also designed the marriage investigation forms, with all the questions that you'd have to ask out there, with all the problems that they would have, which you wouldn't necessarily have in other places.

After he designed that and showed the men how to do it, he returned several times later to check on how they were doing, even while he was carrying on the expansion of schools.

Diocesan Education Secretary:

In December, 1950, Msgr. Grondin had originally intended to assign Al Schiavone as Diocesan Education Secretary but due to his long recovery from polio Grondin instead appointed Bill Collins the first Diocesan Education Secretary. Collins remained at that post until March, 1954, having delayed his furlough for a year, while awaiting the return of Bert Good from stateside furlough.

In December of 1953, anticipating Collins' upcoming long furlough in the United States in 1954, Msgr. Grondin wrote to the Maryknoll General Council:

We have a need of always having someone trained in Canon Law in this Mission (i.e. Prefecture). With our different tribes and customs we have a whole series of marriage and other problems to deal with. With Father Collins' septennial coming up I can not help thinking how people are sometimes "snatched" for home purposes. So I take this occasion of stating that his knowledge and experience on this mission make him of inestimable value to us and that we would like to be sure to have him back. If the Council has other plans the good of the Mission requires that steps be taken to fill his function, no easy job at a short notice.

In March, 1954, Good replaced Collins as Education Secretary, although Good was also asked to begin preparations to open a diocesan minor seminary, Standards Five to Eight, at Nyegina in January, 1955. While Collins was Education Secretary he moved into Musoma town parish in 1953. When Collins returned to Musoma in 1955 he went back to Musoma town and resumed his duties as Education Secretary. In 1956 he was elected Chapter Representative and while at the General Chapter he was elected to the General Council, serving there until 1966.

As Bert Good was made Rector of the minor seminary at Nyegina in 1955, Msgr. Grondin assigned Joe Reinhart from Rosana to Musoma to take over Collins' position. In addition to the work of Diocesan Education Secretary Reinhart was also asked to learn Kiswahili on his own. He had been in Rosana Mission since his arrival in Tanganyika in October, 1950, and knew Kikuria well. In 1958 Bishop Rudin decided to open a parish in Tarime town and Reinhart was an obvious choice to be pastor, as he knew both Kikuria and Kiswahili, the latter language a necessity for town ministry.

In 1958, Reinhart was replaced as Diocesan Education Secretary by Bert Good for a few months and then Rudin assigned Del Robinson. Of all those who were Education Secretaries, only Robinson explained the work in any detail and so we will quote what he had to say.

We had been in the country only a short time and had initiated a program of about 35 or 40 primary or grammar schools, as they were known, and later some secondary schools for boys and girls. The Education Secretary's primary purposes were to expand the school system and improve teacher training. He was also the liaison man with all government officials – this was still a colonial system, with British Administrators. This relationship was important because we

got grants and aid from the government, particularly for the payment of teachers' salaries.

School education was a primary emphasis for missions because there were no schools in the area and the people had a real need for them. Secondly, there was strong competition with Protestants and Muslims to get areas of influence through the school system. When the country got independence in 1961 at least two-thirds of the school system for the whole country was in the hands of missionary churches. The Muslims had practically no recognized schools; their schools were strictly religious schools. The government developed about one-third of the schools, called public schools [also called Native Authority Schools].

The school system was the way to have influence, bringing the missionary into direct contact with the people and their children, attracting them to inquire about the church. This is what has led to conversions. About twenty percent of the population is Catholic [in 1983; it is closer to thirty percent in the year 2013], and this would not be true if the Church had not developed a school system. The Apostolic Delegate to East Africa had even gone to the extent to say: "If you have to choose between building a church or a school, by all means build the school and forget the church." [Cf Part One, page three, for the actual quote of Archbishop Arthur Hinsley's statement to the gathering of the Bishops of East Africa in Dar es Salaam in 1928.]

Bishop Rudin added that Robinson would discuss with the priests and local people where a school should be put and then oversee the building of classrooms and teachers' houses. Rudin had teams of builders who would go out with the diocesan lorry carrying the cement mixer and other materials and make cement blocks. Rudin said they would build one classroom and then come back to build the remaining classrooms needed, up to Grade Four. The teachers' houses were "very simple houses, and our workmen could throw one up very quickly." The Education Secretary also kept abreast with needed maintenance in schools and the diocesan workmen would go out to do the repairs.

Rudin said that Robinson also had courses for the teachers, often in Musoma, to upgrade them on anything new. As a result, Robinson built up a very good relationship with the teachers.

In 1962 Robinson went to Dar es Salaam, to be Secretary General of the Tanganyika Episcopal Conference in place of Gerry Grondin, who was appointed to Maryknoll's General Council. Robinson remained in Dar up till 1966, when he was chosen to attend the General Chapter as one of the African representatives and was then elected to the General Council.

In 1962 Fr. Moe Morrissey was assigned from Bwiregi Parish to Musoma to replace Robinson as Education Secretary of Musoma Diocese. He remained there until 1966 when he was assigned back to the United States for studies and a U.S. assignment. Morrissey returned to Tanzania in September, 1970, studied Kiswahili at the Language School, and then worked in Musoma for two years, prior to being elected Regional Superior of Africa in 1972. In 1966 Morrissey was replaced as Diocesan Education Secretary by Fr. John Wymes, who was also the Bishop's secretary. In 1968 Wymes went to the U.S. for studies in Psychology and Pastoral Counseling and he was replaced as

Diocesan Education Secretary by a diocesan priest. This diocesan position was abolished in either 1969 or 1970, after the Tanzania government nationalized all schools in the country.

Parishes and construction:

In addition to these matters Rudin had to immediately get very involved in two essential construction projects: the addition of guest rooms at the Bishop's house in Musoma (which was also the rectory for the town parish's priests) and the building of St. Pius Seminary in Makoko. Both of these building projects were supervised by Brother Brian Fraher. However, there were no new parishes started until 1959, at which point there were a flurry of parishes begun between 1959 and 1962, a total of eight in all: Tarime, Tatwe, Kiagata, Mugango, Bunda, Isenye, Nyamwaga, and Ingri.

When Rudin came to Musoma in October, 1957, there were so many building projects to attend to that he didn't have the time or opportunity to learn Swahili well. He had been in Shinyanga for close to two years and had begun learning Sukuma, but as Regional Superior in Nairobi he functioned in English. He was also older, forty years old when he became Bishop – not old for a Bishop, but old for learning another language. Even so, it was lack of time due to so many administrative matters, ecclesial concerns, such as doing Confirmations, and construction projects, that prevented him from learning Swahili well. Some years later he commented, "I never had time for it. Really, I should have taken time out to do it, now that I look back. But many things were going on and I just kept going."

Another important factor was that Swahili was used in only two town parishes, Musoma and Tarime, prior to about 1970 and Rudin became used to having someone translate his sermons into the local language in the various parishes throughout the diocese whenever he went out for Confirmation or other purposes. Musoma Diocese's plethora of local languages has been problematic even for the African Bishops who have come since Rudin retired in 1979, although by the 1980s most Tanzanians were able to understand Kiswahili.

Priests:

Although there were very few African diocesan priests in Rudin's early years as Bishop – the second one was Tarcisius Sije in 1959 – he made integration of Maryknollers and the diocesan priests in the parishes one of his policies. Rudin said that he did not have any difficulty with the Maryknollers in this matter. Maryknollers appreciated the opportunity to learn the language and culture better from the diocesan priests and the African priests were able to learn English better. Diocesan priests in Musoma Diocese (and in Shinyanga) received from the diocese Personal Allowance and Viatique equal to the Maryknoll priests. They received help in getting vehicles and also were given Mass stipends from America.

Rudin commented on the type of Maryknoll missionaries who were in Musoma in the 1950s and 1960s: "They were young and mostly just newly ordained. They fit right into the system: they liked the idea of having a combination of catechetical work, evangelization work, and building. The outstations, chapels, schools and classrooms went up one by one, according to need. There was a great desire to have one's own place, to be one's own pastor."

Much was happening in Musoma Diocese in those years, but we will look at only two major initiatives between 1957 and 1962: Maryknoll's major contribution to the setting up of the Tanganyika Catholic Welfare Association, later renamed the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC); and the construction of Musoma College (Secondary School) in Musoma town. [Institutions begun by Maryknoll in Musoma after 1962 will be covered in future sections of this book.]

Tanzania Episcopal Conference:

In 1956 the Bishops of Tanganyika began forming the Tanganyika Catholic Welfare Association and in 1957 they were looking for someone qualified to be Secretary General. When they realized that Msgr. Gerard Grondin's term as Apostolic Prefect of Musoma was terminating later that year, he was approached to be the first Secretary General, "a position which he accepted and quickly developed," according to Robinson. Grondin was an excellent administrator and as he knew all the Bishops he was able to communicate with them with no difficulty.

The original offices of the Conference, which we will hereafter refer to as the TEC, were located on the property of St. Joseph Cathedral in Dar es Salaam, however the TEC wished to expand at the large property it obtained in the Kurasini area of Dar es Salaam, four or five kilometres south of the city center. Thus, in 1961 Grondin appealed for Brother Brian Fraher to come help build not only the Administration Building but most importantly the Kurasini Training and Conference Centre. Fraher, after finishing the building of St. Pius Seminary in Makoko in 1959, had gone to the U.S. for leave. On return he went to Shinyanga Diocese for several months to help with construction there and then moved to Dar es Salaam. Fraher said, "I went down there for what I thought would be just a few months, which turned into ten years, in the warm and humid heat of Dar es Salaam. I helped the Bishops out with these buildings plus residential quarters for Bishops and for priests assigned to the TEC."

In 1961 the Bishops of Tanganyika were in the forefront in getting AMECEA started, the Association of Member Episcopal Conferences of Eastern Africa, which originally included Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi and Zambia, but were having trouble getting the Bishops of Kenya to come aboard, according to Rudin. Rudin explained what happened:

At the TEC they knew that I knew all the Bishops of Kenya and they called me to Dar es Salaam. They asked me to go up to Kenya to talk with the Bishops and priests there, to tell them we're not trying to take away their autonomy, we're not trying to run their country. We know their political problems are different and all their background is different. But at least they should join AMECEA, come to the meetings every three years, and circulate information about what's going on. They can also talk with us about the problems they are having with the government and how they did or did not get through these problems.

At that very same time, Rudin was preparing to give a retreat to Palatine missionary priests in a diocese in southwestern Tanganyika and he told his Education Secretary Del Robinson that he would have to give the retreat because Rudin had to go to

Kenya. Robinson was very hesitant to do this, but in the end the retreat was very successful and Robinson began giving retreats to various religious groups in the country. Robinson was already getting to know people throughout Tanganyika because the Diocesan Education Secretaries used to meet in Rome every year. His retreat work in neighboring dioceses helped to spread his name even more.

Thus, when Grondin was asked to go to New York to replace Bishop James Pardy on the General Council in 1962, [Pardy was actually consecrated Bishop of a diocese in Korea in September, 1958, and replaced on the Council by Fr. Clarence Witte; Grondin replaced Witte] the Bishops of Tanganyika asked Rudin to release Robinson from Musoma Diocese in order to come down to Dar es Salaam and replace Grondin at the TEC. According to Rudin, Grondin told the Bishops, "The best we got is Robinson, he can run this thing." This was very acceptable to the Bishops. Rudin, in his customary humorous fashion, added that "the Bishops were a little afraid of Robinson, that he might catch them on something they should know, but didn't know. But no, he never did that."

Robinson, who died in 1991 at the relatively young age of seventy, was fortunately interviewed by Maryknoll Father Laurence Murphy in 1983. Murphy asked a number of insightful questions about Robinson's tenure at the TEC, which lasted from 1962 to 1966. The following are some excerpts from Robinson's answers:

When I was at the TEC there were 26 missionary Bishops and eight native African Bishops, although that ratio quickly changed as the years went by, until today (1983) I think there are only two missionary Bishops in Tanzania. There was a very good relationship between African Bishops and the missionary congregations and Bishops, because the missionaries, like Maryknoll, were anxious to build up a native clergy and have Africans assume responsibility as quickly as possible.

But the native Bishops, after they became numerous, wanted the missionary priests and even Bishops to stay on. I used to ask them, "Why are there still two left?" It was because the African Bishops themselves insisted on this. The fewer the missionary Bishops became the more alarmed the Tanzanian Bishops became, because they thought it was important they have missionary Bishops associated with them and be a link to the rest of the world. The African Bishops were going to Rome and saw the benefits that missionaries brought, in terms of ideas, experience and the contacts they had. They were very insistent that they would make the decisions but they did value the experience of the missionaries.

Robinson was also asked if Maryknoll in Africa learned from the experience that Maryknollers had in Asia with regard to relationships between missionaries and indigenous clergy and Bishops. Murphy commented that one of the main problems in Asia had resulted from reluctance to have native Bishops. Robinson denied, though, that this was a factor in Maryknoll decision-making in Africa.

We didn't have any contact with Asia and the local clergy in Africa had no contact at all. Maryknoll missionaries in Africa did not come out of Asia but started from scratch in Africa. Our sole missionary experience was in Africa. What we

knew of the history of the relationships in general and the history of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and its periodical decrees regarding the relations between missionary groups and indigenous clergy we learned in our studies of Missiology, rather than from any specifics from Asia.

Robinson was also asked about the relations between the TEC, missionaries and the government of independent Tanganyika (Tanzania in 1964). He said the relationships with the government and with President Julius Nyerere were very good, and gave the following explanations.

Tanganyika was fortunate in a number of ways. First, it came to independence from colonialism in a peaceful manner. Second, it has 120 different tribes and so did not have any real strong problems with tribalism such as in other countries, where one, two or three large tribes dominate all the others.

As far as the government's relationship with missionaries and the Church, it was also fortunate. The Catholic missionaries did not come from England and there were very few English missionaries in Tanganyika. Furthermore, they came from many different nationalities with no one nationality predominating among the missionaries. So, the missionaries themselves got along well and related to the government well. They were not promoting their own nation, but rather were interested in seeing the people become independent, and be independent from Great Britain. Therefore the missionaries played an important role with the local people in working towards independence and helped them put into service their own press services in order to propagate their political ideas. Therefore, the relationship between the new government and missionaries was quite good from the beginning and continued to be good.

President Nyerere would regularly come by invitation to meet with the Episcopal Conference, to address the Bishops, and to answer any questions they might have. He appealed to all the churches, Catholic, Protestant and Muslim, to cooperate and collaborate with the government in developing the nation. He did recognize that the Christian churches had the facilities needed for development, such as schools, dispensaries, hospitals, and various social services, and they were a very valuable element to him. But to show his independence of any particular religion and his recognition of the law, he would go out of his way to do the same for all. So, while he was a Catholic, he would regularly attend Muslim meetings, which was an important element in government.

In addition to internal matters within Tanganyika, Robinson was the TEC Secretary General during the Second Vatican Council and attended the final three sessions of the Council.

Therefore I was personally quite familiar with how the Council developed, and with not only the final documents but how they reached their final form. I had the opportunity to be behind the scenes and hear all the discussion groups.

Rudin says that Robinson was crucially important to the Tanzania Bishops while they were in Rome for the Council. He took care of purchasing things that were needed and seeing to it that the drafts of documents were printed, i.e. mimeographed, in both English and Latin. He would also respond to special requests from individual Bishops for particular information and he would provide it for them.

Robinson's attendance at the Council was very fortuitous, because in 1966 he was elected by the Africa Region to be delegate to the 1966 General Chapter. In his interview he talked about a number of issues that this Chapter dealt with and of some of the internal dynamics that characterized the Chapter. We will return to his comments in a future section of this book. It can be merely said that the new ideas that came out of the Second Vatican Council were of major importance for the 1966 Chapter, and in fact Robinson was one of the very few Chapter Delegates who had a comprehensive knowledge of the Vatican documents and their ideas and issues. At the beginning of the Chapter he was elected Secretary of the Chapter, and then was elected to be Secretary General of the General Council from 1966 to 1972.

When he left the TEC only Brother Fraher remained there from Maryknoll but in 1967, when Bill Collins returned to Tanzania after serving on the General Council for ten years he went to Dar and worked for the TEC till 1970. Fraher remained there until about 1971 or 1972 and after he left no other Maryknoller was assigned to the TEC. But the contribution of all four Maryknollers to the TEC is fondly remembered. When Fraher left the TEC he went back to Musoma and became procurator of the Language School in Makoko for another eight years.

After his term on the General Council Del Robinson went to Rome and was Procurator General for Maryknoll for a number of years at the house on Sardegna Street. During this time he became very sick; he was treated but the illness stayed with him for the rest of this life. Despite this, he was able to return to Tanzania for a couple of years in the 1970s. He lived at Nyegina, where he was able to help out with parish ministry.

Gerry Grondin was barely able to finish out his term on the General Council. He died at the beginning of December, 1966, while the Chapter was still in session.

In September, 1970, Bill Collins went to Musoma to take the four-month course in Kiswahili, after which he taught in major seminaries, primarily in Nairobi, Kenya. In the early 1970s he returned to the United States with terminal cancer and died shortly afterwards.

In the 1960s the name of the Conference was changed to the Tanzania Episcopal Conference and its tasks and purposes have continued to grow. As of 2011 there were 33 dioceses in Tanzania, organized under five metropolitan Archdioceses. Native Tanzanians are the ordinaries in all the dioceses. The TEC oversees five major seminaries, of which Kipalapala in Tabora is the closest to the former Maryknoll Dioceses of Musoma and Shinyanga. Around a half dozen Maryknoll priests have taught in either Kipalapala (formal name is St. Paul Major Seminary) or St. Charles Lwanga Major Seminary in Dar es Salaam, also known as Segerea.

The purposes of the TEC are to coordinate and facilitate pastoral, social and development programs at both the national and diocesan levels, and to render a variety of services to dioceses and individual parishes to make their ministries easier to carry out.

In addition to the Secretariat itself, run by the Secretary General, there are nine departments and ten commissions under the Conference. Given the sensitivity and

importance of relations with Islam, there are separate Commissions for Ecumenism and for Inter-Religious Dialogue. The Secretaries of the Commissions and Departments are Tanzanian priests for the most part, although some are Religious Sisters or Tanzanian laity. The Conference maintains close relations with three other national ecclesial organizations: the Association of Sisterhoods, the Association of Religious Superiors of Men, and the Tanzania Council of the Laity. Both Grondin, especially, and Robinson were instrumental in setting up some of the original commissions and departments.

In addition to the Kurasini Conference and Training Centre, located on the same grounds as the Secretariat, the TEC is also the formal owner and manager of two very important national Catholic institutions in Mwanza: St. Augustine University and Bugando Medical Center. The latter now has a medical college, which is affiliated with St. Augustine University. Additionally, the university has branch campuses in other parts of Tanzania, and we should especially mention the College of Education in Moshi and College of Law and Technology in Iringa.

The TEC publishes a national Catholic newspaper in Swahili, called KIONGOZI (Swahili for Leader) and is the manager of TMP Press in Tabora. The Bishops' Conference also issues Pastoral Letters and Statements on various issues from time to time.

Musoma College/Mara Secondary School:

By the year 1960 there was still only one secondary school in Musoma town, the Musoma Alliance Secondary School, started and operated cooperatively by Protestant denominations. In fact, this was the only secondary school in Musoma District at that time. The colonial government funded the salaries of the teachers, some of the boarding expenses, and would grant the money needed for construction of the school buildings, which included dormitories, dining facilities, and other buildings for personal hygiene. However, this money was allocated on a quota system.

According to Bishop Rudin, in either late 1959 or early 1960 Del Robinson, the Diocesan Education Secretary, received word that the Catholic Diocese in Musoma would be granted permission to build a secondary school. Rudin and Robinson decided to move quickly, even though they did not have a plot. The first thing Rudin did was ask Fr. Ed Wroblewski to be the Headmaster. Wroblewski had come to Tanganyika in 1957, after teaching at Glen Ellyn, and was first assigned to Majita Parish. In 1958, he was assigned to Musoma Town Parish, where he joined Fathers Jim 'Moe' Morrissey (hereafter to be referred to as Moe in this history) and Laurenti Magesa.

Wroblewski was interviewed in 1989 and said: "The diocese was able to initiate a secondary school but the question was whether they could continue to operate it. Most Catholic schools in Tanganyika were taught by an order that specialized in teaching, for boys usually an order of Brothers. We did not have enough Maryknollers to staff a full school, so we began looking for a Religious Order of Teaching Brothers."

In any event, they decided to start with the first year, called Form One, which began either at the end of 1960 or beginning of 1961. Wroblewski hired an African teacher, Peter Moshi, and they chose 35 boys to form a single stream class. There was no plot or school available, so they made use of some buildings at Nyegina Parish, where Bishop Rudin was starting to build a middle school.

Wroblewski took it on himself to give the new school an innovative name – Musoma College. [In both his interviews many years later Wroblewski says the name was Musoma College and Ed Hayes likewise unequivocally has said that this was the name. An original document from that time, a diary from Nyegina written by Fr. Tom McGovern in May, 1963, also called it Musoma College. Since it was later re-named Mara Secondary School by the government, some have thought it was originally called Mara College, but this belief is mistaken.] There was already a Musoma Alliance Secondary School, so Wroblewski wanted a different type of name, but one that retained the name of the locale. In this he was following the Jesuit practice of naming their universities after the place where the school is located, such as Boston College or Georgetown University, rather than giving the new school a saint's name. The word 'college' in British usage refers to any educational institution, and does not have the specific meaning as used in American English.

In 1962 they decided to take in 70 students, two streams, in Form One, to join the 35 going into Form Two. There was, however, not enough room in Nyegina, so another temporary move was made, this time to extra buildings at St. Pius Seminary in Makoko. Fr. Brendan Smith was assigned from Rosana Mission to the school and another African teacher was hired. (Cf Fr. Jim Lehr's comments on pages 35 and 36 in this section about mixing secondary school boys with the middle school students at the seminary. Lehr had just become Rector and was very opposed to this solution to the secondary school's location needs, but it was forced on him by all the leaders of the Diocese.)

By the end of 1962 there was still no plot or buildings for the secondary school and they were bringing in another 70 students in Form One in 1963, to join the 105 boys already in the school. Bishop Rudin was forced to extemporize again; he had already started constructing extra buildings at the seminary in order to make it a secondary school in the near future. These buildings were slightly removed from the middle school part of the seminary, and so for another year, in 1963, Musoma College shared the grounds of St. Pius Seminary. Wroblewski said that although the priests often shared the same dining facilities, the boys were separated according to their respective institutions.

Other Maryknollers came in 1962 or the beginning of 1963 to teach: Fathers Frank Murray, Mike Pierce, and Ed Baskerville, all of whom had been working in the Luo Deanery of the diocese. These three Maryknollers plus the first two assigned to Mara College all had Masters Degrees at least, in fields of study additional to their theology and philosophy degrees. In 1964 Fr. Bill McCarthy also joined the faculty after having previously worked in Nyegina Parish. Several more African teachers were also hired. But Bishop Rudin, Robinson, and the diocesan consultants knew that depending on Maryknollers to staff Musoma College was not sustainable. In the meantime the school benefited financially by having so many Maryknollers on the staff. They were all getting their Personal Allowances and Viatique Subsidies from Maryknoll and being paid government salaries commensurate with their Masters Degrees, which Bishop Rudin allowed them to use to make improvements in the school. One asset that the school had was the best science laboratory in Musoma town.

In 1962 Maryknoll also began an earnest search for an Order of Teaching Brothers to take over management of Musoma College and were rewarded with a commitment from the De La Salle Christian Brothers of the New England/Long Island, NY, Province. The Brothers had already opened a very good secondary school in Addis

Ababa, Ethiopia, (Cf comments on this school in Volume One, pages 56-57) and were about to open a secondary school in Moshi, Tanganyika, in 1963. The Brothers said that a few could come in 1964 and then begin management and sufficient staffing in 1965. Some of the original Brothers who came were Leo McNulty, the Headmaster, Brother Louis, Rich Kiley, Anthony Griffin, Brendan Foley, who moved over to St. Pius Seminary in 1969, and John Conway, who later became a Maryknoll priest.

According to Bishop Rudin, money for constructing the school and payment of teachers' salaries came from the Tanganyikan government, but it was the responsibility of the Diocese to obtain land, design the plans and oversee the construction. In 1962 a large plot became available about a mile south of the center of town where the land begins to rise up towards Nyegina. Rudin said that they hired an Indian contractor from Nairobi to come down and build all the buildings. In addition, he asked Frank Murray to work closely with the contractor regarding plans and other suggestions. Murray also succeeded in getting an extension of the pipes carrying water out in that direction, so that the school would have piped-in water – of course, reliability of water provision from the town is not guaranteed, despite proximity to the lake.

In January, 1963, Wroblewski went on home leave to the U.S., leaving Murray as temporary Headmaster. This was the year that construction was taking place. In the U.S., Wroblewski went to Columbia University and other universities to see if he could get some teachers for Musoma College, which had already received one teacher from Columbia. Wroblewski's sister had also gone from Columbia to teach in the Maryknoll Sisters secondary school in Mwanza, called Rosary College. Not only Columbia but also the Peace Corps was sending teachers to teach in Tanganyikan secondary schools, as one of the ways the United States was helping this newly independent country. However, even though Wroblewski traveled to a number of places in the U.S. looking for teachers, he was not successful.

Finally, in January, 1964, Musoma College was able to open in its own buildings on its own plot. This was fortunate, as with another intake of 70 students there were now 245 boys in the school and in the following year there would be a full contingent of 280. After returning to Tanganyika in late 1963 Wroblewski was afflicted with double ulcers, although for months the exact diagnosis was not known. During the vacation period at the end of the year he was hospitalized in Nairobi, and in May, 1964, it was decided that he be replaced as Headmaster by Fr. Brendan Smith, who was named temporary Headmaster up till the end of that year.

Finally, in 1965 the Christian Brothers took over the school, freeing up the Maryknoll priests to go back to pastoral assignments or for specialized studies. The Brothers had a large two-story residence built as they intended to supply a number of Brothers to the school's staff. One goal of the Brothers in running schools in East Africa was to seek vocations to their Order, and therefore in 1965 they renamed the school La Salle College. Rudin said that the school became not only the top academic school in Mara Region but one of the best in all of the Lake area and in the country. Brother Louis was an older man with years of teaching experience in the subjects of chemistry and physics, subjects that Africans find extremely difficult. Rudin exclaimed, "With his years of experience, with his patience, I think that after four or five years no student of his got less than 95 or 94 in the final exams for chemistry and physics. That's outstanding; I think it was pretty close to the top school in the country."

Unfortunately, the Brothers did not get many years to make it fully into the kind of school that they wanted. In January, 1967, the Arusha Declaration was approved by the Tanzania cabinet and several weeks later most banks, insurance companies, import-export companies, and manufacturing enterprises were nationalized. Two years later all schools in Tanzania were also nationalized. With nationalization, all expatriate Headmasters had to be immediately replaced by Tanzanians and most of the teaching staff also had to be Tanzanian. Only those expatriates teaching English, science and math subjects were allowed to remain. Three of the Brothers left the school almost immediately, either for Kenya where the Christian Brothers were running several secondary schools and a Teachers Training College, or to return to America. Brother Leo went to Kenya, where he tragically was killed not long afterward in an auto accident, an event that shook many Maryknollers as well as the Brothers.

The school's name was also changed again. This time both the words 'college' and 'La Salle' were dropped, and it was given the new name of Mara Secondary School, the name by which it is still known. One problem with nationalization was a drop in academic quality in most schools in the country. Despite this, Mara's performance has continued to be one of the best in the country, rivaled in Mara Region only by St. Pius Seminary – and surprisingly in the second decade of the 21st century by Kowak Girls Secondary School. Since 1969 Mara has had over a dozen African Headmasters and has continued to grow in size. There are over 700 boys in the school today.

When visited in 2012, the school ran from Form One to Form Six, making it a high school according to the formal British and Tanzanian designation, although it is still named a secondary school. When one drives onto the property the first thing one notices is a large sign saying "Speak English Only," a necessary rule in a country where all the boys of secondary school age speak excellent Swahili as their first language. Its Form Six graduates have the best results in all of Mara Region and presumably a number of them go on to the university. The Brothers' residence has been kept in good condition and is currently occupied by teachers, probably those living without their families. The chapel built in the 1960s is still on the property, giving it a Catholic ambiance even though it is a completely government school.

In the year 2014 the first graduating class of 1964 will celebrate their fiftieth anniversary. Those still alive will be in their late sixties or even in their seventies. In the year 2002 Wroblewski took a trip to Tanzania and met with seven of the original thirty-five 1964 graduates, all men who had done very well in their careers. Two were medical doctors, one was Headmaster of Mwanza Secondary School, and one was an Ambassador. In an interview, Wroblewski explained that in 1964 there were still very few Tanzanians educated enough to fill the many posts in government service and the private sector and therefore almost all the graduates were able to get good jobs not long after graduation. Today, these men are either retired or nearing retirement. As they are of the generation of the grandfathers of the current students in Mara Secondary School we can say that the school is now in its third generation – and still going strong.

This concludes Part Two of this volume on Maryknoll in Tanzania. In a future section we will look at developments in Musoma from the year 1962 to 1978, and also at the subsequent history of Tanzania during these same years.

We will now look at the development of each parish in Musoma Prefecture/Diocese from 1947 to 1962.