

PART THREE
HISTORY OF MARYKNOLL IN TANZANIA
SOUTH MARA PARISHES , 1947 TO THE EARLY OR MID-1960s

In this section we will look at the history of parishes in South Mara, beginning with the on-going history of Nyegina beginning in December, 1950, where we left off at the beginning of Part Two. Musoma Prefecture was erected in December, 1950, and by then two additional parishes had been established in North Mara, Rosana and Masonga, in addition to Kowak (North Mara parishes will be treated in Part Four). As of 1950, however, no parish in addition to Nyegina had been established in South Mara, except for the abortive attempt at the Ukerewe Islands. The lack of parishes would not last long and both Parts Three and Four will show definitively the seriousness with which Maryknoll accepted its responsibilities in Musoma Diocese by rapidly increasing the number of personnel and parishes. In December, 1950, there were only four parishes in Musoma Prefecture; as of December, 1962, there were nineteen parishes, although Muhoji was closed a few years later. The number of Catholics in Musoma Diocese grew from 10,000 in 1950 to over 60,000 in 1962, and from 4% of the population to about 15%. [The 1962 figure is a rough estimate, based on the official statistics of Musoma for 1950 and 1970. Kevin Dargan cited official statistics sent in by Bert Good, stating that as of January 1, 1957, there were 22,000 Catholics in Musoma Prefecture.] The number of Maryknollers assigned to Musoma were sixteen in 1950; that number had grown to sixty-five Maryknoll priests and Brothers who had been assigned to Musoma Diocese, although by 1962 a dozen or more had moved to assignments elsewhere. That all this had been done in only sixteen years after Maryknoll first stepped foot in Musoma was an astounding accomplishment – and these figures do not even include Shinyanga. But let us look first at Nyegina Parish.

Nyegina Parish:

As of mid-1951, although there were some seven Maryknollers assigned to Nyegina, only two, Lou Bayless and Rab Murphy, were doing the actual parish work, as Tom Gibbons had left on July 4th with Del Robinson to open the new mission in Iramba. Gibbons had been one of the parish priests at Nyegina since his departure from Kagunguli in Ukerewe in April, 1949. Two others at Nyegina were Brothers, Fidelis and John Walsh. The other three priests were doing prefecture work: Gerard Grondin, the Apostolic Prefect, Bill Collins, both Maryknoll Superior (till the end of 1951, when Tom Quirk took over) and Diocesan Education Secretary, and Al Schiavone, who had already been assigned as pastor of Musoma Parish and was saying Mass there each Sunday. However, a European couple from Musoma had to have their wedding in Nyegina on July 28, 1951, as the chapel (i.e. church) in Musoma was “not recognized as suitable for a wedding, as it is just an out-station.” The groom was the son of the owner of the Musoma Hotel and his bride was a European woman from Nairobi. Schiavone, as pastor-to-be of Musoma, performed the marriage ceremony.

Pastoral work in Nyegina had become in one sense routine but also extensive and tiring: teaching the sacrament course, meeting with the catechists and Catholic Action leaders, and taking safaris to outstations for sacramental purposes and to assess the progress of the catechumenate. The parish priests no longer had to look for sites for new

parishes, as this was now Grondin's task. However, they were still trying to establish new bush schools; for example, in July, 1951, Rab Murphy visited the Headman in a village to obtain his permission to get a plot for a school. At the mission compound itself responsibility for the primary school and the dispensary consumed much of the priests' time. In addition to all these responsibilities the priests often had to go far from the mission on narrow paths through the bush on their motorcycles and on foot for sick calls, either to confer the last sacraments or occasionally to baptize someone who wanted to make a deathbed conversion.

They did get opportunities to take a break, however; in mid-1951 the diaries reported that the Maryknollers were taking their one-month vacations in East Africa, with two from different missions going somewhere together in each successive month, so that at least one priest would remain behind at the mission. Trips were taken to Mombasa and even as far away as eastern Congo. At times people had to go to Nairobi, either for shopping or medical work.

In September, 1951, they were joined by the newly assigned Maryknollers to Tanganyika, Art Wille and Eppy James, who stayed at Nyegina for three months studying Kiswahili while awaiting their parish assignments. Tom Quirk also stayed for a short while in Nyegina, before departing for Nairobi. At the end of the year John Graser came from the Orient to Nyegina, and became the procurator for both Nyegina Parish and Musoma Prefecture.

This assignment was a very welcome addition for all the others living at Nyegina. Graser commented, "The Mission was quite busy as it was a center house and men came in from all over the diocese for a rest for a couple of days. You never knew how many were going to be there ahead of time, so you had to be well stocked with food. They came in for a day or three or four days and then moved on. They came to shop in Musoma, go to the post office, see Monsignor Grondin, or just to take a break for a few days."

As Nyegina had become both the language learning center and a center house for Maryknollers from throughout the diocese John Walsh was tasked with adding an extra building out back of the rectory. This extra-long building was grass-roofed and had two large bedrooms that could sleep up to six people.

Eppy James wrote the diaries of November and December, 1951, and gave an account of his and Art Wille's heart-stopping trip across seven-mile wide Mara Bay on a marooned sailboat and having to jump from the sailboat onto the ferry in the middle of the lake. He also described life in Nyegina in the early 1950s.

Life comes and goes here on the shore of this beautiful lake. Every day new incidents and accidents are brought to our threshold. At night one can hear the slow beat of the tom-toms angling its way from the valley to our mission built high among the rocks. Now and then a faint cry pierces the darkness of the night and echoes its way over road and dale. Sometimes the Fathers of Nyegina are called out into this darkness to administer the sacraments to those in need and not infrequently they run into wild cats, hyenas, and even the occasional leopard.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a group of pagan boys and girls [i.e. young men and women] heading for a marriage feast. Usually you can hear them approaching from a good distance away as the sound of pipes, tom-toms and other string instruments fills the air. It is the custom of the Bakwaya to be quiet as they

pass the mission compound but as soon as they are a short distance away they resume their gaiety and laughter. They are all painted up and wear various kinds of animal hides.

In December, James wrote about the 21-month catechumenate, as was explained in Part Two. It seems that Nyegina Parish had adult baptisms twice a year, in June and December. He did not mention the number of baptisms, but in the early 1950s Nyegina had only around 100 a year at most. After Christmas Wille and James had to leave Nyegina and take a trip up to Kenya, to provide room for all the priests of the Prefecture for the second clerical conference.

January, 1952, brought the first of several major personnel changes affecting Nyegina. In Iramba Mission Tom Gibbons came down with an anxiety attack and he was re-assigned to Nyegina. He was replaced as pastor in Iramba by Lou Bayless. Bayless had been the first Maryknoll pastor of Nyegina and when he was assigned to Iramba he probably did not realize that he would never do parish work in Nyegina again. In his interview many years later he gave hints that he felt somewhat bereft at this move; although he knew many of the Christians at Iramba, as they had been baptized in Nyegina, he did not put in effort to learn the Kingorimi language of the people of Iramba. After going on furlough to the U.S. in 1953, he joined the first group going to Shinyanga Diocese in 1954. When he was stationed in Shinyanga he used to periodically come back to Nyegina for visits lasting up to two weeks.

Rab Murphy became pastor of Nyegina although this assignment also did not last long. He and Gibbons were joined in early 1952 by Paul Bordenet, who did pastoral work in the parish up till he became Regional Superior in 1957. John Graser also helped with some pastoral work, primarily in saying Mass at the mission or occasionally in outstations. Both Graser and Bordenet learned Kikwaya.

Grondin also continued to live at Nyegina, at least up till 1956, while waiting for the Bishop's House to be built in Musoma. Collins moved into Musoma in 1953 and then went on furlough in the U.S. in 1954. On his return to Tanganyika in 1955 he again went to live in Musoma and resumed his duties as Diocesan Education Secretary. Despite their Prefecture-wide responsibilities, they continued to help with Mass at the mission or outstations. Grondin liked especially to celebrate the Christmas midnight Mass at Nyegina.

Then in July, 1952, Rab Murphy was assigned to be pastor of a new parish in Majita that would be started in 1953. In August, 1952, Rab went on an early furlough in the U.S., but for only two months, and was replaced as pastor of Nyegina by Gibbons. On return to Nyegina in October 1, 1952, Rab began study of Kijita and was happily informed that Brother Fidelis would live with him in Majita in order to do the construction. In April, 1953, they went with Msgr. Grondin to survey the site and began to commute almost daily from Nyegina to Majita up till they were finally able to move to Majita in July, 1953.

In Nyegina, from the beginning of 1952 until July, 1958, only one diary was written, by Tom Gibbons in December, 1952. Gibbons wrote that the Maryknoll Sisters were to come to Nyegina soon, which we will comment on below, and that with language students at Nyegina there were usually six or seven priests stationed there, although only two or three were doing actual parish work. With four new missions started from their

parish, the parish priests at Nyegina were able to spend more time visiting Christians in the vicinity of the mission. At the same time one section of the parish was a hundred miles away, beyond Bunda going out towards the Serengeti.

Gibbons also stated that there had been 144 Confirmations and 23 First Communions earlier in December, and that on Dec. 20, 1952, 72 adults and 14 infants were baptized. He observed, however:

In Bantu missions in Lake Province the baptisms seem to be falling off. Yet, thank God, our numbers seem to be increasing. We believe our facilities in travel have much to do with our increasing numbers.

Gibbons remained pastor of Nyegina until 1955, when he was assigned to the U.S. to be Formation Director of the Maryknoll Brothers in Brookline, Massachusetts. He stayed in the U.S. up till 1960 and then returned to Tanganyika, to Kilulu Mission in Shinyanga Diocese.

Paul Bordenet was never interviewed for the history project, as he died in 1963, and in the period he was in Nyegina, 1952 to 1957, there were no diaries written from Nyegina. Thus, there is not much documentation on his work there, except from interviews with other Maryknollers who were there at that time. However, at his funeral in Musoma on August 21, 1963, Moe Morrissey, who was at that time the Diocesan Education Secretary, gave a moving eulogy on Bordenet, listing the following accomplishments:

- He promoted social and community development.
- Introduced a finer brand of poultry.
- Dug a better water hole.
- Found and distributed sturdier seeds for cotton, grain and vegetables.
- Planted an experimental garden and proved that it was possible to grow a decent-sized variety of vegetables.
- Turned a dozen illiterate men of Nyegina into artisans, with great effort.

In his interview Graser commented that when he became pastor in 1955 Bordenet helped tremendously in two areas: “He was a very good businessman and I depended on him quite a bit for the business aspects of the parish. Secondly, he imported chickens from the U.S. and set up a chicken and egg project. He sold the eggs to Indian merchants in Musoma, and the money we made from this paid half of the catechists’ salaries.”

It also deserves repeating that while he was in Nyegina Bordenet was the one who obtained the huge plot of land in Makoko next to the lake, where St. Pius Seminary and the Maryknoll Sisters’ school were built and later the IHSA Novitiate and Generalate, the Family Training Centre, and the Language School. Along with Brother John Walsh he began supervision of construction of the seminary, until Brother Brian Fraher was put full-time in charge of this in 1957.

Bordenet died in Nairobi but was buried at Musoma Town Parish Cemetery near the Cathedral.

In April/May, 1953, three Maryknoll Sisters moved from Kowak to Nyegina to perform three ministries: run a novitiate for the IHSA Sisters, staff the small parish dispensary, and manage the primary school. Msgr. Grondin requested this, as he wanted to canonically erect the IHSA Sisters and thought it best that this congregation be located on the property of the Prefecture. The three Sisters were Mary Bowes in the dispensary, Ann Klaus in the school, and Rose Miriam Dagg in the novitiate. Rose Miriam became sick within a year and had to return to the United States. Bowes became Director of the Novitiate, a post she retained for many years, and she was replaced in the dispensary by Nuncia St. Pierre.

The Sisters remained in Nyegina for only nine years, as in 1959 the novitiate and postulancy moved to Makoko in Musoma and the primary school became completely Africanized by 1962. While they were in Nyegina they also did pastoral and catechetical work, going to outstations and also teaching religion in Musoma town. In addition they started a two-year domestic science school for girls who were not going on to middle school, called St. Therese Home Craft Center. Some middle-aged women also came to this school, in order to learn domestic science skills and also how to read and write. Graser said that the Maryknoll Sisters, along with the IHSA Sisters, also helped in teaching the sacrament course. Others who came to Nyegina were Pat Madden in the novitiate, Katie Taepke in the novitiate and the dispensary, Theresa Sauter in the dispensary, Jackie Dorr in pastoral work, and James Florence Blanchard, who did pastoral, catechetical and community development work primarily in Musoma town.

For more information on the MM Sisters time in Nyegina refer to K. Erisman's book "Maryknoll Sisters 60 Years in Tanzania" pages 8 to 10 and page 15. The house that the Maryknoll Sisters lived in is still there, but used primarily as a parish storeroom nowadays.

In 1954 Graser went on home leave for one year and Fr. Tom McGovern, Fr. John Wymes, and Brother Pete Agnone were assigned to Nyegina. Agnone did procurement and accounting work for the Prefecture and eventually was assigned to the Society House in Nairobi. McGovern stayed in Nyegina for many years and became pastor in 1962. In April, 1958, he also began writing a series of diaries, not every month but most months every year, up to May, 1964, which were not only very informative but also pleasurable reading. Wymes was in Nyegina for only about six months and then moved to Majita in April, 1955.

As was mentioned in Part Two, in 1954 both Bert Good and Frank Flynn were assigned to Nyegina to open a minor seminary for the Prefecture, which was begun at Nyegina in January, 1955. The seminary, a middle school, remained at Nyegina till March, 1959, when it finally moved to Makoko (cf Part Two). And in 1961 the fledgling Musoma College used one classroom of what was later to become Nyegina Middle School and Fr. Ed Wroblewski, the Headmaster, moved to Nyegina.

On return to Nyegina in 1955 John Graser was assigned to be pastor, replacing Tom Gibbons, who was assigned to Brothers' Formation in the U.S. Graser remained pastor until January, 1963, when he was assigned to be pastor of Majita Parish. In the seven years that Graser was pastor of Nyegina there were 5,600 baptisms, some of whom were infants but most were adults, a huge figure that created some controversy in Musoma Diocese in those years. We will quote several people who were in the diocese at

that time, without taking any position on this matter. But first we will cite several other things about the parish during the mid and late 1950s.

Graser said that there were usually three or sometimes even four priests assigned to the parish while he was pastor and that there was a lot of sacramental work to do, even though by 1958 the parish was a lot smaller, since at least five new parishes had been started that formerly had been a part of Nyegina Parish. The parish had four major outstations and each received Mass on Sunday once a month. They also had three Masses at the mission itself every Sunday and there were countless confessions every weekend, sometimes lasting the whole morning on Sunday till after the third Mass was over. Graser said that there were so many sick calls that the priests divided up this task, each priest being assigned to do this for one week on a rotating basis. Fortunately by then the Maryknoll Sisters had taken over supervision of the dispensary and schools, and later the IHSA Sisters performed these tasks. In addition to the sacramental work, Graser said that there was also a lot of office work, primarily trying to fix up marriages or registering people for baptism.

In 1958 there were several changes of assignment affecting Nyegina. John Wymes went to Majita in exchange for Joe Baggot, who came to Nyegina. In October that year newly ordained Bill McCarthy also came to Nyegina and stayed there over a year. The two newcomers joined Graser and McGovern. Several years later, in 1961, more changes were made. Baggot went to open the new parish of Mugango and newly ordained Jim Roy was assigned to Nyegina, staying there until February, 1965.

In July, 1958, McGovern wrote a good description of Nyegina:

Nyegina is not a town; it is simply a hill, the last in a series of hills that roll up, steadily mounting, through country that is scraggy with thorn bush and dust, disjointed rocks and sisal poles, from lake level in Musoma. The road is corrugated with an unbelievable precision that would seem to attribute to the cotton trucks, or perhaps better to their drivers, a certain feeling for mathematics. Nyegina then lies in the sun of the top of this last hill that slopes away to the plain that runs down to the lake.

The rectory is a long, burnt-brick, one-story house, squatting beneath a sun-blistered iron roof. The church, somewhat shabby now and much too small, was something of an architectural triumph in its heyday, rising twin towers in the face of the wilderness. Those towers fell, perhaps as a portent, the night before the class of 1954 missionaries arrived.

Nyegina is something of an institution, a market place, and trade route in the lives of the Bakwaya, who pound past our front door daily on their unending journeying elsewhere. Fish mongers and butchers peddle their wares here and you can buy a stalk of sugar cane, a handful of peanuts, or a packet of snuff without going more than fifty paces.

Comparison of this description with what Eppy James wrote in 1951 indicates that Nyegina was beginning to grow into a village by the end of the 1950s, something more than just a mission located on a rocky outcropping. As for the rectory, the old one lasted until 1964 when the same contractor who built Mara College was contracted to build the

new rectory at Nyegina Parish. The old rectory was built to last however and is still being used for various purposes at the mission.

When Graser came back to Nyegina in 1955 and was assigned to be pastor, he set up a system of having catechists in each outstation, each with a mud-walled, grass-roofed chapel. Most of these were small outstations, to be distinguished from the four larger Sunday Mass outstations. In all, according to Graser, there were about twenty-five catechists, teaching – in theory – in each place every day. Each of the catechists was given a cassock to wear while teaching and was paid a monthly salary, one of the largest expenses of the mission in those years, as was mentioned above. Graser did not mention how long the catechumenate was in the outstations, but explained what happened when this period of teaching was finished.

The catechist would get people interested in coming into the church and he would teach them the prayers and the catechism. Then those whose marriages were able to be fixed up would come into the central mission, where they would have an intensive course of five months. This was taught by our best catechists, the Maryknoll Sisters, the IHSA Sisters and us priests.

(Those taking the course) were almost all Bakwaya, with maybe a few Bajita. They would come in every day, five days a week, walking to and from home every morning and afternoon, up to six to eight miles each way. After five months of this we would baptize them, but we had to do a lot of work on their marriages.

When they first came into the mission we would go over their marriages and see what had to be done to eliminate previous marriages they had. If it looked as though they were going to continue and be baptized, then about a month before baptism we would go out to the countryside to check out the information they gave us about their marriages. In almost all cases the people in their home area reported the same information. So, then we would apply the different faculties that would eliminate all those pagan marriages.

We had large classes. One group was close to fifteen miles away; we put good catechists out there teaching them and brought them into the mission for only one month, because it was so far. During a six-year period we had 5,600 baptisms, including infant baptisms, and one year we had 1,000 adult baptisms. As a result, we had 1,800 people coming to the three Sunday Masses, 600 for each Mass. This was an actual count; I counted them several Sundays.

One of the main catechists at Nyegina itself was the famous Michael Kitanda, the blind catechist who had started to teach Collins and Bayless Kikwaya back in 1946. He remained a chief catechist at Nyegina into the 1960s, as he had memorized the catechism completely and had a loud, strong voice. Tom McGovern offered a memorable description of Kitanda: “He is a most forceful character, dressed to suit his position in a white cassock and a dapper blue fedora. He carries a big stick and speaks loudly.” He was led in every day from six miles away by one nephew or other. At one point, Nyegina Parish was also fortunate to get two major seminarians from Kipalapala for several

months. They helped teach the catechumenate, supervised the catechists, and were translating the Old Testament and New Testament into Kikwaya.

The daily routine at the mission for those in the final five-month course began at 9:00 in the morning with instructions, followed by manual labor, lunch at mid-day, then in the afternoon the learning of hymns and another period of instructions up to 4:00 PM. McGovern explained that almost all the “readers” came in daily from home. Thus, it seems that by 1957 or 1958 the old system of all the people in the sacrament course living at the mission for six months had in effect been disregarded.

We don’t know which year Graser inaugurated his new system, but probably sometime in 1956. But by 1958 his system was already experiencing success, at least in quantifiable terms. McGovern reported in the diaries that year that in June there were 250 adult baptisms and in December 540 adult baptisms and another 160 infant baptisms. There were also 90 marriages. There were so many baptisms in December that it took a whole week to complete, doing fifty at a time, twice a day. Bill McCarthy had arrived only two months previously, but he did all the infant baptisms over the course of several afternoons.

It was also reported that on Palm Sunday there were 2000 people in attendance at Mass.

Diaries from Nyegina in the 1960s do not report whether or not large numbers continued to come to Mass every Sunday, but when McGovern became pastor at the beginning of 1963 he initially followed Graser’s methods, as he explained:

Good catechumens depend on the quality of the catechist. We have about twenty-five but the numbers keep changing. New ones come every few months; old ones disappear. The priests handle the catechists carefully, pay them a good monthly stipend, with a bonus for extra output, have a monthly day of instruction for them, and a yearly retreat. We insist that the catechists teach for an hour and a half, four days a week. We (McGovern and Jim Roy) have split up the parish and make daily rounds checking on what is going on. Some places are in fact not doing anything.

Those who were critical of Nyegina’s large numbers in the 1950s and early 1960s pointed out the following aspects of its catechetical approach:

- The catechists were unqualified and untrained, often people who had just completed the one-year catechumenate.
- There was a constant change-over of catechists.
- People were attracted to become catechists because they were given a cassock and a monthly salary. The salary was not very big, but a welcome addition to household income in the rural Tanganyika of that time.
- Teaching was rudimentary, primarily memorization of the catechism, and done for a relatively short time period, only one year or a little more.
- The attraction to join the catechumenate was in receiving baptism itself, which included wearing special clothes and getting a name.
- Baptism did not imply a change of life.
- Catechetical instructions did not have sufficient ethical content.

- In the long run, the majority of people who were baptized did not continue and there was no discernible change in the local community in how people lived.

When Graser went to Majita Parish from 1963 to 1967 he followed the same system and had hundreds of baptisms every year. However, in 1967 he confided to Jim Lehr, his assistant pastor, that in fact there were fewer people attending Mass in 1967 than in 1962, fewer communions and less money in the weekly collection. Lehr reported this in an interview many years later and also said that when he became pastor he went back to a lengthier period of instruction, done by good dependable catechists, and was much stricter in selecting people for the catechumenate.

In response, Graser said that he didn't remember any significant drop-off in numbers. As to whether he should be baptizing so many people, he said, "Why not? Let them come in and baptize them, and those that are good will remain." He also pointed out that there had been a number of good vocations to the priesthood and Sisterhood from Majita.

Bishop Rudin later commented on this controversy and supported Graser.

Other Maryknollers said that you can't instruct them in that short a period of time. Those who objected were working on the old idea of the four-year catechumenate and that there is something weak about an African, that if he doesn't practice something for four or five years he doesn't really understand it. Now as far as teaching theology, that is true. But even for teaching the catechumenate they said 'That is too fast.' (I.e. less than one year.)

But what they didn't realize is that when Graser cut down the instruction period to one year he increased the amount of instruction given. When it was four years people came in only one day a week. When it was two years they had two classes a week. But Graser had it every day and the place was close to where people lived. They could walk in every day for the instructions. They wouldn't have them during the busy seasons of planting and harvesting, but in the off seasons when people don't have much to do anyway.

I agreed that there were essential things that you had to know, and you had to show that you liked it. You had to go to Mass every week and live like a Christian. And for those who were drinking too much or chasing prostitutes, they had to change these behaviors. I felt that it would take a number of years.

There were many, however, who felt that Graser was doing the right thing, although they were not able to get the same numbers.

When he was interviewed many years later, Rudin acknowledged that just baptizing someone does not make him/her a Christian. It may take a lifetime. It helps to be a part of a Christian locale, which provides support to those who make a decision to live Christian lives. Rudin said that the small Christian communities started in the 1970s help very much, as they provide face-to-face contact with other Christians who are reflecting on their faith. But it is also good to have large churches, big congregations, and very good choirs with all the musical instruments so that the individual Christians will feel they are part of the universal church, not isolated into their small communities.

At this time it is also worth noting that in 1962 there were over 1000 adult baptisms in Kowak Parish, the most ever for that parish, and something that will be written about in Part Four. Conversely, the priests of Kowak had been bemoaning the fact in their diaries of the mid-1950s that the catechumenates had fallen way off, with very few coming and those who did come were almost all women and girls. This was in fact the main agenda at the Diocesan Clerical Conference in 1956. In the late 1950s Kowak decentralized the catechumenate to outstations, called centers, and increased the salaries of the catechists. These are basically the same two factors that led to the increase in baptisms at Nyegina in those years, and it is possible that Frank Murray, the pastor at Kowak, utilized methods first practiced at Nyegina. Rudin specifically mentioned Murray as doing things somewhat similar to Graser in Nyegina, and also John Schiff in Masonga a few years earlier.

It could also be that with Independence the Tanganyikan people opted to be part of something bigger than their tribal affiliations.

The questions of numbers and the quality of catechesis continue to be critical questions in the Church of East Africa, especially after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, a country that was over eighty percent Catholic. In 2013 there are around 200 million Catholics in the continent of Africa, but only ten to twenty percent go to church on any given Sunday.

We are making 1962/63 the dividing line for the history of the parishes in both Musoma and Shinyanga Dioceses. Beginning in 1962, because of Tanganyika's independence and the government's forging of a new path towards self-reliance and development, the dioceses and the parishes began to reflect on and re-assess their roles and purposes in that country. We will return to Nyegina and the other parishes of Musoma for their history in the 1960s, 1970s and beyond in a future section of this volume.

Iramba Parish:

As was mentioned in Part Two, the Musoma Prefecture was erected in July, 1950, but the terna to elect the Prefect Apostolic was not begun until August and the results not known until November. Monsignor Gerard Grondin was officially installed as the Prefect on December 7, 1950. Two new priests, Del Robinson and Joe Reinhart, had arrived in Musoma in August, 1950, but due to confusion over who the Prefect would be and where the two priests would go, they stayed at Nyegina up till the end of December, 1950, studying the Kikwaya language.

In the first diary from Iramba in July, 1951, Robinson explained that in 1950 the Maryknollers knew that "there was a pressing need for new missions among three different tribes, the Bajita, the Basimbiti, and the Bangoreme. Of these three, it was thought that the Bangoreme should have priority until new personnel arrived." Thus, on January 1, 1951, Grondin officially assigned Robinson to join Tom Gibbons in opening a new mission at Iramba among the Bangoreme people, and Reinhart was assigned to Rosana and to learn the Kikuria language.

The languages of the Bangoreme and Basimbiti are similar, even though they live on opposite sides of the Mara River, and their languages are similar to Kikuria. They also share important customs, such as cattle herding and female circumcision. This would lead one to conclude that the Bangoreme are descended from a clan of the Bakuria, going back some hundreds of years. However, Dick Quinn, who came to Iramba in 1954, was told a different story of their origins by Bangoreme people themselves.

The Bangoreme are a very small tribe, of Bantu origin, who had their roots on the eastern side of Maasai country. They migrated from a place called Sonjo Valley. The story is that they had a great argument. So, several clans left, crossed the Serengeti, came over to the Lake Victoria region and settled there. These tribes are the Bangoreme, Banata, and the Baisenye.

As was noted in Part Two and above, Gibbons had been ordained in 1948 and assigned to Tanganyika that year, arriving in Nyegina in October, 1948. He first went to Ukerewe for six months and then worked in the parish at Nyegina from April, 1949, to the end of 1950, learning Kikwaya in this year and a half. He was assigned by Grondin to be the first pastor of Iramba. Because of his knowledge of Kikwaya he spent only three months at Nyegina learning Kingorimi from two Bangoreme boys who knew Kikwaya and then for the next three months he made regular trips to Iramba to oversee the improvement of a bush school into sufficient living quarters for two priests. At times he was helped in this by Brother Fidelis Deichelbohrer.

Regarding languages, this was now the third language that Gibbons was attempting to learn, which included Kikerewe that he had studied for six months. It is true that all three are Bantu languages and have many affinities in vocabulary and the general structure of the language. However, there are wide enough differences that for a foreigner who is not a Bantu from northwestern Tanganyika these are very different languages. This was especially true of Kingorimi, which is from a Bantu branch different from Kikwaya and Kikerewe.

Robinson, being new, was given six months to learn Kingorimi, while continuing to live at Nyegina. He had been ordained in 1947 but first went to Fordham and Notre Dame to get his Masters Degree in English Literature. He taught for two years in Maryknoll seminaries, first at a high school level seminary in Brookline, Massachusetts, from 1948 to 1949, then at Glen Ellyn from 1949 to 1950. He was on the first staff of Glen Ellyn, which opened in September, 1949.

Finally, on July 4, 1951, Gibbons and Robinson moved to Iramba and began living in the small, grass-roofed house. Two other small mud-walled, grass-roofed structures had also been built, one a kitchen and the other an outdoor latrine. Fidelis continued living in Nyegina, making furniture for the new rectory, while a teacher's house was being built that would serve as Fidelis' accommodations.

On Sunday, July 15, 1951, Msgr. Grondin came to celebrate a high Mass to officially open the new mission. He dressed in the best red vestments available, which made a great impression on all those assembled for the Mass, a mixture of Christians and 'pagans.' According to Robinson, the local people celebrated for two days and nights, with drums beating all night long, enormous quantities of local beer consumed, and countless goats slaughtered. The two new priests were also given a leg of goat.

Robinson described Iramba as follows:

There are perhaps between 200 and 300 Bangoreme Christians at present. Their country lies about 50 miles east of Musoma, inland from Lake Victoria, and on the south side of the Mara River. The country is hilly and rugged, more fertile than many sections, and relatively speaking abounds in trees and vegetation. From some hills one can look across the tremendous valley through which the Mara River flows to the huge escarpment on the far side, on top of which is Rosana Mission. On a clear day when the sun strikes the corrugated iron roof of Rosana Mission at the correct angle, it can be seen from Ngoreme, a distance of perhaps 30 miles.

In his diary of July, 1951, Robinson listed the tasks of the two missionaries for the first year:

- Establish the mission and construct the rectory and other buildings that will make it possible to live smoothly without strain into the future.
- Learn building skills from Brother Fidelis, who will be needed elsewhere in the Prefecture.
- Master the language, even though nothing is written in Kingorimi and no foreigner has ever spoken it.
- Establish contact with the local people.
- Carry out the ordinary tasks of the ministry.

Robinson wrote that as of July, 1951, Iramba Mission had no church, rectory, school or dispensary. All it had were resident priests, so the mission had begun. To raise the mission up to a parish would depend on the zeal and initiative of the priests, the cooperation of the people, spiritual will, and financial assistance, most of which had to come from outside.

In August, 1951, Gibbons wrote that the mission had been given a 99-year lease on twenty acres of land. The land, however, was full of large limestone boulders protruding out of the ground and the first thing they did was request a Mr. Ratsburg, a local gold miner, to dynamite the boulders. He blasted twelve of the largest rocks, making it easier to level the ground and also providing the mission with sufficient ballast for the rectory foundation. They also built a carpenter shop with an iron roof, to which two 1000 gallon water tanks were linked to provide drinking water.

In October Robinson wrote that “the effect of the new mission is astonishing, like a sleepy country village suddenly chosen as the site of a large factory.” Many people were employed in helping to construct the mission’s buildings and for the Bangoreme the new mission meant: “jobs, a school, a dispensary and a church.” Robinson said that the Bangoreme are “an energetic and progressive people, eager to gain the material advantages of the west.”

He also reported that they were celebrating a high Mass every Sunday, attended by about 80 Christians, within a church made of mud walls and a grass roof. Many people had moved in to the vicinity of the mission, securing land and building houses, and signing up for the catechumenate – “rice Christians” Robinson opined with some trepidation. The Christians were exhibiting some fervor, though: they took up a collection

to buy sisal poles and were bringing in bundles of grass for the roof. The collection every Sunday, however, was merely TShs. 1/50, equal to 21 U.S. cents.

Two features of the local area were discovered early on: first the proximity of an abundance of large game animals, only some eight miles away. Both Fidelis and Robinson loved to go hunting – Fidelis for the meat, which he distributed to the construction workers, and Robinson apparently just for the love of going out into wild nature, although he also brought back meat for the mission. Robinson was actually a crack shot and he became famous for organizing overnight camping safaris for other Maryknollers in the Serengeti (actually in the hunting blocks just outside the park). Bishop Rudin said that Robinson used to purchase all the food and other items necessary, brought out his cook, and the only thing that the other Maryknollers had to do, if they didn't want to go out hunting, was just sit at the campsite, drinking cocktails, eating the wonderful food, and sharing the banter around the campfire. And if it was a clear, moonless night, they could savor the black sky full of innumerable stars arrayed in resplendent brilliance.

There are two famous stories about Robinson's shooting prowess (and probably many others). Once he shot a charging Cape buffalo just before it gored the local District Commissioner. On another occasion, he killed five lions that had been attracted to the camp by the smell of meat. This event took place in the darkness of night after the sun had set.

The other phenomenon in the Bangoreme area was circumcision, for both boys and girls. The Bakwaya do not circumcise girls, so this was a novel experience for Robinson – although he certainly had heard of this from those who were working with the Bakuria and Basimbiti. In the Kingorimi language circumcision is called *enyangi*, and Robinson attended two of these in his first months, one for boys and another for girls. (Enyangi was the spelling used by Robinson. Today it is spelled inyangi. Fr. Ed Hayes has also corrected the meaning of the word; inyangi means any feast, such as a wedding, circumcision, or memorial of the deceased.)

Robinson further commented that the girls were really cut, with blood streaming down their legs. They were generally circumcised between age ten and sixteen. He did not make any judgement on this, writing only: "As time goes on we shall better understand the customs and mentality of this people, thus being better able to cope with the problem of bringing Christ into their lives."

In his November diary, Robinson listed several other aspects of local culture that he was encountering, such as the beer party, called *embegete* (or *embegeti*), in which a number of elders sit around drinking through long, reed straws from a large earthenware pot containing fermented grain (usually millet) to which boiling water is constantly added. (Hayes has also corrected the meaning of the word *embegeti*; its actual meaning is a long drum that is used by many ethnic groups in the Musoma area. Perhaps in Robinson's time the drum was used either to call people to the beer party, or maybe it was played during the festivities. Robinson wrote this diary only a few months after arriving in Iramba, and he may not yet have learned the precise words for various things or activities.)

Robinson also had an opportunity to enter a typical Bangoreme house, very small and dark, patched together with branches, sticks and twigs, and roofed with year-old

grass, and in which he shared some *obukima*, the staple food made from boiling flour until it becomes firm but still supple enough to fashion as one wishes. He ate with the woman of the house and her two grown daughters, all topless, but declined an offer, even though it was dark, to have one of the topless daughters escort him back to the mission.

In 1958, Dick Quinn wrote a long history of the foundation of Iramba Mission and said that one of Robinson's great contributions was the authorship of both a dictionary and grammar in Kingorimi, which were still being used up to the 1960s. Other priests who came to Iramba added to the dictionary, so that by 1958 the dictionary had 2500 words. Robinson and Gibbons also translated the gospels and catechism into Kingorimi.

In December, 1951, Tom Gibbons came down with some kind of affliction, perhaps an anxiety attack, which required he move back to Nyegina. At Nyegina his health improved and he in fact was appointed pastor of Nyegina in mid-1953.

In his thesis, Joe Carney wrote, not with Iramba particularly in mind, of the general conditions of starting a new mission in a remote area:

To begin a new mission was not an easy task. Discouragement with the language learning process, the exhausting physical labor of construction of buildings, rainy weather, relations with African construction laborers, the living conditions, especially the abundance of insects and bugs, which seemed to be everywhere, often placed upon a man a burden of loneliness and discouragement, which at times seemed overwhelming.

With Gibbons gone, Msgr. Grondin decided that Lou Bayless should be assigned to Iramba as pastor, which took place in January, 1952. Bayless oversaw the catechumenate and other parochial and sacramental matters, assisted by Robinson, while the latter continued with his translation work and oversight of construction. This was necessary, because often Fidelis was not able to be there, due to building projects in other parts of the Prefecture.

The priests set up a catechumenate at the mission and a few outstations for the first 15-month segment of the baptism preparation, but for the first year continued to have the six-month sacramental course at Nyegina. It was not until 1952 that the mission had sufficient facilities to begin the sacramental course there – and also one or two catechists able enough to help teach this course. Peter Maswi proved himself to be a very dedicated, capable catechist at the mission, although it is not known if he had been previously chosen by the White Fathers or by the Maryknollers after they arrived in Iramba. According to Fr. Frank Flynn, who was assigned to Iramba in September, 1952, there were an original six outstations that the White Fathers had established but the diary of August, 1953, stated that by then the parish had fourteen out-schools and sixteen catechists.

Construction was coming along steadily but slowly. Flynn said that the day he arrived in Iramba was the first day for the priests to move into the new rectory. It had taken over a year to build and in all that time Bayless and Robinson had been staying in the small, grass-roofed house. It is not certain if the school was opened in 1952 or not till

1953, but as of August, 1953, there were over 100 boys in the primary school and they intended to start another classroom in the beginning of 1954.

The church was not completed until June or July, 1953, two full years after the mission had been opened. On July 19, 1953, Msgr. Grondin came out from Musoma to celebrate a high Mass and officially open the new church, which was named St. Peter. The three priests of the parish were there: Lou Bayless, Del Robinson, and Frank Flynn; and Tom Gibbons and Brother Fidelis came from Nyegina to join the festivities. Bayless gave the sermon, his last official act in Iramba, and after Mass representatives of the various parish organizations, such as Catholic Action, gave speeches in the parish compound.

Shortly afterwards Bayless left for his one-year furlough in the United States, called a septennial, the first Maryknoller of Tanganyika to go on home leave. After his return to Tanganyika in 1954, he was assigned to Shinyanga Diocese.

The diary of August, 1953, also stated that there had already been 100 people baptized in the two years since the parish's inception, that there were 37 in the sacrament course preparing for baptism in December, 1953, and that there were another 500 catechumens throughout the parish. About a dozen Bangoreme Christians had built their houses next to the mission compound, giving Iramba the feel of a small Christian village. Flynn later said in an interview that there were two sacrament courses each year and baptism twice a year, June and December. Usually there were about twenty to forty people in the sacrament course. Bayless, Robinson and Flynn had decided that they would only baptize couples, and only in an area where there was a decent-sized nucleus of people seeking to be baptized. Flynn explained:

We concentrated on families and areas. If there were only one or two people from an area we would tend to let them wait a while. We would concentrate on places where we could start a viable outstation, so that we could go there for Mass and there would be enough people. Otherwise they would be spread all over kingdom come and they would lose their faith because of non-attendance and non-practice. In addition to the husband and wife, we would also baptize their older children. We also baptized widows but not wives of pagans – such as we do now because the situation has changed.

Flynn was the only one of the three Maryknollers assigned to Tanganyika in 1952 who had been ordained that year. The other two, Frank Murray and Jim Kuhn, had been ordained earlier and then were assigned to Kowak to study Luo. A fourth one assigned in 1952, Paul Bordenet, had come much earlier in the year, most likely directly from Asia.

Flynn was given six months to do language study with an informant at Iramba, consisting of classes in the morning hours and one after lunch, and then going out to try to talk with people. He appreciated the materials that Robinson had developed in the Kingorimi language and he also added to the vocabulary documents.

Flynn acknowledged that Robinson had a particular personality trait, mentioned by others, whereby he would be very quiet and private for days or even weeks on end. Flynn recognized that it was not an interpersonal matter, but something internal to Robinson himself, and that once he learned this the both of them got along very well. On

most other nights they would discuss parish matters, language and customs, and they used to go out hunting together. Thus, this was a good assignment for the both of them.

Unfortunately, in November, 1953, Flynn had a very serious motorcycle accident (see mention of this in Part Two, page 31) and he had to convalesce for months afterwards, at times at Kowak and at times at Nyegina. During this time Robinson was alone in Iramba. There is no documentation of this period of time at Iramba, but apparently Robinson had no difficulties being alone and doing the parish ministry by himself. He later stated that he enjoyed his six years at Iramba.

Flynn finally returned in August, 1954, and he said that he had no long-term effects from his accident, neither physical or psychological. He was able to go right back onto his motorcycle and ride on the twisting, sandy, rocky paths out to distant outstations.

In September, 1954, they were joined by Dick Quinn, who had just been ordained. [He was part of a large group of Maryknollers assigned to Tanganyika, nine in all, three of whom were assigned to be part of the first group to go to Shinyanga Diocese. Quinn also said much later that when this group arrived in September, 1954, construction of the center house in Nairobi had not yet been completed.] Quinn began study of the Kingorimi language, using and adding to the materials developed by Robinson and Flynn. However, as soon as he finished his six-month language learning period, Flynn was assigned to Nyegina, to teach in the new St. Pius Seminary and to learn Kiswahili. Flynn was never again assigned to Iramba, although he did come back again for two months or so later in 1955, when Robinson went on vacation to Europe. In any event, the parish did not stay with only two priests for long, as Denis O'Brien was assigned to Iramba from Komuge in July or August, 1955. Dick Quinn later wrote in a diary, "Three priests are ideal at a mission and every pastor says that with this he can really get the work done."

Quinn said that he too learned to adjust to Robinson's personality traits and that they got along very well. Quinn said that Robinson was always attentive to the other priests' needs in the rectory and would ensure that they were met. If Robinson was asked the kinds of questions of interest to him, he would be more than willing to converse and provide insightful information. Because of his English Literature background he was also very helpful in the language, a service attested to also by Fr. Jim Conard, who was assigned to Iramba in November, 1956, several months after arriving in Musoma.

Denis O'Brien had been in Komuge for a little under two years prior to being transferred to Iramba, and he stayed in Iramba for only a year and a half or so. He was a musician and loved to hunt, and so could be good company for the other Maryknoll priests. Unfortunately, his home background in Texas had instilled in him racial attitudes towards Black people that made it difficult for him to adjust to Tanganyika. When he left Iramba in April, 1957, he went on to work in Mexico for many years.

In March, 1957, Robinson left on his furlough of a year in the United States, and as was noted in Part Two, he did not return to Iramba. In 1958 he began posts in Musoma Diocese, first to assist Bishop Rudin in producing canonical forms and registers for each parish in the diocese, after which he became Diocesan Education Secretary. In the 1960s he went to Dar es Salaam to be General Secretary in the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC).

Thus, Dick Quinn became pastor of Iramba in March, 1957, only two and a half years after his arrival in Tanganyika. Not too long after that both John Schiff, who had been sent to Iramba for a few months, and O'Brien left Tanganyika for good. Then

around July of 1957 Quinn went to Europe for a two-month vacation, leaving Conard alone in the parish as interim pastor, even though he was still trying to learn the Kingorimi language. At that time Grondin was still the Prefect in Musoma, as Rudin did not become Bishop until October. Conard explained some of the things that happened during this two-month period.

In addition to Mass at Iramba I had to take the outstation Masses plus go on sick calls anywhere from one end of the parish to the far end, from Kiagata to Kisaka, which was the beginning of the Serengeti at that time. We had the catechumens living at the mission six days a week and even though we had a catechist I had to teach one period a day. Because of my limited language I had to spend much of my time preparing the class, then go over it with the catechists and try to explain it to them. That was a good part of my day, because I was just brand new in the language.

Then shortly before Dick came back I came down with a disease that in those days they called bongo-bongo. It was a strange disease. I don't know what it is, but it made all your joints ache terribly. It was something like malaria, but people called it bongo-bongo. Your knees hurt, you vomited, all kinds of things – it was a type of flu maybe.

Msgr. Grondin and Moe Morrissey had to come out and take me into Musoma until I was better. Then Dick Quinn came back, along with Joe Jacobs, who had just been assigned to Tanganyika and to Iramba. And then a couple of weeks later I was better and I came back. At that point we started all over again in Iramba.

This was September, 1957, and with the newly ordained Jacobs, the number of priests was up to three again. Jacobs spent his whole six years in Iramba and according to Quinn: “He was a great man, a very, very fine missionary and worked very hard. But when he went back to the U.S. on furlough he met a woman, left Maryknoll and got married.” This was around 1963 and Jacobs' withdrawal from Maryknoll and the priesthood occurred at the onset of what was about to become a tidal wave of priests leaving the priesthood, a critical matter that was discussed in the Maryknoll General Chapter of 1966. [More will be said on this in the section on Musoma Diocese from 1962 to 1978.]

Quinn commented on the somewhat rapid change-over of priests at Iramba from 1955 to 1957:

The coming and going of priests are the history of every mission, because of the expansion of the diocese, the increase of new missions, staffing of the seminary, and administrative work in the diocese.

However, after 1957 there was more stability in the staffing of Iramba. Quinn remained as pastor up to 1960; Conard became pastor in 1960 but then went to the U.S. on Development for a year and on his return in 1963 he was again made pastor, up till 1973; Jacobs was in the parish up till 1963, and was pastor from 1962 to 1963; Carroll Houle came in 1962 and remained in Iramba till 1968. But whereas from 1957 to 1960

there were three priests stationed at Iramba, after 1960 there were usually only two, and at times only one.

Conard commented in his interview many years later about some of the things that happened in the years 1957 to 1961. One interesting comment was that Grondin wanted the catechists' school to be built at Iramba, but that there was strong opposition to this from throughout the diocese and eventually it was put at Komuge. Iramba would have been a very difficult place to get to, for both the teachers and the catechist-students.

Conard also talked about the outstation churches he built, including one at a place called Maji Moto, which means hot water, on an airstrip where some Europeans formerly had a gold mine. He explained, "We built with what we called 'fresh mud block,' which means they weren't baked or burnt mud blocks. Then we covered it with chicken wire, which was cheap in those days, nailed it in, and plastered it with cement. That building lasted for twenty years until it had to be torn down during the villagization program." This church was a model for other outstation churches so that they could be built cheaply and quickly. Since the local people were involved in the construction, they knew how to maintain these simple churches.

At Iramba Dick Quinn got money from overseas to put in water tanks and buy three forms for making cement blocks. Conard oversaw the construction of a garage/workshop with an attached room for storing their jerry cans and large drums containing gasoline for their vehicles. The only place to purchase gasoline was in Musoma, fifty miles away, and one or other of the priests would be periodically tasked with filling up the cans and drums on a trip to Musoma. This was the practice in all the rural missions. It was essential to fill up the containers prior to the rainy season.

In 1965 Conard used the block-making forms to construct a cement church, replacing the church built in 1953, as he later related. "I received \$10,000 from my Godparents and when I was home on promotion in 1962 I received another \$10,000 in donations. When I went back to Iramba I built a nice, large church in crucifix form. It was built very cheaply, only \$16,000, but it had everything in it."

Unfortunately, the official opening of the church on May 2, 1965, when Bishop Rudin came out to bless the church, was marred by torrential rains and strong winds. The rivers were already high and many people departed quickly from the mission when they saw the storm coming.

In the 1950s the three priests also built thirteen bush-schools throughout the parish. As has been noted before, the schools were under diocesan control until the government nationalized all schools in 1968. Conard said that in the 1960s they had about 1,300 to 1,400 children in these schools, but the overwhelming majority were boys. These schools were two-classroom schools, built of mud brick and, for a few schools, plastered with cement. They charged the parents Shs. 30/- per month (about \$4.30) and used the money to pay the teachers' salaries, and buy chalk, books and writing notebooks. All these schools eventually became full primary schools.

Iramba Primary School was still only a four-grade school, with a few teachers' houses, as late as 1962, but when Conard returned to Iramba from the U.S. in 1963 he quickly built classrooms to bring it up to a full Standard Seven school. (In 1964 the government of Tanzania dropped the eighth Standard or eighth grade, as it wanted to make primary school universal. The country did not have enough money or personnel to

staff teachers for a full eight grades in the rapidly expanding number of government schools.) This school was the first Standard Seven school in the Ngoreme area. Later in the 1970s or 1980s the people used their knowledge of building with burned bricks to turn the school into a Secondary School.

Both Quinn and Conard lamented that so few girls were able to benefit from primary education. The obstacle in the 1950s and early 1960s was the mentality of Bangoreme men, who saw the value of their daughters as a source of bridewealth when they got married. For some of the girls who wanted to continue with education the priests brought cases in court, which generally sided with the priests. A few girls were able to go beyond Standard Seven to secondary school and often the priests helped them with fees. In one case a girl wanted to go to a Teachers Training College (TTC) after primary school but her father adamantly refused because he had already received fifty cows as marriage payment for her. Conard appealed to the government, which threatened to put the man in jail unless he let his daughter continue with her education. She finished at the TTC and became a teacher.

Conard said that another benefit of the schools, whether a primary or bush school, was the large number of baptisms of school children they had at Iramba.

In the first ten years Iramba Parish grew in numbers very quickly. As of September, 1958, there were 2,500 Catholics registered in the parish baptismal records, in part because many Bangoreme had been baptized in other parishes, such as Nyegina, and their names were transferred to Iramba's records. Interestingly, though, the Catholics were divided up into three tribes: 1,000 Bangoreme, 1,000 Luo, and 500 Kuria. At that time Luo and Kuria were continuing to migrate into the Ngoreme area, as well as some Kalenjin and Luhya people from Kenya. The latter, though, tended to be Protestant and were not seeking to join the Catholic Church.

The language of the parish – that is, of the priests and for church liturgies – was Kingorimi, which created some difficulties in a multi-tribal context. When baptizing Luo people they had to invite a priest from the Luo deanery to do the ceremonies. Already in 1958 the priests of Iramba were discussing and anticipating that sometime in the not-so-distant future the language of the parish would probably have to be changed to Kiswahili.

Whereas when the parish was started they were having twenty to forty in each sacrament course, this number had increased to sixty each course. Counting infant and schoolchildren baptisms, the total had increased to 300 baptisms a year by 1958. They had two Masses at the parish church each Sunday and both were packed, and whenever Mass was held in an outstation that church was also full. By 1958 there were 28 outstations and 40 catechists. Many of the outstation churches had been built by Del Robinson but after he left the other three priests added to the number.

In his diary Quinn also commented that some dioceses and parishes in East Africa were having thousands of baptisms each year and that as of 1958 Tanganyika was 25% Christian, half Catholic and half Protestant. He quoted what some missionaries were saying about prospects for Christianity in the future: "Many a missionary has said that we can succeed only by numbers." Disconcertingly, he also acknowledged that many Catholics discontinued active practice, primarily because of polygamy or the allure of other traditional customs. They remained friendly to the Church, however.

Conard described the Campi system, that is the six-month Sacrament Course held at the mission twice a year.

We reduced it to a five-month course because we ourselves needed a break, for retreat or vacation or whatever else. There could be sixty to eighty adults at each course, with their babies, and they lived in small grass huts on the mission compound. They had to provide their own food, the flour, and we would provide the meat. We would go out every week and shoot a couple of animals, whether zebra, topi, or wildebeest, which would be enough for a week. This would only take a couple of hours, the animals were so close.

The people couldn't read or write, so first in the outstations they would memorize the prayers and catechism. We would give them oral exams and once they passed we would have a ceremony to hang a medal around their necks. After the first couple of steps they would come in for the five-month course at the mission. Today the medal ceremonies at the end of each course would be called stages of baptism.

The priest would teach in the Sacrament Course. I used to teach the Life of Christ using slides and a kerosene projector. They were not used to seeing and understanding pictures and I had to explain much of what they were seeing. Sometimes after the teaching I would show slides of themselves or of our hunting trips to the Serengeti, or maybe even a few slides of America or Europe.

By the late 1950s the priests had become very aware of the rapid changes in Tanganyika, due to nationalist fervor and socio-economic opportunities. Iramba did not have a cash crop, such as coffee or cotton, and therefore many a young man had no option but to move to an urban area, even to Dar es Salaam. In the 1958 diary, Quinn reflected the worry of the priests that these rapid changes were eroding away traditional values. He stated:

Customs permeate every sphere of life: birth, marriage, adulthood, death. There is an underlying philosophy tying them all together, giving purpose and intelligence to every belief. Their values are: a good life in this world; prosperity; several wives; many children; a fruitful harvest; social prestige; recognition; and peace with the dead spirits. Whatever prevents these ends is considered evil. Removing these evils and rectifying wrongs is achieved by visiting the local diviner/healer (*mganga* in Swahili) or rainmaker.

There were many fine pagan customs of old to keep them a law-abiding tribe. Customs are being broken down by Europeanization and Christianity, the former by attractive new things and ways, the latter by its spiritual message and opposition to immoral practices. Unfortunately, even good customs have gone and not been replaced by something better.

One evil that Quinn mentioned was Child Marriage, which received mention in the diary of February, 1963.

An old man came into the office with his fourteen-year-old son and a thirteen-year-old girl. He wanted to arrange a marriage between the two as soon as possible. The reason was that he couldn't take care of the cows anymore, and his wife was getting feeble and wanted a helper with her work. This is one way of solving the age-old problem, but it seems rather harsh on the children. The boy and the girl had no objection as they think this is the way things are.

This is the only direct attestation of this matter, but it was probably fairly common in the 1950s. People of pastoral nomadic cultures were still marrying off young girls even in the first decade of the 21st century. When TANU took over in 1961 and began forcing parents to send all their children to school later in the 1960s, child marriage probably began disappearing.

The diary of March, 1960, was written by Joe Jacobs, and is the only documentation we have of his years in Iramba. He mentioned that even as of then wild animals were still plentiful in the area and that large, dangerous animals periodically came near the mission, such as leopards, lions, buffalo, and even elephants came close once. In 1962 Houle wrote that lions twice passed by the mission at night, roaring all the time. The next day a Bangoreme man told Houle that he named his new-born son *Wanka*, meaning child of the lion.

Jacobs also wrote a long list of routine parish work: soldering the water tanks, baptizing the infant children of Catholic parents, meetings with altar servers, adult choir practice, First Friday Masses, trips to outstations for Mass, weekly shopping trips to Musoma, and meeting with the parish groups such as Catholic Action and the Legion of Mary. He commented that the elders of Catholic Action are very helpful to the priests, such as disseminating parish policy, giving instructions, and advising the priests about traditional customs.

Jacobs also mentioned that there was a lot of rain in that month of March, 1960, "the rainiest March since 1930," and this led to a severe outbreak of measles in the Iramba area. The heavy rain also disrupted their schedule of trips to outstations. However, the really heavy rain did not come until beginning in late 1961 and continuing on through 1962, the famous Uhuru Rains (Uhuru is the Swahili word for Independence). Carroll Houle came to Iramba in September, 1962, and mentioned how terrible the roads were because of the heavy rains that year, but it seems that by late 1962 the rains were letting up. As we have since discovered, a heavy rainfall year in East Africa is caused primarily by the El Nino phenomenon in the Pacific Ocean, and is often followed by La Nina, a cooling in the Pacific, which results in one or two drought years in East Africa. Such was the case in East Africa in the early 1960s.

In his interview some years later Quinn commented that they baptized many babies at Iramba but that there were also many babies who died. He said, "We almost buried as many babies as those being baptized. So, I was very conscious of the mortality rate in those years."

In 1958 Quinn tried to get permission to build a dispensary but the local Chief was constantly opposed to the Catholic mission and wouldn't give permission. When the Chief opposed it the people voted with him and against Quinn. There was no dispensary or hospital in the Iramba area at that time, as the government disdained the Bangoreme as

“bush people,” according to Conard. Conard also explained why the Chief was so anti-Catholic.

The old Chief was one of the first Christians, baptized down in the Ukerewe Islands in 1902. Back then there was starvation in Ngoreme and people sold their children south, a lot of times to Ukerewe, where there was always food. So he was sold there and baptized. Well, he came back to Iramba and became the first real Mungoreme Chief.

His first wife did not have any children and so he married a second wife and he said that God blessed him with twelve children. He married another wife who also had twelve children. In all he had thirteen wives and scores of children. But he was always attacking us.

When he was on his death bed his son-in-law called me for the Last Rites, but the old Chief refused the sacraments. I said, “Ok, you’re going to leave your wives one way or another; you’re dying and I’m going.” I went outside and it began to rain, so I sat in my car. The son-in-law called me back in, saying “You win; he wants to go to Confession.” So I went in and asked him, “Well, do you agree to give up your wives?” He said, “I do.” I gave him the Last Sacraments, walked out, and he died within five minutes.

But I was always close with other government officials and that is how we were able to get a health center and more schools.

More will be said about the health center and other development projects in the section on Musoma Diocese after 1962.

In 1960 Kiagata, the largest outstation of Iramba, was erected to a parish. It was located 18 miles west of Iramba, heading back towards Musoma. Dick Quinn was instrumental in this and he said that he ran into several difficulties getting approval for this.

I didn’t do any building at Kiagata but I did all the hard work of getting the land. First, there was opposition from the District Commissioner, who was British. He wanted everything to go according to British law. He wanted us to get the land, but he also wanted to give a chance to the Africans either to approve or object.

Then there was one man who objected, saying his parents, grandparents and forefathers were all buried on that piece of land. After months of discussion we finally had a big baraza, a big meeting. I promised that I’d bury him, his father and anybody he wanted, right there on the mission, which caused everyone to laugh. He threw in his hat and said, “Ok.” At that moment everyone signed the agreement and that’s how we got Kiagata.

As we will see ahead, Frank Flynn was assigned to be the first pastor of Kiagata. Later in 1960 Quinn went back to the U.S. on furlough.

Many years later in an interview Quinn commented that he did not really understand pastoral work during the years he was at Iramba. They were enjoyable years

and all the missionaries assigned there were young and able to work hard. He said: “We were out looking for converts. We enjoyed going out on our motorcycles. Just a few miles from the mission the plains were teeming with animals. The people were very colorful, especially during circumcision time. They were farming people and everything was laid back and relaxed. Now I work much harder, pastorally speaking, than then and I know a lot more now.” He added that they did a lot of building, but that the people were not truly evangelized. He also thought that lack of in-depth evangelization was a widespread problem in East Africa. After his furlough in 1960/61, he worked in Tarime for one year and then Komuge Parish for nine years, (more on this in a future section of this volume) to 1971, after which he took a one-year furlough and sabbatical in order to take a course in post-Vatican II core theology at Maryknoll, NY. He was then assigned to Kisii, Kenya, where he put into practice what he had learned in his course. [Cf Volume One on Kenya]

Another point that Quinn mentioned in his interview, done many years later, was the importance of including the lay leaders of the parish in reflection and discussion about policies and programs in the parish. After Quinn left Iramba, Joe Jacobs, the new pastor, began parish committees, according to the diary written by Houle in October, 1962.

(Jacobs) believes that unless the people themselves take responsibility for activities they will not feel the parish is theirs, but only a place to receive things. This is a slow process; people are not used to making decisions of this kind, for example on sums of money.

Besides the agricultural school whose teacher’s salary is agreed to by the parish committee, Joe is starting a domestic science school for girls patterned on that in Musoma, which has shown so much success.

These comments actually touch on three themes that will be major components of the next section on Musoma Diocese, namely self-reliance, lay leadership training, and social/economic development, which became some of the most important priorities in the diocese and the respective parishes beginning around 1962. Obviously, by 1960 or 1961, probably in conjunction with Tanganyika’s Independence and growing awareness of Nyerere’s evolving political priorities for the nation, Maryknollers had already begun to think deeply about these themes.

One final note before we conclude this part of Iramba’s history: as of the end of 1962 the six-month sacrament course was still being held in the ‘campi’ at the mission, rather than in each outstation. Other parishes had already decentralized this course to major outstations within walking distance of people’s homes. Within a year Iramba also had moved the course to the outstations.

In 1963 Joe Jacobs developed ulcers and was not in good health. It was also time for his furlough and he left for the United States. Jim Conard was not due back for several months and rather than leave Houle alone at Iramba, Bishop Rudin assigned Fr. Ray McCabe to Iramba for two to three months. When Conard returned McCabe went to Tarime for a year.

Musoma Town Parish:

From 1946 to 1950 Musoma was served as an outstation of Nyegina Parish and had only a small outstation chapel. In the late 1940s Bishop Blomjous and Fr. Bill Collins managed to get the property where the current parish and cathedral are located but did not do any expansion at that time. Other than saying Mass in Musoma and baptizing babies, other sacraments were apparently not done in the town, such as adult baptisms, confirmations, or marriages (cf above, page one, about a marriage in 1951 of a European couple living in Musoma that had to be done at Nyegina). The diaries of Nyegina of the 1940s state that the priests regularly visited families in Musoma and were aware of some social problems in the town – the Mwisenge area was considered a den of iniquity – which they hoped the presence of a parish would help to alleviate. In addition, in January, 1950, Tom Gibbons started going into the government schools of Musoma every week to teach religion. When he was assigned to Iramba in 1951 it is not known who if anyone replaced him, but when Al Schiavone was made pastor in mid-1951 he may have taken on this task.

Clearly the Maryknollers felt that a parish needed to be established in Musoma Town and sometime in early or mid-1951 Msgr. Grondin decided to act on this. When Schiavone had to leave Rosana Parish in late 1950, due to sickness, he was first assigned to be Diocesan Education Secretary. However, he needed a number of months for rehabilitation and he went to Kenya, including to Mombasa, for this purpose. While he was gone Bill Collins was made the Education Secretary. When Schiavone returned to Nyegina, sometime in mid-1951, he was assigned by Grondin to be the first pastor of Musoma Town and to learn Kiswahili. For the next six months he continued living in Nyegina, studying Swahili, and saying Sunday Mass, and maybe daily Mass, in the small outstation chapel in the town.

There is a dearth of documents about the parish of Musoma: in all the years the parish existed there was only one diary written, in October, 1958. Some of the key people stationed in Musoma, such as the first three pastors, Schiavone, Bob Moore, and Moe Morrissey, were never interviewed for the History Project, as well as some others who were assigned to the parish in the 1950s and 1960s. Only three who were assigned to Musoma Parish prior to 1963 were interviewed, Joe Glynn, Ed Wroblewski and Laurenti Magesa, and none of them had much to say about their time in Musoma.

In the 1950s Musoma was only loosely called a ‘town.’ The population was very small – in 1961, when Musoma College was started, Ed Wroblewski estimated that there were only about 8,000 living in the town – and there were very few paved streets; most of the roads were a mixture of sand and gravel. There were several medium-size Indian-run shops, the large shop of Nanak Chan, and a fair number of small African-run shops. Bill Collins had written a little ditty about Musoma, called “The town that is still a village.” Several diaries from Nyegina, one in November, 1951, and another in July, 1958, likewise describe it as merely a village. In 1951 Eppy James wrote:

Musoma is the village where Sunday is the busiest day of the week. On this day two lake steamers usually call at the small port on the point from which Musoma got its name. On Sunday the shops are busy selling vegetables from Kenya, oranges from Ukerewe, and meat from Nairobi. On Thursday there is an

air mail service and often letters reach Musoma from the States, having been posted only six days before. This village also boasts of a wireless station. Should misfortune befall, calls for assistance can be sent out and aid brought in a matter of hours. One could make a caustic comment on most things in life but the people here seem kinder than the masses in larger towns up and down the East African coast that we passed through in order to reach this paradise on the shores of Lake Victoria.

In this town there are a handful of European houses flung along the lake shore and the small white hotel that is seldom so full that visitors are turned away. The residents of Musoma have the ancient water supply of Lake Victoria. Water is brought to every house by man's labor. If you are up bright and early you can see the prisoners carrying *debes* (20 litre jerry cans) of water to the European houses.

Oil plays an important part in life here and one soon becomes an expert in the inner working of oil lamps, although Musoma, like other East African towns, is slowly taking to the use of more modern inventions. Two or three houses even boast of a private electricity supply amid much chuffing of engines in back yards.

As of 1958 it seems that things had not changed much, as Tom McGovern wrote:

Musoma, with its wide dusty streets, peeling false-fronted buildings and vacant hot look, should I suppose be considered a town, though what it really resembles are the props that the scenery men forgot to cart away after filming "The Return of Jesse James."

The exact date the parish was established is not known but the diocesan website lists this as in 1952, even though Schiavone was functioning as pastor from mid-1951. There was no rectory or actual church as of the beginning of 1952, although there was a small outstation chapel, so Msgr. Grondin assigned Joe Glynn in January, 1952, to come from Masonga Parish to Musoma to oversee construction of both the rectory and church. Glynn said that it took about a year to complete these two buildings and that during this time he and Schiavone lived in a house that was a part of the Musoma Hotel, out in back.

Glynn did not mention anything about the pastoral work in the town, as he was mainly pre-occupied with building. However, he said that there were many Luo living in the town and his knowledge of the Luo language brought a number of them into the church. This created some conflict with Schiavone, who wanted Musoma to be a Swahili parish and did not want any tribal languages, such as Luo, used in the church. Mass, of course, was celebrated in Latin but the sermon was given in Swahili, although it seems that Glynn did not know Swahili at that time. In 1953, after the construction was done, Glynn went back to Kowak, where he was made pastor when Bert Good went home on furlough.

Schiavone remained pastor in Musoma up till April, 1953, when he was assigned to Kowak Parish. In his place, Fr. Bob Moore was assigned to be pastor. Bill Collins, the Diocesan Education Secretary, also moved to Musoma Town Parish to live. In September, 1954, Fr. James 'Moe' Morrissey, who had just been ordained that year, was also assigned to the parish. Morrissey engaged in learning Kiswahili for work in this

town parish, but it was not a formal course; he merely used the services of someone who also knew English. (In 1970 Morrissey took the whole Swahili course at the Language School, probably because he thought he had not learned Swahili well in the 1950s.)

Kikwaya was still a dominant language in Musoma Town in the 1950s, but it was not possible for one to be a pastor there without facility in Kiswahili. Others interviewed by the History Project said that Musoma, right from the beginning, was a Swahili-speaking parish and at that time the only one in the diocese.

Bob Moore had been working in Kowak Parish and spoke Luo. However, he probably relished the opportunity to learn Swahili as he was known as liking to learn different languages. Another Luo speaker, Dan Zwack, had been living at Nyegina since the beginning of 1953 and he moved into Musoma probably in 1954; his assignment was to work with the Luo in South Mara, a ministry that eventually led to the establishment of Muhoji Parish.

Morrissey was definitely pastor as of 1958, and probably was made pastor in 1956. He remained pastor until 1960. In 1955 Brother Brian Fraher was assigned to Musoma from Nyegina, in order to build the Bishop's residence, which was to have eight guest rooms. This residence was completed by the beginning of 1956, at which point Msgr. Grondin and Bill Collins came to live at the Bishop's residence. Brother Pete Agnone also probably moved into Musoma at this time.

Ed Wroblewski, who was assigned to Musoma Parish in 1958, praised Morrissey for his great hospitality to the priests and Brothers who came in from the rural parishes.

I was in that parish for two years with Fr. Morrissey in urban type ministry. It was also a center where the fellows used to come in and Morrissey, being a good host, frequently provided hospitality. The Bishop's house was next door but Morrissey liked to be the host and the men knew that. We would have extra provisions.

If you wanted to go to a movie, which was on a Sunday night, the meal at the Bishop's house was not at a convenient time. But since Moe liked movies we had it arranged that supper was served after we came back from the movie. A number would join us, so we would end up with six or eight, which was extra on our part.

In 1956 Joe Reinhart replaced Bert Good as Diocesan Education Secretary, as the latter was rector of the seminary. In the latter part of 1956, when Regional Superior John Rudin, Prefect Apostolate Gerry Grondin, and Chapter Representative Bill Collins were all at the General Chapter in New York, Good was given three tasks: Seminary Rector, acting Regional Superior and acting Vicar General of Musoma. In an interview Reinhart mentioned the interesting fact that Mary Hancock, the government Education Secretary, had been converted from the Anglican Church to Roman Catholicism and that Fr. Bob Moore was very instrumental in this. Moore, in addition to being pastor of Musoma town parish, may also have filled in temporarily as Diocesan Education Secretary when either Collins or Good were away.

Despite the good relationship with Hancock, Reinhart said that in 1956/57 the British Colonial Administration in Musoma was giving the Catholic Prefecture a very difficult time.

We had meetings with them and they were tough on us at that time. We had a tough time getting schools registered and so forth. I was told later on it was because we were helping Julius Nyerere. Boof (i.e. Bill Collins, known by this nickname to all early Maryknollers) I think had helped Nyerere go to the United Nations to give them the famous speech there.

The British didn't like that; at least that's what I heard. That came to us indirectly. And so we couldn't get anything out of the registration. But it wasn't a big job because we didn't have many schools. But they were spread out and the government was always very strict on the type of classroom, outdoor latrines not large enough, schools not up to date, and regarding our teachers. But our schools were much better than the government schools in general.

We had a lot of tough teachers in those days. I was hired to weed them out, because there's no one to choose from too much. We had one from Peramiho who came to help us.

Reinhart went on furlough later in 1957 and was replaced temporarily by Bert Good. At the end of 1958 Del Robinson became Diocesan Education Secretary. Those doing diocesan administration lived in the Bishop's residence rather than in the parish rectory. The Chronology of Kevin Dargan reports that Robinson wrote in February, 1959, that there were five Maryknoll Brothers living at the Bishop's house with Bishop Rudin and Robinson.

Ed Wroblewski came to Musoma in late 1958. He was ordained in 1952 and went to Catholic University in Washington, DC, for one year to get a Masters Degree in Speech Therapy. After this he taught speech at Glen Ellyn for four years. In 1957 he was assigned to Tanganyika, a surprise to him as he thought he would go to the Orient. His first parish assignment was to Majita, for one year, where he began learning the Kijita language. His linguistic background helped him recognize two things about Bantu languages: namely, that in speaking their local languages the people have elisions between words (almost all Bantu tribal words begin and end in a vowel; one is often dropped when words are strung together to make a sentence) and that the languages have tonal sounds to differentiate the tenses. [These two aspects of tribal Bantu languages are not found in Kiswahili, making the sounds of the latter language much easier for Americans to learn.]

Wroblewski first made use of his knowledge of linguistics in the fall of 1959, by setting up a course at Komuge Mission in the Kuria language for two newly arrived Maryknoll priests, Ed Hayes and Dennis Powell (Hayes had been assigned to Tarime and Powell to Rosana), and a course in Swahili for two other newly arrived Maryknollers, Fr. Les Rogers and Brother Carl Bourgoin, called Brother Miles at that time (both had been assigned to the seminary at Makoko). These were actual courses, using the method of listening and repeating, in order to facilitate good pronunciation. For the Kuria language Hayes and Powell had an informant, a Kuria man from Tarime by the name of Gregory Mugendi, who later became a Member of Parliament in the Tanzanian Parliament. At the end of December they all went to their respective missions.

Hayes said that the idea of having an actual language course in Musoma came from Shinyanga Diocese. In 1959 five Maryknoll priests were assigned to Shinyanga and Fr. Phil Sheerin set up a course for them in the Sukuma language, first at Gula Parish and then in the town of Shinyanga. Since the six Maryknollers assigned to Musoma Diocese were to learn three different languages, including Luo, at first they did not think they could have an actual language course in a school-type set-up, but then Wroblewski agreed to run a short course at Komuge for the two Bantu languages. [Swahili, despite its ample use of Arab words, is a Bantu language in terms of grammar and syntax.]

When Wroblewski arrived in Musoma in 1958 he realized quickly that he was in an urban situation and no longer needed a rugged pick-up truck. He sold his pick-up and bought a Volkswagen and explained that “we don’t have these journeys out to places where there’s mud and trouble getting in.” He also explained what urban parish work entailed.

We were working mostly in the town, where you have more of the people coming on Sunday. There was a town set-up with a school, and there were secondary schools. So, I had to see about the religious education for these schools.

In 1959 Wroblewski also used money his sister and her friends had raised in the U.S. for him, a total of \$600, a sizeable donation in those years. Morrissey told him that the Musoma Board of Health was going to close the Catholic primary school unless it had a decent latrine. The cost exhausted the full donation but Wroblewski designed it to be easily flushed from a three-inch pipe coming down from a 100 gallon water tank. The latrine was still being used at least thirty years later and the design proved so practical it was used as a model in other parishes. Of course, he then had to explain to his sister how the funds were used. “I told her it was for school work.”

The only diary from Musoma Parish was written by Wroblewski, in October, 1958, about the October devotions to Mary arranged by the Legion of Mary. Each day Christians carried a statue of the Blessed Mother from the home of one Catholic family to another, where the whole group said the rosary. On October 31st the statue was brought back to the church, where the rosary and a litany were said. About 100 people participated each day. Devotions to the Blessed Mother in October were common in other parishes of Musoma and Shinyanga Dioceses in the 1950s and 1960s as well.

Wroblewski added that as this was at the peak of nationalist fervor in Tanganyika special permission was needed from the police, and the procession had to follow strict guidelines. There had been trouble one day in October, 1957, when Morrissey was in charge of the daily processions, but in 1958 everything went off smoothly.

In 1960 Wroblewski was asked to be Headmaster of the new Catholic secondary school, Musoma College (i.e. Mara Secondary School). Furthermore, in 1960 Morrissey was scheduled to be going on his furlough after six years. Thus, the parish was in need of another pastor. Bishop Rudin decided to assign the first diocesan priest, Laurenti Magesa, to be pastor. He came in 1960 from Rosana Parish, where he had been since his ordination in 1954, in order to be with Morrissey for several months before taking over. Bob Moore was also assigned briefly back to Musoma. In 1961 Steve Schroepeel also came to Musoma Town, having learned Kiswahili in Moshi the previous year.

This was now the first time for a diocesan priest to be pastor, with Maryknoll priests working under him, but Magesa said there was no problem because he had been living with Maryknoll priests for some years. He said, “It was just a question of sharing the work together and trying to do my best.”

Magesa was pastor for only three years, to 1964, but one new addition he made to the parish was to start an outstation in Nyamiongo, about seven to eight kilometres (four to five miles) from the town, where the Bishop’s residence is today located. Magesa recalled that:

When I started that outstation everyone was laughing because they thought it was far away where no people were. But that outstation became a center and attracted many people. It’s now a separate parish but still in the town because the town boundaries have been extended.

Magesa referred to the Maryknollers who were his curates as co-workers. He said, “They used to teach in the schools, teach in the catechumenate, and visit the people in the parish.”

A center for meetings, gatherings and other social purposes was also built at about that time, called Mwembeni Centre, on the church property right next to the church. This later became a youth center and around 1990 it was greatly expanded to be a Catholic day secondary school (more on this in a future section).

In 1964 Magesa was assigned to Tarime Parish. It is not clear who became pastor in Musoma. Steve Schroepel had gone to the U.S. on furlough and then to do Development work for several years. In 1964 Jack Manning was living in Musoma Town Parish and may have been the pastor that year. Moe Morrissey had also been assigned to Musoma in 1962 as Diocesan Education Secretary, but he lived at the Bishop’s House. He remained in Musoma up till 1966 and as the former pastor of Musoma Town Parish he undoubtedly helped out with weekend Masses when he was in Musoma. In 1965 it seems that there was no actual pastor in Musoma, although Morrissey and John Wymes were living there, both doing diocesan assignments – and of course Bishop Rudin also lived there. In 1966 Bob Vujs was made pastor of Musoma Town, after he first took a course in Kiswahili.

In the next section on Musoma Diocese we will look at further developments in the town parish, beginning from when Vujs became pastor.

Komuge Parish:

In 1951 or the beginning of 1952 Msgr. Grondin made the decision to open a parish among the Basimbiti people who lived just across Mara Bay from Musoma. Although this section, Part Three, is about parishes south of the Mara River, I am including Komuge Parish here since it was an outstation of Nyegina Parish. The nearest parish to Komuge was and still is Kowak, but the Basimbiti people, who are Bantu and very different culturally and linguistically from the Nilotic Luo of Kowak, were not served by Kowak except for the initial years when Kowak Parish was started at Buturi, 1933 to 1936. In fact, some of the first people baptized at Buturi were Basimbiti. But by 1940, if not earlier, the priests of Nyegina took over ministry to the Basimbiti.

There was a small church and a one-room priest's house at Kinesi, the small village on the shore of Lake Victoria where the ferry from Musoma docked. Priests from Nyegina traveled over Mara Bay by ferry, stayed at the house in Kinesi for up to two weeks, and traversed out on foot to visit people's houses, celebrate Mass and administer sacraments at outstations. In 1952 there were five other small outstations among the Basimbiti, and although the Christians in these places were few they were very active and cooperative in the faith. All had gone to Nyegina for the six-month sacrament course and had developed a very good spirit of unity within their own Christian community. The White Fathers had always liked the Basimbiti Catholics and when Lou Bayless heard that Komuge Parish was being started he said to Ed Bratton, "You're taking our best Christians." According to Art Wille, there were a total of about 15,000 Basimbiti people at that time, of whom about 500 were Catholic, scattered around to the various outstations.

The first priest assigned to Komuge was Ed Bratton, who had been working in Kowak since 1947, with the exception of the six months that he had been at Kagunguli Parish in the Ukerewe Islands. He knew the Luo language and had also learned some of the Kikerewe language that, although a Bantu language, might not have helped him too much, as Kisimbiti is of a different branch than Kikerewe. In late 1951 or early 1952 Grondin assigned Bratton to open the new parish at Komuge. Bratton moved to Nyegina and said that he learned Kisimbiti by translating a Luo catechism into Kisimbiti. He later produced a number of Kisimbiti catechisms, which he used to hand out to men that he met along the roads and paths in Komuge Parish, as a method of interesting them in studying the Catholic religion. At that time the Kisimbiti catechism was the only thing written in that language. As difficult as it was to learn local, tribal languages Bratton later commented: "I think the local language was a big asset for us in the beginning, because we were the only group that learned the local language. The Protestants, for instance, learned Swahili but they never had the appeal that we had, speaking the local language."

Art Wille was ordained in 1951 and arrived in Musoma in October, 1951, with two classmates and two other priests who had been ordained previously. One was Tom Quirk, who became Regional Superior and went to Nairobi. Two others, Alden 'Mike' Pierce and Dan Zwack, were immediately assigned to Kowak, to learn Luo. Art Wille and Edward 'Eppy' James remained at Nyegina for several months learning Swahili. Wille said, "They didn't know what to do with Eppy and me, but after a few months Eppy was assigned to Rosana and went up there to learn Kikuria. But they still didn't know what to do with me. Finally, the decision was made to open up Komuge; Bratton was assigned as pastor and I was his assistant. I was given a catechumen as a teacher (in Kisimbiti) even though he was not an Msimbiti; he was an Msweta from South Mara, but Bill Collins said that the two languages are close enough. There were a group of about ten Basimbiti families studying at a camp in Nyegina for baptism [the six-month sacrament course] and I used to go and talk with them to learn Kisimbiti. I also had an English/Swahili dictionary and grammar and used that to pick up Kisimbiti words."

In mid-1952 Bratton and Wille finally moved from Nyegina to the Komuge area, Bratton staying in the small house in Kinesi and Wille at Kowak Mission. Wille lived in a storeroom at the back of the old church, which was filled with cans of paint and other building supplies and was visited daily or nightly by foraging rats. Wille commuted to Komuge every day in his jeep pickup truck, carrying cement blocks to the construction

site. Bratton oversaw the construction and hired a few men with building skills to work every day, but all the Christians were expected to come and provide free labor, with each outstation scheduled in successive weeks. Wille helped with the construction and gained valuable knowledge about building, which he was able to use in the future. After some months Msgr. Grondin brought two pre-fab aluminum houses that they affixed to the foundation of what would become the primary school and both priests moved into this building. They then built a house with mud blocks and a grass roof, which was intended to be a teacher's house and which proved to be a very satisfactory residence for the priests. Over two years they built the following buildings according to Wille: "We built the foundation of the school first, then the teacher's house, then the rectory, and after building the rectory we built the church and school."

In the beginning Komuge was an unusual choice for the mission site, since it had not been an outstation, had very few people living around the area, and no Catholics. It was ten kilometers (six miles) from Kinesi but was central to the area in which the Basimbiti people lived. Art Wille explained why Komuge was chosen.

At that time a new Chief, Johanes Mugongwe, had recently been elected. He had been a catechist in Iramba, chosen by the White Fathers since he was educated, after which he became a clerk in the colonial administration in Tarime town. Because of his government training and popularity he was chosen to be Chief of the Basimbiti.

The first priest to talk with Mugongwe about a plot was Joe Brannigan. [Brannigan had been in Kowak from 1946 to 1948 and then went to start Rosana Parish in 1948; while in Kowak and Rosana, Brannigan often said Mass in Tarime town and probably got to know Mugongwe at that time.] The policy of Maryknoll in the early days was to locate missions according to tribes, usually in a place that was fairly central to the tribe's population. So Komuge was chosen because it was central to the population.

Ed Bratton was interviewed many years after he had left Tanzania (he left Tanzania in June, 1961) and after he had worked in Hawaii for many years. His foremost memory of Komuge was of how poor the people were and how isolated the priests were in a very rural area with no modern conveniences. Art Wille filled in this description of Komuge:

The Basimbiti people lived in very scattered smallholder farms, growing subsistence crops suitable for dry conditions. The Komuge area does not get a lot of rainfall and there is little source of groundwater. Irrigation is not feasible unless you live right adjacent to Lake Victoria or the Mara River. Furthermore, the soil itself is not fertile. These factors probably explain the lack of population in Komuge. In the 1950s the Basimbiti people were basically left to their own resources since the British were not interested in establishing a colony in Tanganyika. The advantages to being autonomous are limited if you have no resources to lift yourself out of poverty.

Wille would later become very involved in agricultural improvements, but in the 1950s nothing of this sort was attempted. Foremost for Wille and Bratton, in addition to building the mission, was getting to know the people. Wille said that he had a motorcycle and at least two days a week he would go out visiting. He marveled at how welcoming the people were; he would show up at a house, call out *Hodi* (untranslatable; Hello might be the closest English word), and the people would immediately call out for him to come in (*Karibu* in Swahili, meaning Welcome). Bratton also went out by motorcycle to the villages, after his construction work was finished.

Both of them mentioned people they got to know well in addition to the Chief. Wille talked about the famous Isidore Mutaka of an outstation called Busweta some miles north of Komuge, who was the first person baptized in Nyegina Parish, according to the parish register. He was born in Busweta but during the famine (in the first decade of the 20th century, Cf above Page 21) his family moved down to the Ukerewe Islands, where they lived for some years. Isidore always claimed that his mother was a Christian martyr, because during a rebellion against German colonialism the mission was attacked and some Christians, including his mother, were killed. Isidore became a catechist and cook for the White Fathers and when they went to start Nyegina Mission in 1911 he went with them. While at Nyegina he often went out on the one-month treks by foot with the priests, going from village to village visiting as many people as they could. He eventually left service with the priests, was appointed Chief of the Basimbiti people, and became wealthy (by the standards of rural Tanganyika of the 1940s and 1950s). He built a church and persistently asked the White Fathers and then the Maryknoll Fathers to start a parish at his home, which was not possible since it was in an isolated place with very few people. However, Wille visited Busweta every month for about three days, and enjoyed hearing the stories of the foundation of the Catholic missions in Musoma.

Bratton also talked about an Msimbiti girl, the daughter of a second wife who left her husband in order to be baptized and moved into a small house on the mission compound to do various tasks on behalf of the mission. Bratton arranged for the girl to join the convent and eventually the Sisters sent the young woman to a college in Wisconsin to get a degree. Even though Bratton was far away he kept up communication with this Sister and her family. Bratton reiterated what the other priests had said, that the early Basimbiti Catholics were very good Catholics.

One important custom that the early Christians were willing to discontinue was female circumcision. The White Fathers had actually been instrumental in this; they had discussions with the Basimbiti Catholic Action representatives, informed them of the detrimental health effects of this practice, and advised the Basimbiti Catholics to terminate this custom. Art Wille said that all the Catholics did cease circumcising girls and that “this was a tremendous act of faith and confidence in the advice the priests had given them.”

[Editor note: the phenomenon of girls' circumcision will be mentioned in the accounts of a number of missions in the 1950s. In the early years the missionaries wanted to learn and understand African customs and their significance and didn't want to oppose them, unless something was seen as unacceptably wrong. Thus, Maryknoll priests did not engage in any action to try to eliminate this practice. Since the year 2000, however, this has been an overriding issue for the Kuria ethnic group, not only for the Kuria Catholics

but for all the Kuria people, for health reasons rather than religious reasons. This will receive extensive discussion in the final section of this history.]

Wille added that in the 1950s the priests had difficulties interesting parents throughout the Prefecture/Diocese in sending their children, especially girls, to school, but this was not true of the Basimbiti Catholics. There was no school for the Basimbiti but many of them used to send their children across Mara Bay to Nyegina to go to school. One person who played an important role in increasing girls' education was Mary Hancock. She used to meet with the Chiefs and other elders in an area, who were somewhat cowed by her assertive manner, and insist that she wanted "fifty-fifty," that is fifty percent boys and fifty percent girls in the primary schools.

The early Christians were the more progressive Basimbiti and often were looked on as the leaders within the tribe. Wille surmised that a major reason why they came to be baptized was their decision to be free of the fears, superstitions and taboos of tribal life, although some reverted to traditional beliefs out of fear. They also had a tremendous cooperative spirit, demonstrated especially when families went to Nyegina for the six-month sacrament course. The other Christians in the village would take care of the absent family's house, crops, animals and other possessions. The early Basimbiti Christians also insisted on marrying Christians, even if it meant choosing someone from another ethnic group if there was no Msimbiti Catholic available.

As a result, the priests had fairly good success in attracting Basimbiti to come to the catechumenate in the 1950s, and the parish was growing steadily. In 1959 the pastor of Komuge, Fr. Walt Gleason, estimated that there were about 1000 Basimbiti Catholics, a hundred percent increase in seven years, an appreciable amount. There were two Sacrament Courses at the mission each year and Baptism twice a year. However, by 1959 the number in the courses had tailed off significantly and they were having only about twenty to sixty adult baptisms a year. These were complemented by about another thirty to fifty schoolchildren baptisms each year, although beginning in 1960 there were fewer and fewer schoolchildren willing to take catechism studies for a whole year in order to be baptized.

From 1953 to 1957 there were a number of assignments to and from Komuge. Newly ordained Dennis O'Brien was assigned to Komuge in 1953 but stayed only to 1955, when he went to Iramba. In 1954 Bratton went on home leave and in August of that year the peripatetic Bob Moore came to Komuge for a short time. Bratton returned to Komuge as pastor in 1955, but in the beginning of that year Art Wille was assigned to open a new parish in Zanaki. Shortly afterwards O'Brien was assigned to Iramba, thus newly ordained Walt Gleason was assigned to Komuge in September, 1955, followed a year later by newly ordained Ray McCabe. At the end of 1957 Ed Bratton was assigned to Rosana Parish (necessitating his learning of another language, Gikuria) and Gleason became pastor in Komuge. From the end of 1957 to about 1961 or 1962 Gleason, the pastor, and McCabe were the only priests in the parish, with one exception in the final months of 1959 when Komuge was used as the locale for learning the languages of Gikuria and Kiswahili.

Of the above named Maryknollers the only one interviewed by the History Project was Ray McCabe and there was no diary written from Komuge until March of 1959, making it difficult to know exact dates of assignments and tasks within the parish prior to

1959. McCabe, however, has given us some information about Komuge Parish from 1955 to 1959.

According to McCabe, by the mid to late 1950s Komuge had grown to about a dozen outstations, with a catechist in each one. When there were three priests in the parish it was easier to share out the work, which included teaching for several hours each day in the Sacrament Course, overseeing the daily chores of manual labor to be done by the catechumens in the course, and going out to outstations almost every day to teach in primary schools or in the outstations along with the catechists. In the earlier years Bratton and Wille especially liked to visit people in their homes and McCabe concurred that when he and Gleason arrived several years later this was still an essential aspect of pastoral work. McCabe explained, "There was a lot more grass-roots work to be done, getting out, meeting people, and visiting around, because there were a lot fewer Christians than there are now [1989]."

Despite the importance of the priests' direct contact with people at their homesteads, the catechists were the ones who invited people to come for the catechumenate, which was in the outstations for the first year to a year and a half. Those who came in to the catechumenate were of a range of ages and usually more women than men. The catechists were not trained but they were men who knew how to read and write. They were given the catechisms and the priests tried to work with them at times to improve their knowledge and teaching methods. Two or three times a year the priests called in all the catechists for one-day meetings about the catechetical situation and its progress.

McCabe said that in the 1950s the goal of economic and agricultural development had not yet become a priority for the priests, as they were just trying to establish the mission and get to know the people. For instance, when the parish was started in 1952 there was no dispensary at Kinesi but by the late 1950s a small government dispensary had been opened, which over the years grew to be a large health clinic. As a result the priests did not see a need to open a dispensary at the mission, but they did dispense medicines for a few diseases, such as malaria, burns and a few other minor problems.

There was also a group of about eight to ten people afflicted with Hansen's Disease registered with Kowak Hospital who would come into the mission at Komuge every month to be given their medications. People with serious health problems or women in childbirth were referred to one of the hospitals, either Kowak or Musoma.

As we will see in a future section on Musoma Diocese, what came to be known as socio-economic development became as fundamental to parish ministry in many parishes in the 1960s and 1970s as the catechetical and liturgical aspects of the parish. But this was not emphasized prior to 1962.

Likewise, McCabe admitted that their efforts to understand Basimbiti culture in an in-depth manner lacked an organized structure. The priests learned language and culture just by talking with people. There was one attempt at documenting and codifying Basimbiti culture in 1962, when a young Msimbiti Catholic woman, a recent graduate of the Maryknoll Sisters high school in Morogoro, came back to Komuge and spent a number of months writing down the history of the Basimbiti. But when interviewed in 1989 McCabe said that he did not know if any of the woman's documents survived.

Several diaries were written in 1959 by the pastor, Walt Gleason, and these give us interesting snapshots of what the parish was like that year. The events highlighted were mainly of a parochial nature: meeting with parish groups such as the Legion of Mary, which was doing well in 1959; trying to start new schools despite difficulties obtaining government permission; rivalries with Protestants regarding registration of schools; trying to get both adults and school children into the catechumenate, which was not going well in 1959; and having some success with vocations – of boys to the minor seminary in Makoko, and of girls to the postulancy in Nyegina. Gleason also reported on the fluctuating success or lack of it in various outstations, the difficulty of finding and keeping good catechists, and the inevitable problems of trying to drive through very muddy roads to outstations when the rain was heavy.

There were Muslims living in the village of Kinesi and the priests developed cordial relations with them, primarily for purposes not connected with religion. At one rural school there were fifty Muslim school children who met on their own under a tree, without an adult leader, to study the Koran during the religion period. Gleason stated that “these Moslem children are lost to Christianity though they will never work very hard at their faith,” but there is no indication of any animosity between Christians and Muslims in the Basimbiti area at that time.

Gleason and McCabe also continued to encounter cultural conditions that were in contradiction to canon law, especially on marriage questions and particularly with regard to polygamy. In many cases there was no canonical solution; the priests had to tell some catechumens every year that they could not be baptized. In 1963 Dick Quinn also wrote about some marriage situations that proved impossible to solve no matter how many canonical dispensations he examined. [We will see that in the long run demographics and changed social conditions solved the problem. By the 1990s most East Africans had been baptized when young, and married when having only one spouse. If a man took a second wife, he could continue attendance at Mass but did not receive Communion.]

Curious cultural phenomena were manifested in other ways, such as a man who had been baptized many years previously while in the army but who insisted on putting charms on his wife and child. Gleason also wrote about a man who was having brilliant visions of a fiery red man in the sky imprinted with a cross on his chest, which the man could not explain and were disturbing him very much.

Unfortunately, the diaries merely related these incidents anecdotally but contained no analysis of the cultural situation of northwestern Tanganyika.

Gleason did write about the movement towards independence and its effects in even the rural backwater of Komuge/Kinesi. The priests attended the festivities of Saba Saba Day on July 7, 1959, which Gleason found to be a “staid celebration.” He was asked by some Indian businessmen when he thought Tanganyika would get independence, and Gleason replied “within five years.” The Indian men scoffed at this, saying “It took India 100 years.” (In fact, Tanganyika gained independence only two years after this. Cf Part Two.)

In 1961 Walt Gleason went on home leave and on his return to Tanganyika he did not return to Komuge. Then in June, 1962, Ray McCabe also went on home leave and on his return in 1963 he first studied Swahili in Shinyanga town for four months (at a proto-

language school run by Phil Sheerin in Shinyanga), then went to Iramba for a few months to help out and finally in October, 1963, went to Tarime Parish.

They were replaced at Komuge by Dick Quinn, who came at the beginning of 1962 after spending nine months in Tarime. He was shortly afterwards joined by Les Rogers. Between 1959 and 1964 there was only one diary written from Komuge, which concentrated on the many difficult marriage cases the priests were encountering, so we will leave the history of Komuge off at this point, although we can conclude with just one observation about Quinn's entrance into Komuge Parish in 1962. It was during the height of the famous Uhuru rains and he said that the grass around the rectory was five feet tall. The long grass was full of snakes – all kinds of dangerous snakes such as pythons and cobras – with which the missionaries had frequent close encounters. "I was thinking of biblical times there for a while," Quinn remembered.

More will be said about the on-going developments in Komuge in a future section on Musoma Diocese from 1962 to around 1990.

Mabui Parish:

As was mentioned above, there were three Bantu groups for which Msgr. Grondin wanted to open parishes as soon as possible, the Bangoreme, Basimbiti and Bajita. As of mid-1952 only the Bajita lacked a parish and therefore Grondin made the decision to assign Fr. Rab Murphy as first pastor of Mabui Parish. Murphy had just been made pastor of Nyegina Parish in January, 1952, but he was the only one with enough years of experience to become pastor of a new parish.

Murphy was assigned by Grondin to be pastor in July, 1952, although it would be a year before he was able to live in Majita. According to the website of Musoma Diocese, the parish was officially started in 1953 and is today called Mabui Parish. The whole tribal area is called Majita but the actual spot where the parish is located is called Amabui-Marafuru, which means 'black rocks' in the Kijita language. In a diary written in May, 1954, Murphy stated that this latter name was the official name of the parish right from the beginning, although most Maryknollers called it Majita Parish for years, even in the 2000s.

With the opening of Majita Grondin had opened four new parishes in just two years after being made Prefect Apostolic. One wonders if he felt any trepidation in doing this, since in 1950 and 1951 two Maryknoll priests had been stricken with serious ailments that required time for convalescence. Fortunately, both regained their health and functioned well in mission work afterwards. In addition to health concerns there was the prospect of the first four Maryknollers in Tanganyika going on one-year furloughs beginning sometime in mid-1953. Obviously, Grondin and his advisors felt that the reason Maryknoll had come to Musoma was to start new missions and that with the closing of Maryknoll missions in China the General Council could send out at least four new Maryknollers every year. So, with the opening of a parish in Majita the Prefecture had grown from two to eight parishes in just six years after the first Maryknollers arrived in Musoma in October, 1946.

In July, 1952, Grondin informed Murphy that he was to be the first pastor of Majita and that he could take an abbreviated furlough in the United States in August and September. Rab returned to Nyegina on October 1, 1952, and began study of the Kijita

language. He was also informed that Brother Fidelis would be assisting him to construct the new mission and to live with him at Majita, news that greatly pleased Murphy.

As was the case with the other new missions started among small Bantu tribes, there was nothing written in Kijita. Rab set aside six months to learn the language, living at Nyegina and using a young man, named Gabrieli, who was the son of the catechist of Majita, named Hermani. Gabrieli was not a hard worker and did not know English, so even though Rab knew Kikwaya fairly well and it shares many similarities with Kijita, the Kijita grammar that Rab put together had many mistakes. Rab stuck with this man the whole time and was able to put together the following written materials in Kijita: a dictionary, a grammar, two catechisms, confessional material, an explanation of the two catechisms, prayer books, forms for baptism and marriage, and the Sunday gospels. Building on his knowledge of Kikwaya, Rab was able to pick up Kijita without undue difficulty, as best that could be done without a formal language course.

In April, 1953, Rab, Msgr. Grondin, and Fidelis went out to survey the plot, which had been selected and purchased by Bishop Blomjous in 1947. There had been a question whether the spot was beyond the three-mile limit from the Mennonite school, since this was the rule of the British Administration. But Rab had taken many Mass safaris to Majita, had gotten to know many of the Bajita Christians already, and knew the Chief, named Daudi, very well. Through that friendship the Chief overlooked the slight discrepancy in distance and granted the plot to the Catholic mission. The other rule the British had was that a new mission had to agree to open a school, which was one of the first priorities for the Maryknollers in Majita. There was already a Catholic bush school made of mud walls and grass roof at Mabui, but the stipulation was that the mission had to build a full primary school, made of burnt bricks or cement blocks.

The plot, on top of a rocky hill, contained 22 acres, but Rab wrote that the people considered the whole hill belonging to the mission, meaning it could have made use of 40 acres if the priests wished. Below the hill was the very small village of Amabui. The mission was not located at an optimal spot, being three miles from the main road. A larger village, called Chumwi, adjacent to the lake and on a decent road, would have been a preferable place to locate the new mission, but as the Seventh Day Adventist Church already had a school in Chumwi the Catholics could not start a mission there. The three-mile rule of the British prevented this. Chumwi did become a major outstation of Mabui Parish, however, and in fact many more Catholics lived near the lake than at Amabui.

In a diary written in May, 1954, Rab described the Majita territory as “a place of exquisite beauty,” a 50-mile long, 20-mile wide peninsula running between Bauman Gulf to the south and Lake Victoria to the north, about forty miles southwest of Musoma. It consists of valleys, rolling mountains and streams, and has a wonderful soil with plentiful rainfall. The Bajita people were described as hard workers, serious-minded, morally upright, and had readily taken to wearing modern clothes, with a preference for flashy colors. Most were farmers, growing millet, rice, cassava and other grains, and also cotton, the income-earning crop. Rab wrote that “they have been ordered to grow cotton on the rich, black soil and those who refuse are fined. But the Bajita like to earn money.” Some Bajita were also fishermen.

The hill on which the mission was built, at 4,500 feet in altitude, had not only a magnificent view of the lake but also received cooling breezes. About five miles out in the lake are three islands that even in 1953 were densely populated by Bajita. They were

served by the White Fathers from Ukerewe Island, as they had boats, although sometimes the people came in to Majita for Sunday Mass.

About ten miles south of the mission was the far-western edge of the Serengeti Plain, which was full of large animals in the 1950s. Rab claimed that there were lions and leopards in the vicinity of the mission, although as of mid-1954 they had not yet seen any. To guard the compound they brought from Nyegina two ridgeback dogs, which proved their fierce reputation by challenging a leopard that had strayed into the compound one night although the leopard managed to escape before Rab could bring his gun from the house. Ridgebacks are the only breed of dog that will confront a leopard.

On July 20, 1953, Rab and Fidelis made the move out to Majita. Fidelis went first and the first item he carried was the refrigerator, following a pattern that occasioned the following remark by Bishop Blomjous: "When the Maryknoll Fathers build a new mission, first they get a refrigerator then build the mission around it." Rab's rejoinder was that if the White Fathers followed the Maryknoll Fathers' example their food would have been healthier. [In tropical heat meat spoils very quickly without refrigeration. In the 1950s the refrigerators ran on kerosene. Only Musoma Town had electricity and even there supply was not dependable.]

The house they moved into was the former bush school, built with a grass roof, a dirt floor, and mud-and-wattle walls. The school children were moved into a smaller grass hut. The house – a "hovel" according to Rab – was 28 feet long and 14 feet wide, and was partitioned off with blankets creating two bedrooms, a dining room and a living room. A temporary kitchen and bathroom were built outside, which collapsed eight months later just after they had moved into pre-fabricated housing. On the first night in Majita Rab and Fidelis found out how cool it could get. The wind blew between the roof and walls forcing them to put on heavy clothes and socks, and to use every blanket they had. July is the cold month south of the equator but the Maryknollers never expected it to be that cold on top of Amabui hill. Later on when the first rains came they discovered the roof leaked, although they rectified this with aluminum sheets in place of the grass.

Fidelis set about building a mud block house that would eventually be the head teacher's house at the school, putting in two cement foundations for pre-fabricated houses that he and the priests could live in, and in 1954 he began construction of the cement block primary school. In late 1953 and January of 1954 they were able to move into the pre-fab houses made of aluminum sheeting. Each house had two rooms, but shortly after they were installed Fr. Jim Lehr joined them in Amabui. He and Fidelis shared one pre-fab house and the other was used as a living room and dining room. Rab continued living in the bush school until the teacher's house was finished, then he moved into the second pre-fab house. The teacher's house had three rooms: one was made the chapel, in which the Blessed Sacrament could be reserved, and the other two rooms became the living and dining rooms.

The chapel in the teacher's house replaced the small hut that they had been using as a church. The chapel room was only 12' by 12' and could hold about fifty people if completely packed but had folding doors which opened outward enabling another 200 to 300 to stand outside during Sunday Mass. In addition, they had another thirty people who came for daily Mass. In 1954 Rab wrote that there were about 800 Bantu (i.e. Bajita) Catholics and 200 Luo Catholics in the mission, most of them living near the lake.

Hermani, the catechist, was the brother of Chief Daudi. The latter had six or seven wives and followed a traditional religion called Massa-kara, meaning religion of the bush. However, he was very favorable to the Catholic Church and was a good friend of Rab Murphy. While living in Nyegina Rab used to bring the Chief cigarettes and in turn was often given a goat to take back to Nyegina. Chief Daudi was an imposing man, broad-shouldered and about six feet five inches in height.

Lehr was ordained in June, 1953, and took the boat from New York to Tanganyika several months later, arriving at Nyegina in October, 1953. He was immediately assigned to learn the Kijita language and he remained at Nyegina up till the beginning of 1954. He made use of the grammar and vocabulary that Rab had written the year before, but unfortunately his informant at Nyegina was an Mkwaya man, who knew some Kijita and Kiswahili but not much English. Lehr struggled trying to learn Kijita until he finally moved out to Mabui when the second pre-fab house was put in.

With sufficient housing available for the priests and Fidelis, the latter turned his attention to finishing the teacher's house and beginning construction of the cement block primary school. However, due to several tropical illnesses (malaria and worms) Fidelis first went to Nairobi to be treated and take a vacation and only began the school construction in June, 1954.

Despite Majita being a long way from Musoma there were a number of visitors who made the trek in 1953 and 1954, including most of the Maryknoll priests and Brothers working in Musoma, a group of Maryknoll Sisters from Musoma along with the father of Sr. Gert Maley, and two Maryknollers from New York, Fr. Tom Walsh, the Vicar General, and Fr. Al Nevins from the Social Communications Department, who did filming at Majita. In 1954 Fr. Laurenti Magesa, the first diocesan priest ordained in Musoma, came out to celebrate Mass in Mabui – a special celebration attended by an enormous crowd.

After May, 1954, no other diary was written until September, 1957, so we don't know precisely when the school was completed and the rectory construction begun. However, we can presume the school was ready enough to open in January, 1955, and that either in late 1954 or early 1955 Fidelis began construction of the rectory and the church. Both Fidelis and Rab went on their full-year home leaves at the end of April, 1955, before the house was completed. At that time Fr. John Wymes, who had come to Tanganyika and been assigned to Nyegina in September, 1954, came to Majita. Even though Wymes did not know much about building, Lehr asked him to oversee the final stages of building the rectory, so that Lehr, who knew some Kijita by then, could teach in the sacrament course. It was only several months later, around the beginning of July, 1955, that the rectory was sufficiently ready for Lehr and Wymes to move in. Church construction continued sporadically until Fidelis returned in early 1956, and then was completed in mid-1956.

To serve the Luo Catholics in Majita, Fr. Dan Zwack and occasionally Fr. Bob Moore started coming out once a month to hear confessions and say Mass in Luo. Moore was pastor of Musoma Parish from 1954 to 1956 and probably also the acting Education Secretary in 1954 while Bill Collins was in the U.S. on furlough. Zwack had been officially assigned at the beginning of 1953 to carry out full-time the apostolate to Luo Catholics living south of the Mara River. Zwack lived at Nyegina and then in 1956 moved into Musoma town. This apostolate was the beginning of the establishment of

Muhoji Parish some 20 miles southeast of Majita, which was started to serve Luo Catholics in the whole South Mara area. Rab Murphy explained that Luo were moving into south Mara in large numbers, but that they refused to speak Swahili, which is a Bantu language. Thus, it had become incumbent on the Prefecture to provide a Luo-speaking priest from North Mara to work full-time with the Luo living in south Mara.

Rab also confessed that he found the Luo very aggressive in making constant requests and that they refused to accept an answer of 'no.' Thus, he did not want to learn the Luo language. Otherwise he would have to be handling shauris at the parish in both Kijita and Kijaluo, which would be too much for him. All he would do with the Luo was to hear their confessions in Swahili.

In Easter, 1954, Zwack and Msgr. Grondin came out to Majita to confer the sacrament of Confirmation on the Luo Catholics. Their trip resulted in one of the most famous incidents in early Maryknoll history in Tanganyika. Heavy rains had begun and on the day before Easter the Suguti River, which crosses the main road from Musoma, was flooded. Rab and Lehr drove to the river to inspect and saw people walking across the chest-deep river, but noted that no vehicle could cross. They waited a while but did not see Grondin and Zwack. They returned to Mabui, where hundreds of Luos had already arrived, and shared their fear that the Confirmation would have to be postponed.

Later that afternoon, while he was hearing confession, Rab heard the familiar voices of Grondin and Zwack. When they had arrived at the river, Grondin and Zwack saw taxis on the Mabui side, stripped down to their shorts, persuaded or paid some bystanders to help carry their goods, and walked across the river. The water in the river was not cold; daytime temperatures in Majita reach close to ninety degrees most days. Once on the other side they took the taxis to Chumwi and then walked the three miles up to Mabui, along with six porters carrying all the bags. Rab immediately gave them food and cold drinks, and all had a gala night.

The next day was a bright sunny day and the Mass and Confirmation went well. However, Zwack had business to do with the Luo Catholics and they were delayed in going back to the river until 4:00pm. In the meantime, more rain had fallen and on return to the river they saw it was still very deep. Here we will quote Rab's account of the following dramatic incident.

Then came the side show: they stripped down to their shorts – a short, fat man and a tall, skinny man. People standing around got a big hoot looking at this show and made some funny remarks. From the other side a young Luo woman started to cross the river, holding a blanket and carrying a pot on her head. Suddenly, about halfway across, she slipped off the side wall and sunk into water fifteen feet deep. She yelled and flapped her arms, and her belongings were washed away.

Zwack immediately dived into the river, swam to the woman, took hold of her and managed to bring her to the Mabui shore. On witnessing this amazing event, all the people along the shores sent up loud cheers for Fr. Zwack, who took it all in stride. Then he and Grondin crossed over to the other side, put on their clothes, got into their jeep and returned to Nyegina.

By the next day Zwack's heroic deed was all over Majita and Musoma. Many local people can not swim and just the previous day two people had lost their lives in the raging waters and one other died in the river the previous week.

And oh... the Luo woman, a Catholic, cried for her lost belongings. I told her that she should be glad that she did not lose her life.

According to Jim Lehr, Amabui was officially separated from Nyegina Parish only in July, 1954, and that is when the first sacrament course (the sixth-month course held at the mission compound) was begun. The catechumens had been studying for several years under catechists at the small kigango at Amabui itself and at two outstations, Chumwi and another called Buruma. As of mid-1954, the parish had three catechists. A kampi was built at the mission, consisting of a house for men and boys and another house for women and girls. Most of those in the sacrament course were unmarried, but there were some couples. Every six months a new sacrament course was begun, with about thirty to forty people in each course.

From mid-1954 up till Rab went on home leave in April, 1955, the priests divided their work as follows: Rab usually stayed at the mission teaching the sacrament course whereas Lehr went out most days on foot visiting people in the area or at times attended the afternoon classes in the kigango taught by Corneli Magoti, the assistant catechist at Amabui (later the head catechist). Lehr found the first year a constant struggle to learn Kijita and used these visits as his method of practice. He did a lot of walking; often he would go to a place three or so miles away in the morning, come back for lunch, and then in the afternoon go out to and return from another place two to four miles away, all on foot. Thus, he was walking from six to twelve miles a day.

In addition to these tasks, Lehr also was trying to add new outstations.

In addition to Chumwi and Buruma we also had a place at Suguti, across the river, which later became a part of Mugango Parish. It was not always easy to get the head man to give us a plot of land where we could build a kigango (small outstation chapel made of mud walls and a grass roof), because at some of the places he was a Seventh Day Adventist and he refused to give us land. The Seventh Day Adventists were so strong in the Majita area that it was very, very difficult trying to get a place where we could build an outstation. It was constantly going back and forth, back and forth all the time to try to get these places.

I did manage to get about four or five places, but these places were on the edge. One place, called Wenyere, I was able to obtain only because I went out with Chief Daudi, who persuaded the headman to give us a plot.

In June, 1959, Rab Murphy wrote in the diary that they had increased the number of outstations up to eighteen, but commented that "it has been a constant fight, taking a year or two for each place."

In an interview many years later Lehr talked about the Bajita people, stating that they "were a very closed people and very suspicious of all outsiders." He added, "Anyone who has ever gone to Majita has had the same experience and I would tell them that this is their custom. The Bakwaya are a friendly, relaxed people and stop to greet and talk

with you along the road. Even though their languages are very similar, on this particular trait they are very different.”

[Editor comment: the Kavango people of northern Namibia are likewise a very reserved, xenophobic ethnic group, according to Maryknollers who have worked with them. The Kavango claim that they migrated from the southeastern side of Lake Victoria about 200 to 300 years ago. Is it possible that the Kavango and Bajita people are very closely related? Both are Bantu and it would be interesting to compare their languages.]

The Bajita, Bakwaya and Bakerewe have similar languages and, according to Lehr, the Bajita claimed to have migrated from northern Uganda some three hundred years previously. It is possible that all three groups migrated down along the western side of Lake Victoria and came around the southern part to finally reside east of the lake, near the shore. All three groups are primarily subsistence farmers although some also make fishing their means of subsistence. There are two important cultural matters that all three groups share, namely lack of female circumcision and lack of payment in cows of the brideprice. However, there was one important area in which there was a major difference between the Bajita and Bakwaya: the latter group is matrilineal whereas the Bajita (and Bakerewe) are patrilineal.

Jim Lehr talked about brideprice, matrilineal marriage and other customs, introducing these topics with the following comments:

One of the problems in Musoma, with the different tribes, is that you have to know the customs of each tribe. For instance, I worked in Majita for six years, then went into the seminary, and after that I went to Kiagata Parish for a short while, with the Bakuria people. I discovered a big difference regarding brideprice: with the Bajita once the brideprice is paid the girl must immediately go to her husband's home. But the Bakuria and related groups, like the Bangoreme and Bazanaki, do not do this. The brideprice can be paid for a Kuria girl when she is still a child but she will not go to be married until much later in life, when she is mature.

This is something you have to get used to. Whereas the languages are similar, all being Bantu, the customs are different. And, of course, the Luo customs are completely different. Even using Swahili in a parish, it doesn't mean that the customs are going to be the same. This is the problem in Musoma Diocese.

In Shinyanga Diocese it is different, since it is all one tribe, the Sukuma. You can go from one parish to another and it is the same language and the same customs.

Lehr went on to talk about the lack of brideprice among the Bakwaya and Bajita and problems related to Bakwaya matrilineal marriage. He said that the Bakwaya never had any payment until the White Fathers (in the 1940s?) mandated that the minimum brideprice for Catholics wishing to be married in church be twelve cows throughout what was then Mwanza Vicariate. The White Fathers' reasoning, according to Lehr, was that payment of brideprice made marriages stable. With no brideprice it was easy for a woman to leave her husband, as there was no brideprice to be returned to the man's family. There were numerous incidents among the Bakwaya of women who had been

married to more than one man, in some cases even seven or eight men. However, subsequent history has not indicated that brideprice payment has made Bakwaya marriages any more stable.

The Bajita also had this same problem although they did have some form of a brideprice previously, but not with cows, as Lehr explained:

A very important part of the brideprice is the goats. They have always used goats. The cows go to the father of the bride. But four or five goats were also paid as part of the brideprice, although it was not listed as such. The goats went to the mother of the bride. The aunt, that is the sister of the bride's father, would also get some of the goats.

This custom came in years ago, when they were hunters. The young man would go out hunting and kill some animals. He would give a portion of the meat to the father of the bride, plus some gifts, such as hoes. The skin of the animal would be given to the mother of the bride, back when they were wearing skins. As the years went on and they began wearing modern clothing goats replaced skins. The goats are hers, to sell or do whatever she wants with them.

By the 1950s Bajita and Bakwaya Catholics were paying brideprice in cows and presumably had to pay twelve cows. Neither group is primarily a cattle-raising group (unlike the Kuria-related groups and the Luo, all of whom had a much higher brideprice) and coming up with twelve cows was very difficult for a man to do. One suspects that non-Catholics did not follow the White Father rule and one wonders to what extent the Catholics were able to follow it. It does not appear from the diaries that the Maryknollers enforced this rule very strictly. They were more interested in whether the couple were free to marry and their investigations prior to the marriage were primarily into their free state.

The Bakwaya were and are the only ethnic group in Musoma Diocese who are matrilineal. There are a few matrilineal groups in Tanzania in coastal regions near the Indian Ocean, but this is a rare phenomenon among Bantu peoples. The origin is not clear, but its primary purpose is to retain property in the family's name through the maternal line. Thus, land is inherited by the daughter from her mother and she will in turn pass it on to her daughter(s). [There are tantalizing verses in the Old Testament and New Testament that may indicate that at least some Jewish people in antiquity were matrilineal: for example, the man leaves father and mother to cling to his wife, and Peter seemed to be living in his mother-in-law's house.]

Lehr commented on this phenomenon:

With the Bakwaya it was the mother's brother, the uncle, who had the authority regarding marriage of her daughters. The father and the mother did not have any say in this. They didn't have a brideprice in the beginning, but when this came in the father of the bride would get the payment. However, the uncle, i.e. the mother's brother, would have the say as to whether the marriage would go through or not.

The uncle would also make decisions regarding the education of his nieces and nephews, whereas the father would not have this authority. He would be concerned with his sister's children.

But with the Bajita, who are patrilineal, the father has the say regarding the marriage and receives the brideprice. However, his sister, the bride's aunt, has a lot of say in the marriage and receives some of the brideprice, such as a few goats.

Lehr also commented on the practice of wearing charms and the pervasiveness of African customary beliefs (often called superstition by non-African observers).

People fear that the primary cause of disease is a curse put on them by another person or through a witch's mediation. Thus, many wear charms and even most Christians put charms on their children, to protect them from being cursed.

When I was living at Majita we had the custom of having the people bring in all their charms before being baptized, such as the rattles they received from witchdoctors (i.e. healers or diviners) and other things, and we would put them all in a pile and burn them. The people would bring in these things; in fact, they wanted to leave this stuff.

Fear dominates their lives and still does even today. One old pagan man once told Fr. Art Wille that one of the good things that Christianity brought was to free them from fear, the fear of curses and things like that. That fear is still there, but at least there has been some kind of release from fear.

These examples of encountering radically different customs in Tanganyika in Maryknoll's first fifteen to twenty years were typical of the experiences Maryknoll missionaries had in all the parishes of Musoma Prefecture/Diocese and later in Shinyanga. Maryknollers made concerted efforts to understand African culture and harmonize it with Christian belief. They did not have professional tools to do this, one reason that Fr. Mike Kirwen established the Maryknoll Institute of African Studies in Nairobi (cf Volume One on Kenya). The task of fully integrating African culture and the Gospel message continues even in the new century.

John Wymes was never interviewed for the history project, so we know of some of his contributions only from the diaries that were written from Majita in the 1950s and early 1960s. One great asset was the purchase of a brick-making machine from Nairobi that could make 300 to 500 mud bricks a day. It weighed 500 pounds, so that it could be transported in a pickup truck to outstations – along with two to four strong men to lift it onto the truck. This came in April, 1959, and by September they had been able to replace all the old mud and wattle houses built in the kampi for the sacrament course with houses made of bricks, which were then whitewashed. As of October, when the rains began, ten houses had been built and one very nice kitchen, with plans to build five more houses. Rab Murphy wrote that these houses were much nicer for the people, who had to stay in them for six months. Wymes requested Felix DeSylva, a Goan man living in the area (perhaps at one of the mines), to teach the masons at the mission how to make and use the

bricks in construction and later also cajoled DeSylva to put in a good road across a swampy area between Majita and Musoma.

Wymes was instrumental in revitalizing the large outstation at Chumwi on the lake, where there were many Catholics. This was done by choosing a catechist to begin teaching people in the catechumenate prior to their coming to the sacrament course. This man had not yet been baptized, but he could read and write and knew the catechetical material very well. He also brought the catechumens to Mass every Sunday. This was at the beginning of 1959 and apparently there was no kigango in Chumwi, even though it had been the original place where the White Fathers used to go from Nyegina. Since the Seventh Day Adventists had a school there, the Catholics could not build a place. Wymes asked if the catechist could use the cotton cooperative store to teach the catechumens, as the store was empty for most months prior to the harvest in June. This request was granted.

Wymes also had completed a new catechism in the Kijita language as of October, 1959. This had two parts: the first part was a home catechism and the second was on the seven sacraments. The book also contained the complete Mass in Kijita, many prayers and hymns, the Way of the Cross, the Rosary, and many different litanies. Rab Murphy wrote: "Wymes is to be commended for this. It took a lot of time, patience and hard work."

Both Lehr and Wymes remained in Majita until they reached their furlough years, Lehr in 1959 and Wymes in 1960. When Lehr returned to Tanganyika in 1960 he was assigned to the seminary in Makoko. He first spent several months studying Swahili and went to Makoko in April, 1960. Wymes apparently returned to Majita in 1961 and stayed there up till 1962, when he was assigned to the new parish of Mugango.

Rab Murphy had gone on his full furlough in April, 1955, up to early 1956 and then stayed as pastor of Majita until the end of 1962. Other Maryknollers joined them at Majita in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The first to come was Ed Wroblewski in September, 1957. Unlike others who started in Nyegina first, he came directly to Majita, with the result that over the next few years there were usually four priests living at Majita. Wroblewski had been ordained in 1952 and then went for a Masters Degree in Speech Therapy and Linguistics at Catholic University for one year, after which he taught speech and phonetics at the Maryknoll College in Glen Ellyn, Illinois up to 1957. On arrival in Majita he threw himself energetically into the study of the Kijita language, which was very different from English.

First I discovered that the language has prefixes. For instance, the language for the Jita people begins with ki – Kijita – and the place begins with ma – Majita. The prefix doesn't make sense in English. I also discovered that this language had a trilled r, unlike in English. My linguistic training helped me to pronounce the r correctly.

I was also given a grammar that had been compiled by Fr. Murphy. It was based on the structure of Latin grammar because that was what they knew. When I began to listen to the language I found out that what was written on the paper was not what they were actually saying. I knew it was elisions that are made

phonetically because it's easier to say something. Most Bantu words begin and end with vowels and usually one of the vowels is dropped in order to elide the two words together. At that time, our men had not yet realized there are elisions.

I also made use of a 2000 word Swahili dictionary for which I had drawings of many of the words on cards. I put the Kijita word on the back of the card, so that I could learn the vocabulary not from reading the English word but from the picture.

After a month there I realized that the Gospels we had needed to be corrected. They had written the gospels as the people speak them, with the elisions included. So I took the books and re-wrote them correctly (i.e. with the words spelled in full, with no vowels dropped) but when reading them I would speak with the elisions. After doing this a little while the catechist understood what I was doing and then things became easier.

In addition to his work on the language, Wroblewski also made extensive use of the portable generator he had brought out from the United States for showing slides and movies, and also for many other purposes.

In 1957 and 1958 Wroblewski wrote several diaries; in fact, he was the only one who wrote diaries in the year he was stationed at Majita. He observed that although the catechumenate was officially only 21 months in length, often it took from two to three years for many to complete, primarily due to a number of interruptions, such as marital problems, necessary field work in their farms, birth of babies, or even a temporary change of heart. The questioning day prior to baptism was a big day; after all had passed their oral testing, the whole group ran joyously around the mission compound, forcing the priest and catechist to join them. On baptism day everyone shaved their heads, following a Jita custom symbolizing subjection to the ruler and now to the King of Kings. Also, all dressed in white.

In April, 1958, Wroblewski wrote that they held all the Holy Week ceremonies in the afternoon, for two reasons: it was the rainy season, nights were pitch black and there were dangerous animals lurking about. Despite this, on Holy Thursday the catechists, their families and a few others who lived very close to the mission came on their own to make a Holy Hour in the church, in front of the Blessed Sacrament. Wroblewski found "the people's devotion to the Blessed Sacrament" edifying.

In 1958 Musoma town parish needed another priest and Wroblewski was assigned there. In the town he needed to learn Swahili, but it was felt that with his linguistic background he would have no trouble with this. He later commented, "It was a blessing because it became the national language. Eventually, everybody had to learn Swahili." In his place newly ordained Fr. Bill Madden was assigned to Majita. The latter arrived in Nairobi, Kenya in August, 1958, and was met there by Wroblewski, who offered him a short mini-course in linguistics, culture and the Kijita language. After arriving in Majita in September Madden began a six-month course in Kijita, using the books that the other priests had written and utilizing the services of a young man who had finished primary school but who knew almost no English.

Madden wrote the diary for September, 1958, and mentioned that Brother Fidelis had returned to Majita for several months to do repairs. He fixed the roofs in the church and rectory so there would be no more leaks, put plumbing in the rectory and added a

new porch to the house. Fidelis stayed up till December, along with the four priests stationed there in late 1958, namely Rab Murphy, Lehr, Wymes and Madden. Bill Madden had to sleep in a cot in the living room this whole time.

In January, 1959, Bill Madden wrote the diary and talked about difficulties that accompany the six-month sacrament course. This was the month when a new course, with over thirty registered, was starting in the kampi in the mission compound. Madden said:

The disadvantages for the people are that they have to leave their villages for six months and get someone to take care of things at home. Does this make them stronger Catholics? (At the mission) they are in daily contact with the practices and customs of the Church and the priests can better observe their future Catholics. They are all told that acceptance into the Sacrament Course does not guarantee baptism; it depends on what they learn and how they behave.

This was the first overt indication that the Maryknollers, some at least, were beginning to question the feasibility of bringing large groups to live at the mission for a long period of time. In Majita the objection was the difficulties it placed on the people, a sentiment expressed by Maryknollers in other missions (as we will see). An additional objection cited elsewhere was that the changing circumstances in Tanganyika, as it was approaching Independence, were the primary reasons for the dearth of men in the Sacrament Courses. In fact, it was in the February, 1959, diary, just one month after Madden wrote about difficulties with the long course, that Rab Murphy wrote a long statement about the build-up of nationalist feelings in Majita (Cf Part Two, pages 56-58). Diaries from Majita over the next two years often made mention of the political situation in Tanganyika, although in most cases they reported that the situation was calm. The only collective action that caused ruffles was the postal strike in Musoma from December, 1959, to February, 1960, although there was no violence connected with this.

Clearly, the priests realized that matters were changing greatly in Tanganyika and that these changes would affect church practice. Despite this, those who had come out in the 1940s and early 1950s, such as Rab Murphy and Jim Lehr at Majita, constantly attested to important benefits accruing from bringing catechumens to live at the mission. They also liked having a catechumenate that would go on for two to three years and were not bothered if some dropped out for a period of time. In their opinion a small catechumenate engaged in a long period of teaching and being habituated to Christian mores produced quality Catholics who would persevere in their faith.

In the years 1961 to about 1963 in parish after parish in Musoma Diocese the practice of having all catechumens in the parish come to live at the mission for six months was dropped. This was replaced by having the full catechumenate in each outstation, where for a period of one to two years the outstation catechist would teach each afternoon (in theory). Many years later Lehr commented on this change:

(When I returned to Majita in 1964) I used to go around to the outstations and often found that the catechist was not there or the catechumens were not there. So, the instruction was not as good, I believe, as it was when we had the

catechumens living at the mission for six months and being indoctrinated into the full life of the church.

In the section on Musoma Diocese after 1962, more will be said on the situation in Majita after the year 1962, when different personnel brought major changes to the catechetical protocol. The changes did not come suddenly, however. The Majita diaries show that discussions about the length and manner of the catechumenate had begun at least as far back as the beginning of 1959.

In March, 1959, John Wymes wrote in the diary from Majita that Bishop John Rudin had called for the first Pro-Synod to be held in Musoma Diocese and was calling for agenda items. The synod finally took place in May, 1960, and according to Rab Murphy: "It was attended by all the pastors and the Education Secretary, presided over by Bishop Rudin. Tom Burke, the rector, led a discussion on the seminary. We tried to lay down uniform rules and regulations for all missions and there was agreement on many things. We will see what comes of this. It lasted for three days."

As for the Sacrament Course, it does not seem that the Pro-Synod made any decisions about this, as Majita continued to have the course at the mission up to at least the beginning of 1963, when John Graser replaced Rab Murphy as pastor. But the diary of January, 1960, again written by Bill Madden, stated, "A new Sacrament Course has started. It is a great sacrifice for them to come in to the mission for six months. The first few weeks are hectic, organizing all the different tasks that people will do."

The on-going questions and discussions about the structure, content and follow-up of the catechumenate led to major changes in this area, as will be discussed more fully in the sections after the year 1962.

Despite the fact that the Sacrament Courses had only thirty to forty people per course and that parish numbers were growing slowly, Rab Murphy wrote in the June, 1959, diary that he was pleased with the strong, steady growth of the parish.

The Bajita population is 41,663, the largest in Musoma District. [Note: there may have been more Luo and more Kuria.] Many different religions are springing up: Seventh Day Adventist, Mennonite, Pentecostal, Salvation Army, and others. When the White Fathers arrived in 1910 to start Nyegina Mission the Seventh Day Adventists had been here already for 45 years and now have been here for 94 years. The SDAs have many schools and outstations and most of the headmen are SDAs. They prevent Catholics from starting outstations. We now have 18 outstations but it has been a constant fight, taking a year or two for each place.

People are coming in to study for the Catholic Church, due to our hard work. The SDAs have only 1,700 members after 94 years. After five years we have 1,165 Catholics. Slow SDA growth is due in part to the refusal of European SDA ministers to live out here.

The Mennonites specialize in schools and hospitals. It is a religion of brotherly love; they are good people and easy to get along with, compared with the bigoted SDAs. The Mennonites have been here for 60 years and have 1,500

members. They too are struggling at present. The other (religions) have few followers.

At times it has been discouraging, especially when you have to fight and bicker all the time with the headmen to get a place, to start an outstation. But we are conscientious missionaries and keep going. There were 32 baptized this month; we will have 60 in the new course and hope to have 150 in January. It takes ten years to really catch on in a place.

In October Rab wrote that the Chief's grandson was going to be baptized in December and then join the seminary in January, 1960. The priests had begun to hopefully speculate that maybe Chief Daudi might convert to Catholicism but it seems that this never happened.

Beginning in October, 1959, a team of workers from the diocese came out with Bishop Rudin to build a third classroom in the primary school, a new teacher's house, and repair the existing teacher's house. When they finished they went on to Muhoji Mission, twelve miles away in the Serengeti, to build the rectory. In fact, they built two new classrooms at Majita. The school had grown to 180 pupils, forcing them to have double sessions, half the students in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The school went to only the fourth grade, so each grade would have its own classroom. Even at that, there would be forty-five to a classroom and the number of students was continuing to increase.

The school at Amabui was the only Catholic school and the diary for December, 1959, discussed this matter at some length. It reported (author unknown but probably Rab Murphy) that there were 28 schools in all, of which two were middle schools, i.e. fifth to eighth grades, nine bush schools, and 17 primary schools, i.e. grades one to four. Of these, only one school was a Catholic school, the primary school at Majita. Of the 28 schools 23 were either Mennonite or Seventh Day Adventist. The author commented, "This is what you might call Protestant country." He was referring to the difficulties in trying to get large numbers interested in becoming Catholics and went on to state:

This does not mean we run up against a stone wall at every village but if the children are in a certain school, the village is usually content to call themselves members of that denomination. Whether they attend services or support it is another question entirely. Actually they are just not interested right now; they have a Christian name and have no further interest in religion. Besides there is cotton to be planted, weeded and harvested, and work to do around the homestead, and they do not have time to go to the kigango to learn prayers and the catechism.

The author of the December, 1959, diary also commented that in addition to a number of schools the SDAs also had a very good dispensary run by a husband and wife team, which performed much appreciated service and was well patronized. The SDAs were also planning on building a middle school at this same place, called Bwasi, the oldest SDA mission.

Apparently, the competition with the SDAs in Majita caused an interesting reflection by the author at the end of the December, 1959, diary about the worth of

operating schools and dispensaries as a tool of evangelization. He merely asked the question without answering it, but he seemed to lean towards the opinion that missionaries should put their whole effort into direct evangelization. Health and educational work are works of charity but he did not expect conversions to result from them.

This particular missionary may not have enjoyed dispensing medications at the mission. However, Jim Lehr stated when he was interviewed many years later that when he was at Majita (1953 to 1959, and then later from 1964 to 1973) he often would spend a half hour to an hour each day treating people for various ailments and wounds not requiring specialized treatment.

I started this because there was no dispensary at the mission and I had had one month's training at Mary Immaculate Hospital before ordination. I knew a little bit about medicine. But I did this because the closest hospital or dispensary was about twelve to fifteen miles away. So for those people living in Chumwi, Majita or Amabui I was having a dispensary. In that way I was also trying to break down the prejudice and get in with the people themselves.

We didn't employ a dispenser; I did all the work myself. People were attracted because there was no other place around. I was taking care of people with fever, malaria, etc. It was not what you would call a real dispensary; it was dispensing medicine rather than a real dispensary. I would be available every day from about 9:00 am to 9:30 or 10:00 am.

After Lehr left in early 1959 there was no one else to take up this duty. This may also have caused Rab to question the value of a dispensary. Madden, however, mentioned that dispensing medicines was one of the things that the priests did at Majita, and when Lehr returned in 1964 he resumed doing this every day.

As in the other mission diaries the climatic changes and vagaries of rainfall received their fair share of discussion in Majita's diaries. The year 1959 was a dry year and the priests wrote that they feared there would be drought and famine. In fact, Majita's diary of September, 1959, said that it had not rained for a full year in Shinyanga. But then in late September that year the rains began and became heavy in 1960, changing the tone of the diaries. Now they were mentioning how difficult it was to travel around the parish to the outstations and even how difficult it was for parishioners to walk in to the mission at Amabui. Jim Lehr commented in one interview many years later that rainfall – lack of it or abundance of it – was the most important topic of conversation for rural African people in Musoma Diocese. Their livelihoods depended on the seasonal rains and it was something over which they had no control.

June of 1960 finally brought an end to the rain for the first part of that year and also saw major changes in the personnel of the mission. John Wymes went on his furlough in April or May and in June Bill Madden was assigned to Nyarombo Mission in Luoland in North Mara. This meant that he had to learn a completely new language, Kijaluo. To replace him Joe Baggot was assigned from Nyegina Parish to Majita. Joe Baggot had come out in 1956 and in the intervening four years had learned both Kikwaya and Kiswahili. Rab, the pastor of Majita, appreciated Baggot's knowledge of Swahili, which enabled him to go into the middle schools to teach religion.

These assignments did not last long and in December, 1960, Baggot was re-assigned to open a new mission at Mugango, at that time probably the largest outstation of Nyegina Parish. Bill Madden was re-assigned back to Majita. Madden did not talk about his time in Nyarombo. He may have found it interesting to be in a different place and he probably learned some Luo, but the reasoning for assigning a Bantu-speaking priest to a Luo area does not seem clear, especially for only a six-month period.

For at least a full year, from mid-1960 to mid-1961, there were only two priests in Majita, unlike the four that were there in previous years. With many more outstations and more Catholics it would seem that there should have been more work to do, although this was not alluded to by any of the diaries or by those who were interviewed many years later. When the interviews took place Maryknollers had become used to having only one or two priests in a parish and did not see anything unusual in this. In addition to fewer priests in a parish, they also continued to take their one-month vacations every year and went to Nairobi at other times, for special shopping or health purposes. Staffing parishes became critical only when one of the priests was going on furlough to the U.S.

John Wymes was stationed back in Majita in 1962, although the exact month of his return is not known. Thus, there may have been three priests in Majita for much of 1962. The last diary from Majita was written by Rab Murphy in April, 1961, and did not say anything about personnel. It was a very typical diary, commenting on the rains, Holy Week, periodic sicknesses, the imminent national Independence, and that Brother Fidelis had returned again to do more repairs at the school. Eight years after first arriving in Majita apparently the work had become routine.

Those years, the 1950s and for most of the 1960s, were happy, fulfilling years. Madden stated:

We had a lot of people coming into the church and I found those to be very good days. With our pre-Vatican training [prior to the second Vatican Council] that was what we were supposed to do, bring people into the church and baptize them. So, they were very fruitful and rewarding years. Those were happy years for me, doing that type of work, going around, and bringing people into the church.

Morale was very high in those days. We were all young, active, new to Africa, and had a lot of things going on. It was exciting, going out on safari, and a lot of people were interested in coming into the Catholic Church. The people were responding and that was very helpful. We all seemed to be of the same age group, although there were a few older men, and I thought the spirit was very good.

However, Madden added that the main drawback to the early work was the almost exclusive focus on the catechumenate. Concentrating on bringing in new people to the catechumenate and teaching them meant they did not have time for follow-up after people became baptized. "We didn't have too much time except when people came to Mass on Sunday," observed Madden. "But I don't think we did enough formation work."

Lehr later commented that although there were frustrations in those early years, primarily due to learning difficult languages without a professional language school, they were also exciting years, due to the challenges and the priests' relatively young ages. Compounding the challenge of learning a tribal language was the prospect or fact of

being assigned to another parish and having to learn a completely different tribal language. Lehr said that with the change-over to use of Swahili in all the parishes (except for the Luo and Kuria parishes), things became easier, although they still had the challenge of different customs.

In 1962 Rab Murphy went on home leave and on his return to Tanganyika later that year he was assigned to the new parish of Isenye. John Wymes became pastor, at least temporarily, but then he was assigned to Mugango Parish to replace Joe Baggot, the founder of Mugango. In January, 1963, John Graser was assigned to be the pastor of Majita. Bill Madden stayed on at Majita up till 1964, when he was transferred to Mugango, to replace John Wymes as pastor.

Beginning in 1963 there were changes in the structure of the catechumenate and other ministries in Majita, as was the case in most of the parishes in Musoma Diocese at about that time. These will be treated in the next section on Musoma Diocese, which will cover the years of approximately 1962 to 1990 (and beyond for some of the parishes).

Zanaki Parish

In 1955, in April or May, Monsignor Grondin requested Art Wille, who had been at Komuge Parish since 1951, to open a new mission among the Bazanaki people, an ethnic group that lived in the area stretching from fifteen to forty-five miles east of Musoma town and who numbered between 25,000 and 30,000. In this case, the primary factor in opening a mission among them was not to serve another large ethnic group but due to the immense distance from Musoma town parish to the end of the parish boundaries at the edge of the Serengeti Park – about one hundred miles. In fact, there were very few Bazanaki who were Catholic, perhaps twelve in all, according to Wille. The new parish was to encompass an area of about 3,000 square miles and, according to the diary written in October, 1959, had nine distinct language groups with a total population of about 65,000. These included a number of small Bantu groups, such as the Wakabwa, Waikizu, Wakiroba, Waisenye, Wanata and Waikoba, but also the Nilotic Luo people and many Wasukuma (called Washashi) who had moved up to the Bunda area from south of the Serengeti plain. The plethora of languages not only made priestly and catechetical ministry very difficult for the priests assigned to Zanaki Parish but in fact led a few years later to its becoming one of the first rural parishes to adopt Kiswahili as the parish language.

Since the Zanaki group was the largest, it was recommended that Wille study this language. Wille had the good fortune to obtain an excellent teacher in the Kizanaki language, Julius Nyerere (Cf Part Two, pages 53-61). Wille felt that he had not learned the Kisimbiti language well, in great part due to lack of a good informant and written materials. Prior to Wille being asked to start Zanaki Mission, both Monsignor Grondin and Bill Collins had become aware that Nyerere had moved from Dar es Salaam back to his home area of Butiama. They recommended that Wille approach Nyerere and ask him if he would help him learn Kizanaki. Nyerere accepted with exuberance, as Wille explained.

He was very happy that there was going to be a mission among his tribe, because he was a very committed, devout Christian. At that time there were only about ten Zanaki Catholics.

Julius moved into his friend Oswald Marwa's house in Mwisenge (a neighborhood of Musoma town) and I moved into the rectory of Musoma town parish. Bob Moore was then the pastor and Moe Morrissey was his assistant. Julius came to the rectory every day, for about three months.

In addition to teaching me Kizanaki, he also wrote an English/Zanaki grammar, translated two catechisms and their explanations from Kikwaya, and translated the Sunday epistles and gospels into Kizanaki. He said that if he had been detained in prison by the British he would have translated the whole New Testament into Kizanaki. He used the Swahili, English and Latin bibles to do his translations, and wanted to use the Greek New Testament, which we didn't have. He knew all these languages.

Nyerere also helped the Prefecture get a plot for the new parish. At first Wille wanted to build in Ikizu, which was more central and already had a good nucleus of Christians. But the Chief there, Makongoro, refused to give the Catholic mission that plot. Ken Sullivan, who came in 1957, said that the Chief was advised by a group opposed to the Catholics that that particular area was a sacred place and there should be no construction allowed. It was also a Seventh Day Adventist stronghold. But then through the intercession of Nyerere and his brother, Chief Edward Wanzagi, Wille was given the plot of Mangorombe, where the mission is located. This was an ample plot for all the future building plans of the mission, but the property had the unfortunate side effect of becoming very swampy in heavy rains and furthermore there were absolutely no Catholics in the whole vicinity of the mission.

The territory for Zanaki Parish began about six miles from Musoma town, at a place called Nyabangi, where there was a Mennonite Mission, and went all the way out to the Serengeti Plain, a distance of about 100 miles. Mangorombe is about eighteen miles from Musoma town, on a road that is usually passable even with rain.

After three months of a good language introduction, Wille was able to move out to Zanaki Mission. While living in Musoma he had used a block-making machine to make a large number of cement blocks. He said, "While at Komuge I had learned how to build a mission and I was not going to take two years to build or live in corrugated iron houses." The first house he built was a three-room structure that had a bedroom, kitchen and storeroom, which was intended to eventually be the kitchen and laundry for rectory use. He then began construction of the rectory itself, which was just about complete when the next priest, John Casey, arrived in September, 1956. Zanaki Parish is officially listed as having begun in 1956. While construction was going on Wille also started going around trying to get to know the Wazanaki people.

He discovered that there were no Catholics in that area but three miles away, at Busegwe, there was a Seventh Day Adventist mission that had been started in 1905. Wille commented, however, that "they condemned so many cultural practices of the Zanaki that the people turned them off. Even though they had been there for fifty years they had only about 200 SDA Christians and many of them were not practicing. The few who were practicing were Wajita or Washashi, but not Wazanaki. In fact, the SDA religion was called the *Dini ya Marufuku* (Religion of Forbidding), because they forbade so many things." Wille added that later on almost all the children in primary schools

chose to study the Catholic religion because of the pejorative reputation of the SDA church.

The Mennonite mission was in the opposite direction, towards Musoma town, but they too had very few Zanaki Christians. Ken Sullivan later commented that through the schools many children were baptized but that despite this there never were a large number of Wazanaki Catholics. The priests' efforts were to find much more success with the other ethnic groups in the parish.

With regard to both the Luo and Sukuma Catholics within the new parish, the practice was continued to having Luo-speaking priests come regularly to serve the pockets of Luo people and likewise Fathers George Egan and Eppy James came up from Nassa Parish in Shinyanga Diocese to serve the Wasukuma Catholics in Bunda, called Washashi in the 1950s. Fr. Joe Corso, who had been assigned in 1957 to minister to the Luo Catholics in South Mara, actually came to live in Zanaki in the second half of 1957, due to its proximity to Iramba and to the two big mines of Buhemba and Kiabakari where there were large concentrations of Luo. As the years went on and Swahili became known by everyone these arrangements with other parishes ceased to be necessary.

At least one important effort at inculturation was undertaken. Wille had been advised by Julius Nyerere regarding Zanaki culture and particularly about the custom of *Nyangi*. This word means a celebratory feast, and can be used even for a marriage, circumcision, or birth of a baby. But it is used primarily to designate the feast through which a man or woman becomes an elder and gains in social status. Wille elaborated on this structure:

The social structure represented for both men and women various stages of respect. They would start being initiated into a particular group before marriage and then after marriage they would continue to have a feast. At the time of the feast they would be initiated into a higher level of social structure. With the men there were seven levels and the top was called *bukieru*. Nyerere said that these were all secret initiations; what took place in them was secret. He himself had never been initiated because he had gone away to school as a child, but his brother and mother had been initiated and explained about them.

As far as Nyerere could see, this was not paganism. There were in the initiation ritual actions concerned with sexuality, nakedness and such things that are not agreeable to us as Christians, but these could be changed, depending on the initiators. When his brother Wanzagi, who was the Chief, was initiated to become an *Mkumwamu*, the first of the three big initiations, where they are given the black fly swatter and made an elder of the tribe, they wanted him to do something. He was a very good man, although not a Christian, and he didn't want to do this action. He told them that instead he would kill another cow for them and they agreed. So these actions could be changed.

Julius advised me very strongly that if the Church was to make progress we should try to get Christians who were initiated and have them initiate other Christians into the social structure. They could change the rites if they reached the top *Nyangi*. The initiations could still be secret.

Some of the actions were dealing with toughness. For instance, they would take burning sticks and hit them very near the person being initiated. The pieces of wood would fly up and burn them. They had to endure this type of trial and not cry out.

But he said that we should show respect for the Nyangi, which I did.

One way in which Wille showed he respected the structure of Nyangi was to go through an initiation feast himself and become a tribal elder.

One Christian was a Mukieru (top-ranked elder) and I told the Bakieru and all the local people who had Bakumwamu that I wanted to be initiated and they agreed. I said I wanted to be initiated into the top rank and skip all those other stages and they agreed to that also. I went out hunting and brought back a lot of game meat [usually impala, topi or wildebeest], bought a lot of flour and had the local Christian women cook for the three days. I also had twelve 50-gallon barrels of beer [indigenous beer brewed from fermented maize or millet], which we kept filling up with boiled water. We were mobbed with all the top brackets of elders and for three days I kept providing them beer and food. I didn't go through any of the initiation rites but they were all very happy and at the end they gave me the insignia of the Mukieru, the white fly swatter and ostrich eggs.

After that, for about three years, I was invited every other day or so to a Nyangi, which I was seldom able to go to due to being very busy. But I was known as a Mukieru and whenever I showed up anywhere the people would bring out a chair, as they knew my rank and wanted to show respect.

But I think I made my point with the people that the Church was not against the Nyangis.

In August, 1956, eight Maryknoll priests and one Brother (George Carlonas) departed from New York for East Africa, one of whom was Fr. John Casey, originally from Massachusetts. After arriving in Italy, the group then sailed on a small Italian freighter, "the famous Diana," through the Suez Canal and Red Sea, down to Mombasa, where they were met by the Regional Superior, John Rudin, who accompanied them by train up to Nairobi. Art Wille was in Nairobi on his one-month vacation and he informed Casey that he had been assigned to Zanaki. Whereas the other newcomers departed quickly for Tanganyika, Casey waited in Nairobi until Wille finished his vacation.

They arrived at Zanaki around the end of September or beginning of October. Casey discovered that the rectory had not yet been completely finished and he had to live in a small outside building for about a month. His first impressions were that "there were very, very few Catholics, it was a real bush mission, in bush country, and there wasn't much development" (he used the catch-all Swahili word for development, *maendeleo*).

Casey set himself to learning Kizanaki, using the written materials that had been provided by Julius Nyerere and the help of a local informant. Wille had put the emphasis on teaching religion in primary schools and after a few months Casey joined in this apostolate. There were a number of schools in the parish but they concentrated on three large ones that weren't too far away, Busegwe, Butiama and Bukaroba, and on occasion they went out to the ones located further away. Catechists took part in these instructions

in schools and often the priest would take out a group, dropping off people at schools along the way. The priests taught in Kizanaki, even though the normal language of the schools was Kiswahili. Most of the students were Bazanaki or they understood Kizanaki. Both Wille and Casey had their own vehicles, Chevrolet pickup trucks.

A kambi had been established at Zanaki Mission, although the number of catechumens for the six-month course tended to be quite small, never over thirty. The priests usually came back from the schools for lunch at the mission and then in late afternoon would teach in the Sacrament Course. The course had a full schedule, starting with morning prayers and Mass, several classes in the morning hours, manual labor, a rest period during the hot time of day, two more classes in late afternoon, followed by evening prayers. Casey described the make-up of the catechumenate:

There were a few families, but generally more women than men, but there were a few men. Very few were Bazanaki, though. Most were from the other tribes in the outlying parts of our parish. They had to bring their own food from home, but generally they were at the kambi seven days a week. They had a very tight schedule and at the end of six months they were baptized.

Each outstation had a catechist and after a while they started having instructions for the catechists at the mission every Saturday, but only for those who lived within twenty miles of the mission, not for those from the far-flung places. The catechists chose those who would study in the outstations for a year and a half and then with the priests passed those who could come to the mission for the six-month Sacrament Course. As was happening in other parishes, by around 1961 they de-centralized the catechumenate and had the full year-and-a-half or two-year course at the outstations only, taught by the catechists. At that point, Wille said, catechist training at the mission every Saturday became a primary emphasis of the priests.

During this whole time Wille was very involved in building, while at the same time going out to outstations. It's not known exactly what the order was, but by 1959 the church, a school, teachers' houses, offices and other buildings had been constructed, with plans to build more that year.

In September, 1957, they were joined by a third priest, Ken Sullivan, who had been ordained that year. There were nine in that group, six for Musoma Diocese (about to be a diocese the following month) and three for Shinyanga Diocese. Once again Art Wille was not in Zanaki, but in Rome for his vacation. When the Maryknoll group arrived by boat at Rome and went into the Maryknoll house, Wille informed Sullivan that he had been assigned to Zanaki. After arrival in Nairobi, Sullivan was driven to Tanganyika by Dick Quinn, stopping for one night in Kowak, where they were welcomed by Ed Baskerville and Bob Moore, and the next day they continued on to Musoma. From there Quinn left immediately for his mission in Iramba, while Sullivan stayed one night at the Bishop's house. The next day Bert Good, who was holding down the fort in Musoma Prefecture until Rudin became Bishop, drove Sullivan out to Zanaki. Sullivan noted, "His brakes weren't working too well and I was afraid if we went around a sharp turn we might not be able to keep the jeep on the road." John Casey was alone at the mission and

welcomed Sullivan to Zanaki. Casey was doing all the teaching and administration that month, even though he was still struggling to learn Kizanaki.

Casey arranged for an informant to come and help Sullivan learn Kizanaki. Sullivan also used the materials that Nyerere had translated, which included a large vocabulary list and “much detailed information on customs, marriage customs, how people do things, and what’s important in their lives. It gave us a whole background on the Wazanaki people, which was his tribe, of course.”

As was the case with Casey the previous year, Sullivan first spent three to six months learning Kizanaki and then joined the other two priests in their morning trips (often called safaris, using the Swahili word) to schools to teach religion. After lunch Sullivan often went to another place, sometimes to teach religion in a school or just to walk around meeting people. Unfortunately, he slowly discovered that at some of the places he was visiting the people were not Wazanaki and they were speaking one of the other local Bantu languages. Naturally he couldn’t understand what they were saying, but he thought it was because he just hadn’t learned Kizanaki well enough. Sullivan said that by then, the 1950s, Swahili was becoming more generally used and even in local Zanaki-owned shops the man would use Swahili rather than Kizanaki, compounding the confusion of a newcomer.

When interviewed many years later, Sullivan talked about the large number of catechists they had in Zanaki Parish, many of them very good, and particularly about the head catechist, a former Army man named Antoni. “He was a very effective speaker and teacher and was held in high regard by all of us. Sadly after we had left Zanaki he married a second wife and left the church. We found this very tragic.”

Sullivan also said that although they were able to baptize a large number of children from the schools, they got very few Wazanaki adults to join the church. Most of their converts came from the other ethnic groups in the parish. As a result places like Ikizu and Isenye became big centers, whereas Mangorombe, where Zanaki Mission is located, never grew very much. Two other centers that became very big and were located within Zanaki tribal territory, Buhemba and Kiabakari, had many non-Zanaki people who had come to work in the gold mines. The outsiders were the ones going through the catechumenate and joining the Catholic Church. In addition to this, according to Wille, there were very few Wazanaki catechists and at Buhemba and Kiabakari the catechists were Luo.

Many of the ethnic groups in the parish, and especially the Wasukuma from the Bunda area, refused to speak or learn religion in Kizanaki. The dilemma of multiple languages within one parish was constantly building up as they reached the end of the 1950s. By 1960/61 Wille decided that they needed to learn and use Kiswahili. When he first arrived in Nyegina in September, 1951, he had begun learning Swahili and still knew some in the late 1950s. Both Casey and Sullivan moved from Zanaki to Isenye Mission in 1961 and 1962 respectively, and both opted to use Swahili at this new mission. However, Kizanaki did not immediately disappear. When Fr. Bob Vujs was assigned to Zanaki in 1961, he learned Kizanaki and did not learn Kiswahili until he took the first four-month course at the new Language School in Makoko in 1964.

At that same time, in 1961, they abolished the Sacrament Course at Zanaki Mission and had the full course in the outstations, called centers. Wille explained:

In the early 1960s in the diocese the whole question of bringing people into the mission began to be considered. Time became much more important for the people. With changes in the economic system in the country, the political situation, all these changes made us rethink our policy of bringing people in for six months. I was one of the first, along with Fr. Mike Pierce, who was up in Tatwe Mission [in North Mara with the Luo people; to be treated in Part Four], to start the system of teaching the catechists every week, spending all day Saturday preparing the catechists for their lessons for the following week.

That was the beginning of the change of instruction for catechumens; the catechists would teach those preparing for baptism in their own kigangos.

We also would go out. In the morning we would teach in primary and middle schools and right after lunch we would go out to teach catechumens in the outstations. So, for John Casey, Ken Sullivan and I most of our time was spent in instruction, teaching children in the morning, hauling catechists around, supervising the program, and teaching ourselves.

Of the three priests at Zanaki, only Ken Sullivan expressed regret at the loss of the six-month course at the mission.

That was something I always miss, to have people live at the mission. You get to know them and they get to know you, and there's a spirit that grows up between yourselves. I felt it was a loss when all this activity moved out of the mission. I always felt there was an advantage to have them there and there was a linkage to the mission.

In addition to afternoon trips to outstations that weren't too far away the three priests also had long-distance safaris to places fifty to eighty miles away. Wille mentioned the names of some of these places: "We would take three or four-day safaris to go out to the far ends of the mission, which would be Mageta, Isenye, Nata and Ikoma, and we would stay overnight in various villages to meet with the few Christians." In those places mud huts had been built for them to sleep in.

It is worth citing here briefly some of the comments written by Joe Carney in his doctoral thesis, from Chapter Six on the Evolution of Maryknoll Catechetical Systems. He noted that questions had already been raised in Masonga and Kowak parishes of North Mara as early as 1956 about the value of having people come to live at the mission for six months and of the critical role of the catechist, for whom much more training was essential. Finally in 1960 matters started churning forward at the Congress for Mission Catechetics held at Eichstatt, Germany, July 21-28, 1960. "Experts were invited from around the world to give papers on all aspects of the dynamic of the missionary church and the role of catechists." Bishop Blomjous of Mwanza was one of the key speakers and on his return to Mwanza he encouraged his priests as well as those in Musoma and Shinyanga to appreciate the importance of trained catechists. Already in 1956 he had started the Bukumbi Catechist Training Centre outside of Mwanza.

Blomjous listed four important points regarding the catechists' role:

- 75% of religious instruction for catechumens and schoolchildren was being done by catechists.
- Catechists were presiding over prayer meetings and liturgical celebrations in outstations in the absence of the priest.
- Catechists were embodying the lay apostolate in action, discerning and wrestling with the kernels of an African Lay Theology, and in fact doing spiritual counseling with people in their villages.
- And in a country where there was likely to be a scarcity of priests for a long time catechists exemplified the Church to the African in a way that expatriates never could.

In 1959 Shinyanga Diocese had already approved starting a catechists' training centre in Shinyanga, which was begun in 1961. (Cf Part Five on Shinyanga Diocese, and Part Six on Musoma Diocese after 1961 about the opening of another catechists' training centre at Komuge.) There was much inter-diocesan communication between the Maryknollers of Shinyanga and Musoma, and also with the White Fathers in Mwanza, and ideas were fermenting in all of these dioceses. Thus, by 1961, coinciding with Tanganyika's Independence in December of that year, it had become clear to Maryknollers that the catechetical system and content had to be implemented with methods more appropriate to the changing social and economic situation.

One valuable tool that they began using in 1961 was the catechetical book, *Njia ya Uzima*, meaning Way of Life, which had been translated into Swahili for use with adult catechumens. Art Wille brought this book to Zanaki and taught the catechists to use this book rather than the previous catechisms they were using. This book was also disseminated throughout Musoma Diocese at that time.

As we will see, however, the two most concrete changes, decentralization of the catechumenate to the centers and greatly increased emphasis on catechists' training, entailed much more work by the priests. They had already been having a full week's worth of work and now as the 1960s began it seemed they would have to work even harder. And a change in the catechetical system was only one of the fundamental changes in parish work that was to occur in the 1960s. [These will be the main themes of Parts Six and Seven on Musoma and Shinyanga beginning in about 1962.]

Two other priests came to Zanaki for a brief time: first was Maryknoll Father Bob Moore, the former pastor of Musoma town parish and also a long-time priest among the Luo people, mainly in Kowak Parish, who came to live in Zanaki in 1959. He spent most of his time going out to meet with and do apostolic work with the Nandi people who had migrated down from Kenya in the first half of the 20th century and had occupied an area some distance from Zanaki Mission. Since he knew Swahili, he also did the teaching of religion in middle schools (grades 5 to 8) located in various parts of the parish territory. By the late 1950s, according to John Casey, Moore had taken on an anthropological fascination with all the diverse languages in that part of Tanganyika, and was extending his curiosity to eastern Africa as a whole. Casey commented, "He had a theory that there was one original language that everybody spoke thousands of years ago and he was trying to track back the vocabulary to find that original language." In later years, when Moore

worked in Kenya and Ethiopia he continued his inquisitiveness into the original roots of African languages.

In 1961 an African diocesan priest, Fr. James Busongo, was assigned to Zanaki. He was originally from Tabora but later assigned to Musoma Diocese. In Zanaki, since he knew Swahili, he did the teaching of religion in the middle schools and covered the outstations where Swahili was the language for liturgy, sacraments and the catechumenate.

As mentioned above, Bob Vujs was assigned to Zanaki in September, 1961, joining Wille, Casey, Sullivan and Busongo. However, Casey was transitioning over to start Isenye Parish and Sullivan was about to go on furlough, with the plan of joining Casey in Isenye in 1962. Vujs learned Kisanaki and, he mentioned later in an interview, was able to understand and speak Kisanaki very well by 1964. By 1961, Art Wille was also doing much of his parish work in Swahili; as a result, Vujs concentrated solely on Kisanaki-speaking areas for his first three years in the parish. In 1964 he learned Swahili and beginning in 1965 he used only this language in subsequent pastoral assignments.

A very important component of the early years of Zanaki Mission was the establishment of a convent of IHSA Sisters in the year 1960 or beginning of 1961. Wille talked about this at some length.

There was a little competition in getting the first convent between Joe Glynn, who had built a convent in Nyarombo (in North Mara, Cf Part Four) and myself. But there were only a few Sisters available and Sr. Mary Bowes, who was the Novice Mistress and Mother Superior of the IHSA Sisters at that time, decided that Zanaki was the better spot. Her reason, I think, was that it was close enough for her to visit them regularly.

Four Sisters, Consolata John, the first native Mother General of the IHSA Sisters, and Sisters Philomena, Peter Claver, and Annunciata John came to work at Zanaki. They joined the three of us and the catechists in working with the children in primary schools, because there was a period of religion every day in the syllabus. We took advantage of these periods and with the Sisters and catechists we were able to cover all the schools in the parish – and there were many schools. As new middle schools were built by the government we started teaching in those schools as well. At one time we had 2,000 children under instruction.

When a full primary/middle school was built at Zanaki, Sr. Consolata became the first head teacher there and Sr. Peter Claver also taught there.

During school vacation months we also had courses for schoolchildren at the mission. They would come in for two or three weeks from as far away as Isenye. The children would bring in flour and we would go out and hunt meat. We would get women to cook for them and the children would live at the mission sort of as in a camp. In the morning hours we would have instructions and then in the afternoon sports. So, I think that was the beginning of our evangelization among these people and many of those children eventually became Christians. They also influenced their parents to become Christians.

While in Zanaki, John Casey had covered both Isenye and Nata outstations, which are along the same line a long distance from Zanaki, going out to these places for two or three days every month. He brought along a tent to sleep in, since he once had a bad incident with bugs and lice in a mud hut. Because he had been working this area for several years and there was a good nucleus of Christians at both places, he was requested to start the new parish in Isenye, which was officially begun in 1961. Bishop Rudin had a team of builders overseen by an Indian contractor and they built the rectory and church, after which Casey moved in to the new mission. However, first in 1961 he moved to Bunda as Fr. William (Bill) McCarthy was alone there. Bunda had been started in 1960 by McCarthy and Fr. Joe Baggot. Later on in 1961 Casey moved over to Isenye.

In 1962 Casey was going to the U.S. on his furlough and Ken Sullivan was assigned to Isenye to fill in for him. Later in an interview Sullivan described his first five years at Zanaki.

I think working with Art Wille and John Casey was good. It set a pattern for me in my life in mission methods, in concern for the people, and a great love of the people. That was passed on to me in those first years that I spent at Zanaki. That was a place where I was very happy, we all got along very well, and it was a happy house. It was a wonderful blessing and where I learned how to be a missionary in Tanzania.

The type of work being done by the priests in Zanaki in the early 1960s was not that different from the 1950s, according to Bob Vujs.

My Monday to Friday routine was to carry Sr. Philomena, IHSA, and five catechists in my Peugeot pickup truck to five primary schools, where we taught. At mid-day I took them back to the mission. After lunch and a break I would go out alone on my motorcycle to one outstation or another, where I would teach the adult catechumens. We ran a six-month catechumenate, with baptisms in December and June.

The constant routine was exhausting over a three-year period.

Exhaustion and burn-out will be an important topic looked at closely in one of the future sections of this volume. In the 1950s Maryknollers were young and energetic and their efforts were being rewarded. In the coming decades things became more confusing and energy levels began to diminish, creating difficulties for some.

Vujs said that two important things that created difficulties at Zanaki were the multiple languages in the area and the vast, irreconcilable differences between “European marriage laws” and African marriages. His following comment remains valid today and has still not been satisfactorily answered:

It seems that a healthy, mature Church would have been built on respected, mature men who had proved their worth by caring for large households. The question is: why not allow these men to become Catholics while keeping all three wives, but not permitting them to marry anymore?

Vujs, Casey and Sullivan all commented on the negative response of the Bazanaki ethnic group to Christian religion in the 1950s and 1960s. All of them said that there was a much better response from the other ethnic groups within the far-flung areas of what was then a very large parish. It wasn't just Christian religion that they rejected: Vujs said in an interview that in 1958 a group of Bazanaki adults burned down a primary school so that their children could not go to school

Ken Sullivan also said that the Zanaki were not interested in national affairs, contrary to Rab Murphy's belief while he was in Majita that the Zanaki were very involved in nationalist politics. The Bazanaki had only two concerns, according to Sullivan: taking family and community disputes to court and attending the Nyangis. Julius Nyerere was from their ethnic group but most of them never exhibited much excitement about this fact.

Art Wille remained a close friend of Nyerere up until the latter's death in 1999 and is one of several Maryknoll priests promoting the cause of beatification and even sainthood for Nyerere. Despite this, Nyerere did not visit Zanaki much, mainly because of his duties and living in Dar es Salaam. On occasion he came in to Sunday Mass, if he was at home on the weekend, and on one occasion he was invited into the rectory for tea and lunch, when Fr. James Busongo and the IHSA Sisters were there. Nyerere was pleased to see that the Catholic Church was being Africanized. Bob Vujs also recounted the anecdote that on his first day in Zanaki, in September, 1961, at about the time that Nyerere had just been elected the first Prime Minister for independent Tanganyika, Wille took him out to Nyerere's home in Butiama, about ten miles from Zanaki mission. They had an enjoyable visit and Nyerere taught Vujs how to eat ugali African-style.

In 1964 Art Wille was named to be the first Director of the Catechists' Training Centre in Komuge and he began preparation for this. John Casey was brought back to Zanaki to be pastor. In July, 1965, Bob Vujs was assigned to Bunda and was replaced at Zanaki by Joe Baggot.

We will conclude this section on Zanaki at this point. More will be said about this parish in the next section on Musoma Diocese, from the year 1962 onward.

Muhoji Parish

As was mentioned in Part One, Luo people had migrated down from eastern Uganda and western Kenya into northwestern Tanganyika in the 19th and 20th centuries, settling predominantly in what is called North Mara. As of 1951 they were being served by two parishes, Kowak and Masonga, which was started in 1948. However, it was noted by the Maryknollers that concentrations of Luo had migrated into parts of parishes in South Mara, especially to several mines, one in an area to the east of Iramba, and at two mines of Zanaki Parish, Buhemba and Kiabakari, and also in areas around Majita Parish, especially along the lakeshore south of Majita. There were also many Luo in Musoma town. None of these latter parishes had yet been started in 1951.

When Musoma town parish was started in 1952 the decision was made that this would be solely a Swahili-speaking parish and the Luo in the town were expected to use Swahili when dealing with the parish or taking religion lessons. (Cf comments on this above on page 24.)

It is possible that Luo-speaking priests from Kowak were being asked to visit Luo communities in South Mara prior to 1953 and there is documentation that Bob Moore

visited some places in 1952 and 1953. The first official assignment came at the beginning of 1953, when Msgr. Grondin assigned Dan Zwack from Masonga to Nyegina with the express purpose of traveling around to the Luo communities in South Mara, in order to conduct church activities in the Luo language. Zwack continued doing this up to the end of 1956, at which point he was assigned to be one of the teachers in the newly begun diocesan minor seminary, located at Nyegina.

Zwack was never interviewed for the history project and no diaries were ever written from Muhoji, so we have little documentation on all his efforts over the four years he did this work. One fascinating snapshot of his ministry was related in the diary of May, 1954, from Majita Parish about the famous Easter visit in April, 1954, by Zwack and Msgr. Grondin to Majita in order to confirm a number of Luo Catholics (Cf above pages 38 to 40).

In an interview many years later, Fr. Joe Corso, who came to Kowak, Tanganyika in 1955 and was assigned to replace Zwack in the South Mara Luo ministry in late 1956, said that in the year or so prior to joining the staff at the minor seminary Zwack had managed to obtain a ten-acre plot in a part of the Serengeti Plain southeast of Majita Parish and about twenty miles southwest of Bunda (Bunda Parish had not yet been started). In 1957 this plot became Muhoji Parish.

Corso stated that this plot proved to be far from ideal: "There was a complete lack of communication to this place. There was no main road there, it was far from any town, and the soil was mbuga, that is, black cotton soil that becomes hopelessly muddy and impassable in heavy rain. It was also the Serengeti, with a heavy concentration of wild animals there, including rhino and lion." There were also very few people living close by and ironically most of them were Bantu, either Kuria or Bajita, even though Luo-speaking priests were assigned to Muhoji. Often the priest or priests living at Muhoji, after the parish was built, were isolated and incapable of getting out of the place for several weeks on end due to the rain and mud. Bouts of depression and symptomatic reactions similar to claustrophobia were later reported by some of the priests assigned to Muhoji, due to the difficult conditions and isolation experienced there.

Corso claimed that Bishop Rudin and Zwack chose the place, but it could not have been Rudin, who did not become Bishop until October, 1957. The decision about the place had to have been made by Zwack and Msgr. Grondin well over a year before Rudin became Bishop. In fact, the choice of the place may have been made before Rudin became Regional Superior in March, 1956, while he was still in Shinyanga Diocese. So, Corso, in his interview many years later, was probably mistaken on this point.

In fact, Rudin may never have wanted to have the parish in Muhoji, but was forced to support it as the plot had already been obtained. Furthermore, just two or three months after Rudin was made Bishop, Corso began to build parish buildings out at Muhoji. At least one other Maryknoller who was in Muhoji in the 1960s opined that he thought that Rudin was definitely not enthusiastic about Muhoji, even if he did admit that the apostolic outreach to Luo Catholics in South Mara was valid. In any event, after Corso had constructed a large church in Muhoji in 1958 with his own personal funds Bishop Rudin sent his contractor and builders to Muhoji to build the rectory.

Joe Corso was ordained in June, 1955, and was part of the large group assigned to Tanganyika that year, seventeen in all, fourteen of whom went to Shinyanga. When they

arrived at the port of Mombasa in September the three who were assigned to Musoma Prefecture, Corso, Walt Gleason, and Jack Manning, disembarked and were driven by vehicle to Nairobi. From there they were taken again by vehicle by Mons. Gerry Grondin directly to their parishes: Corso to Kowak, Gleason to Komuge, and Manning to Rosana. For the next fourteen months Corso struggled with learning the Luo language, without much in the way of materials, no organized course, and a middle-school student as the informant. Corso joked that the boy was trying to learn more English from Corso than teaching Luo. Thus, about fourteen months later he was surprised to be assigned to replace Zwack in the South Mara Luo ministry. This was at the beginning of November, 1956, and for about two months Zwack accompanied Corso around to the various places, helping him get adjusted to the new type of work.

Corso moved to Nyegina and stayed there to about mid-1957, at which point he decided to move out to Zanaki in order to be closer to Iramba and the two big Luo centers at Buhemba and Kiabakari, where there were large mines that had attracted many Luo seeking employment. Corso stayed at Zanaki for about three or four months (there is no record of this in the interviews of Maryknollers who were assigned to Zanaki nor in any diary from Zanaki), after which he moved to Majita for a few months while the initial temporary buildings were being constructed at Muhoji.

The first building was very large, with two large rooms that served as sleeping quarters, an office, a church on Sundays, and a storeroom for all the construction supplies. This building later became a bush school, for grades one and two, and eventually part of the primary school for that area. Corso then built a permanent building that had three rooms: a bedroom, an office/kitchen, and a dispensary. A very good Luo mason was in charge of the construction and Corso sought and received much valuable advice from Brother John Walsh, who was in Musoma at that time. In 1957, Corso began building the large church, which measured 34 feet by 100 feet. There was nothing decorative about the church but it had an office, sacristy, asbestos roof, and a very strong foundation. Corso used his own money to build the church, which took two years to complete; Bishop Rudin came out to dedicate the church in 1959.

Bishop Rudin, despite his misgivings about Muhoji, sent out his team of builders from the diocese to build the rectory, which was completed in late 1959.

In addition to building and traveling the long distances to the various Luo centers – the place at Iramba was 27 miles beyond Iramba and 100 miles from Muhoji, a round-trip total of 200 miles, on rough, dirt roads – Corso also began to set up catechumenates. Already in 1957 two catechumenates were started, which included the six-month Sacrament Course, one at Iramba and the other at Kiabakari. Two other places also had Luo catechists, one at a place called Ogwema very near Majita mission and the other at Buhemba. Zwack had hired an experienced and very helpful catechist, Michael Okelo, who was from Kiabakari but moved to Muhoji when it was built. The catechumenate and six-month Sacrament Course were started at Muhoji only after the necessary buildings were built, either for the second half of 1958 or at the beginning of 1959.

By then his knowledge of the Luo language had become adequate although he felt it was still far from desirable. [Editor note: three years is not sufficient to become fully proficient in a tribal language, no matter how good the language course is.] Corso also sought help regarding catechetics, which he gratefully received from Zwack, Bob Moore, while he was at Musoma, and Art Wille in Zanaki. “I got a lot of ideas on teaching

methods, on language, and on the proper words to use. So, I was involved pastorally to a point, even though my main task was still procuring building supplies.” After getting settled at Muhoji he also began establishing outstations in that area, although generally they were ten to fifteen miles from the mission and mainly to the south along the lakeshore.

With his funds from the U.S. he also hired a person to run the dispensary at Muhoji, a service to the people in the area.

Corso described a typical day at Muhoji:

I would start with Mass at about 7:15 with the few people who were around there, although later we had people who had started the catechumenate. We also had a few widows living on the parish compound who used to help clean the church and do some other things. After breakfast I started with teaching in the catechumenate, up to about mid-morning, and then the catechist would continue. From mid-morning to lunchtime I would have various tasks to do in the office, including selling religious items, discussing *shidas* (problems), or checking on what the parish clerk was doing. The clerk had two roles in the parish as he also taught in the bush school at Muhoji.

Sometimes I could go out to nearby outstations before lunch, mainly just to visit people at their homes. On occasion I would say Mass at outstations during the week, usually in early afternoon before there would be any rain. Then after 3:00pm I would take another class in the catechumenate.

Saturday was the usual day to have Mass in outstations because workers only worked on that day for half a day. Mass would be around 1:00 or 2:00, so that I could get home by 3:00 for confessions at the mission. On Sunday there were two Masses, one at Muhoji and another at a big outstation. When there were two of us we tried to get to all the big centers twice a month. However, the furthest one, Iramba, we would get to only once a month or sometimes only once in six weeks. That was a devil of a safari.

At the beginning of 1960 Fr. Joe Trainor was assigned to Muhoji and remained there for two years. Trainor had been ordained in 1950 but only came to Tanganyika in 1957, after seven years on development in the U.S. He studied Luo in Masonga and then worked in Nyarombo Parish for two years before coming to Muhoji. A general feeling had arisen in the diocese that Corso had been alone in Muhoji for too long and would benefit from having someone else there. Relations were good except for Trainor's penchant for giving away things to beggars.

When Corso went on home leave in 1961 Trainor was alone in Muhoji and he too felt the isolation and loneliness of that place. On one occasion, during the heavy rains of 1961 while Trainor was alone, both mission vehicles were completely stuck in the thick mud. Apparently Trainor felt completely abandoned, overcome with the need to escape from Muhoji. He walked out to the Kibara Road, about ten miles, caught a bus to Bunda and then another bus to Musoma. Joe Corso related this anecdote but did not mention how Trainor got back to Muhoji.

Prior to that, in 1960 Fathers Steve Schroepel and Bill McCarthy lived at Muhoji for about a year, while the rectory at Bunda Parish, twenty miles away, was being built.

The rectory at Muhoji had been completed and had sufficient quarters for four priests, as Joe Trainor had also arrived then. Bishop Rudin's team of builders was building two rectories that year, at Bunda and Mugango, and also putting the finishing touches on the rectory at Muhoji. In 1961 Schroepel and McCarthy moved to Bunda and then later that year Corso went on his home leave.

In 1962 Bishop John Comber, the Maryknoll Superior General, paid a visit to Muhoji, with a very specific intention in mind. He said to Trainor, "I want you to come back in promotion." Later in 1962 Trainor filled in at Nyarombo for some months and at the beginning of 1963 he went to Detroit to resume the promotion work he had done in the 1950s.

When the Sacrament Course was started at Muhoji, taught by the priests and Michael Okelo, all catechumens were expected to come live there for the six months except for those from Iramba, which was too far away. The Luo center at Iramba continued to have its own catechumenate and Sacrament Course. The catechists at all the centers formed their own organized group and held meetings once every six to eight weeks. Okelo presided over the meetings although Corso set up the meetings and tried to be at meetings on occasion. Corso said, "I could have done more with them than I did. I didn't get a chance because of my other involvements to work that closely with them."

The catechists were paid by the parish, utilizing a subsidy from the diocese. The Head Catechist (Okelo) received Shs. 100/- a month (\$14.00) and others from 35/- to 40/- (\$5.00 to \$6.00). In their interviews, neither Corso nor Trainor said if the Sacrament Course was discontinued at the mission in the early 1960s, as was happening in all the other parishes in Musoma Diocese, although we can presume it was stopped at that time.

In 1965 the parish sent a man to Komuge for the first two-year course at the Catechists' Training Centre. By the time he returned to Muhoji Corso had moved on to a different assignment. In 1964 Corso had gone to Makoko to study Swahili and in 1965 went to Tabora for language practice. On his return he was assigned to Tarime Parish, a town parish which was in need of someone who spoke Swahili. Corso presumed he would also use Luo in Tarime, being so close to Luoland, but in fact he seldom spoke Luo in Tarime.

In June of 1965 Fr. John Hudert, who had been ordained in 1962 and had worked in Tatwe and Kowak since then, using the Luo language, came to Muhoji to replace Corso. He was followed shortly by Ken Sullivan, who had worked in Zanaki for four years, where he learned the Kizanaki language, and then Isenye for two years, before going on furlough in 1963. While in the U.S. he took the short course in Swahili offered by Fr. George Pfister at Maryknoll, NY, and then in 1964 he took the Swahili course at Makoko. He presumed he would go back to Isenye but in the meantime Frs. Rab Murphy and Bill McCarthy had gone to Isenye. Thus, Sullivan was assigned by the diocese to Muhoji to work with the Bantu-speaking people of the parish, primarily Bajita living in the hills between Muhoji and Bunda.

For the other parishes in South Mara we have suspended the history at about the year 1962 and will continue it in the next section on Musoma Diocese. However, given that Muhoji Parish was closed in 1969 we will write here about further developments in the parish between 1965 and 1969, which in fact were very few.

There are two matters that can be mentioned. First is that even John Hudert was coming to the realization that he would need to learn Swahili. President Julius Nyerere had called in 1962 for Kiswahili to be the national language, including being the primary language used in Parliament and also the only language for the seven years of primary school (the eighth grade was dropped in the early 1960s due to lack of trained teachers). Hudert and Sullivan had divided up the parish into Luo and Swahili areas, but at times Hudert had to say Mass in Swahili even though he preached in Luo. As of 1963, the second Vatican Council had changed the language of Mass from Latin to the local language. Hudert knew how to read the prayers of Mass in Swahili but did not know what he was saying. He mentioned this to Bishop Rudin and began to plan on when he could take the Swahili course at Makoko.

Another important matter was that the new pastor of Zanaki as of 1964, John Casey, decided that Buhemba and Kiabakari should revert wholly under Zanaki Parish. Bishop Rudin had decreed regarding Muhoji Parish and its outreach to Luos that they could go into another parish only if the pastor allowed it. Hudert didn't say why Casey changed the policy and Casey himself never even referred to this matter when he was interviewed. It does not seem that clerical control of territory was at issue here as all were Maryknollers and they knew that they could be transferred to a different parish at any time. We can only surmise as to the rationale for this change. Most likely it had to do with making Swahili the only language of the parish, which meant that Luo people living in the parish had to use Swahili from that time on – just as had been the case in Musoma town back in 1952. Hudert himself averred to this, saying that a special apostolate to Luos in places like Iramba and Zanaki could naturally give rise to similar requests from other ethnic groups who had migrated out from their tribal territories. Furthermore, Luo working in the mines of Kiabakari, Buhemba and Iramba could not claim that they did not know Swahili. Swahili had been the lingua franca of Tanganyika since the early or mid-1800s and as of 1962 was the national language. The Luo of both Tanganyika and Kenya had migrated all over East Africa since the 1800s and knew they had to speak Swahili, and English, in their new locales.

Although the refusal by Zanaki Parish to allow the priests of Muhoji to serve Luos in the centers of Zanaki was a sensitive issue in 1965, it was just a few years later that the diocese decided that a non-territorial ethnic parish was no longer needed.

There was a third minor matter that can be mentioned. Sullivan and Hudert closed the dispensary at Muhoji, due to lack of funding. Corso received a lot of financial assistance from the U.S., which he used to subsidize parish ministries in Muhoji, such as building the church and other buildings on the parish compound and operating a dispensary. Although Sullivan felt bad about closing the dispensary he said that the people were not being left in the lurch; the government had a health clinic at Saragano, about five to seven miles away.

Ken Sullivan stayed in Muhoji for only about a year and a half. In 1965 his father had died in the U.S. and by 1966 he was receiving reports that his mother was having difficulty living alone at their home in New York. He went on furlough in 1967 and remained in the U.S. for the whole year. On his return to Tanzania in 1968 he was assigned to Musoma Town parish.

From the end of 1966 to the end of 1969 Hudert was alone in Muhoji at times and at other times a priest was assigned to be with him for a short period of time. In 1967 Fr. Joe Masatu came to Muhoji while Hudert was in the U.S. on home leave for six months. Masatu then went to Majita Parish, which was the neighboring parish. In 1969, John Graser came to Muhoji for a few months but was then asked to be the procurator at the Language School in Makoko.

In 1968, though, Hudert had an interesting experience. Fr. Alexander Choka was alone in Bunda Parish and apparently was having trouble handling the accounts and other records at the parish. Hudert commented about this:

They asked if I would go over and help him with the financial books, not knowing that I am very poor in finance. But I was able to help and we had companionship there. It was the first time that I had lived with an African diocesan priest and it was good. When the team (i.e. several Maryknoll priests assigned to Bunda as a team) came to Bunda in January, 1969, I had already been there about nine months.

I still covered Muhoji. I had nothing to do with Bunda itself except for staying with him and being a companion. I commuted the twenty miles back to Muhoji each day.

Hudert finished out the second half of 1969, again alone in Muhoji, after which he finally in 1970 was able to take the course in Swahili at Makoko, going there from January to May. After finishing the course he was assigned to Bunda.

When Hudert left Muhoji the parish was closed permanently. The rationale for the parish had ceased to exist, as Swahili had become the language of all parishes in Musoma (even in those parishes that continued to use either Luo or Kikuria). The problems with the black cotton soil and the impassable mud had never disappeared. And within the actual parish territory there were ironically more Bantu-speaking Catholics than Luo-speaking Catholics. Given that Bishop Rudin never favored having a parish in Muhoji, the parish was closed.

Four new parishes, 1960/61:

In 1960/61 four new parishes were established in South Mara – Bunda, Mugango, Kiagata and Isenye. This statement needs to be put in context. Between 1959 and 1962 four additional parishes were established in North Mara as well, making eight new parishes in a four year period. These eight were in addition to the nine parishes (including Muhoji) that had been established in Musoma Prefecture/Diocese between 1948 and 1956, in addition to the original two of Nyegina and Kowak, bringing the total number of parishes in Musoma Diocese in 1962 to nineteen – in only sixteen years. Why was this done and was it really feasible?

Let us cite some other statistics. From 1946 to 1962 Maryknoll sent out sixty priests and six Brothers to Musoma Prefecture/Diocese (Shinyanga received an additional thirty-seven priests and six Brothers), making it seem that there should have been enough personnel to staff nineteen parishes. However, in the early 1960s Maryknollers were

staffing two schools in Musoma, Mara Secondary School and Makoko Seminary; two Maryknollers had gone to Dar es Salaam and one other (Paul Bordenet) took on a mission apostolate in Nairobi in late 1962 (Director of Catholic Relief Services; this was an implicit sanctioning of Maryknoll seeking work in places other than Musoma and Shinyanga). Others had left Musoma: two were on the General Council, three had gone to Shinyanga Diocese in 1954, others had left East Africa for various reasons, and some priests were needed for diocesan administrative work. Diocesan priests had not yet begun to make up the difference; as of 1962 there were only three of them.

There was a further impending difficulty that could impede adequate staffing of new (and established) parishes: from 1955 to 1957 fifteen priests had come to Musoma Diocese and all were due for their six-month furloughs in the U.S. between 1961 and 1963. A few others who had come earlier in the 1940s or 1950s were also due for furloughs at that time. In fact, this became a serious hindrance to making cogent parish assignments, resulting in something akin to musical chairs for several years. The diocese wanted to have at least two priests in each parish, but at times a priest had to be alone for a period of time, usually months rather than years.

Bishop John Rudin, in his interview many years later, offered several reasons for this flurry of new missions.

The men we got from Maryknoll were young and most were just newly ordained. They liked the combination of work in a parish and after a while there was a desire to have your own place, to be your own pastor in those years, in the fifties and early sixties.

When I got there in the fifties Maryknoll was receiving a good number of bequests for memorials for soldiers killed in the Second World War and Korean War. So, we asked for money to build chapels. We tried to pick out places where there were a number of Catholics there already and then we would go out there. The gifts ran from \$600 to over \$1,000, and since labor was cheap – only fifteen cents a day for carpenters and masons – we could build a pretty good church. The chapels were thirty feet wide and ranged in length from fifty to eighty feet, depending on the number of people. Brothers Fidelis and John Walsh, who was also an architect, could give us a lot of advice and oversee the construction. They had trained the builders we had on our teams. I also got some very fine masons and carpenters who had been trained by the Benedictines at Peramiho in southern Tanzania, who went out as the lead builders [similar to foremen]. I had a tractor for hauling sand and other things, a cement mixer, and a cement block-making machine. So, we could build very cheaply.

Our idea was to build small enough rectories and chapels so that when the local African Fathers came along they could just move right in. We put out word in the outstations that if they could get 1,000 or more Christians in their place then we would try to get them a priest to live there.

Bishop Rudin did not mention that it was likely in 1961 that he, Bishop Edward McGurkin in Shinyanga, and the Maryknoll Regional Superior in Nairobi all believed that the steady influx of new Maryknollers to Tanganyika would proceed apace. The building of huge Maryknoll seminaries in the U.S. at that time is indication that this was

the general perception throughout the Maryknoll world. The looming vocation crisis and exodus from the priesthood were unforeseen. The number of Catholics in Musoma Diocese was increasing at an appreciable rate and there were many boys in Makoko Seminary, even if very few were going on to the Major Seminary. The 1950s and early 1960s were heady days for Maryknoll in general and for the Maryknoll dioceses in Tanganyika.

Throughout the 1960s the number of Maryknollers in East Africa grew very slowly to peak at just over 100 in 1972. And in a telling statement, after 1962 no further parishes were established in Musoma Diocese until Mugumu was started in 1975 and Nyamiongo in 1986, by which time diocesan priests were starting to make up for the progressive decline in Maryknoll personnel.

We will look briefly at each of these four parishes started in South Mara in 1960/61, and in most cases follow their history up to the mid or late 1960s.

Bunda Parish

Bunda Parish was started in 1960, taking away territory from Zanaki Parish (primarily) plus smaller amounts of territory from other parishes. This was the area referred to by the priests of Zanaki as Washashi, which is the Sukuma word meaning foreigners or migrants; the word referred to Sukuma who had migrated out of Sukumaland. However, the word Ushashi was dropped and the town gave the parish its name.

Actually in 1959 there was no town or shopping center in Bunda, which was the name of the place at a major junction of several roads, fifty miles south of Musoma, along the main road to Mwanza. To the east of Bunda was the road out to the settled areas going towards the Serengeti Plain, and to the west was the road to Lake Victoria and the Ukerewe Islands. This latter road was called the Kibara Road, from the town of Kibara about halfway to Ukerewe.

A number of ethnic groups lived within the new parish but the most prominent was the Wasukuma, the largest ethnic group in Tanzania, which occupied the whole area southeast and south of Lake Victoria beginning at Bunda. The Sukuma are not an aggressive group but there was and still is a constant migration of individual Sukuma seeking to settle in new areas where they can engage in subsistence farming and cattle herding. Often when sufficient numbers of Sukuma settle in an area the local small tribe previously resident there adopts the Sukuma language and eventually Sukuma culture.

As a result the original intention was to make Bunda a Sukuma-speaking parish within Musoma Diocese. Ed Hayes visited the place where the parish was to be started in August, 1959, along with Fr. Mike Pierce, and explained about the beginnings of the parish.

While waiting for others of the class of 1959 to come to Musoma, on a later boat, Mike Pierce and I took a long trip to Shinyanga. On the way back we came to what is now Bunda and Mike told me that the Bishop was starting a new parish here called Ushashi. He said that Steve Schroepel had been sent to Shinyanga to study Kisukuma and that he would start the parish. So, it would be the first Kisukuma parish in the diocese.

Up where the parish was built was a large ginnery called Ushashi and that seemed to be the center. I don't recall any kind of town or center at what is now Bunda. I suspect that at the time of Uhuru (Independence in December, 1961) it started to grow and it was seen that it must become a Kiswahili-speaking parish.

The first pastor of Bunda was Schroepel and in 1960 he attended the Diocesan Synod, which was for pastors only. He was the youngest member of the Synod so they made him secretary.

Unfortunately, none of the first three priests assigned to Bunda, Steve Schroepel, Bill McCarthy, and Joe Baggot, was ever interviewed. Two other priests were there briefly in 1961, John Casey and Bob Moore, but only Casey was interviewed and he had little to say about his short time in Bunda. Furthermore, there was only one diary written from Bunda and that was not written until May, 1966, by Bob Vujs. Thus, we have almost no documentation on the beginnings of this parish. However, we do know, thanks to mention of it by Joe Corso, that in 1960 Schroepel and McCarthy lived at Muhoji Parish, twenty miles from Bunda, while Bishop Rudin's team of builders constructed the rectory and church. We don't know exactly when they moved into the rectory, but it was either at the end of 1960 or beginning of 1961.

When John Casey went to live at Bunda in 1961, while Isenye Mission was being built, Schroepel went to Moshi to study Kiswahili, as Kisukuma had been rejected as the language of Bunda Parish. He lived for a short time at Mugango in 1961 and then moved into Musoma Town. Casey said that the other two at Bunda that year were McCarthy, the pastor, and Moore. It seems that Moore stayed at Bunda less than a year.

Both Schroepel and McCarthy had come to Tanganyika in 1958 and first went to Nyegina before being assigned to Bunda. In 1959/60 both of them were in Shinyanga Diocese learning Kisukuma. In 1963 McCarthy was assigned to Isenye with Rab Murphy and was replaced at Bunda by Joe Baggot, who had started Mugango Parish in 1960 and then went on home leave in 1962. In 1964 Ed Wroblewski, who had been the first Headmaster of Mara Secondary School, was assigned to Bunda. Wroblewski talked a little bit about what Bunda was like in the mid-1960s.

The town had just a few small shops where you could buy food and other things, because that is where the buses stopped and people changed from one bus to another. It was only later that Bunda developed into a town.

When I arrived in May of 1964 the church and rectory had already been built, on top of a hill where there were very few people, about a mile and a half from the town. I don't know what the mentality was for building so far from the town, whether for privacy or need for protection, but we seemed to have followed a European mentality of not locating where the people are but away from them. Or maybe it was that the land on that hill was not good for anything so it was easy to get the plot on which to build.

[As mentioned above by Ed Hayes, in 1959/60 Ushashi on top of the hill was the center and not Bunda. It was unfortunate that the parish was put there as just a few years later Ushashi lost its population and Bunda town grew rapidly.]

In 1965 Baggot was transferred to Zanaki Parish and Wroblewski was made pastor. He was joined by Bob Vujs, who had worked in Zanaki since 1961 and then studied Swahili at Makoko in 1964. They both worked hard in developing two major outstations along the main road, one of which was called Kung'ombe, about eight miles from Bunda. Vujs said that the parish had many small outstations, each with a catechist, but that they wanted to be able to provide Mass to as many people as possible each Sunday, by saying Mass only in the two large centers on Sundays, in addition to the Mass at the parish.

People from the town were expected to walk up the steep hill every Sunday, a burden that lasted for many years, and Wroblewski thought that there should be some kind of church building in the town. He looked for a way to do something about this, as he explained.

I knew the District Commissioner in that area and then I got a piece of land in the town. He gave me permission for this because he knew I wanted to start a social center. It was mainly for some type of literacy program or domestic science courses or for a place for children to come to. There was an abandoned outstation in the area and I moved all the roofing and other building material to the town and we built a building that we called the Center. It's still known by that English word today – Center.

It became a busy place. Instead of having the people going up the hill we could have meetings down there and it was close to the people. So, it became a common place.

The priests also celebrated Mass there at times, although it would be many years before a church or chapel was built in the town for regular Sunday Mass.

Vujs was in Bunda only one year, to July, 1966, and said that he did not do much building in Bunda, except for a small social hall at the parish compound on top of the hill. He later summarized the work in Bunda:

The emphasis was on convert work and building Christian community life. The general pattern was to leave the mission at 10:00am and return about 4:00 to 5:00pm, traveling to various outstations by motorcycle to develop catechumens and Christians. On Saturdays catechists came into the mission for formation and leadership training.

Vujs mentioned also that the new catechetical book in Kiswahili, *Njia ya Uzima* (Way of Life), had become available and was seen as an excellent tool for the catechists. The priests facilitated discussions on how the catechists could use this book profitably. In addition Vujs mentioned that at that time the new liturgy in local languages had also begun, which included having the priest face the people during Mass. Vujs commended Maryknoll in East Africa for scheduling seminars with noted theologians, such as Barnabas Ahearn and Adrian Hastings, to enable Maryknollers to understand the changes brought about by Vatican II. He and Wroblewski also began teaching religion in

secondary schools while in Bunda, although Vujs did not say which school or schools they went to.

Vujs was assigned in July, 1966, to Musoma Town Parish, which was without a priest at that time. Wroblewski stayed as pastor in Bunda till 1967. He went on furlough that year and on his return he was asked to embark on a very new assignment for Maryknoll, at a city parish in Arusha. It's not clear who replaced Wroblewski, but it was probably Alexander Choka. John Hudert said in his interview that he was requested to live with Choka at Bunda in 1968 for about nine months, to help take care of the financial books while he continued to do parish ministry in neighboring Muhoji Parish. Choka remained at Bunda until 1969, at which time a new team ministry of three Maryknollers was assigned to Bunda.

We will cut off the history of Bunda at this point and resume it in the next section on Musoma Diocese.

Mugango Parish

Mugango is a little town about thirty kilometres (18 miles) south of Musoma along the road to Majita, pleasantly situated on a rise above Lake Victoria. As has been the case with other parishes, the first three priests assigned to Mugango, Joe Baggot, Steve Schroepfel, and John Wymes, were never interviewed for the history project. Likewise, no diary was written from the time the parish began in 1960 until Fr. Jim Roy arrived at the beginning of 1965. Fortunately, he wrote a good account of the establishment of Mugango in his first diary of February, 1965. We will quote portions of what he wrote.

Fr. Joe Baggot came here in December, 1960, and lived in the sacristy while the masons were gluing the bricks with cement and the carpenters were putting in the roof, the windows and the doors. (Construction had begun earlier in 1960, by one of the diocesan building teams under Bishop Rudin.) It seems that in March, 1961, the house was somewhat finished, so he moved into the rectory. He lived alone in 1961 and 1962, without water and other necessities. The church was also built at that time and blessed in August, 1961.

When Baggot left in July, 1962, for his home leave, Fr. John Wymes came and stayed until March, 1964, when he was assigned to be the Bishop's secretary in Musoma. Although Wymes was also alone he managed to continue the good work and developed some of the out-chapels on the outskirts of town. He helped make Mugango one of the "best" parishes.

Fr. Bill Madden came here in 1964, when Wymes left for Musoma, and is now in charge. He is one of Fr. Rab Murphy's famous curates. Murphy takes great pride in the men he helped form at Majita: Jim Lehr, Ed Wroblewski, Wymes and Madden have all been curates of Fr. Murphy and all are outstanding men in the diocese.

We have no documentation of Schroepfel's stay at Mugango and it was probably short-lived, after which he was assigned to Development in the U.S. When Baggot

returned to Tanganyika in 1963, he was assigned to Bunda, as Bill McCarthy was to go on home leave later that year.

Roy mentioned that he had previously been in Mugango for three days in October, 1961, while he was still studying Kikwaya at Nyegina, in order to help Baggot with baptisms of several hundred adults and children. When he returned three years later the people remembered him, and called him "*Padre Mugenyi*," meaning the Guest Priest in the Kikwaya language.

Mugango was not a large parish, with its furthest outstation less than ten miles away. Two priests who worked in the parish have slightly different descriptions of the people. Fr. John Casey, who was in Mugango from 1968 to 1974, called the people Waruri and similar to the Bajita. Jim Roy called them Baruli (this is the Bantu form of Waruri, which is Swahili), but said that there were also Bakwaya in the parish, and that the language of the Baruli was similar to Kikwaya, "with a few idiomatic differences." When Roy was there he spoke only Kikwaya and seemed to have no trouble communicating. By the time Casey arrived he was using only Swahili and so did not need to do much research into the local language. Casey knew Kizanaki, which was not helpful to him as it is noticeably different than Kikwaya.

Madden said that he arrived in Mugango in April, 1964, and was alone for his first year there. He had been at Majita Parish for over five years where he learned and used the Kijita language, but in Mugango he was forced to use Kikwaya. Although both languages are similar, it takes time to switch over to a different language. Fortunately, while he was in the U.S. on home leave in the fall of 1963, he was able to take the two-month course in Swahili offered at Maryknoll by Fr. George Pfister. On his return to Tanzania (Tanganyika had been re-named Tanzania in April, 1964) and assignment to Mugango, Madden began trying to use Swahili in his pastoral work.

In 1965, after Roy had come to Mugango, Madden made use of the language school in Musoma and took the full Swahili course. He went into Musoma on Monday mornings and stayed till Friday afternoons, returning to Mugango for the weekend. To become really proficient in Swahili he made use of a three-month stay in Moshi, where he would be using only Swahili, and good Swahili at that. However, on his return to Mugango in April, 1966, he discovered that he still had to be bi-lingual. "Swahili wasn't that widely spoken in Musoma in those days. So, we would speak Swahili mostly with the African men, but with the old women, who hadn't much of an education, we would use Kikwaya." The Mass and other liturgical celebrations were done solely in Kiswahili, though.

While Madden was in Moshi, Roy wrote the diary of April, 1966, and commented at length about the change-over from local languages to Kiswahili, which we will quote here.

It seems strange that we have been so late in recognizing the importance of Swahili. We have been proud of having used the vernacular but now times have changed. In an article in "Practical Anthropology," of May/June, 1965, Jacob A. Loewen wrote:

A missionary's proficiency in the vernacular will make informal witnessing easier and more relevant, at least with his tribal neighbors,

while the 'hominess' of the vernacular will permit a man to find the basic needs and fears of his life and thus permit a deeper penetration of the religious experience. It will permit the resulting new church to draw heavily on the tribal leadership and thus give stability and authority to the church even while it is in its infancy.

But the vernacular can also be limiting: it is limited to a small minority group; it leads to ethnocentrism; it can lead to suspicion of other ethnic groups; it causes tension between generations; it limits or makes impossible the broader witness; and the group can become an island.

The vernacular is best for the initial contact with the gospel. The national language makes possible the broadening of the application of the message, a more ecumenical witness, and ties the local church with the national and international church.

A vernacular language in Musoma may be spoken by only 2,000 to 45,000 people and once away from the tribe it is a foreign language. Emphasis now on Kiswahili, which is a Bantu language, will help us rather than hinder the work of the Church in East Africa.

Roy's comments seem to capture the opinions of most Maryknollers working in the South Mara part of Musoma Diocese in the mid-1960s, coinciding with the establishment of the Language School, which will be dealt with in the next section on Musoma Diocese. Those working with Luo, Kuria and Sukuma people were not yet ready, though, to move to using Kiswahili.

[Editor note: we have jumped the gun in describing the language(s) used at Mugango. The transition from local languages to Kiswahili and the establishment of the Maryknoll Language School in Makoko are actually major topics of the next section on Musoma.]

The work at Mugango, according to Bill Madden, was primarily in the catechumenate, as he explained.

We ran the catechumenate the same way (as Majita). I had three main outstations. The people would come in near the end for three weeks and we would baptize everybody together. In those days there were many people who wanted to come in to the church, so our catechumenate classes were very large. We spent a lot of time working with them.

When Roy arrived he mentioned in the diary of February, 1965, that there were over 200 adults studying for baptism. Madden commented later that there was an unanticipated weakness with this.

We put so much emphasis on the Sacrament Course that it seemed that when people got baptized that was the end. They didn't get any more formal instructions. You got baptized, that was the end, and you had it made.

There were so many people coming in that we didn't have time for a follow-up for the newly baptized. Our emphasis in those days was to get as many people into the church as possible, while people were interested. The catechumenate used up all our energy. We didn't have too much time for people except when they came for Sunday Mass. But I don't think we did enough formation work.

But we had a lot of people coming into the church. I found that those were very good days because, with our pre-Vatican training, that was what you were supposed to do, bring people into the church and baptize them. So, they were very fruitful and rewarding years for me, in that sense.

Madden also reflected that in his last year at Majita, in the first half of 1963, John Graser had become pastor and at that time the six-month Sacrament Course was discontinued at the mission, and replaced with a full-year catechumenate in each outstation. This was the policy that had been begun at Mugango, probably by Wymes in the year or two before Madden came, or possibly even by Joe Baggot, as he had been at Nyegina when Graser was pastor there. Madden explained the reasons for the change.

We felt it was a real hardship for the people to come in to the mission for six months. People were trying to get food, bringing in food for a week, and staying at the parish they were away from home. Some of them had young families and you couldn't bring the whole family in. So, it was a problem.

That was the time of Vatican II and liturgical changes were coming in, including the use of Swahili in all pastoral, catechetical and liturgical practices. Madden complained that it was also a time of many meetings in the diocese, "and getting into conflicts on what mission methods we should use, and for how long we should prepare people before baptism." He added that there was still not much work in social development, except that in a few places Maryknollers were trying to help people in agriculture. "At that time going out to where the people were and trying to bring them into the Catholic Church is where we used up most of our energy."

Jim Roy said that the parish had a number of catechists. Each outstation had catechists and all were paid small salaries by the parish, the money coming from annual Maryknoll subsidies. In addition, all living expenses for the priests in the parish were provided by Maryknoll, and Maryknoll had built the rectory, church and school buildings. Musoma Diocese was overwhelmingly rural and Roy said that "the local people were mostly farming or pastoral people, who were not able to support the efforts of the Church at that time."

[Editor note: it would not be long until promotion of a financially self-reliant church became one of the pastoral priorities in Maryknoll dioceses and parishes. The long history of dependence on external aid may have been a hindrance to these later efforts. Likewise, the account here of the evolution in Maryknoll missionaries' thinking in Mugango in the mid-1960s typifies the discussions all over the diocese at that time and foreshadows what will be major topics in the next section on Musoma Diocese.]

Mugango had a school, as was the case with all parishes, but not a dispensary. Madden said that the priests used to dispense medicines, which was a routine daily ministry of service. Neither the diaries nor later interviews commented very much about these two activities, indicating that they were just normal, routine practices in Maryknoll missions in the 1950s and 1960s.

Madden discussed being alone in Mugango for close to a year, on two separate occasions, in 1964 before Roy came, and in 1967 after Roy had been assigned to the U.S. on development.

I didn't care about being alone, because it's nice to have someone else there. You can share the work and talk about what's going on in the parish. Mugango Parish had the advantage, though, of being only a half hour drive from Musoma. I used to go in on Wednesdays to shop, check the mail and attend the evening party at the beach at Makoko, where I would meet all the other Maryknollers.

In the diary of July, 1965, Jim Roy talked about another fascinating exercise going on in two parts of Musoma Diocese at that time. Two priest-anthropologists, both of the SVD congregation, were welcomed to Musoma Diocese by Bishop Rudin. Fr. Huber went to Nyegina to do research on matriarchal societies and Fr. Bishoffgruber went to Zanaki to write his doctoral thesis on Bazanaki age groups. Roy mentioned in the diary that he and other Maryknoll priests were very interested in anthropological research findings and ethnology. The White Fathers had studiously written diaries dating back to the 19th century, filled with much ethnological material that was of great benefit to any who were willing to read the diaries. Roy and Dan Zwack were at least two Maryknollers at Nyegina who had read all the diaries going right back to the beginning.

The big event in Mugango in the mid-1960s was the ordination of Fr. Joseph Masatu on August 18, 1965. Although Masatu's home was in Mugango, he had gone to the primary school in Nyegina prior to the establishment of Mugango and while at Nyegina Fr. Bill Collins had encouraged him to join the seminary. It was a great day for the diocese as Masatu was the third local man to be ordained. Four thousand people came for the celebration, including priests from all nineteen parishes of Musoma Diocese and Fr. Eppy James from Shinyanga Diocese. To feed everyone they slaughtered 16 cows, 8 sheep and 8 goats, and complemented the meat with 15 bags of rice, gallons of cooking oil, salt, spices and other things.

In April, 1967, Roy received what was for him a very sad letter: the Superior General had assigned him to Mission Promotion in the United States, to coincide with his furlough. He didn't realize it then, but he would not work in Musoma Diocese again. On his return to East Africa in 1970 he studied Swahili, went to Tanga and Dar es Salaam for language practice, and then went to Nairobi, Kenya, to help in the new Maryknoll parish in Jericho, a working class part of Nairobi. The rest of his career in East Africa was spent in Kenya.

For the remainder of 1967 Madden was again alone in Mugango, as related above, until Fr. John Casey arrived in February of 1968. The two of them served in the parish until early 1969, when Madden was requested by the Regional Superior of Africa, Joe

Glynn, to help out for three months in the financial office in Nairobi. The previous treasurer, Fr. George Haggerty, had gone back to the U.S. and Joe Glynn often had to take long trips to Tanzania. Madden had accounting knowledge and was on the Regional Council, and thus was tapped to take on this task – “temporarily.” Temporary became permanent, and Madden also never worked in Tanzania again. For the next twenty-five or so years he worked in Kenya, as Regional Treasurer, in parishes and for two terms as the first Regional Superior for Kenya.

In the next section on Musoma Diocese we will continue with events in Mugango, beginning with John Casey as pastor.

Kiagata Parish

According to the official Musoma Diocese website, Kiagata Parish was started in 1960, and in fact the first pastor, Fr. Frank Flynn, began living there in September, 1960. He had been the rector at Makoko Seminary from 1956 to the end of 1959, at which time he was asked by Bishop Rudin to open the parish in Kiagata. Flynn knew some Swahili, which he had studied on his own in Nyegina in 1955, but the decision was made that he go to the new parish of Tarime, which had been opened in 1959 by Fr. Joe Reinhart, and learn the Kikuria language. While in Tarime, Flynn came down with hepatitis and for some months he was not able to do any hard physical work. Flynn said, “It knocked me out but it wasn’t a serious attack of hepatitis. This interrupted the language work, although I continued on part-time. I stayed off the heavy work and was able to start the mission in Kiagata as scheduled.”

No diaries were ever written from Kiagata and the first two priests assigned there, Flynn from 1960 to 1965 and Ray McCabe from 1965 to 1970, had relatively few comments on this particular mission when they were interviewed many years later. Kiagata was a major outstation of Iramba Parish, located about eighteen miles closer to Musoma along the road that runs from Musoma through Iramba and on to Mugumu and is about thirty miles from Musoma town. The people of Kiagata are mainly Bakuria unlike in Iramba, where the majority are Bangoreme.

First, let us quote what Flynn had to say about the new mission at Kiagata:

Kiagata was a very well-run outstation from Iramba. It was well-covered, the Masses were set up, and it was just like moving in and increasing the effort. I had a lot of cooperation from Dick Quinn at Iramba, who was quite interested in getting Kiagata settled. (Cf page 22 above) It was just sort of a continuation of what was already happening, separating the books, and increasing the local Sacrament course.

McCabe commented on the type of work that Flynn did while at Kiagata in the early 1960s.

Frank did not have an opportunity to do much in the way of experimenting as he was pretty busy in building the place, such as the rectory and the church. He did a good job in providing service to the people and giving instructions.

McCabe came to Kiagata in Easter of 1965, and Flynn was going on home leave in the U.S. in June of that year, at which point McCabe became pastor. When Flynn returned to Tanzania later in 1965, he was assigned by Bishop Rudin to join Maryknoll Father Jack Manning in Isibania Parish in Kenya. This was a very new undertaking for Maryknoll in Tanzania, a cooperative arrangement between Rudin and Bishop Maurice Otunga of Kisii Diocese in Kenya, by which Maryknollers who worked with the Kuria people in Tanzania would take on the one Kuria parish in Kisii Diocese of Kenya. (Otunga later became the Cardinal-Archbishop of Nairobi.) Regarding Maryknoll's taking on of Isibania Parish, please refer to Volume One, on Maryknoll History in Kenya.

We will leave off the history of Kiagata here and return to it in the next section on Musoma Diocese.

Issenye Parish

According to the Musoma Diocese website the parish at Issenye is listed as officially starting in the year 1961, although the construction of the buildings began there in 1960. (This place has two spellings, either Isenye or Issenye, but the latter is now the accepted spelling.) Issenye and Nata, which would become a major outstation of Issenye, were both outstations of Zanaki Parish and received monthly visits from one of the priests of Zanaki, who would drive out there and spend two to four days visiting the Christians and saying Mass at each place.

By the late 1950s Fr. John Casey began to be the one who visited these places each month. Fr. Ken Sullivan, who later joined Casey at Isenye and was with him at Zanaki in the late 1950s, said, "John was taking care of Issenye from the very beginning. He fell in love with going out there on safari, bringing his tent and setting it up. He'd go to an area where there were Catholics already, people who had been baptized previously."

In the latter half of 1960, while Bishop Rudin's team of builders under their Indian contractor were building the rectory and church at Issenye, Casey moved to Bunda to be with Fr. Bill McCarthy, who was alone. Casey stayed at Bunda about six months and finally in 1961 moved out to Issenye. He was alone at Issenye up till 1962, when he went to the U.S. on his first home leave.

Casey said that although there were Catholics at Issenye who had been baptized at Zanaki Christianity never caught on very well at either Issenye or Nata.

It didn't develop too well, even right up to the present day (Casey was interviewed in June, 1992). I think it still does not have a strong Christianity there. We attracted a lot of women and children, but didn't have too much success with men.

The mission did not have to build a school, since there already was a government school at Issenye. Likewise, the mission never needed to build a dispensary. The emphases at Issenye were safaris to outstations, primary evangelization, and the catechumenate. It was around 1961 that Mugumu also became an outstation of Issenye. Casey was actually the first one to go to Mugumu and report back to the priests at Zanaki at how promising it was, as Sullivan related:

We built the first kigango in Mugumu. They didn't have any kigango or structure for Mass or anything. We used to have Mass in the school. The people there wanted to build a kigango because (Mugumu) was more active than around the mission at Issenye.

John was the first one to go out there and the first one to bring reports back about this place growing up, a lot of people coming together from many different places, dukas being built. So, it was a promising place, all the way back in those days.

At Issenye Casey built a few African houses for the six-month Sacrament Course, although it is not known for how long this practice continued. In 1962, he went on his home leave and then was asked to teach in the Maryknoll Novitiate in Bedford, MA, for one year in 1963. On return to Tanganyika he went to Issenye briefly, but as other priests had been assigned there, he was asked by Bishop Rudin to replace Art Wille as pastor at Zanaki Parish.

Casey was replaced at Issenye in 1962 by Ken Sullivan. The latter's first memories of Issenye were of being constantly stuck in the mud, both around the mission and on the road to Musoma, due to the heavy Uhuru rains of 1961/62. Yet, he said he enjoyed it out at Issenye, even though he was alone.

It was my first time to be alone. The mission was still in the building stages and a lot of the work was going around to the villages and getting to know the Christians, and going out to Mugumu, which was some thirty to forty miles from Issenye.

A lot of the Christians were those who had been baptized at Zanaki and many of them I knew already. They were always right around the mission. They wanted to stay near the mission and be close to the church. They were friendly and were people you could go and talk to, because it's rather desolate if you are out there by yourself – but it's also nice.

Sullivan issued the same verdict as Casey on the lack of success in getting many adult conversions at Issenye; "a lot of school kids," he said. Women would come in seeking to be baptized, but the possibility of their entering into polygamous marriages made the priests wary of approving them for the catechumenate.

In any event, the mission was only two years old and Sullivan was also going on his home leave in 1963. Rab Murphy had just come back from home leave at the beginning of 1963 and apparently had raised money in the U.S. to build a new mission – church, rectory and all – at Saragano, between Bunda and Muhoji. Bishop Rudin, however, did not want a parish at Saragano and requested Rab to accept a temporary assignment to Issenye. When Sullivan came back at the end of 1963, he found that Rab liked Issenye and wanted to remain there as pastor. Sullivan then went for a formal course in Swahili at Makoko in the beginning months of 1964 and then was assigned to Muhoji.

When Sullivan left Issenye Fr. Bill McCarthy was assigned to Issenye and remained there with Rab for many years. Rab remained as pastor for about twenty years.

Unfortunately, neither Rab nor McCarthy was interviewed for the history project and there were no diaries written from Issenye. Thus, we have no further documentation of the progress of Issenye Mission until other priests arrived in the late 1980s.

There is one fascinating aspect of Issenye that is worth reporting here. This was the parish that served the tourist lodges in the Serengeti National Park as an outstation. Once a month one of the priests would go out there for a weekend to say Mass and perform other sacraments if needed, primarily for the African workers at the lodges. It is possible that on occasion a priest might also say Mass for the tourists at the lodge, although we don't have any documentation on this. This exotic outreach resulted in a Maryknoll Magazine article on Fr. Rab Murphy, titled "The Pastor of the Serengeti." Interestingly, although Rab lived adjacent to arguably the most famous national park in the world, he seemed more attentive to the yearly fate of the Boston Red Sox.

The rectory itself was on a rise overlooking a river valley some 500 to 1000 yards below. Rab put in a wide picture-window in the front living room of the rectory, granting the priests a spectacular view of hundreds of wild animals grazing and slowly migrating by in the valley below. As there were no electronic means of communication in those days, with the exception of the short-wave radio, Rab used to wryly refer to the window as his television set.

More will be said about Issenye in the section on Musoma Diocese from the mid-1960s to the 1990s.

Part Four of this history on Maryknoll in Tanzania will cover the parishes in North Mara in the same time-frame as this part, from 1948 to the early or mid-1960s. Readers will detect many similarities in Part Four to Part Three in the types of questions and pastoral responses of Maryknoll within the particular context of Musoma Prefecture/Diocese at that time.

We can briefly summarize these: first and foremost, Maryknoll wanted to establish a diocese and as many parishes as was feasible. Parish establishment primarily meant constructing all the necessary buildings – church, rectory, school and sometimes a dispensary/clinic – in as short and economical manner as possible, traveling around the parishes to meet the local people, starting outstations, building kigangos (outstation chapels), setting up a well-organized catechumenate, choosing catechists and providing some training for them, and inviting as many people as possible to join the catechumenate. Maryknollers followed the White Fathers practice of using local languages but by the end of the 1950s many were questioning this value versus the greater utility of using Swahili as the sole language, especially given the plethora of small tribes, all with their own languages, in Musoma Diocese. Likewise, by the beginning of the 1960s many Maryknollers had serious misgivings regarding the six-month Sacrament Course held at the mission for all those to be baptized. We have seen that by the early 1960s this practice was dropped in parish after parish.

Another important facet of mission work in the 1950s in Tanganyika was the impending eventuality of Independence, which even as late as 1959 many thought was still five to ten years in the future. The diaries did not aver very much to this overriding backdrop to their mission in Tanganyika. If the road to nationalism had taken a different, more violent twist, it could have had enormous consequences for Maryknoll's continued presence in Musoma – and in all of East Africa. The Maryknollers in Musoma and

Shinyanga supported independence and President Nyerere, and benefited from this decision.

The impending vocation crisis and loss of priests, primarily over the rule of celibacy, were also not foreseen in the 1950s. This in great part explains the assuredness of diocesan officials in opening up so many parishes in so short a time in the 1950s and early 1960s. The never-ending flow of new personnel seemed unlikely to end or slow down. Concomitant to this fact, we have not commented much on the health of the Maryknollers in Musoma, in a tropical country where malaria and other diseases are rampant. A few Maryknollers had bad accidents, fortunately very few, and in fact the health of the missionaries out in the rural areas was a major concern of the Regional Superiors in Nairobi. This is one reason why Maryknoll wanted two or three priests/Brothers living in each mission; and not only for physical health, but also for moral and spiritual health. But as of 1962, this does not seem to have been a serious problem, with the exception of the normal bouts with malaria.

As has been alluded to throughout Part Three, there was little discourse prior to 1962 on what came to be known as socio-economic development, with a few minor exceptions. This lacuna would not last long as the 1960s progressed, which we will see in later parts of this history. At the same time, all the missionaries were very aware of the extreme poverty of the people everywhere in the diocese. But their attention was focused overwhelmingly on establishing the church and they did not have time for anything else, with the exception of starting schools and a few medical clinics.

Likewise, as of 1962 there was no talk of taking on pastoral responsibility for other territories, either in other parts of Tanganyika, or in neighboring countries, and especially in other parts of the continent of Africa. Three exceptions had been made: staffing the Tanganyika Episcopal Conference (TEC) in Dar es Salaam, teaching at Kipalapala Major Seminary (cf ahead under Shinyanga Diocese), and Paul Bordenet's work with CRS in Nairobi, but these were deemed as exactly that – exceptions. It was not long, though, that the matter of branching out of the two Maryknoll dioceses in northwestern Tanganyika/Tanzania became a major topic of debate.

From this vantage point, over fifty years later, it does seem that the morale of the Maryknoll missionaries in Musoma Diocese in the 1950s and early 1960s was very good. Despite the physical hardships of this rugged place, they enjoyed their pastoral work and were gaining great satisfaction in what they were able to accomplish.

Thus, we can now go on to Part Four.