

PART FOUR  
PARISHES IN NORTH MARA SECTION OF  
MUSOMA DIOCESE, 1947 TO 1962

Part Four will look at the parishes started in the Luo and Kuria territories of Musoma Prefecture/Diocese, which were all served solely by Kowak Parish as of 1947. During this fifteen year time period four new parishes were started in Luo areas, Masonga, Nyarombo, Tatwe and Ingri, and three in Kuria areas, Rosana, Tarime and Bwiregi. Tarime, of course, was a town parish and parish ministry there required knowledge of Kiswahili.

Work in these parishes had two initial advantages: a priest needed to learn only one tribal language that he could use in other parishes (plus Kiswahili in Tarime town), and Tarime District separated from Musoma in 1947, right at the time Maryknoll was beginning work in North Mara. Thus, the priests did not have to go into Musoma to handle matters pertaining to the government.

There is one other parish that Maryknoll started in North Mara, namely Komuge among the Basimbiti people, who are similar to the Bakuria. This parish was treated in Part Three on the parishes in South Mara, as it previously had been served by Nyegina Parish. Later it became part of the Kuria Deanery.

There was a huge geographical divide between North and South Mara, namely the Mara River. Prior to August, 1957, there was only one way across the river, by ferry from Kinesi on the north shore seven miles across Mara Bay to Musoma. However, the priests and Brothers living in North Mara had easy access to Kenya and it was a very simple matter to cross the international border at least up to the early 1960s. Even when a rope-drawn ferry was put at Kirumi, at a spot where the Mara River is only 100 to 200 yards wide, it remained a challenging trip from most of the parishes in North Mara to Musoma.

As will be mentioned in this Part, the difficulty of traveling on Tanganyika's roads and crossing the Mara River resulted in two of the parishes in North Mara, first Kowak and then Tarime, becoming de-facto 'wayside inns' for Maryknollers traveling between Tanganyika and Nairobi. The necessity of having a place to stay just short of the Kenya border remained the case until the border between Kenya and Tanzania was closed in the mid-1970s and then later when a tarmac road from Kenya to Mwanza and a huge bridge over the Mara River were built in the late 1980s.

We will now look at the history of these eight parishes from 1947 to about 1962.

Kowak Parish:

We will first turn our attention to Kowak and to the four parishes started out of Kowak. As previously mentioned in Part One, as of the end of September, 1947, the only White Father who was left in Kowak was Erwin Binder, who was to remain there until 1950. The Maryknollers there were Bert Good, Joe Brannigan, Joe Glynn and Ed Bratton, the latter two beginning their study of Luo.

Both in Kowak and Rosana establishment and improvement of good primary schools were paramount goals for the Maryknoll priests, and in September, Good went to Kenya by motorcycle to order desks for the school at Kowak. He wrote that school desks were not available anywhere in Tanganyika. This was his first trip to the South Nyanza and Kisii Districts of southwestern Kenya, and he visited the missions of

Isibania, Rapogi and Asumbi, all run by Mill Hill Fathers. He stayed at Asumbi two nights, so that he could go into Kisii town to order the desks and arrange for transport. As on his visit to Nairobi in December, 1946, he was again impressed with the physical beauty of Kenya's highland areas and by the excellent mission facilities that had been built in both Rapogi and Asumbi. On his last night in Kenya he stayed at Isibania Mission, where he had a long talk with Fr. Conens about mission methods and his two-year catechumenate. Conens said that the introduction of the four-year catechumenate to the Bakuria in Tanganyika would throw them into confusion and would not produce many catechumens. In 1947, there were 60,000 Bakuria in Tanganyika versus only 30,000 in Kenya (according to Good). Good did not know what eventually would prove to be the best mission method, but he stated that the mission approaches to the Kuria did need to be harmonized. As for work with the Luo, he acknowledged that the two Luo missions in Kenya had wonderful buildings and many Catholics, but also wrote, "I feel that Rapogi is far behind Kowak in the spiritual aspect of the mission. One sixth of the Luo people of North Mara are already Catholic and catechumens have suddenly gone on the increase" (in Kowak/Shirati).

In late September, 1947, a few days after Bratton had driven Bishop Blomjous to Kowak, the Bishop and Joe Brannigan took a one-day trip to Kenya to a mine that was closing, looking to buy building materials, probably for the intended mission at Rosana. The diaries do not mention that they went to Rosana, but Brannigan in his interview many years later said that the two of them went one day to see the site at Rosana. This must have been during this trip, because after September, 1947, Blomjous did not come to Kowak much. While at Rosana, they met the Chief, with whom they measured out the plot of land they wanted. They also drew simple diagrams in the dirt of the various buildings, e.g. rectory, church, etc., they wanted to construct.

Bratton wrote the diary of October, 1947, and commented on the Luo people: their history of moving down from Kenya by means of at times warlike invasion, but generally through gradual encroachment; the tendency of many Luo to wear western clothing, including some in the latest fashionable styles; their stinginess with regard to paying for church upkeep, but their willingness to join the Catholic religion. Bratton noted that Kowak Parish had been open only a little over ten years but already had over 5000 baptized Catholics. He also commented that Luo do not want to be buried at the mission cemetery, preferring to be buried at their homes. He did not yet understand how integral this was to their cultural traditions and to the family's claim to land.

He and Glynn did not shy away from daily association with people. One relaxing way to learn language was to toss a tennis ball around with some of the youngsters who lived near the mission, although Bratton said that the kids were learning more English than the priests were learning Luo – English, it might be added, with both Brooklyn and Boston accents. Glynn took on the task of morning regulator, i.e. waking the priests up at 5:00am, and Bratton was assigned to take care of the sacristy. They also began building a shower room and trying to fix any holes in their ceilings or roofs. In December, Glynn was given charge of the school and Bratton was placed in charge of the labor force. Glynn also began procuring soccer balls and scheduling organized soccer games for the different age groups. In mid-December he announced that a soccer league was being started. This was misunderstood and on the afternoon of Christmas day the teachers came to the rectory to obtain their "free soccer balls."

In December, 1947, Bert Good wrote that he had paid the catechists their salaries of three shillings a month (about 60 U.S. cents), but that they would raise the salaries beginning that month. They also implemented a directive of Bishop Blomjous that each parish have a salary sheet, with all salary payments duly recorded.

Bratton and Glynn were edified by the Christmas celebrations: forty-four adults were baptized by Bratton a few days before Christmas, with Glynn registering all the names in the parish records. On Christmas Eve and day the church was filled at all Masses, with almost as many “pagans” outside the church. Good estimated that in all 3000 Catholics attended the Christmas Masses.

The diaries have no mention of Christmas Mass being said in Shirati, Tarime or Rosana. It’s worth noting that there were five priests at Kowak that Christmas and with Mass in Latin all were able to celebrate Mass, albeit only three had enough language ability to preach. Furthermore, concelebration was not allowed prior to Vatican II, although extra priests would serve as deacon and sub-deacon at the sung high Masses. At that time it seems that the policy was to centralize everything at the parish center. As we will see, the Maryknoll practice in later years was to de-centralize as much as possible, and on Christmas a parish could have more Masses in outstations than at the parish center.

In that month of December, 1947, perhaps the most important piece of news was that the Maryknoll Sisters had agreed to send four Sisters to Kowak in 1948. Bill Collins, Bishop Blomjous, and the Maryknollers at Kowak had been expecting a positive response from their request to the Sisters, but now there was confirmation of this. In their meetings in August and September, 1947, Collins and Blomjous had agreed that it would be Maryknoll’s financial responsibility to build the convent and dispensary, plus other buildings necessary, since Maryknoll would soon take over the diocese and ownership of all property in the diocese. Thus, it became incumbent on Collins to procure funding for construction, not only at Kowak but also at Rosana and Shirati. However, Blomjous did what he could to help, primarily by sending Brother Wilfred to Kowak in January, 1948, and Brother Aloysius not long afterward. The first thing Wilfred did was to build a tall limekiln for baking mud bricks.

In January, 1948, Bratton and Binder went out to Shirati for a week-long visit. While there they decided to build a house for visitors to stay in, so they would not have to be given accommodation at a hut of a person from the local area. Bratton wrote:

The local Christian community all got involved in the building of the new building, from tots to older adults. Girls hauled water from the lake; others churned up mud; others carried it to the brickmakers. Little children carried bricks from the church where they had been stored. A group of elders sat in the shade and watched, smoking their pipes and giving orders. By mid-day all the bricks had been used.

Bratton and Binder stayed in African houses (huts) near the church, which was at least two miles from Van der Heijden’s small houses in Shirati town. Bratton wrote that “they had been advised when they first arrived in Africa to never sleep in the hut of a native!” However, he went on to write, “the hut of a *misumba*, meaning a bachelor, is the

preferable type of house to sleep in, especially if well-made and clean, and if one brings one's own bedding and sleeping net."

While they were at Shirati the District Officer stopped by unexpectedly on other business. He was interested in seeing the plot of land the Catholic Church was requesting, and to know if the Chief and local people wanted a Catholic mission. A meeting was summoned and the people expressed great willingness for this. The DO was told by the gathering of Luo people that there were 2000 Catholics in the Shirati area. Bratton concluded, "As it looks now, we will probably get the ground very quickly, and it is one of the most beautiful spots you can find along the lake."

By February, 1948, Kowak had become a very busy place, as Glynn wrote:

The month of February saw the beginning of a lot of activity here at Kowak. With the news of the Maryknoll Sisters coming, work started in gathering lime, stones and making mud bricks, in preparation for the building of the convent. Also, applications have been filed for plots for new missions at Utimbaru (Rosana) and Shirati (Masonga). It is hoped that the permission will be granted soon as there is a need for missions in both places.

Our schools are increasing all the time. Now we have about twelve, in addition to catechism schools. Here at Kowak we have 220 boys in school.

Glynn also wrote about the exasperations of trying to start a formal soccer league: people coming every day looking for free footballs; teams refusing to play teams from other chiefdoms, if they feared they would lose; constant arguments breaking out when the few games actually took place. Glynn joked that he would not be introducing baseball, because he could not trust the young men with baseball bats.

Joe Glynn's comments when he was interviewed many years later are worth noting:

Living (at Kowak) was pretty primitive. The White Fathers who were there were fine men, but they had little to work with. So, fortunately we could contribute something to their way of living. But the set-up was fairly primitive, grass-roof church, grass-roof house. Water was hard to come by and had to be economized very strictly, because we were dependent upon the rainfall and the water tanks were not very big at that time.

Joe Brannigan was living at Kowak and he went up to Rosana a few days a week, but his real base was Kowak. As far as goals, targets and objectives, we didn't think along those lines in those days. The main objective was to establish a catechumenate. We had a lot of people in Kowak at that time interested in studying, so we were tied up with the catechumenate. Baptisms would be four times a year and would average over 100 per class. The children would be in addition to that.

I was a lot younger then and language was not a great problem. Fr. Binder took care of the actual instruction, of what we called the Sacrament course, which was the six-month course. We were out on the road to out-schools every day, from 8:00 o'clock in the morning to 5:00 in the afternoon, which is when you were allowed back on the mission property. That was a good preparation, because

we were forced to use the language. At that time we had no transportation and everything was by foot. You got to know the area and the people.

The diaries report that by March, 1948, a temporary roof had been put on the new garage, where the building supplies would be stored. Brother Aloysius apparently arrived in March, and on April 5<sup>th</sup> the foundation for the new Sisters' convent had been poured. However, there was a worry that Brother Wilfred would be taken to Maswa, where Blomjous had started doing some building. Furthermore, the lorry bought with Maryknoll money had also been taken to Maswa. Thus, Bill Collins wrote to the Maryknoll General Council for funds to buy another lorry. He also requested that Maryknoll assign a Brother skilled in construction, as there was a real possibility of losing the two Brothers overseeing the construction in Kowak.

The diaries report that there was very heavy rain in April and May of 1948, although in general 1948 was not as rainy a year as 1947. But the flooded conditions in April led to one of the most humorous incidents in Kowak history. Bishop Antoine Oomen of Mwanza stopped there overnight on his way to Kenya (this was just two months before he retired). At that time there were five priests and two Brothers at Kowak, and it is not certain where guests were staying or even where all the residents were sleeping. That evening Oomen unfortunately came down with diarrhea but the outhouse was so flooded that he had to go into the long grass. While he was squatting in the grass one of the local girls recognized him and rushed to kiss his ring. The mortified Bishop stomped back into the dining room and in his most imperious voice ordered that a better and dryer outhouse be built. Nobody laughed – at least not until he had departed for Kenya the next day.

(This seems to be a truthful and official version of this story, as it was written that same month in a diary. However, other versions of this story circulated among the White Fathers, who claimed that Oomen was too stingy to give them any money to build suitable outhouses.)

In April, the General Council assigned Brother Fidelis Deichelbohrer to Tanganyika. As mentioned above, as soon as Fidelis arrived in Nyegina in November, he went almost immediately to Kowak. By then Brother Wilfred had long departed and construction of the Sisters' convent was way behind schedule – with the Sisters due to arrive in just one month.

When the Sisters arrived in Kowak after Christmas of 1948, the convent was far from built and there were only two buildings available for them, a kitchen and a storeroom, where four cots were set up for the Sisters. In March, 1949, two rooms in the convent were completed and the Sisters finally moved in. Then, in April, 1949, just one month later, a violent windstorm blew the roof off the convent and for several weeks or more the Sisters had to resume living in the storeroom. But Sister Mary Bowes, the nurse, was already treating patients at the dispensary, which was officially opened on July 11, 1949. (Cf Erisman, pages 4-8, 14-15.)

In Kowak, the Sisters also taught the catechism, opened a primary school for girls, and accepted the task of formation of a small group of young Luo women who were called aspirants to the Sisterhood. Fr. Binder had originated the invitation to young women to live at Kowak, at the so-called Barbizon Hotel, and in 1949 there were five of

them. This was the nucleus of what was to become the Immaculate Heart Sisters of Africa (IHSA).

More Sisters were assigned to Kowak in subsequent years, until in 1953 there were ten stationed at Kowak, several of whom learned Swahili rather than Luo. At least three of them were trained nurses/midwives. Dr./Sr. Marion Puszczy came in the mid-1950s and stayed in Kowak until January, 1965. Political unrest between Luo and non-Luo tribes in that area led to false charges being made against the dispensary, forcing Puszczy to have to leave. After her departure medical work at Kowak began to be reduced.

The other main developments at Kowak in 1948 centered around obtaining plots for the two new parishes. The diaries report that on Monday, April 12, 1948, Ed Bratton went to Tarime to present to the District Officer the measurements of the sites at both Shirati and Rosana. The Officer promised to immediately send the petitions for land grants to Dar es Salaam. In August, 1948, the District Commissioner came to Kowak to inform the priests that permission had come through for the plot in Shirati, called Bulieri at that time and eventually called Masonga. A few days later permission for the plot in Rosana, called Utimbaru at that time, also arrived by mail. According to the official directory of Musoma Diocese, the parishes of Rosana and Masonga were erected in 1948 but, as we will soon see, it was not until 1949 that anyone began living in these two places. The September, 1948, diary, written by Ed Bratton, mentions work being done on the church in Shirati, to make it secure, with a good roof.

The diaries also mention other routine matters in the parish, in particular marriage cases. Some of the cases got quite heated. On one occasion, a man punched Fr. Binder in the jaw for providing refuge to his daughter, a Christian who had run to the mission seeking protection from being forcibly married to a pagan. Her father had received cows for her, which he used to marry a third wife, and he did not want to return the cows to his daughter's jilted suitor. Binder responded to the punch in true Christian fashion; he shielded the man, named Petrus, from being set upon by a group of Christians who had been horrified by his fisticuffs. Petrus wasn't mollified by his well-aimed punch, however, and several days later wrote a letter to the District Commissioner, saying that "the priests were stealing their girls and interfering with their marriages."

Oversight of schools and outstations could also create problems. Good wrote that at one station he would probably have to replace a catechist who could not be trusted in his reports about the catechumens.

In addition to pastoral outreach the priests were doing other valuable work with long-term benefits. By July, 1948, Glynn had compiled a Luo/Swahili hymn book and presented copies to each priest and teacher. Brannigan was also engaged in a monumental task of translating the gospels and epistles into the Kuria language. (He may have completed this by the time he went to Rosana, or after he moved to Rosana, but the diaries do not say.)

In July, 1948, Bert Good wrote the following statistics for Kowak Mission:

- Catholics 5,750, of whom 400 are Kuria, the rest Luo
- Catechumens 2,865, of whom 150 are Kuria
- Baptisms: Adults 152, Infants of Catholics 402, in danger of death 262
- Confessions: 15,730
- Communion: 33,000

- Confirmations: 181; Marriages: 74
- Children in schools (boys): 1,100

He also wrote that there were 490 adults who were not allowed to receive the sacraments, for various reasons, but usually marriage-related.

In August, 1948, Glynn and Brannigan were given another important job by the government, to be supervisors of the first comprehensive census to be taken in Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda: Glynn in Kowak and Brannigan in Kuria country. Brannigan appreciated this appointment, as he thought it would help him and the new mission to become better known.

In September, after they finished doing the census duty, Glynn and Brannigan took a trip to Uganda and brought back “great tales of the progress of Uganda,” commenting further that:

It has the best roads in the colonies, the finest educational system, and the most modern, best-looking towns. The natives are the most progressive and best dressed. Many ride bicycles and a few drive cars.

The priests in the district claim that mission work there is just about finished as the only pagans left live on the fringe of the territory. The missionaries now spend most of their time in the field of education. Every school is government recognized, the teachers are paid by the government, and the missions receive government grants for school buildings. Most of the missions are beautifully and well constructed, and the churches would do credit to many of the parishes at home (in the U.S.). The pride of place is, of course, the very modern major and minor seminaries, which are beginning to supply the Vicariate with a goodly number of native priests. Missioners’ tasks are similar to parish priests’ at home and it seems the only thing left is to train enough local priests and Sisters to take over the territory.

Looking at the mud walls and grass roofs of Kowak, we realize we have a long way to go before we have anything that approaches these missions.

In November, 1948, no new priests were assigned to Kowak and Bratton was assigned to Ukerewe. In February, 1949, Brannigan went to Rosana and in May Bert Good went to Masonga, where he was assisted on occasion in the construction of the new mission by Joe Glynn and Bro. Fidelis. Ed Bratton apparently returned to Kowak when the Ukerewe mission was aborted, joining Glynn and Erwin Binder at Kowak. Also, by that time (March, 1949) Brother Fidelis had gone to Nyegina to build a carpentry shop for the diocese, although he returned to Kowak for several weeks to re-build the roof of the Sisters’ convent.

The year 1949 was one of the worst years for drought in Tanganyika in the twentieth century, at least until the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s. In February, 1949, Bert Good wrote: “We are having a very severe drought, claimed to be the worst in years. February has been one of the hottest months since our arrival in Africa.”

In 1949, of the five Maryknollers assigned to Tanganyika, two were assigned to North Mara, Bob Moore to Kowak and John Schiff to Masonga, where he went in late October. Moore’s main interest was in education and in 1950 he became Director of

Kowak Primary School. In the diary of November, 1950, he expressed being perturbed that only two boys were being accepted for Nyegezi Seminary (5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> grades), and only one for teacher's training, since in previous years three boys were taken from Kowak for each school. The Rector of the seminary said that they were becoming pressed for space and could only take a few from each parish. While in Kowak Moore began planting the idea of starting the Legion of Mary, but initial attempts in the early 1950s to start this parish association proved unsuccessful. Moore moved to Musoma town sometime before the end of 1952.

In 1950, Bert Good was brought back to Kowak, as they had received word that Erwin Binder was being assigned to Mwanza Diocese. Binder left in mid-1950 and went to the Ukerewe Islands. Joe Glynn and Good then switched places, the latter becoming pastor of Kowak Parish until time for his furlough in early 1953 and Glynn becoming pastor of Masonga. Glynn was to spend much of the next two years overseeing construction, in 1951 in Masonga and in 1952 in Musoma town.

At the end of 1951 two new Maryknoll priests were assigned to Luo work, Alden 'Mike' Pierce, who joined Good and Bob Moore in Kowak, and Dan Zwack, who joined Schiff in Masonga. It is interesting to note that as of the beginning of 1952, three of the original four Maryknollers who went to Kowak in 1946 and 1947 had been assigned elsewhere: Brannigan was in Rosana, Glynn in Musoma town, and Ed Bratton had gone to start a new mission in Komuge. And when Good left Kowak at the beginning of 1953 he never returned again to Luo work.

At the beginning of 1953, Glynn returned to Kowak, to become pastor in place of Good. Glynn also set about building the new rectory, which was completed in July, 1953. The rectory built by Glynn is still in use in Kowak. It was very well constructed and was able to withstand the periodic violent windstorms that Kowak gets with no serious damage – until February, 2012 [mention of the wind micro-burst or small tornado that took the roof off the rectory will be made in the final section of this volume]. In 1959 Brother Fidelis came to Kowak to put in walls in the huge living room/dining room, in order to create two small guest bedrooms. Glynn remained pastor until March, 1954, when he went on furlough to the U.S.

In August, 1952, two more Maryknoll priests came to North Mara to study Luo: Frank 'Ace' Murray, who did his language study at Kowak for six months, and Jim Kuhn, who went to Masonga. Murray was to remain in Luo work for ten years and reflected on his method of learning Luo language and culture.

I arrived in Tanganyika in 1952, six years after the original four Maryknollers went there. I had spent a few years teaching in one of Maryknoll's minor seminaries. The first Maryknollers had the good fortune to be associated with the White Fathers, who were outstanding missionaries, and to learn from them while working with them.

I was assigned with the Luo tribe, which was my good fortune. Looking back over the years I say that I completed my education thanks to the Luo people, who were very outspoken and very frank. They would not hesitate to say, "*Irach, padre,*" meaning, "You're a bad man, Father; you teach us one thing and you do something else." So, with the Luo you had a good chance of knowing where you

stood. They're not a bashful people, certainly a very lovable, very welcoming people, ready to respond to requests made upon them in many regards.

The Luo culture is something I learned a great deal about, although a great, great deal of it I never learned. I used to sit down with some of the women who were at the mission for the six-month catechumenate and for an hour or so every evening I would write down notes on what they told me. We started with the birth of the child and after several weeks we still hadn't gotten beyond the disposal of the afterbirth. And for some reason I didn't continue, maybe because I was discouraged at this going on for years and years.

Certainly I was fascinated by the intricacy and complexity of the Luo culture, the standards by which they lived, and how they succeeded in overcoming the elements without the kind of assistance that became available in modern times. Previously practicing subsistence economies, they were a limited number of people, with limited resources, living in a part of the world full of tropical diseases, yet were able to survive and even thrive to a considerable extent.

I learned Luo rather well, despite my hearing loss, which I didn't know about at that time. It takes time and work, and I was willing to put in the time and work. Maryknoll only discovered the science and methodologies of linguistics in later years. So, it was somewhat unorganized. After three months I was able to communicate very well and Father Bert Good, who was a very congenial and considerate person, told me it was time to get in the pulpit and start preaching. It was easy to practice learning of the language, because just about everyone was willing to be a teacher.

Once it gets dark in Africa people generally engage in conversation. There were no TVs or radios then. That was one of the things I was rather proud of, because once I was accused, when I didn't want to spend an evening talking with them while overnight at an outstation, that there was something wrong with me: that I didn't understand the science of chewing the fat.

I learned about lineages, tribes, clans, and the relationships connected with these things. I also endowed myself with a Luo name, which helped me to integrate with the people. It probably was seen as recognition of their culture and way of life.

Another important aspect of my inculturation was visiting people in their homes. That way you get to know a lot of things and to have relationships that you would not have otherwise. One experience that I found difficult to handle was when a twelve-year-old girl gave me a chicken in appreciation of having come to visit them. I was tempted to refuse it because their family would have meat only once a week, if that. But I did take it, and it was a lesson in the difficulty of adjusting to another culture.

Murray also mentioned that a Luo priest, Fr. Peter Odhiambo, "a well-educated, intelligent man," gave him several books on anthropology in Africa, which he found very helpful.

In 1953 Murray was transferred to Masonga, switching places with Jim Kuhn, who came to Kowak. From 1953 to 1955 only two new Maryknollers were assigned to Luo work, Ed Baskerville in 1953 and Joe Corso in 1955. Both studied Luo at Kowak,

but both complained about the insufficiency of the materials and the lack of competence of the language informants (they commended the good will of the informants, of course, merely saying that these young men did not understand how to teach a language). In his diary of December, 1953, Baskerville stated that he could not get a capable language informant, comprehensive grammars, or reliable dictionaries. He said that “after years in Africa some of the better language students cannot read classical Luo without difficulty.”

As a result, in 1956 Murray set up a course in Luo at Masonga, which was taken by Bill Daley and Gerry Pavis in 1956, followed by Tom Donnelly and Joe Trainor in 1957. No one was assigned to Luo work in 1958 and during that year Murray went to the Oklahoma University Linguistic Institute while on home leave, in order to understand the Luo language better and learn how to set up a more organized course in Luo for others. In 1959, when Wayman Deasy and Don Donovan arrived in Tanganyika for Luo work, Murray had been assigned to replace Ed Baskerville as pastor in Kowak, where the two newcomers studied Luo. In 1960 and 1961 there were again no newcomers for Luo work, and in 1962 Murray went to Musoma to begin teaching, first at St. Pius Seminary in Makoko and then at Mara Secondary School. Thus, in September, 1962, when John Hudert arrived in Tanganyika, the method for learning Luo had reverted back to learning it from a language informant in a parish. Hudert went to Tatwe and Bishop Rudin asked a recent graduate of St. Pius Seminary (a secondary school by that time) to be his teacher. This teacher, Anselmus Odhiambo, turned out to be very good and later became the Director of OXFAM in Tanzania.

Although Hudert did not have an organized course, he did have a very good book on linguistics called “How to Teach a Language” that he was given by Fr. Joe Grassi, who taught scripture at Maryknoll, NY. This book gave examples of how to set up conversations and Odhiambo quickly grasped how to use this methodology, which Hudert said is similar to the methodology at the language school.

In 1963 Mike Kirwen was assigned to Luo work. Prior to going to Tanganyika he took a summer course at the same institute in linguistics that Murray had attended in Oklahoma, learning how to write an unwritten language. His laboratory language was Cheyenne, a very complicated language with voiceless vowels. On arrival in Tanganyika in the fall of 1963 he went to Masonga and immediately began analyzing the Luo language. After three years he was able to point out to the other Maryknollers who spoke Luo the tonal component of this language.

In 1964 Bill Sweeney became the first Maryknoller to learn Luo at the new language school in Makoko. After Sweeney apparently no one else studied Luo at Makoko until John Eybel came to Tanganyika in 1970. Eybel was the last Maryknoller to learn Luo, since beginning in January, 1971, the policy was for all new Maryknollers to learn Swahili.

Tom Donnelly some years later commented on Murray’s and Zwack’s ability in Luo.

Frank was a master in the language. But Frank didn’t speak the language as well as Dan Zwack. Zwack is the only one I ever heard the Luos say if he were behind a closed door and they could hear his voice, they wouldn’t know if it was an American. But all the others, including Murray, spoke excellent Luo but definitely with an American accent.

Donnelly said, however, that Murray did not seem to be aware of the tones in the Luo language (Murray had a hearing problem, which he did not recognize until some years later). After Donnelly had been out for three or so years, Maryknoll Sister Anita McWilliams, who was to become one of the directors of the Maryknoll Language School and who had an advanced degree in linguistics, came to Kowak for a visit to understand the structure of the Luo language. She recognized the tonal structure of Luo very quickly and explained this to the Maryknoll priests doing Luo work.

Jim Kuhn was to remain in Luo work for over twenty years, rotating around to various parishes in North Mara. For instance, in early 1953 he was transferred from Masonga to Kowak only to return to Masonga in mid-1953. Then in March, 1954, he came back to Kowak, when Glynn went on furlough. Kuhn was never interviewed, unfortunately, although we have some of his observations in the diaries that he wrote in the 1950s. In February, 1953, on the first Sunday of Lent, he presided at the Catholic funeral and burial of a one-month-old girl, and commented:

The birthrate over here is certainly high; yet many a child spends only a short time on this earth. Over a short period I had four infant burials. At this burial the baby was laid in the grave, about two feet deep, the blessing given and prayers said, then the dirt was shoveled in. As the dust hit the baby's face, I recalled the previous Ash Wednesday's ceremony of ashes – 'Remember man thou are dust, and to dust thou shall return.' I couldn't have asked for a more realistic reminder of the vanity of material things.

Concern for the material poverty of the African people was one thing that marked Kuhn's ministry over the years. Others as well shared this concern; in the Kowak diary of August, 1954, Ed Baskerville wrote, "August temperatures are cooler than the rest of the year. You need a jacket in the evening. African children have scanty thread-bare clothing and have difficulty coping with the cold." Several months later, in November, 1954, he wrote: "Ignorance, poverty and disease are referred to as the big problems in Africa."

In Kuhn's diary of March, 1953, he wrote about his intention to start the Legion of Mary in Kowak and had invited a catechist and two former seminarians who had asked questions about devotion to Mary to form a Legion group. In that same month of March he had gone to Nairobi for a short break and sat in on a Legion of Mary meeting at Holy Family church (the current Cathedral), at which he learned of the Legion's workings and obtained some useful literature. However, Kuhn was shortly afterwards transferred back to Masonga and it seems that the other priests in Kowak from 1953 to 1958 did not share the same interest in the Legion of Mary. Bob Moore, the other priest who did have interest in this group, returned to Kowak at the end of 1958 and re-started the Legion of Mary. He left Kowak in 1959, but Maryknoll Sister Agnes Mitchell (called at that time Sr. Agnes Jude) took on responsibility for the Legion, which continued to function into the 1960s. Kuhn returned to Kowak in early 1960 and resumed his outreach to the Legion.

The Legion of Mary was started in Kowak by Moore because he believed that in China the Legion of Mary had been the most effective Catholic bulwark against Communist inroads into the Catholic community. Kuhn shared with Moore an anti-Communist fervor and the belief that active Legion of Mary groups would prevent Tanganyika from becoming a Communist country. The 1950s were the beginning of the Cold War and anti-Communist paranoia was at its height throughout the American Catholic Church, fears that were shared by a number of Maryknoll missionaries. Furthermore, in colonies and territories controlled by European powers, such as Tanganyika, the 1950s were also the same decade of strong nationalist rhetoric and political activity (and of course some military action, such as the Mau Mau movement in Kenya). It was only natural that Communist-influenced ideas infiltrated nationalist groups throughout Africa, including Tanganyika, as Communist ideology and theory had a strong anti-colonialist component.

Maryknollers in Tanganyika, however, as was stated in Part Two, knew that Julius Nyerere was an exemplary Catholic and at Independence did not fear that the country would lurch onto a radical, pro-Communist path. Thus, by the 1960s the Legion of Mary group in Kowak was viewed more as an effective association of laity to complement the priests' and Sisters' pastoral outreach to all the Catholics within the parish.

Two others who were not interviewed were Mike Pierce and Ed Baskerville, who came to Kowak in October of 1953. (Interviews for the History Project began only in the late 1980s; scores of Maryknollers who had worked in Tanzania in the first decades after 1946 had already either left Africa by then or had died.) Pierce was pastor of Kowak from 1954 to 1957, at which time he went on furlough to the U.S. Despite his not being interviewed, we have some record of his activities in the diaries written in those years.

Ed Baskerville was in Kowak for about five years and took over as pastor in 1957, when Pierce left. He also wrote many of the diaries from Kowak from December, 1953, until he left at the end of 1958, enabling us to know some of his experiences and observations at that time. On arrival in Kowak in November, 1953, he reported that there were three other priests there at that time: Joe Glynn (pastor), Mike Pierce, and Al Schiavone. There is no documentation as to why Schiavone, who spoke Swahili, was assigned to Kowak, a Luo-speaking parish. Bob Moore had replaced Schiavone as pastor in Musoma and Dan Zwack had gone from Masonga to Nyegina. So, it was probably thought that the Luo parishes needed extra personnel, especially since Glynn was to go on furlough in early 1954. In any event, Schiavone did not remain in Kowak for very long, as he was part of the group that went to Shinyanga in 1954.

Baskerville wrote that Kowak had thirteen acres of land, on which there were twenty-two buildings, including the church, rectory, convent, three schools and the dispensary. In that month of November, 1953, there were five Maryknoll Sisters in Kowak; three Sisters had already gone to Nyegina, to run the IHSA novitiate and also do medical and educational work.

In his diary of December, 1953, Baskerville listed many other parish statistics, first noting that there were 29 out-schools, as he called them, and that the parish had a staff of 30 catechists. The following July, of 1954, he reported that of a total population of 22,000, 5,807 were Catholics, and that in the previous year there were 295 adult

baptisms, 328 infant baptisms, 497 confirmations, and 37,700 communions. There were 496 students in the elementary schools and a total of 25,225 people had been treated in the dispensary, which averages out to about eighty people a day (presuming that it was closed on Sundays). By mid-1954 the number of patients at the dispensary had increased to 100 per day.

As of November, 1953, a total of 28 Maryknollers had been assigned to Musoma, of whom three were Brothers assigned to building. But in that year the original four Maryknollers went on their home leaves, and another three priests were in full-time administration of some sort. The Prefecture had grown to seven parishes. Yet it seemed that Kowak usually had three or four priests assigned to the parish, and there were often two or three priests in Masonga. Thus, it is most likely that Msgr. Grondin and other Maryknollers desired to open another parish with the Luo – at Nyarombo – but this was delayed until 1956, probably due to lack of personnel. The decisions to open a seminary for Musoma Prefecture and to take Shinyanga Diocese, both made in 1954, greatly limited the number of priests available for parish work in Musoma. Five new parishes had been opened between 1948 and 1953, but after 1953 no new parish was opened until 1956, when Nyarombo and Zanaki were opened.

The diaries note that Kowak had become a de facto guest house for Maryknollers traveling between Kenya and Musoma. The mission was located just a kilometer above what was the main road at that time and Tarime parish had not yet been started. Given the state of the roads and the difficulty of traversing seven-mile-wide Mara Bay, the journey from Kowak to Musoma was a rough and unpleasant five-hour trip. Overnight visitors in the early to mid-1950s included Bishop Lane, Fr. Tom Walsh, and Fr. Albert Nevins, who along with Art Wille produced a Maryknoll movie on the work of the Maryknoll Sisters in the dispensary. In September, 1960, the Apostolic Delegate to East Africa, del Maestri, stayed at Kowak while going to and coming from Tabora. January each year turned out to be a very heavy month for visitors, as all the Maryknollers from Musoma and Shinyanga would go to Nairobi for one of a series of five retreats, scheduled so as to accommodate them all. Powerfully illustrating the large number of visitors, in September, 1960, Frank Murray wrote in the Kowak diary that there had been thirty-eight overnight visitors over the course of just one month. Even though a rope-pulled ferry had been installed at a relatively narrow spot over the Mara River, at a place called Kirumi, in August, 1957, greatly alleviating travel from Musoma to the Kenya border, many people still continued to stop at Kowak – either for lunch or for overnight stay.

The diaries commented regularly on the toll that natural climatic and geologic events had on their mission work. In addition to the windstorm that blew off the roof of the convent in April, 1949, the diaries mention the heavy rains in April, 1953, that cut off Kowak from Tarime, resulting in some hazardous night journeys trying to get back to the mission; a severe storm in January, 1954, that weakened the foundation of the church and damaged the school; reports of people being drowned in flooded rivers and killed by lightning; and an earthquake in November, 1956, that cracked the walls of the church and rectory. Over and above these extreme events, the daily wear and tear on their vehicles caused by the terrible roads needed constant attention. In addition to these matters, several Maryknollers in the 1950s had serious accidents in their motorcycles or vehicles. In November, 1954, Baskerville was involved in a minor accident with a lorry, whose driver was drunk. Despite this fact, Baskerville was found guilty by a local court.

The difficulty of travel did not deter the young Maryknollers from taking adventurous trips. At the end of August, 1954, Ed Baskerville and his classmate Jim Lehr, who had been assigned to Majita Parish in the southern part of Musoma Prefecture, ventured forth on a safari in two vehicles across the Serengeti Park to Arusha (and presumably on to Nairobi). At that time there was no actual road through the whole length of the park, only a few tracks. This was the first time that any Maryknoller attempted to traverse the whole park and they went in two vehicles to bolster safety in case anything happened. Lehr also used to come up regularly to Kowak, at least in the beginning of 1954, and go to Tarime with Baskerville on the latter's weekly Monday shopping trip. Nanak Chan had opened a new shop (called a duka) in Tarime and had it stocked with many items from Kenya. Baskerville also reported the exact distance from Kowak to Tarime – thirty-five kilometers or twenty-two miles.

From 1954, when Pierce became pastor, up through 1962, when Frank Murray left Kowak, the diaries record a variety of different pastoral activities and it is difficult to prioritize any of them. These activities or concerns included schools (management, religious teaching, and starting of new schools), hospital expansion, never-ending church and housing construction, both at Kowak mission and in outstations, other infrastructure improvements (water/electricity), fundamental changes in the catechumenate and in the role of catechists, procurement of sites for new missions, and the decentralization of the parish into centers. We will look at each of these matters individually.

Regarding schools, one important decision was made in February, 1954, by the diocesan Education Secretary, Bill Collins: Kowak would have a middle school, grades five to eight, beginning in January, 1955. For the rest of 1954 Pierce, with help from Brothers Fidelis and John Walsh, oversaw the building of several classrooms and houses for teachers. Pierce's aim was to have two classrooms and two teachers' houses, which were made of mud bricks, completed by the end of 1954. However, construction of houses and classrooms continued up through 1956. In June of 1956 Baskerville wrote in the diary that Pierce "hopes to complete the main unit of the Middle School and an adequate number of teachers' houses before January, 1957." However, the diary of December, 1956, reported that Pierce was rushing to complete the construction and that Brother Fidelis had to come to put on the roof. The earthquake in the previous month of November that cracked the walls of the rectory and church may also have slowed construction at the school.

The Maryknoll Sisters managed the middle school up till November, 1958, when they turned it back to the priests. That month Bob Moore came back from his annual leave and was assigned to Kowak to be Headmaster of the Middle School. However, it seems that he stayed in Kowak for only about five months, as the diary of April, 1959, does not list Moore as being stationed at Kowak and reported that Murray was getting exasperated "with the endless unanticipated demands caused by care of the middle school, whose boys always demand attention." He solved this by giving much greater authority to the Headmaster and hiring a former seminarian to teach religion in the middle school, a task that Murray had been doing.

The Middle School's buildings became an additional asset for religious education purposes. The school calendar allotted two six-week vacation periods in the year, one in June/July and the other in October/November. In June, 1956, Pierce and the Maryknoll

Sisters set up a four-week program of religious instruction each vacation for the schoolchildren of Native Authority Schools who were preparing for baptism. The first course was taught by Sr. Margaret Rose Winkelmann and proved to be an excellent innovation. This program continued for some years but then encountered difficulties in getting cooks to prepare food for the children, who numbered 120 in the October, 1959, course. The vacation school probably did not continue long after that, as the priests were already moving towards having all religious instruction in outstations (centers).

The primary schools (one for boys and one for girls) and middle school at Kowak were not the only schools that the priests established in the parish. The diaries of 1954 talk about a new school to be established in Amoshe, which was under Masonga Parish. The pastor of Masonga, John Schiff, came in several times to confer with Pierce about the location and process of getting it started. Many Maryknollers in both Musoma and Shinyanga Dioceses have reported that they were continually trying to establish new primary schools. In the 1950s competition with Protestants over the denomination of schools was typical, because of the British rule of three miles between schools of different denominations. In the Luo areas of North Mara it was usually with the Mennonites, who were very well established in Shirati.

At another place, called Kagwa, where the priests wanted to start a Catholic School, the competition was with the Seventh Day Adventists, an issue that came to a head in December of 1958. Once the priests learned of SDA intentions Baskerville went out to meet with the elders, who expressed their preference for a Catholic school. He followed up on this with the government authorities over the next month or so, but in February or March of 1959 Baskerville went on home leave and was replaced by Frank Murray. It is not documented whether Kagwa became Catholic or SDA, but it seems that Murray and Pavis were less interested in school denomination, as by 1959 they were concentrating on decentralizing the parish through establishment of centers (what might be called sub-parishes). Center chapels were to become the place not only for Mass but also the catechumenate.

The colonial government permitted and encouraged the religious instruction of schoolchildren in all schools, which in Kowak was done by catechists overseen by the priests, a practice that was retained by the independent government even after the nationalization of all schools in 1969. The diary of November, 1958, stated that Bill Daley was overseeing religious instruction in one Catholic school (Nyamusi) and seven government schools. Each school was visited every week and there were one to three catechists doing the teaching in each school. One month later, on December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1958, Gerry Pavis replaced Daley in Kowak (Daley went to Masonga) and immediately began "his weekly visits to five government schools where we supply religious instruction. Catechists give instructions under Pavis' outline of the course and on occasion he gives supplementary instruction on his weekly visits." The diary of December, 1959, reported that there were 900 children throughout the parish receiving religious instruction, most of them unbaptized.

These constant trips to outstations and schools were mainly done by motorcycle. It was strenuous, tiring work. But we have to remember: even as late as January, 1960, all the Maryknollers in North Mara were under age forty, and most were aged between thirty and thirty-five.

As for new construction, Pierce did not limit his attention only to the building of the middle school. In July, 1954, the catechists discussed ways of raising money to build a new church at Kowak and the following month Pierce began drawing plans for the new church. During that month he also wired the whole compound for electricity and in the ensuing months oversaw construction of more buildings in outstations. Finally, at the end of December he visited Msgr. Grondin in Nyegina and received permission to begin planning and building a new church made of cement blocks that would accommodate 600 people. Despite the very good church attendance, however, the diaries report that the Sunday collections were still abysmally low.

Construction of the new church and middle school was not completed until the middle of 1957. In December, 1956, Brother Fidelis came to put the roof on the church. That was also the month when a maternity unit at the dispensary was built. We have no diaries from the year 1957, but when Bill Daley was interviewed he said he arrived in Kowak in February, 1957, on Ash Wednesday, to replace Joe Corso. Fidelis was still in Kowak at that time and he and Pierce were still concentrating on finishing the church and middle school. In mid-1957 Pierce left Kowak (Daley forgot the exact month) and was replaced as pastor by Ed Baskerville. It seems at this time that building projects in Kowak were put in abeyance, except when Bro. Fidelis or Bro. John Walsh were able to come. Fidelis did come at the end of 1959 and re-configured the rectory (as mentioned above).

The two priests who had been most involved in building in Luo-land were Mike Pierce, who went to begin construction of Tatwe Mission in 1959, and Joe Glynn, who had gone to do the building of Nyarombo Mission in 1956. At Kowak construction projects were resumed when Frank Murray was pastor, such as decent-sized chapels in the main outstations (centers) and in 1962 he oversaw the building of small houses in outstations where priests could stay overnight.

When Brother Fidelis came in December, 1959, his main focus was on converting the Aspirants' School into a hospital. Several months earlier in 1959 the fourteen girls at the Aspirants' School, along with three Maryknoll Sisters, had moved to the new school building at Makoko. By March, 1960, the hospital construction (it was not technically a hospital according to official government classification, but it was called a hospital) was completed. Sr. Katie Erisman wrote the following:

Now they had a laboratory, dispensary, two in-patient rooms and even an operating room. Several Sisters had been assigned to the medical work in Kowak during these years: nurses were Sisters Theresa McSheffrey, Katherine (Katie) Taepke, and Paula Kuntz. Sr. Joyce Burch was a Laboratory Technician and Sr./Dr. Marion Puszczyk had a specialty in Obstetrics/Gynecology. African nurses came and even a nurse-midwife, which enabled the Sisters to enjoy longer sleeps. Available medicine allowed the people with Hansen's Disease to come to Kowak as out-patients, rather than living in a settlement at Shirati Hospital.

Religious work in the parish was not neglected, despite all the construction and school work. The year 1954 was decreed a Marian Year and the three priests in Kowak, Pierce, Baskerville and Kuhn, decided to capitalize on this with a number of pastoral programs in the month of October. They began with three-day retreats at Kowak and at the three main outstation churches, Bugiri, Buganzu and Butuli, followed by having Mass

at all the out-schools in the month of October. They also requested more intensive work from the thirty-six catechists in the final months of the Marian Year and attempted to re-activate the Catholic Action, which had ceased to function. There was some success from these efforts, as a number of couples came in to the mission to arrange for Christian marriage.

There is no record of retreats for baptized Catholics taking place in the years 1955 to 1958, but in August and September, 1959, Frank Murray scheduled a series of retreats in Kowak. Preceding these was the ordination of Fr. Tarcisius Sije on August 16, 1959, at Nyarombo Parish (Sije's home), after which he was invited to celebrate the solemn high Mass at Kowak. He also spoke at all the schools in Kowak, promoting vocations, and sparked sufficient enthusiasm that many boys came to the parish to register for the minor seminary at Makoko (it was Standards Five to Eight then).

In late August, 1959, Murray welcomed Fr. Gabriel, a Luo priest from Kenya, to give a three-day retreat to the men, followed by a similar retreat for the women in the beginning of September. Murray commented that "the number attending is disappointing but we hope that this small group will prove to be a leaven for the mission."

In addition to these retreats, at the same time a retreat for teachers was given by a team of laymen of a Catholic Action group. Murray reported that not only the teachers from Catholic schools but also a substantial number of teachers from government schools attended the retreat and that "the teachers seemed pleased with the retreat."

Although they were mostly preoccupied with construction, the catechumenate, running schools, and visiting outstations, the priests at Kowak were also trying hard to understand Luo culture, particularly with regard to marriage. In November, 1954, one year after arriving in Kowak, Baskerville wrote in the diary of the three stages of Luo marriage, called *mako*, *ruako*, and *riso*. He said that the normal bride price was 18 cows (in his diary he wrote dowry, the term used by Maryknollers throughout their history and even today; however, the correct term is bride price or bridewealth). He then asked in probing fashion, "The big question is: just when is the bond established in pagan marriages?"

Several months earlier he had written of a case in Komuge Parish, a difficult case involving children and who should have care of them. The mother of the children, a Christian, had separated from her husband, who later died. The widowed mother wanted to take charge of her children; however the elder man of the village of the deceased father insisted that in tribal custom the man's village inherited the children. The elder was a pagan and refused to let the children receive a Catholic education. Baskerville wrote that the two priests of Komuge at that time (August, 1954), Bob Moore and Dennis O'Brien, went to see the District Commissioner in Tarime to advocate for the mother's right to care for her children. It was not reported what the final outcome was, although Baskerville stated that traditional law and custom gave the father's village (clan/lineage) the right to keep the children, since the father had paid bridewealth for his wife.

These are just some of the perplexing marriage issues that Maryknoll missionaries were encountering as they got increasingly involved in pastoral work. They were discovering that African marriage can not be neatly consigned within Euro-canonical legal precepts.

Between 1954 and 1960 there were other events that showed the priests at Kowak that they were dealing with very different cultural perspectives. For instance, in December, 1954, two catechists had to be suspended, one for engaging in pagan practices and the other for concealing information about women in the catechumenate who were in polygamous unions. In September, 1960, a catechist married a pagan girl and had to be suspended. And at least up until 1959 Kowak Mission was still providing sanctuary to Luo Catholic girls who were being forced to become second or third wives.

A different marriage issue came to a head in November, 1958. The priests protested to the District Commissioner in Tarime regarding the authority of African Native Courts to adjudicate matters of local custom, specifically that they could order a man's bridewealth (i.e. cows) be returned to him so that he could divorce his wife. The priests requested that for Catholic couples such decisions be referred first to the Catholic missions, a request that the District Commissioner agreed to.

At that time, in November, 1958, they also became aware of a very strange innovation in Luo custom. Luo girls were requesting to be circumcised and, in fact, at the end of November nine girls were circumcised at Mang'ore Village. Luo have never circumcised either boys or girls, whereas their neighboring Bantu tribes (Kuria and Basimbiti) do. Why some Luo girls chose to be circumcised is not clear, and it seems this innovation did not last long. Given the danger to girls – and Baskerville claimed that six girls within the territory of Kowak mission had died from being circumcised in recent years – the priests brought this to the attention of the catechists at the monthly meeting, seeking their help in squelching this practice (for Luos, not for Kuria).

Another intriguing event happened in August, 1959, as reported by Gerry Pavis, who referred to it as "the heresy." A Luo boy in Kenya (age not stated; it seems he may have been in his late teens or early twenties) claimed he had received an apparition from the Blessed Mother and many people started flocking to the site. The boy then came to Tanzania and was staying with the head catechist of Kowak, who apparently fully believed in the apparition. Furthermore, the boy started a secret cult that included forcing people to take an oath of secrecy and began hearing confessions and saying Mass. Bishop Rudin was informed and he issued an edict saying any Catholics participating in this cult would be suspended. In the meantime, the boy returned to Kenya. When the Bishop came to Kowak the Luo Catholics who had taken part in the cult publicly recanted their actions and said they realized the boy was a fraud. They were given penances to do, but continued on in the church in good standing.

It should be noted that not long after this, in 1962, tens of thousands of Luo Catholics in Kenya left the Church and joined the breakaway Legio Maria sect, followed in 1963 by several thousand Luo Catholics in Tanzania. We will look at this phenomenon in a later section, when we discuss the development of small Christian communities in Nyarombo and other Luo parishes, beginning in 1966.

Before we take a look at the evolution of the catechumenate and the role of the catechist, we will mention just a few other things that, while not unimportant, took less of the time of the priests. One matter, which probably enabled the priests to take a break from parish work, was the search for sites for new parishes. By the beginning of 1955 the site for Nyarombo had already been chosen, but they realized that more parishes were needed. In April, 1955, Pierce and Joe Glynn, who had recently returned from his

furlough and joined Pierce, Baskerville and Kuhn in Kowak, went looking for a potential mission site. The first place they looked at, Lwanda Simbili, was unacceptable because of the very poor road. They then looked at another place, near Tatwe. The priests also discussed the size of new missions, deciding that they needed at least ten acres but preferably twenty-five acres, in order to be able to expand, and have playing fields and gardens.

In October, 1956, Tatwe, also referred to as Rayudhe, was finally chosen as the site for a new mission and on October 2, 1956, Pierce went with the District Commissioner of Tarime to measure the site. The priests at Kowak also decided to build a school at Tatwe. The Kowak diary of December, 1958, reported that on December 1, 1958, the parish of Tatwe (still called Rayudhe at that time) was inaugurated under Mike Pierce. The diary said that the parish would start with 1300 Christians from Kowak and another 500 from Masonga.

Only a year later it was realized that another parish was needed. On January 12, 1960, Gerry Pavis, who was stationed at Kowak at that time, went to Ingri to say Mass and have a discussion about a new mission site. Murray wrote in the diary: "We hope to have a resident priest in this area soon. He would start with a nucleus of over 1500 Catholics and would have a lot of catechumens. Those who live as much as ten miles from the mission find it difficult to make the round trip by foot every week for six months while preparing for Baptism." At that time the final six months of the sacramental course were still held at Kowak for all catechumens of the parish. This was changed in 1961 or 1962 and the catechumens of Ingri were able to take the whole course at Ingri, which then became a parish in 1962.

Other matters the priests attended to were a gradual tweaking of the parish administration and attempts to increase parish income. For example, in June, 1956, Pierce reorganized the status sheet system. Baskerville wrote, "In the future we shall have a card system which is easier to file and use, and which is so keyed that cases needing special attention stand out conspicuously."

The priests also tried various innovations in order to increase parish income. In November, 1958, they introduced different colored cards for collecting the annual church tax (called *zaka*), with men and women getting different colors, and cards coded by number for each respective out-school. Baskerville was still pastor then and wrote that in the past there had been some abuses in the collection of the tax. A year later, in December, 1959, they began an envelope system for the weekly – in this case monthly – collection. Every month adult Christians were to be given envelopes in which to put their offering (in Swahili this is called *sadaka*, to distinguish it from *zaka*). Beginning in January, 1960, they began posting the names of those who had paid their annual church tax on the church door and several months later did the same with the names of those who were paying their monthly offering with envelopes. Whether these innovations were successful is difficult to know. The Easter Sunday collection of 1960 was relatively high: TShs. 446/-, (about \$64.00). But the following September the collection at Kowak church itself, from two Masses, was only TShs. 44/-, just over \$6.00.

In the late 1950s the number of catechumens had fallen way off but then beginning in 1960 there was a sudden increase, when the catechumenate was decentralized to the outstations and centers (to be discussed at some more length below).

Already in November, 1960, Murray, pastor since 1959, had raised the salaries of catechists and elicited much more work from them in the outstations, probably the foremost reasons the catechumenate had been revitalized. But it came with a cost; in November Murray had to pay TShs. 800/- (\$114.00) in catechist salaries, for that month alone. Jim Kuhn wrote the diary that month and commented that “this is one of our biggest monthly expenditures.”

In February, 1962, Murray wrote in the diary, “In 1961 Kowak had more than 1000 baptisms for the first time since its inception in 1933.” However, he added that the extra work for the priests in visiting the outstations was taking a huge physical and financial toll. The years of 1961 and 1962, especially the latter, were the years of the legendary ‘Uhuru’ rains, the phenomenally high amounts of rainfall that “water-soaked the land, flooded hundreds of homes, and caused an army worm invasion that ruined last year’s grain crop. Payment of annual church tax has been poor in view of famine conditions, although our weekly collections have hardly suffered. Use of envelopes has greatly increased collections. But we wonder if the effort and time consumed is worth it.”

This diary also mentioned that Ed Baskerville, after his return to Tanganyika from furlough, had been assigned to Musoma and was in charge of famine relief.

The issue of local financial self-reliance has been an intractable problem right up to the second decade of the twenty-first century. Few if any parishes in western Tanzania have been able to build a rectory and very few have been able to even build their own parish churches, particularly if the churches are large, modern churches with decorative stone or tile work. Even simple outstation churches usually need some outside help to complete the construction. Upkeep for African diocesan priests is almost impossible to get from local parochial sources, except in large urban parishes – which are where most diocesan priests prefer to be stationed. Even in some of the largest and wealthiest parishes in cities like Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, it can be difficult to raise sufficient money to operate several parish vehicles (even urban areas need four-wheel drive vehicles in Tanzania), to say nothing of having a comprehensive catechetical program, on-going adult formation in faith, scripture and other topics for baptized adults, paying all the catechists a good salary or stipend, and hiring lay people for necessary jobs, such as parish secretary, head catechist, and youth director.

There is actually little comment in the diaries and interviews about financial self-reliance in the Dioceses of Musoma and Shinyanga, except to note that it was an on-going and inevitably insurmountable problem. In the final section of this volume we will comment on the role of small Christian communities in the twenty-first century and how they are being used, not for faith reflection, but to raise money for expensive parish and diocesan activities. We will raise questions as to whether this is a legitimate method of self-reliance. The over-riding question, though, is whether the implantation of an institutional model from wealthy western countries can ever be achieved in Tanzania, or whether it should even be intended.

The following and final segment on Kowak examines what were arguably the most important evolutionary changes, beginning in 1951 when Musoma became a Maryknoll Prefecture up till about 1962. These include major changes in the catechumenate and sacramental course, the changing role of the catechist, especially at

the outstation level, and the movement from a centralized parish structure to a greatly decentralized structure that emphasized the role of centers.

This latter word is not really an ecclesial word. Centers are outstations, but much more than that. They are not sub-parishes – once again a word that is not in an ecclesial dictionary and whose meaning is difficult to define – and certainly not parishes, but they have a great deal of autonomy, including charge of their own finances, preparation and celebration of the Sunday liturgy, management of the catechumenate, and oversight of the faith community gathered around the center. One should almost capitalize the word ‘center,’ to indicate that it is of equal importance to the parish center in rural parishes and even many urban parishes.

Much of this material is treated in Carney’s book, Chapter Six, on Maryknoll Catechetical Systems, pages 167 to 198. These pages note catechetical changes in other parishes of Musoma Prefecture/Diocese, but draw primarily on what was happening in Kowak in that eleven year period.

As noted above, the first annual priests’ conference of Musoma Prefecture of May, 1951, had decided to shorten the catechumenate from four years to twenty-one months, divided into five sections, with the final six months at the mission, called the large and small sacrament course. At Kowak baptisms were held four times a year at the mission center, which resulted in a constant change-over of those living at the mission camps for the six months.

The first fifteen months of the catechumenate took place in outstations (as of the mid-1950s the word center was not yet being used) or the mission for those who lived nearby. Rather than only one day a week, this was made more intensive with four hours weekly required. All the teaching of these sections was done by catechists. To improve the quality of teaching, training was held at the mission for all catechists of the parish and their pay scale was increased, to TShs. 15/- or 20/- per month (\$3.00 or \$4.00).

Head catechists at the mission did a lot of the teaching of the sacrament courses, but the priests also did a lot of this teaching. The priests also conducted exams at the end of each section of the catechumenate. The Kowak diary of August, 1954, said that the sacrament course had been shortened to four days a week, enabling people to go home on Thursday evenings and then return in time for the Sunday High Mass.

The diary of October, 1954, was written by Jim Kuhn and in it he refers to only nine months of catechetical teaching in the outstations prior to being approved for the sacrament course. If correct, then the whole catechumenate in Kowak had already been decreased from 21 months to only fifteen. Kuhn also wrote that there were 202 people in both sacrament courses, of whom fewer than 25% were men.

The pastor of Kowak, Mike Pierce, was very busy overseeing construction projects in 1954 and he also loved doing carpentry in the mission workshop. Yet despite this work he took a trip in November of 1954 to Tabora, to visit the major seminary at Kipalapala and learn of the latest theological discussions regarding mission in Africa. The diary does not elaborate on his reasons for doing this but given his prime interest in catechetics just a decade later it is possible that he was already contemplating the need for qualitative changes in the catechetical system.

A month later, in December, 1954, Fr. Van Oostrom, a White Father and publisher of *Kiongozi* (Swahili for leader) magazine in Tabora, visited Kowak and was

impressed with the strong church attendance of the Catholics. *Kiongozi* was a monthly magazine written in Swahili and intended for lay readership.

The gender disparity in the catechumenate had deteriorated further by June of 1956, when Ed Baskerville wrote that of 78 people who were baptized over half were schoolchildren and only one was an adult man. This issue was discussed at the annual priests' conference in Musoma at the beginning of June, 1956. Baskerville wrote the following summary:

The clerical conference noted the marked decrease in the number of catechumens and that the catechumenate was made up mostly of old women and girls. Fewer and fewer people (especially men) seem willing to spend six months at the Mission studying the sacraments. Tanganyika is undergoing rapid social development and the catechist (sic) system seems less and less effective.

One proposal is that we have fewer but better trained catechists. Another solution now being discussed is to establish regional schools for instruction in the Sacraments. The course would be conducted by an experienced Catechist under the close supervision of a priest. The course will probably be lengthened, and will terminate with a short intensive review here at the Mission.

The same problem to an even greater degree was noted in the diary of Masonga at that time, to which the further problems of "apostasies" and polygamy were added. The number of Christians was increasing, but so was the number of Christians who refused to follow Catholic laws regarding marriage and polygamy.

Joe Carney on page 194 of his thesis mentioned that Tanzanian men were more willing to do the catechumenate in urban areas where they went for work.

While there were fewer and fewer men wishing to be baptized at the mission center in the rural areas, there were a good number of men willing to be baptized where they worked. A man could study the Christian religion in Kiswahili and usually not as much would be demanded of him in the way of knowledge of Christianity in the 'lingua franca' of East Africa, Kiswahili, than in his tribal language of his home mission center. Also he could study the religion where he lived and worked, rather than isolating himself away from work and its social environment in a mission center compound for six months.

As much as the priests took notice of and discussed the catechumenate problem, it got progressively worse. In December, 1958, Baskerville reported that there were only 32 adult baptisms, all women and girls, highlighting "a most unfavorable trend in many areas of Africa: the decline of male catechumens." However, he added, "We hope that this trend is being offset by our efforts in the schools, where the baptism of boys far outnumbers the baptism of girls."

In the diary of that month Baskerville also offered an analysis of possible factors affecting the catechumenate.

No simple explanation or solution is available but some causative factors suggest themselves:

- The increase in educational standards which has decreased the prestige of the old-time catechist.
- The increase in transportation, which keeps many people on the move.
- The increase in taxes and local trade, which force men into some profit-making enterprise.
- The increase in nationalism, which limits interest in the religions brought in by the white man.
- The slow break-down in tribal structure, which limits the authority and influence of the elders.
- The introduction of radios, newspapers and European-style dancing, which easily distract easy-going Africans from the eternal truths.
- And, lastly, the general spirit of the times here in Africa, over which we have little control.

In September, 1957, Frank Murray had written the diary for Masonga Parish and noted similar factors causing a drop in the catechumenate, adding that the apostasies and lukewarm attitude toward Christianity of baptized Catholics also was a discouragement hindering Luo people from considering the long catechumenate. However, a slight difference in tone can be perceived in the comments of Baskerville and Murray. Baskerville seemed to blame the Luo people for not being interested in Christianity, whereas Murray leaned towards identifying weaknesses in the catechetical structure and content as the primary matters needing to be radically changed.

What Baskerville wrote about nationalism in December, 1958, was demonstrated by certain events at Kowak at the beginning of 1959. One directly affected the catechumenate when everyone at the Sacrament Course walked out of the mission and went home. Gerry Pavis wrote, "The entire sacrament course has walked out in protest. What they were protesting about is not too certain." However, the priests expected most of the catechumens to come back in the near future.

In February, 1959, the diary reported that "labor troubles plague Kowak Mission this month." The parish cook threatened to quit unless he got paid for his sick days. The cooks at the Middle School threatened to quit unless they got a raise in pay. These events were probably just fleeting matters connected with nationalist and labor activity in Dar es Salaam but may have marked a new stage in the consciousness of Tanganyikans vis-à-vis foreign controlled institutions, such as the Catholic Church.

In early 1959 Murray replaced Baskerville as pastor and some of the others stationed in Kowak were assigned elsewhere, leaving only Murray and Pavis in Kowak in April, 1959. As the year progressed they became increasingly frustrated by various matters: catechists not teaching in the outstations; far too much work for only two priests; catechumen examinations that showed that hardly any teaching was going on; and a dearth of adult males in the catechumenate. The personnel shortage was addressed later in 1959, when Don Donovan and Wayman Deasy arrived in September to begin study of Luo, and at the beginning of December, when Jim Kuhn came back from furlough and was assigned to Kowak. Brother Fidelis also came that month, to do some building. Although Donovan and Deasy could not teach, preach or hear confessions without

language ability, they could say Mass in Latin, which freed Murray and Pavis to do other things. When Kuhn was settled, the first move towards decentralizing the parish was begun. The diary of December 15, 1959, notes that each day two of the priests went out to outstations for the whole day, while the third stayed at the mission center on duty.

The diary of Christmas Day, 1959, written by Frank Murray, reported mixed results, at least regarding numbers:

Our fine large church, the best in the Diocese of Musoma, is filled twice again today. Communions number 700 here today and we have an additional 475 in our two principal outstations. We should have many more communions but, though many of our Christians are quite fervent, many also have fallen away. Just how many more communions we should have is difficult to determine, because so many of our people go away to the towns to find work and many are sick or have sick children and so can't get in.

Events elsewhere also had an affect on the thinking of Murray and the others at Kowak. In October, 1957, White Father Mathias Koenen had started the Bukumbi Catechetical Institute outside of Mwanza, which offered a two-year course for twelve catechists, who came with their families. Classes were for both the men and their wives in a variety of subjects. The rationale for a catechist training center was that there were not enough priests, the catechists were the natural community leaders – and could even lead liturgical services without a priest, called in Swahili *ibada bila padre* – and if very well trained could be deemed the full-time collaborators of the priests. With this thorough training and full-time job designation, however, they would have to be paid just salaries.

One of the catechists, Emmanueli Jidola, was from Mipa Parish in Shinyanga Diocese, where Maryknoll Fathers Jim Lenihan and George Weber were stationed. They also, along with others in Shinyanga Diocese, were questioning the structure of the catechumenate and the need for better training and utilization of catechists. In June, 1959, Bishop Edward McGurkin of Shinyanga, approved plans for a Catechist Training Centre to be built in Mipa, although it would be two and a half years before these plans reached fruition (in November, 1961). When Jidola finished his course at Bukumbi in August, 1959, he was immediately appointed Head Catechist of Mipa Parish.

As a result of this catechetical ferment in the three dioceses of Mwanza, Shinyanga and Musoma, Kowak instituted a fundamental change in the catechumenate at the beginning of 1960. The Sacramental Course, the six months immediately prior to Baptism in which all catechumens from the whole parish had to come and live at the mission, was decentralized to a number of centers throughout the parish. The first report of this was in the diary of March, 1960, written by Jim Kuhn.

Two of our outstations, Butuli and Buganzu, have chapels and priests' quarters, where they can stay for five days on a regular basis. While there they can say daily Mass for the Christians and run the Sacrament Course. Hopefully, this will make it easier for catechumens from a distance and increase the number of Christians.

The diary of April, 1960, reported that the Maryknoll Sisters were also engaged in pastoral work in the parish. They were “very involved in home visiting, supervising catechists, instructing African school teachers, and teaching children in the vacation schools.”

Many years later Frank Murray reflected on parish decentralization:

We began to break down our parishes into pieces, by developing centers away from the home base, ten, fifteen miles away, so that people could have more contact with the church and come to Mass more regularly. And they no longer had the great hardship with the six months catechumenate that until then required them to leave their homes, leave their fields, and not do anything productive for those six months while they were at the mission, except to go back home on weekends and bring in food to last another week.

So what we began to do, I guess I was the first one to do it, was develop these outstations into centers, or satellite churches. This implied constructing a bigger building than we had out there. And instead of mud and wattle we used concrete blocks and lumber. The local people had to participate in the construction, otherwise it didn't happen. That was a requirement. They could either contribute money, at that time the equivalent of two dollars, or they could contribute about two weeks' worth of work. I don't recall exactly. The local people drew up the rules.

So what happened was the people developed these places and it cost them money, money that they could well have used for other things. It took a lot of time in building the centers and the people were quite proud of it.

By 1962, most of the parishes in Musoma Diocese had made the change-over to holding the full catechumenate in centers, or even in all the outstations. The priests of the Diocese also realized that they needed trained catechists, and the decision to start Komuge Catechist Training Center will be treated in another section. The length of the catechumenate course remained fifteen to twenty-one months, although as the 1960s proceeded each parish adjusted the length in accordance to what they deemed best.

The content of the catechumenate was also important. It would be several years before a new book and course of study would be produced in Luo, but it is interesting to note one series of events in late 1960. In September, 1960, Monsignor Del Maestri, the Apostolic Delegate to East Africa, stopped in Kowak both while traveling to Tabora (from Nairobi) and on his return to Nairobi. What he and the priests of Kowak discussed is not reported, but just one month later, in October, 1960, Frank Murray took the long 400 mile trip from Kowak to Tabora by motorcycle. His evolving understanding of the new catechetical moment in the church culminated just a few years later, in 1964, when he went to the Lumen Vitae Catechetical Institute in France.

To sum up, in the years 1946 to 1962 the main emphases of the Maryknollers in Kowak were on maintaining a very good catechumenate program, increasing the numbers of Catholics, starting new parishes, constructing the requisite buildings needed in each of the parishes, which included greatly improved construction of the main buildings, such as

the rectory, church, convent and dispensary, expanding the number of schools and making them good places of learning, and operating a well-functioning dispensary. A program had been initiated to improve Luo language instruction (at Masonga, then Kowak) and to provide a format to begin understanding Luo culture. As of 1962 there were five parishes serving the Luo Catholics of North Mara and one other Luo parish apostolate in South Mara, whereas just sixteen years previously there was only the one parish of Kowak. In 1962 one half of the 80,000 or so Luo in North Mara had become baptized Christians, either Catholic or Protestant. Methods to elicit advice from parish leaders continued by means of the Catholic Action groups, although the formal establishment of parish councils was to be a post-Vatican II innovation.

Adjusting to the physical hardships of northwestern Tanganyika was part and parcel of the new missionary's introduction to church ministry in that part of the world. In only a few instances was a Maryknoller alone in a mission for any length of time and the presence of a community undoubtedly helped the newcomer in his adjustment to life in Luoland. However, it seems that the White Fathers' practice of communal prayer and meditation every day was not continued. These were replaced by the sundowner, the sharing of drinks and hors-d'ouvres prior to the meal, and card-playing after supper, both of which were also communal functions. These latter practices may actually have been a more appropriate way of enhancing personal growth and interpersonal friendship, and of providing missionaries a mature forum in which to share frustrations, challenges and also the joys of the often demanding work they were doing.

In addition, questioning and discerning had already begun regarding how to harmonize Church canon law with radically different cultural traditions (particularly with regard to marriage), how to dramatically improve catechetical instruction in response to the world-wide Church's efforts to modernize catechetics, and how to relate instructions during the catechumenate to the actual lived situation of the Luo people. And, of course, by the late 1950s all the Maryknoll priests were very much aware of the impending independence of Tanganyika and the expected dramatic changes that would ensue.

Despite these percolations, a visitor might not have noticed too much difference in the parish program between 1946 and 1959, except that in 1952 the catechumenate had been shortened within the new Prefecture of Musoma from four years to twenty-one months. The years 1961/62 were the dividing line when new policies and programs were begun, and the decentralization of the catechumenate completely to outstations (centers) was done in all parishes, following Kowak's lead.

In a later Part we will look at further developments in Kowak in the years 1962 to the late 1980s.

### Masonga Parish:

As was written above in the section on Kowak, it was not long after Bert Good and Joe Brannigan had arrived in Kowak in 1946 that Maryknoll began looking for a place on Lake Victoria, near Shirati, where the Mennonites had a mission and a large hospital, to be the next Catholic mission among the Luo people. In fact, in his first month at Kowak, Good was approached by the Catholics of Shirati, who had walked in for Mass on All Saints Day, November 1, 1946, (or possibly on a Saturday for a Sunday Mass)

saying they wanted to kidnap him and take him to Shirati. They claimed that there were already 400 adult Catholics in Shirati. Good was impressed with the people and their heartfelt entreaty to him.

In mid-January, 1947, Good and Fr. Van der Heijden, the pastor of Kowak, rode together on one motorcycle the thirty miles to Shirati and stayed for a week. The White Fathers had two houses there, about a half-hour's walk from the small church. Due to heavy rain in the first half of 1947, Good was able to take only one or two trips to Shirati later in the year. In August, 1947, Bishop Blomjous came to Kowak and with Good went to Shirati to choose a site for the new mission, settling on a place five miles north of the town, which eventually was called Masonga, because of the British rule of having at least three miles between missions of different denominations. That month Blomjous met with Fr. Bill Collins and requested Collins to look for money to build the new mission at Shirati (along with the new mission in Rosana and for a convent and dispensary in Kowak).

In August, 1947, Joe Glynn and Ed Bratton came to Kowak, and both were assigned to study Luo. This made it possible for Maryknoll to begin seriously planning on assigning Good to start the new mission in Masonga. In September, 1947, Van der Heijden was withdrawn from Kowak and Fr. Erwin Binder became pastor. The following January Binder and Bratton went to Shirati and built a house near the church, so that the priest could sleep close to the church rather than several miles away. While there the District Officer happened to come by and met with a large group of Catholics who claimed there were 2,000 Catholics in the Shirati area.

In April, 1948, Ed Bratton submitted measurements and plans for the sites of the new missions in Masonga and Rosana and in August the District Commissioner of Tarime District came to Kowak to tell the priests that permission was given for the new parish near Shirati, called Bulieri at that time, and a few days later permission for Rosana was received by mail. In September, 1948, Ed Bratton went out to Masonga for several days to oversee construction of a good, secure roof on the church at Masonga. According to the Musoma Diocese website, the parish at Masonga was formally erected in 1948 although it was not until May, 1949, that Bert Good was finally able to move there from Kowak, while waiting for construction of a few necessary buildings. His main task the first year was in overseeing construction of other buildings needed in the new parish, frequently assisted by Joe Glynn and Brother Fidelis.

In his first diary from Masonga, in May, 1949, Good described the place where the new mission was being started:

Masonga is a beautiful site, on the top of a hill a mile away from Lake Victoria, overlooking the picturesquely irregular shore of the lake to the west, the gigantic Wagasi Mountains rising out of the lake in Kenya, and the irregular and forbiddingly bleak Kamageta and Kakiseru Mountains of Tanganyika.

There were three Chiefdoms within the territory of Masonga. Two Chiefs were Catholic although one had stopped coming to church. The third was a pagan with several wives, preventing him from being baptized, although he came to church regularly on Sundays.

When Good arrived at Masonga the people were still feverishly putting the finishing touches on his mud-walled, grass-roofed house that measured ten feet by fifteen feet – in fact, a couple of days later, after a drenching rain poured water into his house, the roof had to be reinforced with more grass. A kitchen and outhouse were also built, “the outhouse resembling a Rube Goldberg affair,” but functional. Good had use of the Vicariate three-ton truck and hauled in stones for the foundations of the permanent buildings. He oversaw the making of sun-dried bricks, which were put under a shed, but three days of heavy rain ruined them all. Good and his workers then focused on digging the foundations of the future kitchen, storehouse and garage, which would serve temporarily as his living quarters.

In the beginning he said Sunday Mass at an outstation called Kirengo, where there was a relatively large school that could sit 300 people. In May 100 school children began instructions for First Communion, also held at Kirengo, although Good had intentions of beginning construction of a large kigango at Masonga as soon as possible.

In his first month he also began meeting his Mennonite neighbors. On Ascension Thursday he came down with a severe toothache and went to the Mennonite Hospital to have it pulled. A few days later a small group of Mennonites, who were American, came to his place for a neighborly visit.

For the next six months of 1949 Good was preoccupied with only two tasks, teaching the First Communion class and overseeing construction of the buildings. In August, Brother Fidelis came to put the roof on the first three buildings, and Good moved out of his mud hut into the kitchen, with his hut becoming the classroom for the First Communion group. The garage became the chapel and Good was able to reserve the Eucharist there.

Since a new Maryknoller, John Schiff, was coming at the end of October, in August Good began building two native-style houses, one of which would become Good’s residence and the other the kitchen. Schiff would use the current kitchen as his room. He also built a permanent outhouse and shower. At about this time Bill Collins visited Masonga and strongly urged Good to build proper housing. By mid-October everything was nearly ready and Good went to Mombasa, Kenya, to get his new jeep and shortly after arriving back at Masonga Schiff came. As the native-style house was not completely ready, they both bunked in the same house for a few days until they could each have their own rooms.

In 1950 a larger, temporary church was built and was blessed in 1951 by Monsignor Grondin. The priests at Masonga planned that this building would be used by catechumens when a permanent church was built. Grondin had become Prefect Apostolic only in October, 1950, but one of the first decisions he made was to transfer Good to Kowak, as White Father Erwin Binder was leaving Kowak and Musoma Prefecture and going to the Ukerewe Islands, after a furlough back in Germany. In Good’s place Joe Glynn was made pastor of Masonga, joining John Schiff, who remained in Masonga. Schiff had come with a harmonica, which the local boys liked hearing him play, and he also brought a mimeograph machine to Masonga, which he used to produce copies of a hymnal written in the Luo language, although using melodies from Europe/America.

Glynn remained at Masonga for only about a year and a half at most, but spent much of his time building permanent structures. He began construction of a church, rectory, and a three-room house for the head teacher at the primary school. The head

teacher's house was a requirement of the government for a recognized primary school. In August, 1953, Brother John Walsh came and added extensions to the rectory, enabling all the priests to sleep inside the rectory.

A new primary school was also built at Mukama, described as a wild but fertile place, where people were settling quickly. Schiff went out in November, 1951, to bless this school.

Although Glynn was greatly involved with construction at that time, he still was able to do a good amount of pastoral work, such as overseeing the catechumenate and visiting people outside the mission. He explained how he was able to do this:

It all fell into line very easily, because after morning Mass I would line up the work that the builders were going to do. I then had a set time for instruction and after that the catechist would take over. After that I would take care of any problems and then I was free to go out.

For construction I had an African crew but for anything intricate, such as putting on a roof, Brother Fidelis would come to do this. This had to be planned in advance, because he was moving around the diocese.

Dan Zwack was assigned to Tanganyika and to Masonga to study Luo, arriving in October, 1951, and he commented on Glynn's work at Masonga.

In two years he built up a new mission, spiritually and physically, into such a flourishing state that succeeding pastors may capitalize on his work and will be able to devote more time to apostolic work than Fr. Glynn could manage.

In February, 1952, Glynn was assigned by Mons. Grondin to Musoma town, to oversee construction of the rectory, Bishop's house and diocesan offices (Cf Part Three). When Glynn was departing the local Chief and his council wrote a letter to Grondin, expressing appreciation for Glynn's work and saying they wanted him to stay in Masonga. The people of Masonga had seen their first two pastors leave after less than two years each and had begun to wonder if this would continue to be the pattern.

John Schiff was appointed the new pastor of Masonga – the youngest pastor in Musoma Prefecture – and Zwack, in his colorful way, described Schiff's task as follows:

His is the responsibility of a busy mission center, with its daily care of Christians and catechumens, a good score of bush schools, with their catechists, Christians good and bad scattered over a broad area, pagans beyond number, all claiming his time. Mud bricks and grass roofs, rains and hopelessly lazy and unskilled workers take up his idle moments.

In 1952 Zwack wrote several long diaries detailing the difficulties of language and cultural learning, such as being praised in his language progress one day and being laughed at the next, having to endure the insatiable requests of Luo people for money or things from the priests (*mia mach* is Luo for 'give me a gift,' a phrase the priests heard constantly), the puzzling combination of on one hand good Mass attendance, reception of the sacraments and wearing of modern clothes with on the other hand the ready reversion

to traditional beliefs, such as resorting to a diviner when sick or during childbirth, the wearing of charms, and the use of some kind of medicine, called *yath*, such as a sprig from a plant placed on the wall. Zwack also observed that pagan parents were indifferent to their children learning Christian doctrine (either Catholic or Protestant) and getting baptized. It seemed that the only thing fathers cared about with regard to their daughters was getting a good brideprice when they were married off.

Zwack wrote about the brideprice, saying that “a good girl brings 18 cows and a good cow sells for 200 shillings” (close to \$30.00 in 1952). This made it difficult for many young men to marry, with the result that “boys often marry rather late while the girls marry very young.” Conversely, if a man, even a baptized Christian, has enough cows he will marry a second wife.

They were also getting vocations even in those early years. A boy who did various jobs at the mission and whose father had been a long-time catechist when Shirati was an outstation of Kowak joined the minor seminary in Nyegezi at the beginning of 1952. Zwack wrote that it could be difficult to get fathers to let their daughters join the convent at Kowak, since they didn’t want to lose the brideprice, but that despite this most of the girls at Kowak postulancy were from Masonga.

The livelihood of the people of Masonga was also mentioned by Zwack in one diary.

Masonga does not get rain as in other places, but in the rainy season it gets green. People plant cassava, sorghum, sweet potatoes, maize and small grains. People need to weed by hoe as there are many weeds.

We priests also do some farming. We planted a half-acre of sweet potatoes.

Zwack did not mention any cash crop and probably the only cash industry next to the lake was fishing. Families may also have sold livestock at times when they needed cash.

It is not known exactly when the six-month sacrament course started at Masonga, but it was probably in 1950 while Good was still pastor. The first mention of it in the diaries was in May, 1952, when Zwack wrote that 100 people, including children, were baptized at Easter in April, and that just a week later 60 people began their last three months of preparation, joined by another 110 beginning the six-month course. Zwack said there was not enough room to accommodate 170 people: the women’s house “was crowded beyond human decency,” and the men had no house at all, having to look for accommodations on their own. Thus, in mid-1952 the priests had the male catechumens build seven native houses, four for men and three for women. Each of these mud and wattle houses with grass roofs could be put up in just a couple of days. In the early and mid-1950s it seems that there were from fifty to one hundred adult baptisms every three months. By 1953 there were two Masses celebrated at Masonga every Sunday.

The weekly and monthly schedules were described in one diary. Each priest took a four-day safari to an outstation each month and was supposed to be out visiting people one and a half days each week. Zwack discussed three large outstations: Kamageta, which had many old Christians; Charya, where the catechist’s village resembled a

mission compound and which had a church that could hold 150 people and was used as a bush school for children and a catechumenate for adults; and Burere, an old school with 300 Christians, located in a well populated area in lovely, rugged country. In 1952 Zwack surmised that Burere could be a good choice for a future mission as it had a good nucleus of Christians and was halfway between Masonga and Kowak.

In February, 1952, Erwin Binder visited Kowak and Masonga, taking a break after six months of learning the Kikerewe language, and he reported that there were pockets of Luo living even at the Ukerewe Islands. The priests from Nyegina were already aware that many Luo lived along the Majita peninsula, in and around Musoma, and in the mines of what was to become Zanaki Parish. Thus, sometime in late 1952 Zwack was assigned by Mons. Grondin to take on a new assignment, to live at Nyegina and go out for sacramental and catechetical purposes to the places where Luo were congregated. This was done so that Luo could receive church services in the Luo language.

In August, 1952, two of the new Maryknollers assigned to Tanganyika came to North Mara for Luo work, namely Frank Murray, who went to Kowak, and Jim Kuhn, who went to Masonga. When Zwack went to Nyegina, Mike Pierce, who had come to Kowak in 1951, was assigned to Masonga, making three priests stationed there: Schiff, Pierce, and Kuhn. Kuhn wrote several diaries while he was at Masonga and said that as he did not have a motorcycle all his safaris outside were done by foot. "It is beautiful hiking territory," he said, "and all you hear is Luo. As a result, the language comes along." After six months he was able to preach his first sermon in Luo. In March, 1953, he and Frank Murray switched places, Kuhn going to Kowak and Murray coming to Masonga. After Easter, 1953, Pierce was re-assigned to Kowak and later in 1953 Kuhn returned to Masonga.

In June, 1953, Murray described parish work at Masonga as follows:

- Instructing the adult catechumens for the six month course
- First Communion class, five times a week
- Beginners' catechumenate, three times a week
- Religious instruction in the school
- Visitation to distant Christians with a difficult problem

Murray also reported on various outstation safaris the priests took in the months of April to June, 1953. In one, Murray got lost on a trip by bicycle to a distant outstation and had to sleep overnight in the simple hut of a Luo family who were pagans. He was served chicken, *nyuka* (some type of vegetable), and *kuon*, the staple food made of millet and cassava.

Schiff the pastor, who by mid-1953 had been in Luo work at Masonga for four years, was teaching the catechumenate five days a week and doing sacramental ministry on weekends, but he also went one time to the distant Burere outstation to give a three-day retreat. So successful was it that he returned to Burere again in April, 1954, to give another three-day retreat.

In June, 1953, Schiff also had a big meeting at Charya where the people intended to contribute money and help with work, in order to build a registered primary school that would measure 16 by 25 feet, made of mud bricks and a cement floor, as per the new

government regulations. However, as of October, 1955, construction had not yet been completed, preventing registration of the school. But on October 11, 1955, Bill Collins and Joe Glynn came to inspect the school, which was complete enough to file registration papers.

In the diary of April, 1954, Murray reported on the diocesan conference held at Nyegina, where Collins had stated that the government was abandoning the system of sectarian schools, preferring that all schools be public schools. However, this proposal does not seem to have gone anywhere in the 1950s, as missions continued to oversee construction and registration of denominational schools. A year later this proposal led to divisions at Masonga, as the SDA Chief wanted to force Catholics to participate in forced labor building Protestant schools. At a huge meeting (baraza) the District Commissioner supported the Catholic mission's contention that Catholics should do this forced labor only on Catholic and government schools.

The conference also discussed the practice of three-month public penance for baptized Catholics who either entered into non-canonical marriages or brewed illicit alcoholic beverages. The penance was to do a repeat three-month catechumenate course, but it seems that few were able to do this.

In April, 1954, Kuhn was re-assigned to Kowak, to replace Joe Glynn, who had gone on furlough. Only Schiff and Murray remained in Masonga until July, 1955, when Ed Baskerville came from Kowak.

In July, 1955, Murray wrote in the diary that there were 4,648 Catholics in the parish, about one-sixth of the total population. In some places one-third of the people were Catholic, whereas in other places there were very few. In the previous twelve months 439 adults had been baptized and 372 infants. However, they were having difficulty getting parents to agree to let their daughters come in for the five months of First Communion instruction; boys received this instruction in school.

By mid-1955 John Schiff used to go out hunting almost every month, often to the Serengeti or close to it, and he always brought back meat for the mission – for both the priests and the catechumens doing the sacrament course at the mission. In October, 1955, he offered to kill three rhinos who were harassing people living about seven to eight miles east of Masonga. He went with three trackers and they came upon the animals in thick bush, but Schiff was not able to get off a clean shot. In fact, he was lucky that he was not charged by any of the rhinos. One big-game hunter had shot an elephant several times only to have the animal come and hurl him forty feet in the air. However, either at this time or sometime later Schiff did kill a rhino that was coming into people's farms.

Schiff also shot ducks at the lake, in order to vary the diet of the priests, as the fishermen were bringing in loads of fresh – and delicious – tilapia every day. So large was the volume of fish in Lake Victoria, Ed Baskerville wrote in October, 1955, that the British colonial administration wanted to promote commercial fishing in the lake. At times there were also crocodiles and hippos at the lake; crocodiles were killed just for safety's sake whereas it was difficult to kill a hippo with a rifle, as they were over 100 yards out and mostly underwater.

Baskerville observed that there were great commercial opportunities locally in North Mara, if there were sufficient transport, by taking fish from Shirati to sell in Rosana and fresh vegetables from Rosana to sell in Shirati. The distance between the two

places was only fifty miles. (Tom Donnelly commented in an interview that he once did this trip by bicycle – but only once. After that he did all long trips by motorcycle.)

As for the priests' vehicles, the terrible roads in North Mara were causing havoc. Schiff's Jeep was in such a pitiable state by the end of 1955 that he couldn't wait to get rid of it when he went on his furlough in 1956.

In 1955 the priests began saying Mass at one of the three large outstations each Sunday, Charya, Bukama and Burere, over a three-week schedule, in addition to the two Masses at Masonga. This was referred to as "a decentralization policy." In October, 1955, Schiff expanded that by having Sunday Mass at Nyarombo in the morning and Bukama in the afternoon. The outstations were only six miles apart. Although Frank Murray had gone to Rome that month for vacation, he was temporarily replaced by the just arrived Joe Corso. Corso then went to Kowak to study Luo. Nyarombo had already been chosen as the site for a new mission in 1956, and in late 1955 the priests of Masonga were engaged in discussions with Christians whether to open another mission at either Tatwe or Kamageta.

In addition to Sunday Masses at the large outstations, the smaller ones were visited on a regular basis. However, in October, 1955, they had to replace catechists at two small outstations, due to under-performance in their work, thereby temporarily closing the bush schools in those two places.

As was the case in other parishes, all catechists were expected to come in every First Friday for an all-day meeting. They had just produced a new, more complex catechism in Luo, which created problems for some of the catechists who couldn't read but knew the old catechism by memory.

Within Masonga's territory there were a few government schools, where the mission was allowed to teach religion, and many Protestant schools, where this permission was not granted. To combat this, Frank Murray had established six bush schools and the priests hoped to have two of them registered in 1956.

Regarding education, in November, 1955, Baskerville helped conduct examinations for fourth-graders in three primary schools. Only the few excelling students could hope to go to Middle School, as there were only three middle schools in all of North Mara (Tarime) District. One of these schools was at Kowak, although even in 1956 construction was still ongoing.

Fr. Tom Donnelly, who arrived at Masonga in September, 1957, to study Luo talked in an interview later about the famous Mary Hancock, the Education Secretary for Mara Region, which included both Musoma and North Mara Districts. She made a concerted effort to expand girls' primary education. When she went to primary schools, she would measure the boys and send away about half of them. She then insisted to the Head Teacher that these boys be replaced with girls and said that when she came back on her next visit she expected to see half boys and half girls in the classroom.

Baskerville, a medical doctor, commented on the practice in neighboring Bantu tribes of male and female circumcision, reporting that a girl had recently died from hemorrhage shortly after being circumcised. He wrote in the diary that he wished the government would take a more active stance in trying to eradicate this practice.

In the first months of 1956 there were a number of changes in the Luo parishes of North Mara. First, John Schiff left Masonga and Tanganyika for personal reasons and returned to the United States. In his place Murray was made pastor of Masonga. Secondly, Joe Glynn left Kowak and started the new parish of Nyarombo. In his place, Ed Baskerville was re-assigned to Kowak and Jim Kuhn was moved from Kowak to Masonga. For the rest of 1956 the only priests at Masonga were Murray and Kuhn, until October, when Bill Daley and Gerry Pavis arrived to study Luo. They remained at Masonga until February, 1957, when they both left for other missions (Pavis to Nyarombo and Daley to Kowak), and from then until September, 1957, Murray and Kuhn again were the only two at Masonga. [Cf above on Kowak Parish, pp 8 to 10, about this language program, first at Masonga and later at Kowak.]

Murray wrote a diary in September, 1956, and focused on problems with regard to local financial support, or rather the insufficiency of it. He said there were 5,100 Catholics at the beginning of the year, of whom 1,700 were taken by Nyarombo Parish. From the Christians the total local income for one year came to \$700, not even close to what was needed for ongoing expenses. At that time the Diocese had not yet been erected and the Prefecture did not have money to assist the many building projects (rectories, churches and schools) going on throughout the Prefecture. Murray went on to say that the annual church tax was too low: only two shillings for men (28 cents) and one shilling for women (fourteen cents). Since the salary for five days' work was five shillings, Murray thought that this should be the annual church tax (unsure if he meant men only, or both men and women).

There was a real need for more Catholic schools. Within the territory of Masonga there were nine Protestant primary schools, one Protestant Middle School, no government school, and only one Catholic primary school. To go to the Catholic school, many Catholic children had to walk ten miles one-way, a daily round-trip journey of twenty miles. Murray wanted to build two more Catholic schools, but since the government five-year plan stated that there would be no money for additional teachers in North Mara the parish would have to pay the salaries of the teachers. The only way he could have done that would be to eliminate the salaries of all catechists. This was a very thorny trade-off, because school children generally wanted to be baptized and usually chose the denomination of the school. In the mid-1950s the priests could not teach the Catholic religion in Protestant schools, accounting for the urgency of building more Catholic schools. Murray explained that "the Mennonites have ringed our mission with six of their schools."

In October, 1956, Murray first received the disappointing news that one of the proposed new schools, at Charia, was refused by the government administration, which claimed that the application "was lost." However, a week later Bert Good, the acting Prefect (Grondin was at the General Chapter in the United States), came to Masonga and said that Murray should go ahead and develop schools, even at considerable expense, despite the government's refusal to grant any more schools in the five-year plan. Throughout 1957 Murray and others reported in the diaries of problems Masonga was having in getting new schools registered and obtaining finance to construct the necessary buildings. There was one good development, however, as in March, 1957, Brother Fidelis showed the priests how to make cement blocks.

Several looming problems were alluded to in the diaries that Murray wrote in September and December of 1956, one being the discovery of stolen items in the garden of a next-door neighbor. Schoolboys found these things – and oil drum and pieces of lumber – by accident, by shooting rocks from a slingshot which clanked against the oil drum. Petty thievery was a persistent problem in many missions, although at that time armed robbery by violent gangs was non-existent in Tanganyika's rural areas. Two years later, on July 4, 1958, Tom Donnelly's bicycle was stolen from the front porch of the mission while he was inside eating supper – and never recovered. On this theft, the thief also stole \$100 worth of tools belonging to Mike Pierce from the carpentry shop. The Maryknollers suspected that the stolen items may have been taken to Kenya, only nine miles away.

In-house thievery was also a problem. In 1956 Murray and Kuhn hired an older woman, named Katarina, who was very honest and very clean, alleviating one potential problem.

And in his diaries of September and October, 1956, Murray reported that there was a significant decline in the number of catechumens and especially in men in the catechumenate. He thought that with the small number of baptisms – 160 in October, 1955, and only 20 in October, 1956 – it would best to have Baptism only twice a year. Furthermore, in December, 1956, of 38 adults baptized only two were men. Murray reflected on this and said:

It is a question of who is willing to make the sacrifices, including living at the mission for five months. Many men go away to work and prefer to be baptized at their places of work. At their work places they study religion in Swahili and so not as much is required of them (versus studying in their tribal language). Also, they are closer to their place of study and do not need to live at the mission for several months.

Murray's diaries of that period, 1956/57, likewise repeatedly commented on lower Mass attendance and low, even declining, Offertory collections. Although many people had been baptized in the previous six years, many had fallen away, for various reasons. Murray decided that he would not baptize the infants of those who had stopped coming to Mass and were not financially contributing to the parish. Throughout 1957 regular changes were made in the Sunday Mass schedule: some places were added to the Sunday schedule, other places had the number of Sunday Masses reduced, and in March, 1957, the second Mass at Masonga was eliminated, due to very low attendance. (However, in 1961 two Masses were being said at Masonga on Sundays.)

In addition to waning fervor, the priests were also discovering constant marriage problems. One was not new, namely the persistence of polygamy; baptized Christians, even active catechists, took second wives when they had the opportunity. The more wives a Luo man had the greater was his status. The second element was new (at least to the priests), namely the increasing tendency of girls to elope and of young couples to cohabit without marriage of any kind. By the mid to late 1950s cohabitation was in fact becoming the norm for Luos in rural Tanganyika. The main cause was retention of a high bride price and the inability of young men to raise this price. A number of these couples had been baptized but more and more they were dropping away from regular church

attendance. In addition to these two problems, the diaries also mentioned the problem of occasional child marriages, i.e. young girls, aged about thirteen, being married off to men much older solely because the girls' fathers had received the bride price in full. The priests brought this to the attention of the District officials in Tarime but it does not appear that much was done about it.

A very welcome event occurred on August 25, 1957: the opening of the Kirumi Ferry, the rope-pulled ferry over a narrow spot on the Mara River. Frank Murray wrote, "We don't have to take boat trips from Kinesi or Mori Bay any more, in order to go into Musoma." However, frequent breakdowns on this ferry brought its own share of frustrations.

On September 8, 1957, Tom Donnelly and Joe Trainor arrived at Masonga unexpectedly and to the surprise of Murray and Kuhn. They then began their Luo language learning following a method devised by Murray. They had a good language informant, Silveri Ouko. Murray at that time, due to his hearing loss, was not aware of tones in the Luo language and how they could change the meaning of words and sentences. In March, 1958, Ed Wroblewski brought a battery operated tape recorder to Masonga to help the language students to study Luo, and pointed out how different inflections can change the meaning of words. Two or three years later Maryknoll Sister Anita McWilliams visited the priests in North Mara and demonstrated with tape recorders the role that tones play in the Luo language. But even by 1960 most of those doing Luo work were having difficulties with the tones in the Luo language.

Trainor had been ordained in 1951 and then worked on Promotion in the U.S. for six years, eventually being assigned to Tanganyika after constant pleading with the General Council to be sent to the missions. An unrepentant jokester, Trainor claimed that Donnelly learned Luo faster than him, since Donnelly "was younger," although not by much, as Donnelly had been in the U.S. Navy for several years prior to joining the seminary.

Donnelly lived with Murray for over three years, both in Masonga and Kowak, and in addition to language Donnelly stated that he learned much about parish work from Murray.

I don't think I could have broken in with a better pastor than Frank Murray. He reads, is full of ideas, full of pastoral ideas, was a good mechanic, and he was a good teacher. The three years under him were invaluable. The system I have used in parishes is what I learned from him.

Frank used to write down information. He had little safari books with the names of families, where they lived, names of children, their ages, whether they had received First Communion or not, or baptism, or confirmation, or marriage. So, you sort of had a handle on the family when you met them.

He was very strong on visiting. As good as he was in catechetics, he was just as strong on visiting. He had me visiting the whole first two years I was at Masonga, going out on my bicycle, visiting people, to know the language, getting to know them, talking about customs.

One matter that Donnelly decided to address in the beginning was the number of couples who had fallen away from the Church, due to marriage obstacles. He explained to Murray that he would talk to each couple and find a way to fix up their marriages and bring them back to church. Murray advised Donnelly that there were cultural and economic reasons why the couples were living together without a formal marriage, but Donnelly went ahead anyway. He visited about eighty couples and all said they would come in the following week and schedule a day for their marriages, but in fact no one came. Donnelly commented in an interview: "I found out on my own. You have to wait for their time – the dowry hadn't been paid, there were no children, there were all sorts of reasons why they couldn't get married, which Frank tried to explain to me. But I liked him for that; he didn't stifle initiative, he encouraged it."

Donnelly also learned that Luo, in fact most East Africans, do not like to give a direct 'No' answer. Luo will say yes to a request, although their answers are somewhat evasive and ambiguous. One missionary with long experience in East Africa said that the people there have fifty ways of saying yes, only one of which actually means yes. Eventually, Maryknollers learned that maintaining harmony within the rural, communal setting in which people spend their whole lives, is the paramount virtue, and negative responses to requests are viewed as eroding harmony.

There were other things that Trainor and Donnelly learned about in their first six months, such as the communal function of a beer party, the importance of bride price, Luo reliance on diviners (misnamed witchdoctors), and about the catechetical system. At Masonga the six-month Sacrament Course was still being held at the mission at least up to 1960. After this system was decentralized to centers at Kowak (Cf pages 19 to 25 above) this was also done in Masonga.

They also learned about the educational system in North Mara, and in particular about the difficulties in Masonga Parish, since all the registered primary schools were Protestant (mainly Mennonite) versus only one Catholic school, at Masonga itself. It was also difficult to get those who had finished Standard Four (fourth grade) to get places in Standard Five at a Middle School. Some of the boys were taken to Kenya, to join Middle Schools there.

In February, 1958, Trainor was assigned to Nyarombo. In April, 1958, Murray finished up as pastor at Masonga and left for his seven-month furlough, during which he went to Oklahoma University Linguistic Institute. Mike Pierce, who had just returned from his furlough, was assigned as the new pastor. In July, 1958, Kuhn also went on furlough to the U.S., likewise not to return to Masonga.

When Pierce came he brought with him a portable gasoline generator, for showing film strips and slides outside the church at night, and in June, 1958, he went to Kisumu, Kenya, to collect a diesel motor to run a big navy surplus generator. By the end of June Masonga Mission was wired for electricity, run off the generator, enabling Pierce to use his electric tools and run the movie projector. It was only about a week later that thieves struck (Cf above) and stole many of Pierce's expensive tools. He and Donnelly concluded that someone closely connected to the mission carried out this theft (perhaps more than one person).

In September, 1958, Tom Donnelly wrote in the diary about two uniquely strange events. In the first, a 17-year-old girl wanted to play a prank on her 13-year-old brother

by making a loud, frightening noise as she approached the homestead shortly after dark, sounding like a witch. The boy grabbed his father's spear and thrust it right through the abdomen of the approaching figure. Two relays of men carried the girl through the night to the hospital, but she died the next afternoon.

Later that month a young Luo man from Kenya, a former Catholic, arrived in North Mara, claiming to be a priest, celebrating Mass, and baptizing anyone who wanted it for a fee of Shs. 3/- (50 cents), with no instructions and whether they were married or not. He was not able to do marriages, as he did not have a license. He had a wife and claimed that celibacy was an unnatural European invention.

In early 1959 Pierce left Masonga to start a new mission at Tatwe and Bill Daley came from Kowak to replace him. Daley had been in Tanganyika only a little over two years, so he was assigned as Administrator, rather than pastor, of Masonga. He and Donnelly remained together in Masonga till May, 1960, when Donnelly was assigned to Kowak and Wayman Deasy, who had come to Kowak in September, 1959, to study Luo, was assigned to Masonga. Deasy remained in Masonga until mid-1961 and was then assigned to Tatwe, where Mike Pierce was pastor.

Deasy wrote several diaries from Masonga in 1960 and 1961 and commented on the lack of rain in the years 1959 to the first half of 1961, and an unusual sickness that was named "*siyo*" (no translation), which caused aches, pains, and red spots on the skin. It caused many deaths, especially of children.

Deasy wrote that up to 1961 the six-month Sacrament Course was still being held at Masonga. Bill Daley was interviewed many years later and stated that it was at that time, during the Uhuru rains, in the second half of 1961, that the Sacrament Course was decentralized at Masonga to the main outstations, which were also called centers.

At that time Joe Glynn had come to Masonga, after Deasy had gone to Tatwe, and stayed there until he was elected the new Regional Superior in 1962. Glynn never commented on Masonga when he was interviewed and the final diary from Masonga was written by Deasy in February, 1961, so we know nothing about Glynn's work at Masonga. Glynn had done a lot of work developing Nyarombo Parish from 1956 to his furlough in 1960, and probably Bishop Rudin intended that he become pastor of Masonga as soon as Daley went on furlough in 1962 and build a new, large church. Before this happened, however, Glynn was elected Regional Superior.

Joe Trainor was at Nyarombo in 1962 when the election results were announced. He happened to be at Tarime shopping and as soon as he was told he "rushed to Masonga to tell Joe, saying, 'Joe, you're the new Regional.' Joe said, 'I don't believe it, I don't believe it.' 'But you are,' I said." When Glynn went to Nairobi, Daley stayed on alone until his furlough and then was replaced by Don Donovan.

Daley said that numbers in the Sacrament Course at Masonga had fallen way off in the late 1950s, but that after the courses were decentralized to the centers the numbers began to pick up again. It meant, of course, that the priest had to go out every day in order to teach in the Sacrament Course at a center. (The innovation of Small Christian communities (SCC), first called Chamas (Societies), will be discussed in detail in the next section on Musoma Diocese. These originated in the mid to late 1960s, first in the Luo parishes, and throughout the 1970s the SCCs continued to evolve in importance within the diocesan and parochial structures of Musoma Diocese. But in 1960 the concept of a catechumen being baptized primarily to join his SCC had not yet been proposed. The

catechumenate was decentralized only to make it more convenient for catechumens to study without having to leave home for an extended period of time.)

In his interview Daley echoed comments made by others about advantages he saw in having catechumens stay at the mission for six months.

But that old sacrament course, that was beautiful, the people being in the mission. Especially when you're new, you used to go out at night, when the people were cooking or when they had finished eating, and sit down and talk with them. It was nice.

At Kowak people used to come in from way out. They would go home on Friday afternoon and have to be back for Sunday Mass. The people in those days were willing to do something in order to be baptized. But once we started going out to the centers we did not get the same response.

Daley did, however, admit that numbers picked up after the decentralized system had been put in place, albeit still far more women than men. He also said that the old system of "people coming in and staying at the mission for six months was dead. It had died out."

Another matter that had not yet changed as of mid-1961 was the hostility still being shown to Catholics by the Mennonites. In 1960 Deasy wrote in a diary that the priests thought they had an agreement to allow the catechist to teach ten Catholic pupils at Kirongwe Primary School, a Mennonite school, but that the Mennonites were making it so impossible for the catechist to teach that the priests had to give up on this. Since so many schools were Mennonite schools the priests were resigned to having Catholic children forced to attend these schools and not learning their own religion.

Bill Daley also talked about Mennonite hostility:

The Mennonite women wouldn't even look at us. To them, we were the devil. But the men would at least say hello. We fought the dini (religion) war out in Masonga. But after Uhuru (Independence; on December 9, 1961), when the government took over the schools, we had no more trouble. It was the same thing with the hospital, where they didn't like Catholics to come to the hospital. After Uhuru they started receiving large amounts of money from Misereor (a Catholic funding agency from Germany) and after that they didn't bother us anymore.

Then we had Vatican II and John Kennedy became President. Kennedy made a big impression on them and I remember the Mennonites asking us many questions about him.

We shouldn't even have gotten bothered anyway, because what the Mennonites taught in religion classes were just stories about Jesus. They became good. They let the Catholic kids have vacation instructions in the schools and receive sacraments.

Bill Daley went on furlough in 1962 and on his return to Tanganyika in 1963 he was made pastor of Kowak, replacing Frank Murray. Don Donovan, who had come out to Tanganyika in 1959 and had worked in Kowak, Nyarombo, and Tatwe, was made pastor of Masonga in 1962 and remained there until 1965.

Before concluding this section on Masonga, we will just cite comments by Donovan about the old, original church, built by Joe Glynn in 1951. It had mud walls and a metal roof and could hold only about 200 to 300 people comfortably. Donovan said:

When I arrived Masonga only had a kigango that they used for Mass and so I built the new church of cement blocks. They had been promised by both Mike Pierce and Joe Glynn that they would build a new church, but for some reasons it never happened. They built nice churches, Pierce in Tatwe and Glynn in Nyarombo, but even though Masonga was an older mission it did not have a nice church. So, I got the new church built.

The rectory was a different matter. Although a large, comfortable rectory, the same old building, made of mud bricks, remained the rectory until at least up to the 1980s. And by the 1980s it was becoming very dilapidated.

Subsequent events at Masonga will be covered in the next section on Musoma Diocese, which will deal with the years 1962 to the 1980s.

### NYAROMBO:

Joe Glynn had been pastor of Kowak from 1953 to 1954, and then had gone on furlough up to March, 1955. Apparently by then the site for a mission at Nyarombo had already been chosen and the priests at Kowak were merely waiting for official permission to start. Glynn was the best choice to start Nyarombo, because he had already been instrumental in building the necessary buildings at the new parishes at Masonga and Musoma town. For the rest of 1955, Glynn assisted the pastor of Kowak, Mike Pierce, in the catechumenate, general parish work, and in looking for sites for another future mission. In April, 1955, Glynn and Pierce took a trip to a place near Tatwe, also called Rayudhe, which they found as a suitable spot.

On January 28, 1956, Glynn finally received official permission to start the mission at Nyarombo. The best source for the origins of the parish is the first diary written from Nyarombo, by Joe Trainor in June, 1958. He related the following history of Nyarombo's beginnings:

Territory was taken from Kowak and Masonga parishes and Nyarombo had 2,400 Christians to start. Glynn was given ten acres from a pagan man living there and on February 8, 1956, ground was broken for the first building, to be 30 by 15 feet and have three rooms – a permanent kitchen and two store rooms. For about six weeks Glynn commuted daily, a total of 50 miles round-trip each day. However, in February he built a ten-foot diameter mud-walled, grass-roofed native hut, with a metal door to keep out leopards, and he moved into this house on March 9, 1956.

Not long after that Glynn put up a mud-walled church which could hold 200 people and which was still useful in mid-1958. Despite the immediate need for buildings, Glynn gave equal importance to visiting and getting to know the people, setting up the catechumenate, and choosing catechists, both at Nyarombo and a few outstations. In that

first year over fifty people signed up for the Sacrament Course and the first baptism had a total of 89 people, including adults and children. Just one year after the parish had been begun the baptismal register indicated that 319 people had been baptized, bringing the total number of Christians in the parish to 3,000. There were so many Christians that the church was totally packed at each Mass on Sundays, with scores of children congregating in the sanctuary around the altar. In 1958, before the new church had been completed, Bishop John Comber, the Maryknoll Superior General, came to Nyarombo and celebrated Sunday Mass. At the consecration, when he genuflected, he stepped on two children. In a stage whisper Trainor said, "Skip the genuflection."

After the temporary church was built, Glynn began building a large house, made of cement blocks and aluminum roof, for the Sacrament Course. This was used primarily as a dormitory for the women, as there were usually many women at each course. There were fewer men and they had to look for places to stay nearby, or build small huts on the mission compound. Glynn also drew plans for a three-bedroom rectory and by Christmas day, 1956, the roof had been put on and Glynn moved into it while still working on it.

In 1957 and 1958 two new Maryknollers came and lived with Glynn at Nyarombo: Gerry Pavis, who arrived on January 27, 1957, after studying Luo at Masonga for five months; and on February 25, 1958, Joe Trainor came, after also studying Luo at Masonga. Glynn was very pleased to have both of them come, as he told Trainor: "I need you because I am going to be doing a lot of building and I want you to go out on visitation in the parish." As a result, Pavis and Trainor spent much of their time at Nyarombo, each for about two years or slightly more, going out by bicycle to various homesteads to visit people – and by motorcycle as soon as each bought one. In October, 1958, Trainor bought a used Chevrolet pickup truck, but it was not reported when or if Pavis bought a vehicle. Glynn, of course, had a pickup truck right from when he started at Nyarombo.

It was merely a coincidence that Glynn and Trainor were stationed together, because they were from the same parish and neighborhood in Boston. Trainor's older brother played on the high school football team with Glynn, and Trainor used to hang around with Glynn's younger brother. Glynn could be crusty and direct, and Trainor often was brash and loud, but they got along very well together and made good company.

At the end of 1957 or beginning of 1958, Bishop John Rudin, who had been ordained Bishop on October 3, 1957, made Glynn his Vicar General, a post Glynn retained until he was elected Regional Superior in 1962.

Trainor joked in his diary that the Luo people were overjoyed to have three priests in the parish, because that gave them more opportunities to ask for things. Trainor said that their work in the parish was threefold: first, handling all these endless requests (and learning to say no), secondly, dispensing medicine (50 to 100 people a day; malaria was very common, but they also regularly encountered diseases such as blindness, polio, and leprosy), and third, marital problems.

Most marital problems were dealt with through the home to home visitations. In most cases outstations were no more than a two-mile walk from anyone's homestead and Mass was celebrated at every outstation at least once a month. As a result of the home visitations many people returned to Mass and the sacraments.

One special medical intervention was done in April, 1958, when three Maryknoll Sisters came from the Dispensary at Kowak to vaccinate children and others against

childhood diseases (it is unsaid what the vaccinations were for; perhaps for diphtheria and tetanus). In all 300 school children and 200 others were vaccinated.

Along with the above named work, Pavis and Trainor also taught school children preparing for either First Communion or Baptism, with anywhere from 30 to 60 in each class. Since school children could be taught only during school vacations, it generally took two years from the time they began learning in outstations until they received the sacraments.

Glynn usually stayed at the mission, overseeing the construction and teaching in the Sacrament Course. He also did the questioning and choosing of those to begin the next Sacrament Course. Glynn also used to have an all-day meeting with all the catechists on the Thursday before the First Friday of each month.

In November, 1957, ground was broken for a new large (100 by 30 feet) and very nice (terrazzo floors) church, which was finished sometime in late 1958, in time for one of the most momentous events of that time, the ordination of Fr. Tarcisius Sije, a native of Nyarombo and the first Luo priest for Musoma Diocese, on August 16, 1959. There were no diaries written from Nyarombo that year, but presumably this was a great celebration. In July, 1958, when the church was nearing completion (the roof was put on at the end of August, 1958), two visitors came from Shinyanga, Bishop Ed McGurkin and Fr. George Mikolajczyk, who were quite impressed with all the construction work that had occurred at Nyarombo in just over two years.

In an interview many years later Trainor said that as large and beautiful as the church was, it was relatively inexpensive. Trainor joked that Glynn used all the Viatique (Room and Board) money for building, forcing him to eat only bread and butter.

The mission work being done all over the parish was producing great fruit, at least in terms of numbers. In November, 1958, after another 17 school children and 57 adults had been baptized, Pavis wrote, "In two and a half years close to 1,000 people have been baptized at Nyarombo."

In July, 1958, Pavis mentioned in a diary that they had begun showing films, mainly religious films, at the mission, although it was never mentioned whether the mission had a generator or any other source of electricity.

In the diary of August, 1958, Trainor wrote: "One outstation, Bukama, is becoming big and well-attended. It could become a mission someday." In fact Bukama, which was on the main road between Utegi and Shirati, had been one of Glynn's main priorities. There was an actual registered Catholic primary school at Bukama and a very active catechumenate, led by an excellent catechist, named Vitalis Obere. It was also not far from Tatwe, where Mike Pierce had begun a new mission in December of 1958, and he and Glynn regularly got together to discuss plans for further church and school development. Glynn commented at length about this:

We hoped to line up a pastoral plan for that whole area, from Utegi to Nyarombo to Masonga, to take care of the people and provide for the catechumenates. At that stage of the game we were interested only in making converts and there were so many people interested that we were trying to provide enough outschools for them. We were doing this also with the pastors at Kowak and Masonga. [In Kowak they were Ed Baskerville till the end of 1958, then Frank Murray till 1962. From 1958 to 1961 Bill Daley was pastor in Masonga.]

People were very anxious to become Christians. Now what their motives were I don't know and would question. But we always had plenty of readers (catechumens) at that time. The only really organized school was Kowak Primary School.

There was not yet a primary school at Nyarombo and in October, 1958, the priests began serious plans of building and registering one. First, Pavis measured the distance to the nearest primary schools, to ensure they were at least three miles away. They then took the information to Fr. Del Robinson, the Diocesan Education Secretary in Musoma, who in turn took their application to the District offices in Tarime the following month. Unfortunately, no diaries or interviews mention when the school was built and opened, but presumably by 1960 there was a registered primary school at Nyarombo. (After November, 1958, no further diaries were sent from Nyarombo, until Dan Zwack came to Nyarombo in 1963 and resumed writing diaries beginning in September, 1963.)

In December of 1958 Pavis was transferred to Kowak and not replaced by anyone at Nyarombo. Then in 1960 Joe Trainor was asked to go to Muhoji, to keep Joe Corso company in a difficult, remote place, and staff the parish while Corso was on furlough in 1961. In Trainor's place Don Donovan came to Nyarombo from Kowak. Donovan had been ordained in 1955 and was first assigned to Promotion work in New Orleans. He came to Tanganyika in September, 1959, and was assigned to Kowak to study the Luo language under Frank Murray. In February, 1960, he was transferred to Nyarombo and worked with Glynn for about a year. He commented:

Glynn was busy building and I had a busy time, going around visiting all the schools (bush schools) and trying to learn the language. We had 22 schools in all. Of these about four were used for Sunday Mass during the month, the bigger ones; two I remember: Sokorabolo and Busweta.

In 1961 Donovan was transferred to join Mike Pierce in Tatwe, and Gerry Pavis and Ed Baskerville came to Nyarombo, the latter for just a few months. When Pavis went on furlough in 1962 Joe Trainor came back from Muhoji and staffed Nyarombo by himself. On Pavis' return from furlough he was again assigned to Nyarombo, where he stayed until 1971. In 1963 he was joined at Nyarombo by Dan Zwack, who was there until 1969.

The new forms of parish structure introduced by Pavis and Zwack in the 1960s, which led to the development of Small Christian Communities in Luoland and eventually throughout East Africa, will be covered extensively in the next section on Musoma Diocese.

#### TATWE:

The founder of Tatwe Parish, Mike Pierce, who had come to Tanganyika in 1951 and had been pastor of Kowak from 1954 to 1957 and then pastor at Masonga for less than a year in 1958, was never interviewed for the history project and furthermore he never wrote any diaries from Tatwe in the four years he was stationed there. Thus, all we know about his work in Tatwe is from what others have said.

Although the Musoma Diocese website lists the founding of Tatwe as 1959, both the diary of Kowak in December, 1958, and a diary from Wayman Deasy written in July, 1963, both testify that on December 1, 1958, Mike Pierce moved from Masonga mission to Tatwe and began living in a small, grass-roofed hut. While he was pastor at Kowak he had taken several exploratory trips to Tatwe to investigate it as a future mission site, first in April, 1955, when he and Joe Glynn looked first at a place called Lwanda Simbili but decided that the road into this place was far too terrible. They then focused on Tatwe. (The road to Lwanda Simbili must have been totally horrible, or perhaps almost non-existent, because the road to Tatwe was also terrible.) In October, 1956, Pierce went with the District Commissioner of Tarime to measure the site at Tatwe. Pierce wanted at least ten acres and hoped to get 25 acres, but it is not reported what the final measurements were.

In 1957 Pierce went on home leave and on his return in 1958 was made pastor of Masonga. He apparently retained his desire to start a mission at Tatwe, because he never took any step to build a good church in Masonga, despite his promise to the Christians of Masonga to do so. Once he received permission to start the mission at Tatwe he moved there. After his simple hut, he then built a kigango, a moderate sized building in which the catechumens are taught. He also stored his tools there, while he set about building a rectory of cement blocks.

Although the month is unknown, in 1959 Fr. Tarcisius Sije, who had just recently been ordained, was assigned by Bishop Rudin to Tatwe. Sije stayed less than a year and in May, 1960, Fr. Gerry Pavis came to Tatwe. He stayed until 1961, when he was made pastor of Nyarombo. On his departure, Don Donovan came from Nyarombo to Tatwe and later that year (1961) Wayman Deasy was also assigned to Tatwe from Masonga. In 1962 Donovan was assigned to be pastor of Masonga.

Unfortunately, throughout the years 1960 to 1962 no diaries were written from Tatwe, and the first diary from Tatwe was by Deasy in July, 1963. Deasy mentioned several building projects done by Pierce (cf below here) but not the church. Apparently the large kigango built in early 1959 was still being used as the church on Sundays. In a diary by John Hudert in October, 1964, he reported that the parish finally had a new red-brick church, much bigger than the old mud-walled, grass-roofed church.

The diary from Kowak in 1958 stated that Tatwe began with 1,800 Catholics, 1,300 from Kowak and 500 from Masonga, but in Deasy's diary of 1963 he said that the parish was up to 5,000 Catholics, even though it was a relatively small territory. Deasy described the mission as set in hills, replete with many trees, but unfortunately endowed with very bad roads. He claimed that Pierce had ruined two vehicles while at Tatwe and was in the process of ruining a third vehicle, a Volkswagen.

In mid-1963 John Hudert, who had been studying the Luo language at Kowak since September, 1962, came to Tatwe and shortly after that Pierce left. Pierce was assigned by Bishop Rudin to Musoma to teach at Mara Secondary School. Later Pierce went to Europe to study catechetics for several years and on his return he first went to Bukumbi Catechetical Center, outside of Mwanza, and after that to the Gaba Pastoral Institute in Kampala.

In his diary of July, 1963, Deasy listed several of Pierce's accomplishments and other projects that he had started. He built both a home craft school for girls and a carpentry school for boys, and both schools achieved their goals in the first two years.

But even before Pierce left Tatwe the schools were running into financial problems due to lack of funding. At the carpentry school the boys were not paying school fees, even though these were minimal, and the school collapsed. The Home Craft School lasted a little longer, but a woman sent by Pierce to Germany for training in home crafts never came back to Tatwe, and after Pierce left Tatwe the girls' school also eventually closed.

Pierce put much of his energy into modernizing catechetics in the parish, through use of new materials including pictures and lesson plans, and by bringing the catechists in every Saturday for instructions for the following week. Catechists were then to teach four days a week in their outstations, which would be visited by the priests on a rotating basis. The full catechumenate was reduced to a six-month course, the term Sacrament Course was dropped, and it was decentralized to outstations, to which the catechumens could walk daily, rather than having to live at the mission. It was not said if baptisms took place at each outstation or at select large centers. Donovan said in a later interview that while he was at Tatwe in 1961 this new catechetical program was very successful. In the first few years there were about 600 baptisms a year.

Pierce also scheduled two-week courses for catechists at the mission during the year. Albeit an admittedly better catechetical system, in 1963 Deasy wrote that lack of finances had become its Achilles heel. Catechists were being asked to increase their output in time and energy and accordingly expected to be paid for this – but extra funding was not forthcoming. In some places the parish's Legion of Mary members were doing the teaching, apparently because the catechists had stopped.

John Hudert, in an interview in 1989, said that when he came in 1962 his main work was going out every day on his motorcycle to teach in the catechumenate, which was taking place in about fifteen outstations (Hudert referred to them as centers, the term commonly used in 1989). In a diary written in October, 1964, Hudert reported that the number of Christians in the parish had risen to 6,000 (a 233% increase in six years), but that the number of catechumens had dropped to only 100 in 1964. Hudert also said that he established very good relations with several of the catechists and that one in particular, Julius Kwach, was very helpful to him.

Fortunately, Tatwe mission did not have to build either a primary school or a dispensary, according to Hudert, because the government had these facilities in the immediate vicinity. The priorities at Tatwe were the vocational schools and the catechumenate.

Deasy reported that in 1963 self-support from the local people had gone way down. A partial reason was that due to famine and the heavy rains of 1961 the church tax was reduced and in 1962 the people were allowed to pay with grain, which had a low price. Many people believed that the church tax had been permanently abolished, with the result monetary income in 1963 was only one-third of previous years.

Pierce also started a Social Guild at around the time of Independence, to engage parishioners in discussions of social problems and solutions. Members of this group were trying to start a cooperative and they hoped to send one man for a course on credit unions.

Thus, the parish was trying to address the changed social context of post-Independence Tanganyika, but with mixed results.

These comments about Tatwe bring us up to the year 1964, when Tom Donnelly arrived, and he and Hudert decided to change the emphasis of the parish from the

catechumenate to work with the baptized Christians. This will be covered in the next section on Musoma Diocese, but we will conclude with a few comments from Hudert in his diary of October, 1964.

Catechists now instruct for four hours, four days a week, and the priest instructs them on two or less of these days. Every two months there are exams and after six months the catechumens are baptized. Are these Christians as well instructed as those of the past under the two-year system? Some say no; others say the older system was good in its day because pagans found it much more difficult to practice the new Christian way of life.

Now (1964) 65% of Catholics in Musoma are Luo. Their opportunities for Mass and Sacraments are much more accessible because missions are on average only ten miles apart.

I am young here and can't make comparisons but I do not believe our instruction is adequate. That is all they get, except for sermons. It is sufficient for Baptism. The question is: is the aim to baptize as many people as possible and then hope for the best? I don't think so. We have to continue to inspire, exhort, instruct and encourage them to a fuller Christian life.

The methods they chose and the work they did will be covered in the next section on Musoma Diocese.

### INGRI:

Ingri Parish was started in 1961, from Kowak. Unfortunately, there is little documentation about the first ten years, as there were no diaries written from Ingri and the first two priests in Ingri, Jim Kuhn from 1961 to 1965, and Wayman Deasy from 1966 to 1974, were never interviewed for the history project.

One of the few tidbits of history we have is from a comment by Bill Daley, who went to Ingri in 1972. When the mission was started the location had to be changed due the heavy rains at the time of Independence. It was moved from on top of a hill, called Ingri Juu (juu means up or above), to down below near the road, called Ingri Chini (chini means below). Although this was a logical decision so that vehicles would be able to get into the mission without enormous difficulty, apparently this move did not go over well with the local people in the beginning.

Paradoxically, in 2007, when a new Government District, called Rorya, was broken off from Tarime District, the headquarters was put at Ingri Juu, which is near the halfway point between the main highway to Musoma and Shirati on the lake. By the new century the roads up to the higher part of Ingri must have been improved.

Kuhn is the one who oversaw construction of the rectory and the church, although at that time Bishop Rudin had a team of builders who went around to missions doing the building and this was probably the case at Ingri as well. In 1966 Kuhn went on home leave and was replaced by Wayman Deasy. On Kuhn's return to Tanganyika in 1967 he was assigned to Tatwe.

In Deasy's eight years at Ingri he often was alone, but for one to two years he was joined by Tony Bengert, who had come out to Tanganyika in 1965 but then left in 1968. In 1972 Bill Daley came to Ingri and was with Deasy for several years.

In the next section on Musoma Diocese we will try to provide a little information about Ingri Parish.

### ROSANA:

In addition to starting the four new parishes among the Luo people and maintaining management of Kowak, Maryknoll also started three parishes among the other main ethnic group in North Mara, the Bakuria, which we will now look at. The first was Rosana and this was actually started slightly earlier than Masonga, but we have put it here in order to keep together parishes of the same ethnicity. These three parishes were Rosana in 1948, Tarime in 1959, and Bwiregi in 1961, which was later renamed Nyamwaga. And of course there was one other parish in North Mara, namely Komuge, which was included with the parishes of South Mara as it had been a long-time outstation of Nyegina.

As was noted in Part One, Fr. Joe Brannigan had been selected in 1946 to learn the Kikuria language and open a parish for the Bakuria tribe at the place chosen by Bishop Blomjous in 1946. This was Utimbaru, from the name of the clan, but which came to be called Rosana (meaning 'bush country'), from the name of the local place where the parish was built. From 1946 to 1948, in addition to learning Kikuria, Brannigan visited Rosana several times, began saying Mass at Rosana, Tarime and other outstations, and organized the construction of a primary school at Rosana. He also visited Mill Hill Father Adolf Conens in Isibania to learn of the latter's pastoral practices with the Bakuria Christians, with the intention of harmonizing Rosana's policies to those of Isibania as much as possible. However, Brannigan retained the White Fathers' four-year catechumenate at Rosana from 1949 to 1951, rather than adopting the two-year catechumenate used at Isibania, as per a directive from the Maryknoll General Council not to change any of the White Fathers' practices until the Maryknoll Apostolic Prefecture was begun. In addition to these activities, Brannigan also met many of the Europeans working in Tarime, mostly for the colonial government, and fostered good relations with them. As said in Part One, his pastoral outreach in Tarime made Brannigan mindful of the need for Kiswahili in town ministry.

The Bakuria are a Bantu people with a population of 435,000 in Tanzania and 174,000 in Kenya (according to a census count in 2006). They engage in both pastoral and agricultural means of livelihood, with Tanzanian Kuria tending to be more pastoralist and Kenyan Kuria more agricultural, and Bakuria living in Serengeti District distinctly pastoralist. An American religious organization, the Joshua Project, that works with Kuria claims that 86% of Kuria are Christian and 12% Muslim, with the Christians broken down to Catholic – 55%, Protestant – 40%, and Evangelical – 5%. There are 16 Clans or Sub-Tribes of Kuria, perhaps their most important identity. Brannigan wrote in 1949:

Socially the clan is the center. They don't seem to have a word to signify what we mean by family, i.e. father, mother and children. When they speak of family they seem to include all living relations. Hence, very often there are several families of one clan living in one village. The man is boss; the woman does most of the work and the children generally do what they are told.

#### Bantu Migration:

The Bakuria are one of many Bantu ethnic groups that can trace their origins back over 5,000 years to horticultural populations speaking Niger-Congo languages that slowly expanded out of an ancient culture of plant domestication in West Africa. By 3000 BCE groups were established in Cameroon who spoke a language called Proto-Bantu. From there they migrated slowly east and south and for over 2000 years they were root-crop horticulturalists. By the first millennium they reached the East African highlands and eventually Angola, and as they migrated east they began adopting three new modes of production: iron smelting, grain production, and herding traditions. These modes of production show up very significantly in three distinct expansions out of Tanzania to the south by 100 CE, and by 350 CE archeological remains are found all over southeast Africa. These steady migrations were accompanied by inevitable cultural and subsistence changes as the centuries passed and as they moved into different climatic conditions and terrain. There was also a language shift; peoples previously existing in these areas adopted the languages of the Bantu speakers.

Kuria oral history goes back to at least the early 17<sup>th</sup> history. (The source for this is an article in Wikipedia, drawn from a book by Jens Finke, "Traditional Music and Cultures of Kenya.") The Bukira clan has 34 age-groups whose average time interval puts the clan's origin at around the year 1630 CE. This clan's oral history states that they passed Mount Elgon, which would have been prior to the year 1500, since there are archeological remains in Kisii, the ethnic group to which the Kuria are very closely related, which date to about the year 1500. According to Wikipedia, between the years 1650 and 1750 the Bakira were joined by other Bantu-speaking groups related to the Kisii; some crossed the lake from the north (i.e. Uganda) and others migrated by land through the Kano Plains of Kenya (near Kisumu). They were prodded to advance south by Nilotic migrations into Kenya, and were also squeezed by Maasai expansion south into central Tanzania and then westerly towards Lake Victoria.

The Kuria-Kisii were mainly pastoralist at that time but on approaching the environs of Lake Victoria they encountered malaria-carrying mosquitoes and tsetse flies. Thus, they moved into the densely forested hills of western Kenya and northwestern Tanzania and adopted agriculture. The forests of the hills helped in defense. The two groups then split, around 1750, with the Kisii settling in the Kisii Hills and the Kuria on top of the escarpment above the Mara River. However, Brannigan wrote that when he arrived at Rosana in early 1949 most of the trees had been cut down and that the land was beginning to experience deterioration due to erosion and overgrazing.

In the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Maasai became embroiled in their own civil war, which ushered the Bantu peoples into a calmer, more peaceful period. At that time a third influx of displaced Bantu joined the Kuria and a number of new clans formed. Brannigan wrote that "before the British government took control the Bakuria were at continual war with the Maasai and everywhere along the steep escarpment can be

seen stone fortifications into which the cattle and women were herded in the event of a raid.” By mid-20<sup>th</sup>-century the Bakuria had reversed matters and begun to steal cattle, both from Maasai and from other Kuria clans.

The Bakuria are a patrilineal society and practice polygamy, wife inheritance, and what is called ‘woman marriage,’ a practice by which an older woman with no son accumulates sufficient cows to pay bride price for a younger woman who will raise up children, especially a son or sons, for the older woman’s lineage. Fr. Ed Hayes says that the term ‘woman marriage’ is misleading, since the older woman does not marry the younger woman, as he explains.

The older woman marries a *mokamona*, a daughter-in-law. The woman either had no children or she had only girls or she may have had son(s) who died, so her “house” will die out. She marries a wife for her deceased or maybe ‘ghost’ son. The children born to the younger woman will be her grandchildren, not her children.

Since the Bakuria formerly had many cattle, the bride price traditionally was very high – “forty to fifty cows” according to Brannigan (by the mid-1950s it was around thirty cows). He commented that this enabled wealthy Kuria to accumulate more wealth, in terms of cows, wives and children, whereas poor Kuria men had to take what was left. The government tried to limit bride price to ten cows, but this was not enforced.

Most Kuria households engage in subsistence agriculture and herding. Private ownership of land was not conceivable in the traditional Kuria worldview; land was communal, governed by the clan, although each family had clearly demarcated plots that they could use by right of usufruct and which they could pass on to future generations. Grazing areas and water sources were completely communal – referred to by social anthropologists as ‘the commons.’ (After Independence Tanzania nationalized all land in the country and even today rural land can not be privatized. Much of the communal village land of the Ujamaa era has by the 2010s reverted to use by individual households.)

In his first diary from Rosana Brannigan wrote also about the importance of the beer party, attended mainly by old men who drink communally from a beer pot, each with his own long, reed straw. He said that the beer was potent and that the party was often accompanied by singing and dancing.

#### Bantu circumcision and age-sets:

Two striking features of Kuria society are the age-sets and inter-related rite of circumcision, both male and female. Circumcision is an ancient practice for Bantu, as evidenced by etymological factors (use of the same base words) and by a study of circumcision rites of three unrelated Bantu ethnic groups, where the similarities in many of the practices, especially in some specific practices among widely diffused groups, indicate ancient origin. These practices include covering the body with ash or clay (white), shaving the head, and oblique ways of informing the parents/relatives of the death of a child during the circumcision ceremony. At the same time, there has been a lot of borrowing from unrelated language groups.

Circumcision is directly related to initiation schools and age-grades, through which male cohorts are bonded together and forever linked. Bantu groups that have abandoned circumcision have also abandoned the schools and the age-grades. Since those circumcised attained warrior status it is theorized that the primary purpose of both circumcision and its accompanying cohesive age-group was defense of the tribe. Toughening, training and the initiation of adolescents, including the ability to endure excruciating pain, were integral to the overall circumcision period. The age was traditionally early adolescence, about twelve to sixteen, and for the Bakuria the age was formerly eighteen to twenty-four (today eleven to thirteen for boys, younger for girls).

There are other values that accompany rites of passage, such as the expression of religious values and the control of social behavior. After being circumcised both boys and girls were traditionally deemed eligible for marriage and there was a sexual component to the communal celebration and education period in the school. Today, due to the younger age of circumcision and requirement of further formal education in school, the sexual/marriage elements of this rite have essentially disappeared, although fertility is still a prime value in Kuria society (and in all African societies).

In the contemporary cultural context female circumcision (today usually referred to as Female Genital Mutilation – FGM) has been abandoned by all but a few ethnic groups, such as the Bakuria and Maasai in Tanzania, and male circumcision has become changed. The age has been lowered to primary school age, little ceremony accompanies the rite, and it does not have much significance beyond recognition of adult status – actually of attainment of adolescence. Initiation schools are non-existent or barely so. Neighboring tribes in many cases do not practice it. Many individual boys go to hospitals to be circumcised and in some cases whole school groups have been taken by bus to a hospital to be circumcised. (No girls would ever be circumcised in a hospital, as all medical practitioners define it as genital mutilation, with absolutely no medical or health purpose.)

As a result there is a slow trend away from this practice for Bantu groups in general as it has lost its social significance.

However, it has been discovered that one benefit of male circumcision is increased resistance to infection by the HIV virus and in recent years some Luo males have opted to be circumcised, despite circumcision not being a traditional Luo practice.

As of the year 2014 Bakuria still practice both male and female circumcision, even if the rites have been greatly changed and lost their traditional significance. Female circumcision has in the 21<sup>st</sup> century become highly controversial, both in Kuria society in general and in Kuria Catholic parishes in particular. Previously the stance of Maryknoll and Musoma Diocese was that if a practice was not directly contrary to Christian morals and faith then the Church could accept the practice, albeit advocating that overtly sexual behaviors within the ceremony be eliminated. In recent decades the harmful effects of female circumcision (often extremely harmful), with no accompanying beneficial effect, have mobilized women's organizations, non-governmental organizations, and religious groups to vigorously campaign for the abolition of female circumcision. In addition, the Tanzania government has issued tenuous expressions of disapproval, but has not yet made use of the full weight of the government to stop it.

More will be said on this topic in the final section of this volume.

Rosana Parish was officially erected in 1948, according to the Musoma Diocese website, but Joe Brannigan did not move there until February, 1949, three months earlier than Bert Good moved to Masonga. In his first diary from Rosana, in June, 1949, Brannigan wrote:

The Bakuria tribe has been very little influenced by the White man. Until thirteen years ago (1936) there was no mission specifically devoted to them. Before that a few traveled ninety miles to the nearest mission in Kenya, where they were baptized.

In 1936 the Mill Hill Fathers opened a mission in Isibania, just over the Kenya-Tanganyika border, from which they covered Kenya's 15,000 Kuria and, with the Vicar of Mwanza's permission, the 50,000 Bakuria of Tanganyika. In 1945 a White Father, Fr. Hendricks, was assigned to the Bakuria but he was stationed in Kowak, twenty miles from the Kuria country. He worked under a great handicap and could do little more than hold on to what the Mill Hill Fathers handed over.

In December, 1946, two months after my arrival, Fr. Hendricks was forced by ill health to leave Tanganyika. I worked under the same handicap as did Fr. Hendricks and the necessity for a separate mission for the Bakuria, the largest tribe in North Mara, was evident. Finally, in February, 1949, I moved to Rosana.

Brannigan described Rosana as being on top of an escarpment at 5,500 feet above sea level and 1000 feet above the Mara River valley to the south. To the north the countryside slopes gently towards the Mori Valley. To the east one could see the large Mennonite mission, which included a hospital, and a school for American and European children, and to the west was the SDA mission, "situated amidst towering pines, overlooking the long descent that leads down the hill to Tarime, nine miles from Rosana." To the south one could see the land of the Bangorimi, across the Mara River, where Iramba Mission was located. Also to the south were the area settled by the Basimbiti and the Mara Gold Mine, 26 miles away, on the north shore of the Mara River. Given its altitude, Rosana gets cool in the evening and at night. In subsequent years, as newly assigned Maryknollers arrived at Rosana each wrote in awe-struck tones of the incomparable view from the top of the escarpment.

The escarpment had its own type of wildlife, such as leopards, which were heard uttering low, raspy growls at night, baboons that came up regularly from below the escarpment, monkeys, and hyenas. As was true everywhere, there were occasional poisonous snakes in or close to the mission house. Baboons are destructive of people's farms and Bakuria neighboring Rosana Mission would come to Brannigan on occasion requesting him to use his rifle to scare away baboons. He shot only one baboon over his years there, discovering that firing a few rounds was sufficient to chase them back down the escarpment.

One problem on top of the escarpment was getting water. Brannigan regularly went five miles to the home of a Mr. Green, a Welshman, who was a District Officer and owner of a moderate sized plantation, where Brannigan had a meal, took a bath, and obtained drinking water to take back to Rosana. In 1950 four large tanks were installed

around the rectory, to which rain water flowed by means of gutters lining the roof, eliminating the need to get water from elsewhere.

Since Tarime town was not far, on a passable road except in very heavy rain, Brannigan often went into the town, where he established good relations with several of the Europeans, including the District Commissioner, and played tennis with several of them on frequent occasions. He mentioned another Welsh family in the town whom he often visited.

Brannigan's first tasks were similar to those of other new missions; construction of necessary buildings, starting a catechumenate including a Sacrament Course at the mission, and hiring competent catechists. The initial buildings, to be constructed of stone, were a temporary chapel, which would be the permanent catechumenate, and temporary living quarters, which would become offices and a workshop. In the meantime Brannigan lived in a 15 by 15 foot mud-walled, grass-roofed house, with outdoor kitchen and toilet, also made of mud and wattle. In 1950 Rosana was given a block-making machine enabling the priests to produce sufficient cement blocks on their own. Roofing of the rectory and other buildings was done by Brother Fidelis, also in the year 1950. Brannigan said in an interview many years later that what was supposed to be temporary living quarters turned out to be so strongly built that it became the permanent rectory. Just a couple of years later it was expanded and an indoor kitchen was added.

In 1949, according to Brannigan, there were only 1,500 Kuria Catholics versus 6,000 Luo Catholics in Kowak Parish, which was started at about the same time as Isibania. He listed reasons for Kuria reluctance to join the Catholic religion as: "resistance to White people's intrusion; strong superstitions; and lack of able catechists. The first and second causes have now been mitigated, and it is our responsibility to fix the third matter."

In January, 1949, a month before moving to Rosana, Brannigan visited the six outschools (outstations) in addition to the kigango at Rosana to find out who was ready to start the six-month Sacrament Course. These people were told to move to Rosana and construct the houses they would live in. A catechist was sent to Rosana from Isibania and within a year or so there were two fairly good catechists at the mission to teach the Sacrament Course. Brannigan, and the other priests who came shortly later, also taught in this course. This effort bore fruit; on June 29, 1949, seventeen adults and ten children were baptized at Rosana Parish. Brannigan commented that "this was an ideal class as it consisted of families. Often you have many young, unmarried men and boys and no young girls, which brings trouble in the future when it comes time to marry." Another dilemma Brannigan encountered was of former soldiers who had been baptized while in the army. Their instruction was so shallow that he usually insisted they go through the Sacrament Course again. Many Kuria fought in the Second World War and as an ethnic group continued the tradition of military service in the Tanzanian Army when the country became independent.

At the end of 1949 Brannigan was joined by his classmate Alphonse (Al) Schiavone, who unfortunately had to sleep in the kitchen for many months until the three-room rectory was completed in August, 1950. That month Schiavone wrote a long diary describing events for the year 1950, effusively describing the many exotic impressions that any typical newcomer experiences in Africa. He commented that after being baptized

Kuria Christians usually eschew traditional dress and ornamentation, which Schiavone found very colorful, replacing them with devout practices including carrying a rosary at all times. They were also very proud and happy to have White priests living amongst them, and brought many gifts to the priests.

Schiavone commented that the Sacrament courses were doing well; 25 more were baptized at the end of 1949 and 35 in mid-1950. Many “readers,” as they were called, had joined the instructions in outstations and many pagans were expressing interest in joining the Catholic religion.

Schiavone also described the poor conditions of the people: “they live in mud and grass huts, eat the same food every day, and have few clothes. Their wealth is measured solely in cows.” He said that the Bakuria marveled that American priests ate three meals every day and had tea or coffee breaks two other times a day. Kuria were lucky to eat twice a day.

In August of 1950 Schiavone developed polio and needed to go to Kenya for many months to recover and recuperate, after which he was assigned to be the first pastor of Musoma town parish, in the latter months of 1951. In his place, newly ordained Fr. Joe Reinhart was assigned to Rosana, arriving in October, 1950.

Reinhart, too, was struck by the exotic elements of Kuria clothing (often lack of clothing in those days) and ornamentation, such as brass bands on the arms and legs of women, which many Christians were removing, beauty marks that had been burned into the faces and chests of children, ear lobes pierced with wooden blocks that caused the ears to stretch down to the shoulders, and multiple earrings, beads, charms and necklaces. The Kuria also had several types of lively, endless dances and Reinhart wrote that just watching them was exhausting.

The language that all the missionaries spoke in Rosana was Kikuria, but unfortunately even as of October, 1950, there was no further written help for the language beyond the small grammar that Conens of Isibania had given to Brannigan in 1946. However in 1950 a young man, Joseph Ojuang, who had just become a teacher at Rosana, was completing translations from Swahili of the New Testament, Catechism, and a short bible history, which Brannigan had begun several years earlier. Reinhart wrote that in his six months of language learning he enlarged the Kikuria grammar a great deal, and initiated the production of a comprehensive dictionary.

Visiting outstations was a major part of the work and the mission had a motorcycle for this task. As of the end of 1951 the parish had about twenty outschools (or outstations), some near actual roads, others deep in the bush that could be reached only by motorcycle. In addition to the motorcycle, Brannigan had his second-hand Chevrolet station wagon; and shortly after arriving at Rosana Reinhart bought a second-hand Jeep. The primary purpose of visiting outstations was to question catechumens in order to see who qualified to come in to the mission for the Sacrament Course. In 1951, Rosana had implemented the two-year catechumenate, of which the first year or year and a half was at the outstation and the last six months at the mission. Baptism was held twice a year at the mission. Doing manual labor at the mission was an important part of the program during the six-month Sacrament Course, and by the end of 1951 there were twenty houses for accommodating the catechumens living at the mission. Teaching the Sacrament Course was the most time-consuming task of the priests.

The priests also did home visiting. Brannigan said he went out once a week, sometimes twice in a week. These treks were done by foot, although the priest might first go out to a place by motorcycle or bicycle. They also occasionally walked down the escarpment to visit places or homes in the valley. The priests discovered that walking down the escarpment was easy but going back up was extremely strenuous, with the result that these trips were very infrequent. Safaris by motorcycle could also be exhausting, what with going through streams, being caught in heavy rainfall, engines conking out, and having to push the heavy motorcycle for several miles. Each priest in Rosana had one or several memorable and back-breaking trips by motorcycle. The furthest outstation was thirty miles from Rosana and motorcycle was the most efficient way of reaching it. But as the years went on and they were able to reach most outstations by vehicle, the priests began leaving the motorcycle behind.

As of the end of 1951 Rosana had made great progress. The number of Christians in the parish had increased to over 1,000 and according to Reinhart “these people have made a complete break with pagan practices and superstitions. They have given up pagan dances, sacrifices and superstitions almost a hundred percent. Many are buried in our cemetery and the Bakuria want to be laid to rest at the mission. We have had only a very few Christians who have run off with a girl.” (Reinhart’s effusive praise of Kuria Christians may have been premature at that time, but by the 1980s or 1990s many Maryknollers said that the Kuria Catholics were perhaps the best in the diocese.)

In addition to establishing the catechumenate, the mission had other projects it wished to start, such as a carpentry workshop, which Brannigan said never got off the ground, and a dispensary. The latter began only when Maryknoll Sisters were assigned to Rosana in 1956, although the priests often distributed medicine at the parish office.

Expanding the church and primary school were two building projects that took much of the priests’ time. In 1951, Reinhart wrote that “few Bakuria can read and write,” but that the previous year a two-grade school had been started with a government approved teacher. They were building a new school of cement blocks that would go to four grades and in August, 1951, Fr. Bill Collins, the Prefecture’s Education Secretary came to Rosana to inform them that the government had approved a grant for the school. However, they would have to add a teacher’s house and a kitchen.

The church had originally been built of mud bricks, but in 1951 it was extended by an extra 35 feet. This construction was done with burnt bricks, although the roof was made of grass.

The outstations were also building kigangos – chapels that were also used as bush schools and places for catechetical instruction. Brannigan said that he had great admiration for one of the outstations, in Nyabasi, where the people did everything themselves. The only help they needed from the mission was to use the diocesan lorry to haul in large trees to be used as frames for the walls and the roof. Brannigan stated in an interview that “what the people of Nyabasi did told me something that affected my life for the rest of the time I was in Africa – don’t do anything for the people that they can do themselves.” Later when he went to Shinyanga Diocese this issue became a point of controversy between him and Bishop Ed McGurkin, as to how much assistance should be provided by American missionaries in building churches.

One outstation they served was the town of Tarime, but in mid-1951, according to Reinhart, they were going there only once a month or once in six weeks. Mass was still being held in a room at the court house. On July 15, 1951, 115 people received communion at the Sunday Mass in Tarime, indicating that numbers were slowly building up. Two years later, on Easter Sunday of April, 1953, Eppy James heard confessions at Tarime and reported that people confessed in at least a half dozen languages, including even English. The priests knew that Swahili was needed at Tarime but admitted that they knew very little Swahili. Most likely when Fr. Laurenti Magesa came to Rosana in February, 1954, he took over saying Mass and doing other sacramental jobs at Tarime, as he knew Swahili.

In Reinhart's first year in Rosana he was very good in writing monthly diaries, faithfully sending a diary each month from April through August, 1951. Reinhart is one of the few Maryknollers from Canada, hailing from Ontario. He studied in the college seminary at St. Peter's Seminary in London, Ontario, prior to joining the Maryknoll Seminary in New York. In the 1970s he worked on Maryknoll Development, stationed at the Promotion House in Buffalo, NY, only a two-hour drive from his home. He appreciated this six-year opportunity to regularly visit his parents. In the 1990s Reinhart made sure that all other Maryknollers in East Africa knew where he was from, when Toronto won the World Series two years in a row and Reinhart paraded around wearing a series of Blue Jays' world champion T-shirts.

One important matter that he noted in his diaries of April and May, 1951, was the diocesan conference held at Nyegina at the beginning of May at which the catechumenate period was shortened from four years to two years. (Cf Part Two, pages 26-28) We will just observe here again that Brannigan's recommendations that intensive catechists' training be an essential element of the changed catechetical protocols for the Prefecture were not at that time implemented – perhaps due to lack of personnel.

In September, 1951, newly ordained Fathers Art Wille and Edward 'Eppy' James came to Musoma Prefecture but for several months Grondin did not know where to assign them. Both stayed in Nyegina for several months studying Kiswahili. Finally, in late October or November Eppy was assigned to Rosana and in December Wille was assigned to the new parish of Komuge, which had not yet been established. Eppy came to Rosana and embarked on his six-month Kikuria language study. At least he had some extra grammar notes, which had been written by Reinhart.

Eppy's first diary from Rosana was written in November, 1952, and he commented on the fabulous view from on top of the escarpment, the work of the priests – safaris to outstations, sick calls, dispensary work, and teaching the Sacrament Course – and about the difficulties that young Kuria men have in getting married, due to the high bride price. He also mentioned that there had been a change at Isibania Parish; Conens had been transferred and in his place there were two African diocesan priests of Kisumu and later Kisii Diocese. One was Fr. John Magubo, who became a very good friend of many of the Maryknollers who worked in Musoma, especially those who worked with the Kuria. Eppy also informed readers of the diary that the name of the Rosana Mission was Immaculate Conception Parish.

The diaries of November, 1952, to February, 1953, note that all three priests were involved in construction work – Brannigan overseeing the building of the school with cement blocks, Eppy enlarging the dining room so there would be space for a sitting room, and Reinhart enlarging the church and putting a cement floor in. At the beginning of February, 1953, Msgr. Grondin came to Rosana for Confirmations and to bless the new church, a large and joyful celebration attended by Catholics from throughout the parish and by many pagans.

In February, 1953, Eppy James wrote that the number of outschools (outstations) served from Rosana Parish had increased to twenty-three. One of the priests' jobs was to go out each December and June to question 'readers' from each outstation, choosing those ready to take the Sacrament Course. In December, 1952, Reinhart wrote about a new phenomenon occurring during the questioning: "at one place a woman went into a fit, raving and jabbering, acting as though she were possessed, an indication that the devil would not easily give up." This would continue to be a common occurrence in outstations and missions in Kuria areas for many years. In January, 1953, 90 people started the Sacrament Course at Rosana.

In either February or March, 1953, Joe Brannigan went on furlough to the United States for one year, and Joe Reinhart became pastor of Rosana, assisted by Eppy James. No one else was assigned to Rosana that year. In January, 1954, Laurenti Magesa was ordained at Nyegina, the first diocesan priest of Musoma Prefecture, and was assigned to Rosana in February, 1954, celebrating his first High Mass at Rosana on February 21, 1954. When Brannigan returned to Tanganyika in March, 1954, he and Eppy James were assigned to the new Vicariate of Maswa-Shinyanga, which Maryknoll was to take over. As a result of the departure of Eppy, Fr. Brendan Smith was assigned to Rosana after his arrival in Tanganyika in September of 1954. Smith would spend the next thirty years in Rosana, with the exception of six years when he was teaching at St. Pius Seminary and Mara Secondary School in the late 1950s to mid-1960s.

At the end of January, 1953, Eppy James wrote in the diary that the months of December and January had been unusually dry, to the extent that the District Commissioner in Tarime feared that drought and famine were beginning and ordered that no food grown in North Mara District be sold to South Mara. Drought had other effects as well. In January, 1953, Eppy discovered first-hand the reality of cattle rustling and the anxiety it causes, when he took a dramatic night-time, seven-mile trip on foot to baptize an old woman who died not long after Eppy carried out his sacramental ministry. On the way Eppy and his guides passed snarling dogs that rushed at them and an endless string of homesteads watched over by armed guards. The guides whistled and sang as they approached each homestead, so that the occupants would know that they had no illegal intentions. After leaving the old woman's home, Eppy went to sleep at the outstation of Nyamongo, where he was to say Mass the following morning.

The dry weather continued on into March and Maasai brought their cattle deep into Kuria country to graze. Eppy explained:

The District Commissioner came to Rosana to tell us that 800 Maasai cattle had been rustled from Kenya into the Kuria area of Tanganyika. The Kuria had warned the Maasai to leave and then took their cattle. Skirmishes broke out

and Maasai started stealing Kuria cattle, especially near Bwiregi, an outstation of Rosana.

These inter-tribal conflicts break out periodically, usually during dry season. The last serious one was in 1949 (a very dry year), which the government settled by giving the Maasai a grant of money for the cattle they had lost, about 80% of the total loss, which contented the Maasai. Both tribes have as their one great hobby – ‘cattle thieving.’

The trouble seems to have now subsided. It is not an uncommon sight to see stolen cattle being driven down the road to the Boma (i.e. the government headquarters in Tarime), where they will await transportation back into Kenya.

The dry weather those months made it very easy, however, for the priests to go out and visit all their outstations. Finally, at the end of March the rains began, bringing with them an onslaught of snakes, mosquitoes and malaria. Although 1953 had started as a dry year, the rains continued on until late June, and were quite heavy at times. In June, 1953, 82 adults and 40 children were baptized, and with dry roads the priests went out to all the outstations questioning ‘readers’ and registering the new group for the Sacrament Course.

In the diary of July, 1953, Eppy James wrote of difficulties the mission was having with Kuria elders in getting children enrolled in schools. In that month a Provincial Education Secretary from the government visited Rosana and was impressed with the well-built, cement block school building containing three classrooms, and the teacher’s house which was almost finished. In January, 1954, the school would add Standard Three. However, in the territory of Rosana Parish the Kuria people had already burned down the government school twice and destroyed two other Mennonite schools. Eppy described the elders’ atavistic beliefs:

The elders (*abagaka* in Kikuria) are opposed to education, western religion, and civilization. Education means that the child will not be caring for the cattle, putting the burden on the man. The men like to roam and be among their own age-group, talking about current Kuria events. Education is also foreign, whereas the elders are happy to live as their fore-fathers did. Religion brings with it western culture and civilization and the convert is expected to give up certain Kuria customs – those considered grossly immoral. Often those going in to study the Catholic religion are told, “If you go to Rosana to study the Catholic religion, you will die there.”

Throughout 1953 the diaries commented on the violence in Kenya resulting from the Mau Mau revolt against British colonial rule. Despite the potential of being harmed by an armed group along the highway, Maryknollers continued to travel to Nairobi via the western highlands of Kenya. Those who had not yet visited Rosana came for an overnight stay, attracted by the reports of the fabulous view and the cooler climate. Reinhart said that there were a few Kikuyu living in the Rosana area and that they were closely guarded by the colonial authorities (almost all members of Mau Mau were from the Kikuyu ethnic group of central Kenya). One of those who went to Nairobi in April,

1953, was Eppy James, to take possession of the second-hand Jeep that he had bought from Bert Good.

With regard to catechists, Rosana followed the practice of most other Maryknoll missions, in having all the catechists come in to the mission one day a month, usually on First Friday, for a meeting and to discuss catechetical procedures. The catechists were also paid their small monthly stipend on that day. On occasion the catechists were told to wait for their salary, as the mission was out of money.

In August, 1953, Joe Reinhart wrote in the diary of an incident that Maryknollers elsewhere encountered and that gave an insight into the worldview of the Kuria people. While staying overnight in a Catholic's home at an outstation a non-Catholic woman came to join the conversation. She inquired about Reinhart's three wives, i.e. the three Maryknoll Sisters who had attended an Adult Baptism ceremony recently, and asked him if he would like to marry an eligible Kuria girl who was standing nearby. Reinhart commented, "The Kuria can not understand about not getting married."

Fr. Nevins of Maryknoll's Social Communications Department came to Tanganyika in the early months of 1954 to do filming and spent nine days in Rosana, making a movie about the Kuria people. Reinhart asked local people to put on a very ceremonial tribal dance, which was one of the highlights of the film. Given that Kuria women were often bare-breasted in those years and that energetic dancing could expose other sensitive areas of their anatomy, Reinhart dryly opined, "some of the film will have to be omitted, I am sure." Nevins also made a film of the Maryknoll Sisters work, and two other films about general mission topics.

The diary of March, 1954, also written by Reinhart, wrote of a frustrating event that many other missions had also endured – loss of the church building. On January 26, 1954, a powerful microburst destroyed the church and another large brick building. Reinhart wrote that "the material loss was not heavy, as it was a mud-wall, grass-roof affair. We now say Mass in a small room and on Sundays we put the altar in the garage and the people kneel outside. This is not very convenient but is a temporary measure."

As a result, in July, 1954, Brothers John Walsh and Brian Fraher came to Rosana to begin construction of a new church, with Walsh remaining in Rosana for two more years. In addition to this, Walsh also oversaw construction of a new wing to the rectory, a convent for Sisters, and in July, 1955, he began building a dispensary. Despite the Brothers' presence, the new church was not completed until 1956, a few months after Reinhart had been transferred to Musoma.

In 1956 two Maryknoll Sisters were assigned to Rosana, Margaret O'Brien, who ran the dispensary, and James Florence Blanchard, who did pastoral, catechetical and development work. O'Brien was later joined in the dispensary by Sr. Katie Taepke, who unfortunately came down shortly later with Blackwater Fever and was transferred to Kowak. Sr. James Florence remained in Rosana for many years and was joined for four years by Sr. Mary Moriarty. Fr. Dennis Powell, who came to Rosana in January, 1960, and remained there to the beginning of 1965, wrote the following about the dispensary:

Over eighteen thousand patients were treated annually at the dispensary under their supervision. Enrollment in the Primary School began to increase,

when parents started to realize the necessity for education and its advantages for their children.

As the number of patients began increasing rapidly right from the beginning, O'Brien trained a number of local people to carry out various tasks in the dispensary. People walked in for treatment from many miles away, with very ill people carried on improvised stretchers.

The pastoral and catechetical work done by Sr. James Florence and others who joined her over the years was a vital and indispensable contribution to Rosana's outreach to the Kuria people that is immeasurable. The question can rightly be asked whether the Bakuria would have become such outstanding Catholics without the constant, untiring work of the Maryknoll Sisters, particularly with the women. The Sisters worked on two tracks: on one hand they taught religious instruction in the parish's catechetical programs and in the schools, and also worked with the catechists; the second track was teaching what can be called social development to the women, subjects such as health, literacy, child care, and sewing, which was very popular with both unmarried girls and married women. James Florence did this both at the mission and in villages at a distance from the mission, often walking to a village whether rain or shine. When she got a four-wheel drive vehicle, she learned how to change tires even in the mud.

In July, 1954, Reinhart made an entry in a parish diary that the number of Bakuria had increased to 25,000 in Kenya and 50,000 in Tanganyika, although he did not state how many were Catholic. As was mentioned before, in February, 1954, newly ordained Fr. Laurenti Magesa was assigned to Rosana. Being a native of Musoma he did not have difficulties in language and culture, even though his own language was Kikwaya. He picked up Kikuria very quickly, commenting that for him it "was trying to just see the difference in the two languages, so I did not have to study the whole language but just the difference." He said that there were also cultural differences but that the Bakuria were very cooperative and involved him in their feasts, dances and other traditional customs. Magesa stated that the Maryknoll priests also did well in learning Kuria culture and customs, exemplified by Reinhart being given a Kuria name – 'Chacha Mwita,' a name by which he was ever after known throughout Musoma Diocese.

Reinhart said that this was something completely new for a Maryknoll priest; he was the first Maryknoll pastor in Musoma to have a young diocesan priest assigned to him and there was no precedent for him to follow in mentoring the new priest. After all, Reinhart had been ordained for less than four years when Magesa came to Rosana. Reinhart said, however, that Magesa was a good worker, eagerly joining in the work of going to outstations, teaching in schools, and opening up new outstations.

Magesa said that their work was bearing much fruit. Often an older man (mzee in Kiswahili) chose to become a Catholic and then the whole family and even neighboring villages followed his lead. Many school children also opted to take religious instructions in the Catholic religion. So, there was a constant increase in the number of Catholics in the parish. Furthermore, many of the Kuria Catholics later got important jobs in the government all over the country, which Magesa noted was "really an accomplishment."

In September, 1954, Fr. Brendan Smith was assigned to Rosana. Eppy James had known since earlier in the year that he was being assigned to Shinyanga Diocese but he remained in Rosana until late September when the new Maryknollers from the U.S. arrived. Eppy left Rosana at the same time that Smith arrived.

The following year, in October, 1955, newly ordained Fr. John Manning was assigned to Rosana, making a total of four priests living there (Reinhart, Magesa, Smith and Manning). In December they realized that one of them would be assigned to Musoma to replace Bill Collins as Diocesan Education Secretary and Reinhart thought it would be Brendan Smith as he had a Masters Degree in an academic field and had been teaching in Maryknoll seminaries in the U.S. However, Msgr. Grondin chose Reinhart for this position. Perhaps Grondin wanted someone with longer experience in pastoral work to be Education Secretary, and perhaps wanted Smith to have more years in Rosana to better understand the church at the parish level. When Reinhart left from Rosana Smith became pastor. At the end of 1957 they were joined by another newly ordained Maryknoll priest, Pat Forest, who remained in Rosana for a little over a year and then moved to Tarime with Joe Reinhart to open a new parish there.

In 1962 Dennis Powell wrote that in the latter 1950s the work of the parish expanded rapidly and that the number of outstations increased to twelve (this would have been after both Tarime and Bwiregi parishes had been started, taking close to three-quarters of Rosana's territory). Bwiregi, also called Nyamwaga, had by 1959 become a very active outstation, averaging about 250 communions whenever a priest said Sunday Mass there. Powell wrote that it had become evident that another parish was needed and in 1958 Tarime town parish was begun, taking close to half of the territory of Rosana Parish. When Pat Forest moved there he was not replaced in Rosana.

Even though there had been a sizeable increase in the number of Catholics in Rosana, Brendan Smith wrote in March, 1959, that the Sacrament Course that year was a small group and that there were still 30,000 Bakuria in the parish who were not yet baptized. As a result, when Musoma Diocese was in the process of establishing a new parish at Bunda, initially envisioned as a Sukuma-speaking parish, and Bishop John Rudin wanted to transfer John Manning from Rosana to Bunda, Smith strongly objected and Manning remained in Rosana.

However, it was not long after that Smith was transferred from Rosana – to teach at St. Pius Minor Seminary at Makoko. Smith taught at Makoko for one year and then changed over to teaching at Mara Secondary School up to the end of 1964. When Smith left Rosana Jack Manning became pastor. Later in 1959, Ed Bratton was assigned to Rosana after he returned from furlough in the U.S.

In 1960 Laurenti Magesa was assigned from Rosana to Musoma town parish, to become pastor there, the first diocesan priest to be a pastor in Musoma Diocese. At the end of 1959 two of the new priests from the U.S. were assigned to learn Kikuria and took a short course at Komuge Parish organized by Ed Wroblewski. These two were newly ordained Ed Hayes and Dennis Powell, who had done promotion work in the U.S. prior to coming to Tanganyika. Perhaps Bishop Rudin and his consultants had thoughts to open a third parish among the Kuria, at Bwiregi, but in 1959 Pat Forest left Tanganyika permanently and returned to the United States. Thus, Ed Hayes had to go to Tarime and Powell went to Rosana.

In the latter months of 1960 Jack Manning began making improvements at Bwiregi in order to open it as a new parish, although Rudin had still not decided to erect it as a parish. Manning baptized a group at Bwiregi in January, 1961, and registered the names in a baptismal book at Bwiregi. In April, 1961, Rudin allowed Manning to move to Bwiregi, along with Fr. James 'Moe' Morrissey, who had just returned from furlough in the U.S. and was assigned to study Kikuria. As a result, Ed Bratton became pastor of Rosana, assisted by Dennis Powell. With the opening of the new parishes at Tarime and Bwiregi, Rosana became the smallest of the three parishes. Powell estimated that as of mid-1961 there were about 10,000 people living within Rosana's territory, of whom about 800 were Catholic.

In June, 1961, Ed Bratton decided to permanently leave East Africa and eventually moved to Hawaii, where he did parish ministry for many years. Dennis Powell became pastor and lived alone at Rosana for the next five years. When he returned to the U.S. for furlough in 1965 he left Africa permanently. In 1965, Brendan Smith came back to Rosana as pastor and remained there for the next twenty years.

In May, 1962, Powell wrote a long diary and discussed many things. Although Catholics were fewer than ten percent of the population, the general feeling was that in terms of church growth and vitality the parish was doing very well. With the Sisters' help and some good catechists, religious instruction in outstations and schools was going on well. The parish also had an active, faithful Legion of Mary group.

However, in other areas the Bakuria were not progressing as the Maryknollers would have liked, chief among them girls' education. In 1961 the Diocese decided to build a Girls' Middle School, a boarding school, to be run by the Maryknoll Sisters, which was finally completed in 1963 at Isango, between Kinesi and Komuge. Prior to that there was no middle school for girls anywhere in North Mara District. According to Ed Hayes, in 1960 Del Robinson, the Diocesan Education Secretary, tried to get land for the middle school in Tarime Town, which is where Bishop Rudin wanted the school. "But before Independence the Chief had a big say with the local government and the Chief in Tarime was Aaron Robi, a very strong SDA, who stonewalled our efforts at getting land. The Musimbiti Chief was a Catholic and told the Bishop that he could get any land he wanted in Simbiti." Isango is in Basimbiti territory, about five miles from Komuge Parish.

In the meantime, the first two classes used buildings at Rosana, for forty girls in Standard Five in 1961, and eighty girls in Standards Five and Six in 1962. Of these eighty girls in 1962, only two were Bakuria girls, and none in 1961. Powell commented: "Although there is this obvious desire to learn to read and write, Bakuria parents still hesitate to send their girls to school." However, he added, "Prospects may be brighter in the future."

Construction of the new school was hampered by the famous Uhuru rains that began in October, 1961, two months before Independence, and lasted for eight to nine months up till June, 1962. During this time it often rained heavily. Severe flooding ensued, bridges were washed out, many roads became impassable for months on end, and one shop-owner in Tarime said that in his thirty years in Tanganyika he had never experienced such heavy rainfall and its resulting damage to roads. Conversely, the

Tanganyikan people viewed the rain as a great blessing and a sign that their national independence was divinely ordained.

The climatic conditions made life for the girls in the boarding school at Rosana cold, damp and muddy, but “they responded nobly,” even though they all came from warmer areas of the Diocese. In April, 1962, the Sisters and girls moved to Makoko for the final two terms of the school year.

Another aspect that Powell found disconcerting was the Kuria tendency to wait too long before coming for treatment at the dispensary.

Frequently many of them wait until they are almost dead before they come in for medicine. This particularly applies to parents whose children are extremely ill and who delay coming to the mission until there is scarcely any hope of survival. Considering the circumstances surrounding the birth and the living conditions in their homes, the remarkable thing is that they survive at all. Unfortunately, infant mortality is extremely high and I have baptized many children in danger of death.

With regard to female circumcision, there was an unsuccessful attempt by a government official to stop this practice, in January, 1964, as reported by Dennis Powell in a diary.

The Area Commissioner of Tarime issued a letter to be read to all Catholic and Protestant churches of North Mara, concerning female circumcision. He himself is a Kuria and he knew what he was up against. His letter was occasioned by seeing four, young, blood-stained girls walking near his office in Tarime. He called all elders to a meeting at his office on January 31<sup>st</sup> (1964) and said to them that unless there were good reasons to continue it he would abolish female circumcision as of February 18<sup>th</sup>. The priests supported his action.

I read the letter in Rosana, which caused a negative reaction. In Bwiregi the letter caused a furor. I told the Christians at Rosana that all the priests supported the Area Commissioner’s stance, but then I also admitted: “You know and I know that all of us here will be long dead and buried before this custom will die among the Bakuria.”

It is a deep-rooted custom. Education and instruction will eventually cause the custom to end, but it will take time.

We will stop the history of Rosana here, and continue it in the next section on Musoma Diocese.

#### TARIME:

Fr. Joe Reinhart had been Diocesan Education Secretary in Musoma for close to two years, until the end of 1957, and then went on furlough to the U.S. in 1958. He had been in Rosana Parish for five years and knew the Kikuria language, and while in Musoma town he had studied Kiswahili. As a result, when he returned to Tanganyika in late 1958 he was viewed as an obvious choice to start a parish in Tarime town. He moved to Tarime on December 3, 1958 (in the same week as Mike Pierce moved to Tatwe),

living in a building owned by the famous Nanak Chan that was formerly a large shop and storeroom. In May, 1960, Reinhart wrote the first diary from Tarime and explained the rationale for starting a parish there.

This small town for years was covered by the priests from Rosana but was always a chore as Kiswahili was not spoken by the priests at Rosana, and the town's inhabitants, being from elsewhere, did not understand Kikuria. There are 2,500 people in Tarime, from all tribes of Tanganyika, and they have come to do clerical jobs, police work and other government jobs.

Ed Hayes, who came to Tarime in December, 1959, added that "this was a time of expansion and there were many parishes built in Musoma between 1959 and 1962." (Cf Part Three, pages 68-69, regarding the flurry of building new parishes in this four-year period, the various rationales for this, and the lack of awareness and foresight that the vocation bubble in the United States had burst.)

In an interview thirty years later, Hayes said that it was good that finally they had a parish in Tarime town and he wondered why the White Fathers (and other missionary societies that came in the 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries) chose not to build in the town but at a distance away – such as Nyegina, nine miles from Musoma, Rosana, nine miles from Tarime, and many of the missions in Mwanza and Shinyanga Diocese also built outside the town. Cf comments about Bunda Parish, also located originally outside the town, in Part Three, pages 69-72. There were two main reasons why European missionaries of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries shunned urban areas: first, almost all the missionaries were from rural regions in Europe and they considered urban areas places of sin and temptation; second, the towns throughout Tanganyika had all been settled by Muslim traders and the missionaries thought that Muslim influence in the towns would corrupt newly baptized Christians.

Hayes did not state it openly but his comments hint that Maryknollers not only did not fear urban areas but considered them prime areas for locating parishes, for the simple reason that most Maryknollers came from large cities in America.

Pat Forrest had been in Rosana for a year and he too joined Reinhart in Tarime in December, 1958. He and Reinhart had ample room in the building, which contained a large room for a chapel, two large bedrooms, three guest rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom, and an enclosure for the priests to park their cars at night, relieving their anxiety as thievery was common in Tarime town. Forrest stayed in Tarime up till September, 1959, at which time he returned to the U.S. and requested a Leave of Absence from Maryknoll. When Forrest left it was decided that Hayes, who was taking a short course in Kikuria at Komuge, would replace him at Tarime. In 1960, Fr. Frank Flynn also came to Tarime for five or six months to study Kikuria, with the intention of starting a new mission in Kiagata.

Hayes described his initial experiences and feelings as he traveled to Tarime for the first time:

Our group in 1959 traveled by boat to Cape Town, South Africa, and then flew to Nairobi, where we were met by the Regional Superior, Fr. Paul Bordenet,

who treated us to a magnificent dinner at the Norfolk Hotel. That night others told me I was going to be assigned to teach in the seminary at Makoko, but the following morning Bordenet told me that I was going to Tarime to learn the Kikuria language. He said, "I'm running this Region and not them." I willingly agreed, although I hadn't ever heard of Tarime or Kuria before.

I was driven from Nairobi to Tarime by Mike Pierce on rough dirt roads after we left Nakuru which caused the hood of his old four-wheel-drive Chevrolet pick-up to keep popping up. The whole trip he talked of the construction he was going to be doing in his new mission and of catechesis and catechist training. This filled me with trepidation and I wondered how I was going to be able to do all these things.

Then I arrived for my first night in Tarime, sleeping in a small guest room in the back of the store, which had rats as big as dogs and something – maybe a lizard – which kept rattling dishes and cups all night long. For all I knew it was a snake or lion.

But then we went into Musoma and waited for the others to come by boat. This was a great interval for my classmate Les Rogers and me, enabling us to travel around to our missions in South Mara. Each place was exciting, with a lot of good work going on in each mission, and as we visited each place that is where we hoped to be assigned.

So, the first impressions of our men and the work were really, really good, not knowing the language but seeing the way the people were and how much they liked our missionaries. You could just feel that this was a happy place to be.

Now this was before we had a language school, but Bordenet was very strong on getting a language school going. My class was the first one to go to a language school in Shinyanga for Sukuma, run by Phil Sheerin, but there they had only one language. The six of us who came to Musoma were studying three languages – Kuria, Luo and Swahili. For four of us Ed Wroblewski had put together a course in Kikuria, for me and Dennis Powell, and in Kiswahili, for Les Rogers and Carl Bourgoin, who were both going to the seminary in Musoma. The course was a linguistic introduction to grammar and sounds. We had an informant from Tarime, Gregory Mugendi, who later became a Member of Parliament.

So, in December (1959) I moved up to Tarime. And again this was another tremendous blessing, because I was assigned to Joe Reinhart, who was a great missionary. He respects the people, he likes the people, and he's liked by them. So, I picked up the right way to relate to the people, not in some colonial fashion. Joe was also very good in language and culture. That was a very happy time for me, despite the rats in the old store and the difficulty in keeping it clean.

Tarime Parish was (and still is) both a town and rural parish and Reinhart said that he used Kiswahili in the town but Kikuria in all the rural outstations, several of which were southwest of Tarime halfway to Kowak. At Tarime there were two Masses on Sunday, an early Mass in Kikuria and a second one in Kiswahili. The Mass, of course, was still celebrated in Latin but the gospel and sermon were given in the local language.

There were six major outstations and other smaller places that were visited. In his diary Reinhart mentioned "22 surrounding 'gungulis,' or counties" within sections of

three chiefdoms. After Independence this word was replaced with the Swahili word *kata*, which means a ward in English. In the small bush schools the priests used Kikuria, but when teaching religion in government schools they used Kiswahili. Of the original three priests in Tarime, only Reinhart knew Kiswahili; in mid-1961 Fr. Dick Quinn came to Tarime after learning Kiswahili in Moshi and used this language exclusively, although he spent some time trying to learn Kikuria.

There were six government primary schools within the parish and one middle school. Teaching religion in the schools was one of the main tasks of the priests, assisted by catechists. Reinhart said that the majority of students in the primary schools were studying the Catholic religion and in the middle school three-quarters of the students were either baptized Catholics or were studying the Catholic religion.

There was no Sacrament Course held at Tarime because there was no space for it. Thus, the full catechumenate was held in the outstations, taught solely by catechists. As soon as the priests arrived in Tarime they immediately began the common diocesan practice of having the catechists come in each month on First Friday for a full-day meeting. Reinhart talked about the catechists at Tarime:

They were very zealous and they would walk in for those monthly meetings. Some of them were getting older, but were quite zealous. They had a strong faith, a strong background, and knew a lot of the catechism. Some of them had been with the Mill Hill priests in Isibania.

They would lead the services in the outstations when the priest wasn't coming. They'd lead the singing and had night and morning prayers.

Reinhart said that at the monthly meetings “we would discuss a lot of tribal customs, what was good, what was bad, and try to find out from them all the different sacrifices. We tried to see how we could separate, maybe Christianize some of those customs, or maybe condemn certain things.” In an interview many years later he listed briefly several Kuria ceremonies that are connected with age or life changes, but he gave no details about the ceremonies. Reinhart added that all the priests working with the Kuria tried to find out about their customs and that the priests of Tarime, Rosana and Bwiregi often got together to compare notes and discuss all the different customs.

Reinhart estimated that there were 35,000 people all told in the territory of Tarime Parish in 1960 and that “there is lots of work to do.” In his interview he added, “We did a lot of safari work. Bunjare became rather strong at that time. There were not too many Christians, but they were strong Christians.”

He also mentioned that at that time, the early and mid-1960s, there was no inter-clan strife, which broke out later in the 1970s and 1980s. Intra-tribal clan warfare will be one of the major themes when we discuss the Kuria parishes in future sections of this history.

Reinhart also wrote in the May, 1960, diary that there were 150,000 people in North Mara and 225,000 in Musoma District – making a total of about 375,000 people in the Diocese of Musoma.

Not long after the parish was established it started becoming an overnight guest house for Maryknollers traveling to Nairobi, even while they were still living in the shop. As of 1960 there were about 80 Maryknollers in the two Dioceses of Musoma and

Shinyanga, and all went to Nairobi at least once a year. The roads in Tanganyika were very rough, making travel slow and near impossible to reach Nairobi from South Mara or Shinyanga in one day. From the Kenya border to Nairobi, two-thirds of the trip was on murrum roads that could get very slippery and muddy in the heavy, afternoon rains common to the highlands of western Kenya. From Tarime travelers could get an early morning start, be in Nakuru before the rains began, and arrive in Nairobi in mid or late afternoon. As a result there were guests staying overnight almost every night, and for many years Tarime Parish received extra compensation from Maryknoll in order to be able to cater for so many extra people. Hayes said that even at lunch it was typical to have a guest or two, as Tarime was the shopping center and post office for all the parishes in North Mara except for Komuge, and “I was seeing other guys and hearing many stories.”

The only drawback to Tarime, according to Hayes, was that it was not a good place to learn Kikuria, because people were speaking their own languages or Swahili. A newcomer wouldn't even know which language they were speaking. Because one of the Masses in Tarime required Swahili, Hayes took a Mass at an outstation each Sunday, primarily in Bunjare and Bukenye. He went out on Saturday afternoon and slept in the chapels overnight. The local Christians would bring in food both in the evening and the next morning. At Bunjare Kuria people living adjacent to the church would also come in for several hours on Saturday evening to gab with Hayes, and he appreciated trying to hear as much as he could and learn about what was happening in their lives.

Compounding Hayes' problems as a newcomer, one month or so after he arrived in Tarime Reinhart came down with hepatitis and had to rest in bed for a full month or more, although he remained in his bedroom at the store. Despite not knowing any language Hayes carried on alone and “the parish didn't fall apart.” He prepared the catechists during the week and they preached both in Kuria and Swahili. During that time Joe Glynn came from Nyarombo several times and assured Hayes that everything was going along well. That same year, while at Tarime to learn Kikuria, Frank Flynn also caught hepatitis.

A major job for the priests in 1959 was to try to get a plot of land for the new mission. They were persistently frustrated in this task by the District Commissioner and District Officer of Tarime, who were both very anti-Catholic. Finally, at the beginning of 1960 the Catholic mission was granted a small, one-acre plot, situated next to the main square of the town. Brother John Walsh moved to Tarime and lived in a small shack on the new plot while building both a rectory and church, although he would have meals with the priests at the shop. They were able to move into their new quarters by August of that year. The rent for Nanak Chan's building was very high, and they were looking forward to having their own facilities. After they moved into the new rectory, Chan's building was eventually sold to the Tanganyika government and became the TANESCO (electricity parastatal of Tanganyika/Tanzania) building.

Thus by late 1960 the Maryknoll personnel in Tarime were living in the new rectory, which included many guest rooms for the constant stream of overnight visitors. A very large and beautiful church was built, which they thought would last for many years. Hayes said, though, that later it needed to be expanded, as the Catholic population of the town experienced never-ending, rapid growth after Independence.

In 1961, a number of personnel changes took place in the Kuria parishes. First of all, Jack Manning, the pastor of Rosana, had started erecting the outstation of Bwiregi to be a new parish by building a rectory and a kigango, which was a two-room classroom without a wall between them that was used as a church, opened a baptismal registry and other parish books at Bwiregi, and baptized a number of adults at Bwiregi in January, 1961. Then in April, 1961, he and Moe Morrissey, who had just come back from furlough and had begun studying Kikuria at Rosana, moved to Bwiregi to open the new parish. Shortly after that, Manning went on furlough to the United States.

Thus, in June, 1961, Ed Hayes took a vacation trip to Moshi, where Dick Quinn was studying Kiswahili, and was informed by Quinn that Hayes would move to Bwiregi after his vacation ended and that Quinn would go to Tarime in his place. Quinn had received word of this in a letter from Bishop Rudin, but Hayes had not been informed at all and was unhappy with this transfer, as he liked Tarime.

So, Quinn moved to Tarime in July, 1961, and tried to learn some Kikuria but worked primarily in Kiswahili in the town. He wrote a diary from Tarime at the end of April, 1962, saying that he was now studying his third language in Musoma Diocese and would shortly begin study of a fourth, Kisimbiti, as he was moving to Komuge Parish in May. Fortunately, all were Bantu languages and therefore somewhat related. However, he commented that African languages were not easy, contrary to previous beliefs.

There have been more than ninety Maryknollers in Africa and I dare say only a few have become fluent speakers. The people are the true judge and at first they will shower you with all sorts of compliments on how good you are doing at the language. As the years roll by they become more frank and begin to classify you as good, mediocre or poor. If you're humble enough you'll know just where you stand by the time you complete your first tour here.

Quinn recommended that a new missionary be given four and a half years to learn a new language, divided into three stages of language study, two years of pastoral work, more language study, work for two more years, and a final month of language study, amounting to a total of nine months of language study. Due to the pressures of work and shortage of personnel he did not expect his recommendation to be implemented. Quinn also wrote a letter to Gerry Grondin, who was the Secretary of the Tanganyika Episcopal Conference, recommending that the Conference open a territorial language school to teach Kiswahili, the language used by over half the priests working in Tanganyika. His letter was read to the Bishops, who responded that they did not see a need for such a school.

He said that African priests had told him that many missionary priests were very poor at the language and he hoped that soon professional language study would be given its rightful place. He did not realize it then, but in less than two years Maryknoll opened the Language School in Musoma, at Makoko next to the minor seminary.

In 1962 Quinn transferred to Komuge, where he was made pastor in place of Ray McCabe, who was going on furlough.

In Tarime, Quinn was replaced by Jack Manning, who was just coming back from furlough. Manning stayed with Reinhart up till 1963, when the latter went on furlough.

When Reinhart returned from the U.S. (and Canada) at the end of 1963, he was assigned by Bishop Rudin to teach at St. Pius Seminary.

It seems that Manning was alone in Tarime for at least a few months, until October, 1963, when Ray McCabe was assigned there. McCabe had studied Kiswahili for four months in Shinyanga Town, at a special course organized by Phil Sheerin for six Maryknoll priests, at the beginning of 1963. He then filled in for a few months at Iramba Mission, before finally moving to Tarime in October.

Then in 1964, Manning was assigned to Musoma Town Parish in place of Laurenti Magesa, who came to Tarime. In 1965, McCabe was assigned to Kiagata Parish, and in his place Fr. Joe Sheehan, who had come in 1964 after ordination and studied Kikuria in the latter part of 1964, was assigned to Tarime.

We will leave off here, in mid-1965, and resume the later history of Tarime in the next section on Musoma Diocese.

#### BWIREGI – NYAMWAGA:

In 1959 and 1960 Jack Manning and Ed Bratton were stationed in Rosana Parish and at the end of 1959 they were joined by newly ordained Dennis Powell. Laurenti Magesa had already left Rosana in early or mid-1959, for his assignment in Musoma Town Parish, where he became pastor at the beginning of 1960. In Tarime, Joe Reinhart and Ed Hayes were there together, up till June, 1961. Given that both parishes were well-staffed, Jack Manning in 1960 began taking steps to open the well-functioning outstation of Bwiregi as a new parish. He built a rectory and church and in January, 1961, he performed the first Baptism of adults in Bwiregi. Ed Hayes commented that Bishop Rudin had not yet decided to start Bwiregi Parish, but that Manning's theological make-up was such that he liked starting new places. "As soon as he got to a place he started a new post. He was trying to start a parish in Bukenyé, which became a part of Tarime, so he immediately started at Bwiregi, without the permission of Bishop Rudin."

Around the beginning of 1961 Moe Morrissey returned from his furlough in the U.S. and was assigned to Rosana, making four people stationed in Rosana. Thus, it appears that Bishop Rudin accepted the opening of a parish at Bwiregi as a fait accompli and in April, 1961, Manning and Morrissey moved to Bwiregi. The Musoma Diocese website lists the official erection of Bwiregi Parish as 1961. However, just a few months later Manning went on furlough and Ed Bratton also left Rosana to go on furlough. This left only two people in the parishes of Rosana and Bwiregi, Dennis Powell in the first and Morrissey in the latter, and both were still in the learning stages of Kikuria. Thus Rudin assigned Ed Hayes from Tarime to join Morrissey in Bwiregi and Dick Quinn came to Tarime in Hayes' place. Powell remained alone in Rosana, but by that time Rosana was not a big parish and the Maryknoll Sisters had a medium sized convent there.

Of the Maryknollers who worked in Rosana and Tarime in the 1950s and 1960s the only ones interviewed were Ed Hayes and Laurenti Magesa, and Magesa said very little about his years in Rosana. Furthermore, there was only one diary sent from Bwiregi, in May, 1962. Thus, in effect the only source of information we have for Bwiregi is what Hayes said in his interview some thirty years after he arrived there. Fortunately, this was a long and informative interview.

Morrissey wrote the 1962 diary and mentioned several matters worth noting. First, the church, forty by twenty feet, was far too small for the 1,300 Catholics and 200

adult catechumens living on the mission property. “Most see only the outside walls during Sunday Mass, and just the catechumens alone can fill the church.”

The Sacrament Course was still being held at the mission, with 200 adults (not counting the number of children with them) taking the course as of May, 1962. The camp had 18 round mud huts and two large dormitories. They were still in the middle of the famous Uhuru rains at that time and at the beginning of May an epidemic of measles broke out in the camp. Sr. James Florence Blanchard came from Rosana to vaccinate and treat people, and so many people were sprawled out on the ground trying to recover that “at times the mission looked like a field hospital.”

Because of the rain most of the outstations were unreachable. There were 31 paid catechists in the parish but the priests had no idea what was going on in the outstations. Morrissey said that the bush schools were doing well, but with the expenses of running schools and adult education in so many places, the priests decided to close many of the catechumenate schools for four to six months.

Later in 1962 Morrissey moved to Musoma to be the Diocesan Education Secretary, as Del Robinson had gone to Dar es Salaam to replace Gerry Grondin at the Tanganyika Episcopal Conference. At the end of 1962, newly ordained Fr. Dave Jones was assigned to Bwiregi and he remained there for four years. Jones also was unfortunately never interviewed for the history project. In 1965, Jack Manning came back to Bwiregi for three months, while Hayes was on furlough. When Hayes returned to Bwiregi later in 1965 Manning was assigned to Isibania, Kenya, just over the border from Tanzania, initiating Maryknoll’s management of that parish and beginning the move of Maryknoll missionaries from the two dioceses of Musoma and Shinyanga to other dioceses and countries of East Africa. (Cf Volume One on Kenya)

Ed Hayes was informed that he was being assigned from Tarime to Bwiregi while he was on vacation, during a visit to Moshi, Tanzania, where Dick Quinn was learning Kiswahili. Quinn had received a letter from Bishop Rudin saying he would go to Tarime to replace Hayes. At first Hayes was not pleased with this news but as he was to be the long-time pastor of Bwiregi he was in the end very grateful. He said the following about Bwiregi:

This was a whole other world over there, right smack in the middle of real Kuria country. Bwiregi was really bush. But it was just the most wonderful place, which Moe Morrissey called the Garden of Eden. There were very few Christians, so there was a lot of coming and going, on motorcycles, and visiting people.

Moe was a very good man to be in the house with. He was involved with everything, was very humorous, and had great ideas. He was one who liked the people very much and never had a sarcastic remark about the people because he worked with them. I am grateful that I had Joe Reinhart and Moe Morrissey as the first two under whom I worked when I first came out.

Morrissey struggled to try to learn Kikuria and as he was in Bwiregi only one year he never really learned it. Some of the sounds are quite difficult, unlike Kiswahili which Moe knew and had used in Musoma for six years. Thus, he could use Swahili with the catechists and get his points across to them. According to Hayes, Moe’s urban background had another funny twist: in Musoma everybody was fully dressed whereas in

rural Kuria land the girls and young women were almost naked, which Morrissey had a lot of difficulty adjusting to, even refusing one day to be alone in the office with a nearly naked girl to write down her marriage. (Perhaps this is what Moe meant when he called Bwiregi the 'Garden of Eden.')

Hayes said that the parish had gotten off to a very good start, thanks to Jack Manning and Moe Morrissey, and that by 1962 many catechumens were coming in. Manning was a superb linguist and not only the best Kikuria speaker but arguably the most fluent speaker with the most perfect accent of any Maryknoller in any of the tribal languages that Maryknollers spoke. He developed very good relations with the Kuria people and with the Kuria elders, always laughing and joking with them, and he brought in many people to join the Catholic Church. His first baptism had close to sixty people but that was the only one he had before he left.

Morrissey and Hayes built on that and their catechumenates were even larger, with the people living at the mission for the last six months, as stated above. Morrissey also used a trick to increase the number of catechumens. When people were baptized they were told to put as their offering a card with the names of two other people who could be new catechumens. Thus, "the catechumenates grew by leaps and bounds." Baptisms took place twice a year, although not in conjunction with either Christmas or Easter.

The priests taught at the Sacrament Courses, but only in the morning hours. In the afternoons they would go out, to visit, to question people at the outstation catechumenates, or to say Mass. Hayes said that the priests were very busy in those days.

At the mission, where the Sacrament Courses were being held, the priests would go to the camp in the evening, to sit down and talk with the people, and as a result they got to know the people very well. Sometimes the people would have Kuria dances in the evening, so it was a form of entertainment for the priests. The people also got to know one another very well after six months and Hayes commented: "When they were leaving tears were shed as people were saying goodbye. They were not going far and were going to see one another the following Sunday at Mass. But there was a close relationship that developed, among the people themselves and with the priests. In the end, you knew them very well, who their father was, and who their wife was."

One practice that Hayes later questioned was that of baptizing all the infants and young children in the same week as their parents were baptized. The children were supposed to be under seven years of age, but many were as old as even ten years. Rural Kuria children at that time were very small, making their ages difficult to determine. Hayes said, "If you had 100 adults baptized, you could have 400 children baptized at the same time. So, if you had an increase of 500 or 1000 Christians in a year, most of them would be children."

Hayes said that before he left Bwiregi in the early 1980s he had stopped baptizing children, with the exception of those who were truly infants of married parents, causing complaints from the Catholics. Hayes explained his thinking in the following way.

Christianity was still something new. It wasn't in the home yet, it wasn't in the culture yet, and these kids didn't have a chance. They just dropped it and never came in for First Communion and Confirmation classes. Later when they came in to get married in church, we had to be strict and not allow canonical marriage until they underwent instructions for First Communion. Marriage in

church was very big for Kuria Catholics and we used to have an average of six a month.

I felt very bad for these young people and I put a lot of pressure on the parents to make sure their children came in for instructions. So, I am not too keen on that particular practice (baptizing children in conjunction with the baptism of their parents), unless the family really has the faith. But we did have a lot of baptisms in the early years, and the catechumenate took up most of our time.

That was the Church in those days. It was a sacramental church.

We will close off here about events in Bwiregi. Beginning in 1963 Hayes began to make changes in the liturgy, following on the ferment in the church leading up to the Second Vatican Council and the Council Declaration on the Liturgy. In the next section on Musoma Diocese we will look at these new matters that Bwiregi Parish wished to introduce, in liturgy, inculturation, family life training, and other matters.

### CONCLUSION: MUSOMA DIOCESE 1948 TO THE EARLY 1960s:

To sum up Parts Two to Four, it is astounding to look back from fifty years later and discover that in just sixteen years from the time that Maryknoll arrived at Nyegina Parish in October, 1946, the Prefecture Apostolic and then Diocese of Musoma opened seventeen new parishes, plus all the institutions and departments of the new Diocese, such as a seminary, an indigenous congregation of Sisters, a diocesan secondary school, several large dispensaries, innumerable primary schools and a few middle schools, and rectories, churches and other buildings at all the parishes. This was an exhausting amount of work and could not have been accomplished if almost all of the missionaries had not been so young, mainly in their twenties and thirties, and a few in their forties.

Large catechumenates were set up at all the parishes and serious attempts were made to train catechists within the parishes to impart sound Christian doctrine to the new Christians during the 21-month period set aside for catechetical instruction. Up to the year 1960 and slightly beyond, depending on the parish, the last six months of instruction were held at the parish, which many of the priests found invaluable – both in terms of imparting Christian knowledge and developing long-term relationships with the people. Unfortunately, by the late 1950s rapid social and economic change in Tanganyika militated against requiring people to live away from their homes and farms for such a long period. Maryknollers responded by setting up good catechetical programs in churches, called centers, closer to where people lived.

Naturally, not every catechist, especially in outstations, was capable of teaching Christianity well, but in every parish the priests named several catechists whom they admired and looked on as full catechetical assistants. In most parishes almost all the catechists were viewed as zealous men trying their best to teach Christian doctrine. By the year 1962, most personnel in Musoma Diocese realized that some of these men deserved to go on for a longer training course in catechetics.

The main issue in Tanganyika throughout the 1950s was of course the nationalist struggle for independence from Great Britain and universal suffrage in the country, which was achieved in 1961. Maryknollers did not get personally involved in nationalist politics, with the one exception of paying for Julius Nyerere to travel to and around the

United States in 1956, but Maryknollers were very sympathetic to the nationalist cause and were pleased when independence was attained. Maryknollers' support for independence was contrary to the fears of independence expressed by some European missionaries. Despite their lack of direct political involvement, Maryknollers were very cognizant that independence was bringing with it significant changes in Tanganyikan society and that missionaries and the Church would have to address these in creative, competent ways.

Even in the early 1950s Maryknollers stated that the biggest challenges in Tanganyika were ignorance, disease and poverty. Many schools were built, but at that time schools were looked on primarily as sources of conversion to one's religious denomination and only secondarily as education for life's challenges in a changing society. Maryknollers, being Americans, were very concerned about establishing good educational standards but it seems that the primary emphasis was put on religious instruction in the schools, with the exceptions of the middle schools and secondary school, where secular education received its proper emphasis.

With regard to health, Musoma Diocese did not put even close to the same emphasis on hospitals as did the Mennonites, but large dispensaries that treated hundreds every day were built in Kowak, Rosana and Nyegina, operated by Maryknoll Sisters. At other missions priests distributed medicines at the parish office for common tropical diseases and other illnesses that did not require a doctor.

As for poverty, the concept of socio-economic and agricultural development had not yet been discussed. In the 1950s, while the people were admittedly very poor in material terms, most subsistence households had land and could grow most of their food except in the few years of exceptional drought. Furthermore, the large-scale migration to urban areas and the concomitant growth of urban slums had not yet occurred, or were at best just beginning. To a certain extent poverty is a subjective matter and it is doubtful that the subsistence households of Musoma in the 1950s would have described themselves as poor.

Northwestern Tanganyika/Tanzania was and to a great extent still is a status and honor society, in which a man gains status by means of acquisition of goods without modern economic value, such as cattle, wives and children. Cattle were accumulated not for milk, meat or sale, but to be used to pay a brideprice for a wife. In addition, men added to their status and honor in their local societies by putting on large feasts and beer parties for their age-group peers, expenditures which in no way improved material standards. It is not an accident that the language of this paragraph is exceedingly androcentric; traditional East African society was very male-centered. Patriarchy remains a critical issue in East Africa even today, despite great gains in women's education.

Colonialism had introduced rural Africa to the world of monetary exchange, cash crops, and wage labor, and slowly even the most remote subsistence household was becoming aware of its need for money. Some families were quicker than others in availing themselves of higher education and employment in the modern sector. While they did not reject traditional worldviews, they readily appreciated the advantages that greater income gave them – both in terms of ease of living and of status.

Trying to address rural poverty through development was to become one of the hallmarks of Maryknoll's mission beginning in the 1960s, as we will see.

Two other very important matters that consumed huge amounts of Maryknollers' time and effort were language and culture. Unfortunately, no systematic program was in effect to assist the new missionaries in these areas, with the exception of efforts begun in the late 1950s by Frank Murray in the Luo language and Ed Wroblewski in Bantu languages. However, Maryknollers were confronted with an almost insolvable problem in Musoma Diocese, the existence of over a dozen languages. Compounding this, Kiswahili had not yet been declared the national language – a government decision in the 1960s which greatly simplified diocesan language policy.

As for culture, Maryknollers picked up a great deal of knowledge about local culture and its underlying worldview in their parishes, but in an unsystematic manner. By the year 1960 they became aware that some form of organized introduction to African culture was necessary.

The most pertinent cultural issue they dealt with was the huge chasm that existed between Western marriage and African marriage. Canon law was not formulated to deal with African marriage and no matter how hard priests tried to find canonical dispensations for the many “irregular” marriages they found in their parishes there was no solution for many others. Even in the second decade of the twenty-first century this issue has not been adequately addressed by the Catholic Church, which is still led by a European Curia and hierarchy.

Thus, by the early 1960s Maryknollers in Musoma Diocese had accomplished a great deal, in very difficult physical circumstances, but many more things were to come about as they entered the new world of post-independence Tanzania. We just conclude with a statement already uttered above: it is astonishing how much was accomplished in only sixteen years.