

MARYKNOLL HISTORY IN TANZANIA  
PART SIX  
SHINYANGA DIOCESE, 1954 TO 1963  
FOURTEEN ADDITIONAL PARISHES, 1957 TO 1963

SHINYANGA TOWN, IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY PARISH:

One of the first things that Bishop Edward McGurkin realized, even before he became Bishop of Shinyanga, was that Shinyanga town needed a parish in the center of town, a Swahili-speaking parish that would cater to Catholics of the different ethnic groups living and working there. Already in October, 1954, shortly after he had arrived in Shinyanga, McGurkin wrote in a diary:

Shinyanga (Town) is the most complicated mission. The town has a mixed tribal population of government workers, teachers, clerks, and hospital attendants, and miners from numerous populations working in the Williamson and Alimasi Mines. In the town the priest needs to know Kiswahili in addition to Kisukuma. Shinyanga will eventually have two parishes, one in the town and this one (i.e. Buhangija) a mile from town.

In the summer and fall of 1956 McGurkin was in the U.S., for the Maryknoll General Chapter and then to be consecrated Bishop at his home diocese of Hartford, CT. He returned to Shinyanga at the end of 1956 and in 1957 began making plans to open the parish in town.

McGurkin assigned Lou Bayless to be the first pastor of Shinyanga Town Parish and he officially began in November, 1957. Earlier in 1957 McGurkin had given a contract to the local diocesan contractor to build the church, rectory and hall, but as of November the rectory had not yet been built. For several months Bayless lived in the hall, using rooms in the hall for bedroom, office and dining room. The kitchen was separate from the hall, so the cook had to bring food to Bayless in the hall every evening. Bayless did not say for how long this arrangement lasted; probably sometime in early 1958 the buildings were completed. The original church was smaller than the current church; the extension was added later.

Bayless was alone for about five to six months and then in 1958 (around April, 1958, as best as can be estimated) Fr. George Mikolajczyk was assigned to the town parish. Mikolajczyk had been part of the large class of 1955 to come to Shinyanga and was at first assigned to Kilulu, where he became pastor for two years prior to coming to the town parish. However, he did not stay long at Shinyanga Town Parish, as in January, 1959, he was assigned to teach at the minor seminary at Makoko. In September, 1958, two new Maryknollers assigned to Shinyanga Diocese, Fr. Charles Kenney and Brother Vic Marshall, came to the town parish to learn language. We don't have documentation on which language they studied but it was probably Kiswahili, since Kenney was going to do diocesan education work and Marshall was assigned to Sayusayu in 1959 to set up a garage for fixing the vehicles of Maryknollers in the northern part of the diocese.

In a later interview Bayless commented on some of the aspects of work in the town parish.

This was a unique parish, first because it was in a town and also because we had many different ethnic groups. You had to use Kiswahili and I had a two-month crash course in Swahili in Musoma town, which wasn't sufficient but it helped.

Another difficulty we had was when I moved into the town Mwadui Mine came under the jurisdiction of the Town Parish. So, twice a month Mikolajczyk and me, and then later Kenney and me, had to go out to the mine to say Mass two Sundays a month. On that day we had to have a priest from Buhangija come to say the one Mass at the town parish. So, this was not the best set-up, until the Mine got its own priest (Mikolajczyk in 1962).

The only other outstation we had was Old Shinyanga, which I used to visit only on occasion. This is about ten miles from Shinyanga Town.

A typical day at the parish would begin at about 9:30 am, when I would go over to the office, where people would be lined up to see me. They would want to schedule baptisms of their children or discuss marriage shauris (i.e. marriage cases probably requiring some form of dispensation). Later in the morning I would go out and visit and occasionally in the afternoon I would go to the hospital.

I didn't have any relationship with the British officials in the town. If there was some official business to be done with the Administration or an invitation to some government event, Bishop McGurkin would respond to it, or else he would send Fr. Charlie Liberatore. But I never had much to do with the British Administration.

That Shinyanga Town Parish was intended to be fully a Kiswahili-speaking parish was definitively proven in January, 1959, when Fr. Al Smidlein was assigned to the town parish, "to be assistant to Bayless but eventually to become pastor, using Swahili," according to Kenney, in the diary of that month. When Smidlein came, Mikolajczyk left for the seminary in Musoma.

The first diary from the town parish was in January, 1959, written by Kenney. Consistent with his wry view of life he wrote in humorous fashion of everyday events at the town parish, such as "the laundry man being taught how to launder clothes without reducing them to threads," Bayless showing of slides – "It is unknown if the people enjoy the slides as much as Bayless enjoys showing them" – the "houseboy who tried to flush the razor blades down the new toilets," trying to organize the key board, "which holds forty different keys," the contractor coming to show his friends his good construction at the parish "and the priests pointing out a number of defects," and a report that on the last Sunday of the month, while fifty parishioners were reciting the rosary in church, a severe storm blew half the corrugated iron sheets off the church roof. Kenney wrote, "The national newspaper in Dar had the headline, **WORSHIPPERS PRAY AS HURRICANE RAISES CHURCH ROOF.**"

Kenney ended the diary by writing: "Month ends with maybe some increasing numbers of church-goers, workers doing their work, catechist remaining sober, and the roof back on the church."

In contrast to Kenney's amusing snapshots of life in the parish, Bayless wrote in a more sincere tone some months later that "our cook, Alfred, is the best cook in the diocese and with the new Afragas stove in the kitchen, installed by Smidlein, he will begin making many delicious pastries."

After finishing his language studies in early 1959, Kenney became Diocesan Education Secretary, living at Shinyanga Town Parish. In 1959 Bishop McGurkin went on furlough to the United States and Joe Brannigan, the Vicar General, filled in as acting Administrator of the diocese, necessitating having another priest to do the education work.

In August, 1959, the diary reported a theft from the church hall at night of slide viewers, slides, a radio and twenty yards of cloth from the sewing room. Some of the objects were later recovered. This happened less than a year after the attempted theft in the church at Buhangija. Many of the parishes in Shinyanga Diocese were victims of non-violent robberies, either at night by outsiders or by people working at the parish. The amounts stolen were not significant and no one was hurt, even if the missionaries' sense of security was shaken. Armed robberies at missions would be something for much later, beginning in the 1990s.

In that same month of August, 1959, Bayless wrote that on the parish feast day, of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (August 22<sup>nd</sup>) very few Catholics attended Mass. He commented, "We have a big job cut out for us forming a strong Catholic population, since about half the population of Shinyanga town is Muslim."

In 1959 Eppy James came to Buhangija Parish to study Kiswahili prior to going to teach at the minor seminary in Musoma in 1960. He also went to live at Tabora for a period of time in 1959. While in Buhangija, he assisted the town parish in its Sunday Mass outreach twice a month to Mwadui Mine.

In 1959 Bayless wrote about the improved conditions for the priests serving the mine.

The chapel is interdenominational and kept in perfect order by the Central Church Committee, which also pays for the priests' meals and attendance at movies. Four rooms in the back of the chapel are for visiting priests and ministers, which include a sacristy, sitting room, bed room with two comfortable beds, and a bath room equipped with a sink, toilet and bath tub. It has hot and cold water, and electricity. Electric tea pots are furnished, so the priests can make coffee or tea before retiring or when getting up in the morning. All these things make the overnight stay at the mine very enjoyable.

As of September, 1959, there were two Masses every Sunday at the parish, and at Mwadui Mine there were two Masses, one for the African Catholics and one Mass for European and Asian Catholics.

In 1959 Maryknoll Sister Eileen Kelley began coming from Buhangija Parish to the hall at the town parish to teach girls sewing three mornings a week. Bayless commented on this:

Fifteen girls attend these classes. Three afternoons a week Sister also teaches adult women sewing, health, and child care. About thirty women attend. Eileen hopes to eventually start a regular Domestic Science Course.

In the latter half of 1959, as noted in Part 5A, the diocese also started a language school for Kisukuma. A large house that could accommodate at least a half dozen new missionaries and the Director was built behind the rectory at the town parish on diocesan land. Brother George Carlonas was assigned to Shinyanga Town for several months to oversee the construction and while there he also did architectural drawings of other possible buildings and drew a model sketch for ornamentation at the altar, as described by Bayless.

Carlonas drew a beautiful monogram, a large fancy M, in honor of the Blessed Mother. An iron smith who did excellent work at Nassa made the monogram with brass and superimposed it on a large map of Africa, which Carlonas had also drawn. The finished product was placed under the altar between the two supporting pillars.

In August, 1959, George Pfister, George Egan and George Weber met to produce a syllabus for learning Kisukuma and Phil Sheerin was chosen to be Director of the course. Three newly ordained Maryknollers, Ernie Brunelle, John Ganly, and Leo Kennedy, went first to Gula for the months of September to December, 1959, and then moved along with Sheerin to the language school in Shinyanga Town in January, 1960. This school for Kisukuma continued to have classes for the following four years until the Maryknoll Language School opened in Musoma in 1964.

In late 1959 the parish was informed that one of their catechists, John Kabalele, was accepted at the Catechist Training School at Bukumbi in Mwanza, and that he would start the following January of 1960. Regarding religious instruction, Smidlein wrote in October, 1959, that there was only one school within the parish territory from which the parish could draw school children for baptism. "Most are already baptized or Muslim, so the class is small. For one month (October, a school vacation month) we prepare them four hours every day in prayers, doctrine and devotion. One boy is known as Hitler but we are already using his coming baptismal name. At the end of October the children were baptized and Hitler became Englebortus."

Although Smidlein had not yet become pastor, his diary of October, 1959, described two innovative parish groups that looked outward towards the manner in which Christians were to live in the changing social dynamics of a multi-tribal urban enclave, within a fledgling nation moving inexorably towards independence. In the quote that follows he jokingly mentioned the Muslims as being 'insidious,' in the sense that they are so friendly and welcoming that Africans are naturally attracted to that religion. The first group was the Catholic Association, which was making plans for its first social on Mission Sunday (third Sunday in October).

The Catholic Association of Shinyanga is primarily a social group, whose purpose is to provide a bond on the social level for Catholics in the town, who are

daily living with Moslems, Protestants and pagans. The Moslems are the most insidious force working against their faith. The Moslems are very sociable and charitable; welcome you into their homes; if you have no food they give you food, and lodging if you need it; love to talk with anyone and anyone is welcome to join their conversations. For these reasons Islam is attractive to Africans and particularly “de-tribalized” Africans living in towns. Their moral code is easy; everything is covered by saying “Mohammed will understand; he was a man.”

The Catholic Association wants to bring Catholics together on a social level. The women’s and young girls’ sewing classes are sponsored by the association and run by Sr. James Eileen. It is very successful and we have about 40 women and 20 girls, who are making Catholic friends and learning to better themselves and their homes.

One of the features of the party was a dress show and sale, put on by the women and girls, displaying the work they had done. We served tea and mandazi, taught them how to play Bingo, and everybody had a good time. [Mandazi is the donut of East Africa.]

The second group described by Smidlein was formed to analyze and act on matters of justice at the societal level.

The Oxford Social Guild meets twice a month. We began this group early this year (1959), following Fr. Paul Crain’s visit to Tanganyika. The purpose is to pick out leaders and educate them in Catholic Social Principles of the See, Judge, and Act method. The group is limited to eight members; the meetings are never longer than 70 minutes; and they are prepared ahead of time by one member, who receives an agenda. The meetings begin with Gospel Inquiry, which will take us through the New Testament. This is followed by Routine Action, which usually consists in getting public opinion on some subject; gathering the facts on some local incident that has provoked public discontent; or using their influence for some community good.

The meeting is divided by one decade of the rosary and we follow with the Social Inquiry. Here we use information gathered, such as Union demands; some police action, etc. and place them against the Social Principles of the Church. In this way we cover the family, the state, living wage, the dignity of man, etc.

A weekly meeting is recommended but the type of man we want are leaders elsewhere, such as Chairmen of Government Unions, of Cooperatives, etc. This means that their time must be spent on safari and at other meetings, which makes a weekly meeting impractical.

The men are beginning to realize their influence. One of the men talked with the Chairman of the Domestic Union, which was planning a strike on October 1<sup>st</sup>. The strike was impractical and certainly would have been unjust to everyone concerned. There was no strike.

The diary of October, 1959, was the last one written from Shinyanga Town Parish itself, but a couple of years later Fr. Joe Sullivan wrote in a diary from Buhangija that Smidlein was continuing with social events to address particular problems in the town.

Smidlein is using tea parties as a method. Shinyanga has many government offices and most of the government officials are educated. But their wives are not. The status of women in Independent Africa is rising rapidly, but it was not always so. Until the Maryknoll Sisters arrived there were only two secondary schools for girls in all of Tanganyika. So, many of the men had to marry uneducated girls.

The women have an inbred courtesy and charm, but suffer from an inferiority complex. This is aggravated as their children go on to secondary school. Furthermore, the men are always tempted to philander and the simple “bush” girl may find herself in competition with an educated girl.

Monogamy is not yet a strong tradition in Africa. In a government center, like Shinyanga, problems of officials taking a second wife could soon become a serious pastoral problem.

Smidlein took the offensive. He mobilized the Maryknoll Sisters to have classes for the women in cosmetology (i.e. personal grooming), sewing, entertaining, literacy, adult education and other things. But this did not seem to help. The problem was that the women were isolated in their houses and had not met one another, unlike in the rural area where they would have met at the watering holes.

To get them together, Smidlein decided to invite them to tea parties. He had gone to one house first to make inquiries and was served tea. This gave him the idea of using this method.

This worked great. The women talked about what was happening in modern life – such as dancing the twist – and offered to teach others certain modern skills, including how to drive a car.

Now the women visit one another. One insisted that her husband teach her to speak English. Another demanded that her husband buy her a new tea set.

These creative urban outreaches were documented only in the diaries from the town parish and give evidence that even prior to Independence Maryknollers were observing the rapid changes taking place in Tanganyika and trying to craft new ways of addressing what can be termed ‘modern’ social problems. This paradigm would likewise characterize the Maryknoll approach in rural areas of both Shinyanga and Musoma in the post-Independence period, where modern agricultural development became a paramount concern, which will be one of the main themes of the next Chapters on these two dioceses.

Sometime in early or mid-1960 Charles Kenney’s back gave out – he had been having troubles with his back the whole time since he had arrived in Shinyanga in September, 1958 – and he had to return permanently to the U.S. He was accompanied on the plane by Lou Bayless, who was going on furlough in 1960. On return to Tanganyika in 1961 Bayless first went to Nassa Parish for the better part of a year, then to Ndoleleji in 1962, and finally in 1963 he was assigned to start a new parish at Malampaka. When Bayless left Shinyanga Town in 1960 Smidlein became pastor, an assignment he retained until 1972.

As the town parish was a Swahili-speaking parish, due to the number of ethnic groups in the parish, Smidlein joined two others from Shinyanga Diocese in May, 1961, for a short course in Swahili at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, while they were on furlough in the United States. The other two were Fr. Jim Lenihan, who had been at Mipa Parish but was going to start a new parish at Salawe, and Brother Cyril Vellicig, who had been doing construction work in various places in the diocese and felt that he never learned Kisukuma very well. The course lasted six weeks and was taught by a Father Varga, a Holy Ghost priest who had worked in Moshi, Tanganyika, for many years and was at that time doing doctoral studies in London in linguistics, with a specialty in Kiswahili. Vellicig commented that this course was very helpful, although he later went for the full course in Swahili at the Maryknoll Language School in Musoma.

While Smidlein was on furlough in 1961 he was replaced by Bill Tokus, who had just finished language school in Kisukuma in the first months of 1961. Presumably the priests from Buhangija assisted the town parish during this year, along with those who were learning Kisukuma at the language school.

Before we bring to a close this section on Shinyanga Town Parish, we will mention briefly a major educational contribution made by the diocese to the area, the Shinyanga Commercial School, called SHYCOM, started in March, 1965. While in Rome for the second Vatican Council Bishop McGurkin heard that the German-funding group Misereor was willing to fund a commercial school in Tanzania, which at that time had only one secretarial school in the whole country. At the town parish a typing school, called St. Mary's Typing School, had been started, taught by two Maryknoll Sisters with typewriters donated by Smidlein. Graduates of this school were able to get jobs, as typists were in short supply in the years immediately after Independence. An excellent boarding school for young men and women was built adjacent to the town parish – once again George Carlonas was very involved in the construction – with money provided by Misereor (75%) and Maryknoll (25%). This was a national school, praised by one of the national newspapers in Dar es Salaam. Additionally, Mwadui Mine and a few other organizations sponsored day students from Shinyanga Town. (For a full report on this school, cf the History of the Maryknoll Sisters in Tanzania by K. Erisman, pages 33-34.)

After October, 1959, no further diaries were sent from the town parish, nor was Smidlein or anyone else stationed in the parish in the 1960s interviewed for the history project. Even Bishop McGurkin left off writing diaries between 1958 and April, 1964, mainly due to his attendance at Vatican II. When he resumed his diary-writing in April, 1964, he began with reference to new developments at Shinyanga Town Parish. Thus, we will leave off here at this time, and begin the next Chapter on Shinyanga with McGurkin's comments on socio-economic development.

#### MIPA, ST. JOSEPH THE WORKER PARISH:

Mipa, located about thirty miles from Shinyanga town along the main road between Shinyanga and Mwanza, was one of the main outstations of Buhangija Parish and in 1954 the White Fathers had built a mud-brick school there, with Maryknoll money. In 1957 Bishop McGurkin decided to seek a plot for a mission, which the

government granted in January, 1958. McGurkin then negotiated with Chief Dogani of Seke Chiefdom, who eventually granted McGurkin a five-acre plot at Mipa about a kilometre from the main road.

McGurkin then tapped Fr. Jim Lenihan to be the first pastor of Mipa and to oversee the building of the various buildings that would be needed. Lenihan had become pastor of Buhangija in 1957, when Lou Bayless had started the new parish in Shinyanga Town. Lenihan was very familiar with Mipa because in the three years he had been in Buhangija he regularly went out to Mipa on safari, for Mass and other purposes. Lenihan moved to Mipa in July, 1958, and lived in the office of the school for several months until a three-room teacher's house was built in September, 1958. He was alone until December, 1958, when Brother Cyril Vellicig came to oversee the construction. In March, 1959, Fr. George Weber also came to Mipa, after he had finished his language course at Busanda Parish. Weber wrote that month that both the rectory and church were nearing completion.

In his first diary Weber described the physical terrain of the new mission.

The mission is on a gradual rise up to a small hill-top, from which the gleaming steel roof of St. Joseph's Church is visible for many miles around. Heavy bush is to the west; granite out-crops are to the east. The mission is centrally located to facilitate travel to the Chiefdoms of Seke, Mwaui and Mondo.

On the southern border of the parish is the world-famous Williamson Diamond Mine and to its west are several artificial lakes that supply water for the mine's industrial processes.

Westward from the mission thick bush extends without interruption to Old Shinyanga, containing rhinos, giraffes, antelopes and impala, and is infested with tsetse fly.

An arc swinging from northwest to southeast of the parish church crosses the most fertile land in the three Kingdoms, soil that is black and heavy, very good for cotton, which is developing into an important cash crop for the people. In the east is the Nhumbu River; its seasonal rising makes passage difficult to the eastern section of the parish. The black cotton soil is also very difficult to go through, and can clog up the wheels of a motorcycle.

When Lenihan arrived at the mission he wrote that the total population of the parish was about 40,000, of whom 500 were Catholic, but although small in number they had great spirit. He said the parish had four registered primary schools (grades one to four) and three bush schools (usually only two grades, with a volunteer teacher). There were two other primary schools in the area, one run by the Native Authority and the other by a Protestant mission. There was no middle school within the parish territory; the closest one was at Buhangija, for boys only.

Although he had just arrived, Lenihan delved into parish work right away, saying two Masses each Sunday, one at Mipa and another at one of the eight outstations, organizing the recital of the rosary in different homes in the month of October, showing slides of the Life of Christ, and setting up a monthly envelope system that at least initially increased monthly parish income. He also had a five-day training session for new altar

servers and increased the number from one to thirty. All the outstations were visited and Lenihan took steps to address the specific problems he found in each place, such as trying to hire a good catechist in outstations that had few Catholics.

In January, 1959, Lenihan organized an election of new parish leaders, in Kisukuma called *Batongi*, at the parish and in every outstation. Many of the former leaders were not doing much and because of his experience in Buhangija Parish Lenihan realized that people viewed being called *Batongi* as an honorific title – but without corresponding responsibilities. In February Lenihan had seminars, first for the men and then for the women, listing and explaining their roles and responsibilities in the parish. He wrote a long list of ten requirements, such as good personal qualities, engaging in community outreach, helping with collections, visiting the catechumenate and people at their homes, and coming into the mission for retreats and to give reports on the progress of the *kigango*.

Weber completed his study of Kisukuma at Busanda Parish on March 14, 1959, and moved to Mipa on that date. He wrote that St. Joseph Parish, Mipa, had been formally erected by Bishop McGurkin on March 9, 1959. He joined his classmate Lenihan and lived with him in one of the teachers' houses. Three houses had been built of cement blocks plus two school classrooms, and they used one of the classrooms for celebrating Mass. In April the rectory that could accommodate three priests was completed and shortly afterwards the church, which could comfortably hold 350 people, was finished. The new church was blessed by Bishop McGurkin on June 29, 1959, after which a huge celebration took place, attended by close to 5,000 people.

The catechumenate was also being looked after and Weber noted that there were 800 catechumens throughout the parish. Two dormitories that could accommodate 75 catechumens had been built and the priests were planning on fixing up the old mud-walled school for use as the classroom in the catechumenate.

One additional construction project was envisioned for the following year, 1960, as they had been given permission to build a Boys' Middle School.

Weber discussed the importance of schools in promoting conversions to the Catholic faith.

(Bishop) McGurkin encourages the priests to set up a syllabus of religious instruction in the schools, which will prepare students for baptism after completion of their third year. Last year there were 115 children baptized in the parish, compared to only 450 Catholics in the whole parish, and we expect the number to rise, especially in the bush schools. Catholic children attending school have the opportunity to receive the sacraments at least three times a month: Mass is said at the school one weekday a month; once a month Mass is said at each major outstation; and all Catholics are encouraged to attend Mass at the parish church at least once a month.

As the months of July through December, 1959, progressed the two priests continued to expand the number of bush schools and *vigango* (outstation chapels), hold monthly discussions with all the catechists at the parish, schedule retreats for the men and women of the parish, conducted by Fr. Joe Kaboye, and a retreat for all the catechists of

Mipa and Wira led by the pastor of Mwanza Parish, and baptize both adults and school children. The parish was growing and progressing very well.

A special event took place in late September, 1959, an address by two LEGCO members, Mr. Patel and a Msukuma, Paul Bomani. The latter spoke in Kisukuma to the huge throng and said, "Don't think that when you get freedom it will mean a time of continual dancing and beer drinking." He also encouraged parents to send their children to school so Tanganyika would have good educated leaders. The event took place in the church since Mipa was central for the Kingdoms of Seke and Mondo.

A very important announcement was received in August, 1959, that Mipa had been chosen to be the locale for the new diocesan catechist training center. A week after Lenihan received this news he and Fr. Charles Liberatore, the pastor of Buhangija, traveled to Tabora for a conference on youth ministry and stopped at the Catechist School in Ndala, run by the White Fathers, to obtain information about their curriculum. The previous month, July, Weber had gone to the Catechist School in Bukumbi, outside of Mwanza, to collect Emmanuelli Jidola, one of Mipa's catechists who had just finished his two-year course there, along with his wife and children. While at Bukumbi Fr. Matthias Koenen, the Director of the school, gave Weber several pages of notes and suggestions on the operation of a catechist school, plus a helpful bibliography. One book highly recommended was by Johannes Hofinger, S.J., published by Notre Dame Press, "The Art of Teaching Christian Doctrine." This book contained one chapter, called "Worship, the Life of the Missions," which Weber used several months later in a discussion with catechists regarding leading the Sunday service without a priest. In fact, in November, 1959, Hofinger came to Mwanza and led discussions on catechetics for priests from any diocese who wished to attend.

Lenihan explained that Weber was chosen to be in charge of the new school.

George became proficient in the language – he was good – and the Bishop wanted him to build the catechetical training centre. So, in 1960 he would help out in the parish on Sunday but during the week he was primarily involved in building the centre and setting up the syllabus.

In June, 1960, Brother George Carlonas came to Mipa and from then on he supervised the construction of the catechist school, which was not finished until late in 1961. Despite Weber's preoccupation with the catechist school, he wrote the parish diary for November, 1960, and mentioned his involvement in parish work, such as opening new outstations, building a large outstation church, which was blessed by Bishop McGurkin, and after many attempts finally succeeding in getting people at one place to agree to send their children – albeit all boys – to a primary school. The diocese had to first build a house that could accommodate both a school teacher and a catechist with his family. Weber commented: "Sukuma consider a shepherd of cattle more of an asset than a scholar." And, "Sukuma parents don't yet see the value of girls' education."

While at Mipa Carlonas also installed a communion rail in the church, made improvements to the rectory, and "entertained us with his knowledge of baseball lore." He also designed the proposed Girls' Middle School for Buhangija during this time.

The government had granted the diocese a four-acre plot at Mipa for the catechist school and twelve houses were built for the catechists and their families, plus a chapel and a classroom. It was not until November, 1961, that the school was ready to open.

With regard to the parish, Jim Lenihan came down with malaria in late 1960 or early 1961, and it was decided to move up the time of his furlough in 1961. Thus, Bishop McGurkin assigned Fr. Ed Killackey, who was still taking the Kisukuma language course in Shinyanga Town, to go to Mipa and learn about the work in the parish while Lenihan was still there. Killackey had been doing well in learning Kisukuma but still felt inadequate to be taking on parish work, which meant teaching and preaching in the Sukuma language. Lenihan was very helpful and easy to work with. He told Killackey not to worry about inadequacies in the language; when preaching he should just tell the congregation that he knows what he is talking about and that they should listen. Killackey and Lenihan became life-long friends and Killackey was at the bedside when Lenihan died in 1998.

[In the first four months of 1961 there were four Maryknollers living at Mipa, yet the rectory had been built with only three bedrooms. There is no mention as to what kind of arrangement they had to accommodate them all.]

In May, 1961, Lenihan went to the U.S. for his furlough and on return to Shinyanga Diocese he was assigned to open a new mission at Salawe. Phil Sheerin was supposed to replace him as pastor at Mipa Parish but was not able to come at that time. Weber was named the pastor, but after a very short time he complained to Bishop McGurkin that he had too much work to do getting the catechist center ready to open. Thus, Joe Brannigan, the Vicar General, came out to Mipa and informed Killackey that he was the pastor, even though he had not been able to complete the Kisukuma course and had been in Shinyanga Diocese only about nine or ten months.

Killackey was at Mipa for only one year, but said it was a very good assignment. Every evening he, Weber and Carlonas would have wide-ranging discussions, which he found invigorating and energizing. Killackey also appreciated the very good program with the catechists that had been set up. There were about 22 outstations and about 18 catechists scattered throughout the parish. They came in every month and Killackey built up a good relation with all of them.

In 1962 Killackey was assigned to be Diocesan Education Secretary, to replace Charlie Callahan, who was being assigned to start a new mission at Old Maswa. Phil Sheerin came to Mipa for one year.

Sheerin did not write any diaries from Mipa and when he was later interviewed for the history project he did not comment on his time at Mipa. Additionally, beginning in 1961 all the diaries were written by George Weber – until May, 1964 – and they discussed matters dealing only with the catechist school. In 1963 Weber was alone to cover both the catechist school and the parish, although Brother John Wohead came to live with him for two years. In April, 1964, Weber was assigned to the U.S., to be rector of the major seminary at Maryknoll, NY. In his place Fr. Zachary Buluda was assigned to be pastor of the parish in Mipa and Fr. Dick McGarr was made Director of the catechist school.

We will close here with regard to the history of the parish. In the next chapter on Shinyanga Diocese more will be said about developments in the parish beginning at about 1963. For now, we will turn to the Mipa Catechist School.

#### MIPA CATECHIST TRAINING SCHOOL:

As said above, in August, 1959, Jim Lenihan and George Weber received word from Bishop McGurkin that Mipa was chosen to be the locale of the proposed catechist training school for Shinyanga Diocese, and furthermore that Weber was being requested to oversee its construction and become Director. This announcement did not come out of the blue, however. Since the first diocesan-wide gathering of Maryknollers in the Prefecture Apostolic of Musoma in 1951, at which catechetical matters were the prime agenda and at which the length of the catechumenate was shortened from four years to 21 months, complemented by more intensive teaching in the outstation, Maryknollers were intently discussing how to improve the content and methods of the catechumenate. This discussion was readily taken up by those who went to Shinyanga. In addition, the Maryknollers regularly visited Mwanza and were quite aware of what the White Fathers were doing in catechetics. The White Fathers had opened two catechist training centers in the 1950s, in Ndala near Tabora and at Bukumbi near Mwanza (in October, 1957).

The Maryknollers, although shortening the length, kept the basic outline of the catechumenate, such as giving medals after phases of the instruction, having those ready for baptism come into the mission for a very intensive, full-day period of instruction every day, usually for a month to six weeks twice a year, meeting with all the catechists one full day a month to increase their knowledge of their duties, and paying the catechists a small stipend. By the mid-1950s it had become clear that a professional, comprehensive course was needed to enable at least one or two men from each parish to have well-trained head catechists. When Bukumbi was opened it was not reserved for the parishes of Mwanza alone; a few men went there, with their families, from both Shinyanga and Musoma dioceses. (Cf Part Four, Musoma Diocese, North Mara parishes, pages 20 – 26, on the discernment in Kowak Parish in the late 1950s about the whole catechetical system.)

As mentioned above the Catechist Training School was ready in November, 1961, and twelve catechists and their families arrived to begin their two years of training. On December 26, 1961, Bishop McGurkin came to bless the new institution. In addition to the two-room school building, storeroom, chapel and the twelve individual houses for the catechists' families, the compound also had thirteen farm plots, one for each family and one for school projects, and another six-acre plot donated by Pauline Geni, a Catholic widow who lived near the mission, on which cotton was grown. The catechists were expected to be married men, not over 35 years old, with two years of experience as a catechist and at least six years of formal education, and possessing the qualities expected of a future church leader. The course had a full schedule of five classes a day, Monday to Friday, morning and evening religious services, including daily Mass, manual labor twice a day, and opportunities to put into practice what they were learning, both in liturgical services during the week at which each catechist had a chance to lead and preach, and in the local primary school, using the pedagogical methods of Sr. Maria de la Cruz, and her religion book, called the "On Our Way Series." As was the case at Bukumbi, each

catechist and his family were given a monthly stipend that was funded by an organization in Aachen, Germany.

The following summary of both the rationale for catechist training and new catechetical methods and materials, and of Mipa's program in its first few years, is culled from the very lengthy diaries that George Weber wrote from Mipa between December, 1961, and March, 1963, and from Joe Carney's thesis on the History of Maryknoll, Chapter Six, titled The Evolution of Maryknoll's Catechetical Systems, pages 166 to 241. (NB: this chapter of Carney's book also discusses the Catechists Training Center at Komuge in Musoma Diocese, and the establishment of Small Christian Communities beginning in Nyarombo Parish also in Musoma Diocese, which will both be treated in the next Chapter on Musoma Diocese.) Weber's diaries have been summarized – albeit still rather lengthy – and put in digital format. They are available at the Maryknoll Archives.

Weber began his diary of December, 1961, by quoting a letter written by Bishop Joseph Blomjous of Mwanza to Archbishop Peter Sigismondi, the Secretary of Propaganda Fide in Rome.

It is common knowledge that the existence of flourishing congregations of African Christians is largely due to the work of catechists. It would not be difficult to show that the development of the missions is in direct proportion to the number and the value of these indispensable auxiliaries.

Carney pointed out that already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Cardinal Charles Lavigerie, the founder of the White Fathers, had stated that Africa would be converted by Africans. However, despite choosing semi-literate men – or even non-literate men – to teach the catechumenate, the primary emphasis was on establishing seminaries and as of 1937 there were 300 Africans in five major seminaries in territories under White Father jurisdiction. Prior to the 1950s the operative position was that the gospel would permeate the African Church through the establishment of a local clergy, resulting in insufficient attention paid to creating a large body of trained catechists.

By 1961 Blomjous had become an internationally renowned expert on catechetics, as a result of his research projects, writing, talks at catechetical conferences, and his establishment of the Bukumbi Catechist Training Center in 1957. In July, 1960, at the Congress for Mission Catechetics in Eichstatt, Germany, Blomjous had emphasized the indispensable role of catechists, stating that they did 75% of the religious instruction for adult catechumens and school children, presided at Sunday services without a priest in outstations, did religious counseling for the outstation congregations, and were the face of the Catholic Church for Christians and pagans where in fact there were very few priests and Sisters. Through them a Lay Apostolate was in fact being developed (which, of course, was to be a major theme of the second Vatican Council that started just two years later).

Blomjous added that the catechist would be even more necessary in coming years, since due to improved health care Tanganyika's population would increase rapidly, the government welcomed religious education in schools, and Muslims and religious sects were preaching enticing messages to Africans (Weber referred to this as propaganda), requiring well educated catechists to resist and counter these messages. Weber again quoted Blomjous' conclusion:

Only the presence and action of an adequate number of well-trained catechists will guarantee the perseverance of the faithful and the continuation of the Church in these regions of Africa now so full of promise. All these circumstances make the institution of catechists more necessary than ever.

As of 1961 there were only six catechist training centres in all of eastern Africa, of which Mipa was one, but by 1969 this number had increased to twenty-two, with ten in Tanzania alone.

Prior to opening Mipa Catechist Training Center both Weber and Lenihan made a number of trips both to Ndala near Tabora and to Bukumbi. At Bukumbi, White Fathers Koenen and Bernard Vulkers gave them invaluable advice about the content of the teaching and how to structure the course. Koenen had published two excellent series of hymns in Kisukuma, which corresponded with Sukuma love of and skill at singing, and the catechists at Mipa were taught to use Sukuma hymns throughout the Mass and at services without a priest. (NB: priests were still saying the whole Mass in Latin, but already in Sukumaland by 1960 Sukuma Catholics were singing almost all the prayers of Mass in their own language. As a result, changing the language of Mass from Latin to the vernacular after Vatican II was not problematic in Shinyanga.)

An even deeper penetration of Sukuma rituals, symbols and cultural forms was done during the Catechist School's first Holy Week ceremonies in April, 1962. Weber had read an article in the February issue of WORSHIP that highlighted the importance of the Holy Week liturgies, especially the Easter Vigil on Saturday evening. He also made use of an excellent series of commentaries on the Holy Week liturgies prepared by Matthias Koenen of Bukumbi Pastoral Institute, which the catechists read in Kisukuma during each of the liturgies. Sukuma songs were sung throughout the ceremonies. Thus, even though Latin was the official language of the liturgies, and the Saturday Vigil can be long, Weber reported, "We prepared our catechists thoroughly and had much more intelligible liturgies, with greater participation from the people. The people listened attentively and understood what they heard."

In February and March, 1962, Weber wrote heart-felt accounts of the history of two trainee-catechists at Mipa, and of all the twists and turns that their lives had taken. Reading these accounts gives one an accurate glimpse of down-to-earth life in Tanganyika in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly of the resolute search by young men for gainful and satisfying employment and for marriage to a worthy partner in their quest for a better life.

Weber also wrote: "Agriculture is another important aspect of the two-year program. Over 90% of the population live in rural areas and most catechumens are farmers. Many are very poor because they are very poor farmers." Weber immediately began instructing the catechists and their wives about tie-ridging the fields to protect soil, using natural fertilizer even for growing vegetables, and planting a variety of vegetables that a food chart from the Health Department in Dar es Salaam recommended as high in vitamin content. They planted citrus and banana trees at the school and Weber informed the catechists that they could order fruit trees from the Agricultural Center at Morogoro (100 miles west of Dar es Salaam) for very little money.

In May, 1962, Weber discovered that his agricultural goals at Mipa dovetailed with the newly independent government's goals, when he listened to two talks on radio given by Julius Nyerere, who had resigned as Prime Minister in January in order to travel around the country teaching the people about the meaning of self-reliance (whence the title of Teacher, or *Mwalimu* in Swahili). Weber paraphrased Nyerere as saying: "The poverty of the average farmer is for the most part self-inflicted. It is the result of poor farming techniques, poor management of funds, and downright laziness." Nyerere urged the youth of Tanganyika to tackle the untilled soil of Tanganyika with determination and knowledge, and the educated segment of the population to share their knowledge of improved farming techniques with those without education.

Beginning at this time Weber began formulating and articulating a social theology of linking Christianity with responsibility towards one's family, community and nation, which in Tanganyika meant being a dedicated, responsible farmer. The catechists who would come out of Mipa were expected to have a pivotal role in demonstrating these values back in their home communities. Weber wrote:

A catechist who is farming properly is also teaching patriotism at the community level and strengthening the position of the Church. Since the catechist is in a broader sense a trained leader in a rural community, it can safely be stated that farming is part of his vocation. This is the underlying conviction of all our efforts to improve the quality of farming of each catechist.

Beginning in mid-1962 Weber began gathering information from agricultural entities, such as the Agricultural Office in Shinyanga Town, the Agricultural School at Ukirigulu near Mwanza, Twiga Chemical Industries (*twiga* is a Swahili word, meaning giraffe, but the company is the local affiliate of a multinational company), and the Regional Registrar for Cooperatives in Mwanza, with the aim of starting a marketing cooperative for the abundance of produce Mipa's school soon started to harvest.

For Mipa's cotton farm they began using chemical fertilizer and spraying the fields with pesticide with a hand-held sprayer. The Agricultural Center near Mwanza obtained 2000 pounds of cotton per acre using these methods versus an average yield for Sukuma farmers of only 500 pounds, and Weber wanted to impress the catechists with what chemical inputs can do to increase yield. (These recommendations were written prior to the publication of the book "Silent Spring," by Rachel Carson, documenting the dangers of chemical pesticides. Perhaps in later decades Weber might have been more perspicacious regarding the claims and value of expensive chemical inputs for subsistence farmers.) However, in 1962 Weber wrote that Sukuma farmers could increase their income by at least one-third by applying chemical inputs to their cotton.

As for producing natural fertilizer, Weber had the catechists dig fifteen compost pits to make fertilizer to be used on the vegetable gardens, especially for corn, tomatoes and cabbage. In addition to constantly teaching the catechists that they must use these farming methods when they go back to their homes, the catechists themselves came up with two plans of action. First, they dug a second latrine for the primary school, and secondly they invited village elders to see their compost pits and receive an explanation how natural fertilizer can help them. Two of the catechists, Matthias Sungwa and Matteo Masele, also began attending the bi-monthly meetings of village leaders and elders.

Later in 1962 the catechists began observing the positive results of their hard work in the vegetable gardens. One of the catechists took a large box of cabbages by bicycle to Malampaka and sold them for a huge profit. All the other catechists immediately became enthralled, the school planted 4000 cabbages, and at the end of February, 1963, each catechist received a large payment for the sale of the school's produce. Phil Sheerin, the pastor of the parish, interested several of his catechists to do the same thing and they also were rewarded with an unexpectedly high cash payment. The new Agricultural Officer for Shinyanga Town visited several times and helped the school find new markets. Representatives from Twiga Chemicals came again and recommended various fertilizers and pesticides to address problems, particularly an infestation of thrips destroying onions (a thrip is a minutely small insect that can significantly damage fruit trees, cereal crops, and vegetable crops), which could be eradicated spraying the field with a specific pesticide available at Twiga.

More and more local farmers outside the school became interested in these agricultural projects and the District Finance Committee came for an all-day meeting at Mipa Catechist School to discuss giving of loans for new agricultural projects. The school was given another plot of land and began work with thirty local farmers, to plant vegetables using compost fertilizer and later to plant cotton using chemical fertilizers and pesticides.

By March, 1963, the school and local farmers were producing so many vegetables that the local markets could not buy them all. Thus, Weber approached Mwadui Mine, which was having huge quantities of fruit and vegetables flown in from Nairobi every week, and the Mine agreed to have the Mipa farmers take a truckload of vegetables every Saturday to the entrance of the mine for sale. The farmers would be given a receipt for what they sold and be paid at the end of the month.

The Registrar of Cooperatives in Mwanza paid a visit and said that Mipa (the parish, not the school) could be registered as a marketing cooperative. With this registration, they would also be able to get concessionary rates from Twiga Chemicals. To prepare for this, one of the catechists from Mipa went to Mwanza to study about credit unions at the Social Training Centre.

In his diary of March, 1963, Weber commented that he felt vindicated by Pope John XXIII's new encyclical, "Mater et Magistra," which advocated for increased agricultural production so that rural farmers could realize an improved standard of living. Weber wrote:

A family farm is ideal provided it can produce sufficient income for a decent standard of living. This presupposes that the farmers are educated, keep abreast of progress, and are given technical assistance. A system of cooperatives is indispensable. Foreign aid should be given disinterestedly. Catholics in less developed countries should participate in the national effort for advancement.

Likewise, Weber reported that the pre-cursor of AMECEA (called the Interterritorial Episcopal Meeting) met in Dar es Salaam in July, 1961, and ordered that an analysis of Mater et Magistra be published along with a questionnaire for study groups. In 1962, the Tanganyikan Bishops issued a message saying, "The spread of the

Church's social doctrine is an emergency need in Tanganyika today and one which, without doubt, deserves precedence over the claims of any other voluntary good work."

Weber concluded his long diary of March, 1963, by quoting the words of Fr. John McCreanor, S.M.A., in a January, 1963, issue of AMERICA magazine:

The Church is losing its influence because it is losing its schools. Now it is the independent nations that are running the schools and even paying the salaries of teachers in church schools. If this door is shut the Church must find another door. Missiological experts today agree that a partial answer lies in the new interest in community development.

Cannot the Church become involved in this effort? Should it not be concerned with soil improvement, better methods of crop rotation, better housing, and more modern hygiene?

Weber answered these questions by saying that Mipa Catechist School was trying to develop community leaders who would be able to assist priests in any parishes with a community development program. In fact, the school was renamed the Sacred Heart Leadership Training School.

From 1963 to March, 1964, Weber also oversaw the construction of a community center in the village of Mipa adjacent to the highway, a maize-grinding power mill, and the purchase of a truck. The Mipa Credit Union had been started and a man was hired to manage it. It seems that the proposed marketing of produce to Mwadui Mine never materialized because in 1964 Mipa's produce was being taken into Shinyanga Town for sale. The first course ended sometime in 1963.

Weber did not write any more diaries from Mipa and in April, 1964, he was assigned to the United States to be Rector of the Major Seminary at Maryknoll. He was replaced by Fr. Richard McGarr as Director of the Leadership Training School. In addition, Fr. Zachary Buluda was assigned as pastor in the parish a month or two before Weber left.

We will conclude this section at this point. In the next Chapter on Shinyanga Diocese we will treat further developments at Mipa.

#### MALILI, CHRIST THE KING PARISH:

In the section on Mwanangi-Nassa it was mentioned that only a little over a year after Eppy James was at that parish he began looking for a plot in Malili where a new mission could be established. It was an active outstation of Nassa and many people were moving into the area, making it a promising place. In February, 1956, the government granted a plot to the diocese (Diocese of Maswa; this was prior to Shinyanga Diocese being established), the first plot given to Shinyanga after the Maryknollers arrived in 1954. It was also the first new mission to be constructed in the diocese, in addition to the original six parishes.

In his diary of February, 1956, Eppy gave a description of Malili:

It is on a knoll overlooking hills and valleys. It is farming country and cotton is the main export crop. It is surrounded by big hills on three sides; one has a gold mine and from there the hill descends sharply down to the Dutwa Plains. Many Sukuma have moved across these plains in recent years from Maswa District, clearing the bush and planting cotton. There is big money in cotton and the people are well aware of this.

Fr. Bob Lefebvre, who came to Malili in June, 1958, gave more details about the new parish.

Malili is 20 miles inland from Lake Victoria, 26 miles from Nassa, and 40 miles from Kilulu, located near the village of Bulolambishi. On the summit of the hill on which the mission sits there is a grand view of the hills and plains. To the left is "Gold Mountain," where 100 men lost their lives digging for gold. The mine has now been abandoned for 45 years. Directly facing the mission are the plains, where Kilulu and Sayusayu are located. To the north are the Serengeti Plains.

In the dry season visitors come, such as on their way to Nairobi. In the rainy season, from December to May, no visitors come.

Although they had been given the plot in 1956, it was not until 1957 that Maryknollers first moved over to Malili to begin the mission. Fr. George Egan was one of the fourteen Maryknollers assigned to Shinyanga Diocese in 1955 and he went to Nassa, along with Tom Keefe and Tom Burke, where Eppy James was about to become pastor. After two years in Nassa Egan was assigned to be the first pastor of Malili. He was joined at Malili by Brother George Carlonas, who had come to Shinyanga in September, 1956, and had first gone to Sayusayu to learn Kisukuma. The first thing Carlonas built was a kitchen/storeroom, in which he and Egan lived while construction of the rectory, church, school, latrines, kitchen and storeroom, all built with cement blocks, was being done.

The parish, called Christ the King, was formally erected in 1958. In July, 1958, Fr. Bob Lefebvre, who had come in October, 1957, and gone to Gula for language learning, moved to Malili, just in time to move into the new rectory. A week or two later Carlonas moved to Nassa, to undertake construction of the new church there, but he continued to commute back to Malili in order to finish the church. The church at Malili was finally completed only in the middle of 1959 and was blessed in October, 1959. Before that they had been using a classroom in the school as a chapel.

The diaries do not give statistics for the population of the parish nor the number of Catholics. Likewise, there was no mention of the size of the parish, except to note that Malili took parts of both Nassa and Kilulu parishes. The first diary from Malili was written by Lefebvre in July, 1958, and he stated that most of the people were either pagan or Seventh Day Adventist; interestingly, he added that many of the latter denomination had decided to study to be baptized in the Catholic faith. Tribally, they were either Sukuma or Ntuzu (also called Banantuzu or Barantuzu), a branch of Sukuma people who have slightly different customs and a noticeably different dialect of Kisukuma. The Ntuzu language was Kisukuma; perhaps it would be better to say they had a distinct accent.

The parish had five outstations, where the priests said Mass twice a month, and they had plans to open nine more by the following year. The priests were also attempting to open new schools and get them registered. Egan later said that the government was at that time, just a couple of years before Independence, making it difficult to register new schools, meaning that students at non-registered schools could not go on to Middle Schools (grades five to eight). Despite this, they did open several bush schools, although lack of money hindered them from opening more. Schools were a source of converts and gave the priests a good foothold in new areas. With regard to the bush schools, Egan said that the people put these up themselves, with some help from the priests. Conversely, the large cement-block structures at the mission – rectory, church and school – were built solely with diocesan funds that Bishop McGurkin obtained.

By May, 1959, the parish had shown impressive progress. Since the beginning of 1958 206 people had been baptized, both adults and school children, and there were 1000 catechumens throughout the parish. Several clubs/organizations had been started, such as the Legion of Mary, which had three chapters in the parish, an altar boys' society, and a Boys' Club (a misnomer; this was actually a club for young men).

One important innovation of Egan and Lefebvre was to shorten the catechumenate to a year and a half, which included three six-month periods of instruction by catechists at the parish and in all the outstations. Each of these three stages concluded with six-week periods of daily intensive instructions. People who lived too far away to walk in every day stayed either at homes near the church or at the church itself. These six-week periods took place not only at the mission but in all the major outstations. The catechists did most of the teaching in these intensive periods of instruction.

In July and August of 1958 Fr. Zachary Buluda came to Malili from Nassa for one or several months, as Egan had become sick and needed to first recover at Sumve Hospital and then go to Nairobi for recuperation. Buluda later stated in an interview that he never approved of the shortened catechumenate; he fully supported the three to four-year catechumenate that the White Fathers had set up many years previously. Buluda also thought that the catechists were not educated well enough in theology to do all the teaching and that the priests should have been doing much more teaching. (Whether he restored the four-year catechumenate when he later became a pastor is not known.)

When Egan was interviewed he stated that the people liked the shorter time period in the catechumenate and that without this change many people would not have joined. The people definitely appreciated the periods of intensive instructions, since each period lasted only six weeks, but that even with the shorter time frame it was a hardship for a number of people to attend the lessons.

In mid-1959 Eppy James moved to Shinyanga Town to take a short course in Kiswahili, in preparation for his assignment to teach at Makoko Seminary in Musoma. George Egan was re-assigned back to Mwanangi-Nassa, to be pastor in replacement of James. In mid-1959 Fr. Steve Schroepel came to Malili from Musoma Diocese to study Kisukuma for several months. He had been assigned to open the new parish of Bunda, which was at first intended to be a bi-lingual parish, using both Swahili and Kisukuma.

When Egan left Malili Lefebvre was made pastor and he was soon joined by Ray Kelly, who had come out to Shinyanga in 1958 and done his Kisukuma language study in Gula. In the fall of 1959 newly ordained Fr. John Ganly also came to Malili to do his language learning; at the beginning of 1960 he moved into Shinyanga Town to continue

with the Kisukuma course. In June, 1960, Kelly was assigned to Bugisi and John Ganly came back to Malili, where he stayed with Lefebvre for several more years.

In April, 1960, two Kisukuma language students came to Malili for practice and stayed there for two months – Frs. Ernie Brunelle and Bill McCarthy. McCarthy had come to Tanganyika in 1958 and been assigned to Musoma Diocese. Since he also was being assigned to Bunda Parish in Musoma Diocese, apparently it was deemed worthwhile for him to learn some Kisukuma. Despite these preparations to make Bunda a bi-lingual parish, in fact it became solely a Swahili-speaking parish.

In the Holy Week ceremonies, similar to what was being done in other parishes in Shinyanga Diocese, Mass was said facing the people, which Lefebvre stated the people liked. Three laymen practiced for many hours to be able to sing the Passion in Kisukuma and this innovation was also greatly appreciated by the people. In May, 1960, a new chapel was built at the Ng'wamagigisi outstation and the altar was built so that the priest would say Mass facing the people.

In May, 1959, the diocese had held a clerical conference in Shinyanga town, attended by all the priests. They deliberated on the need for uniform policies on matters ranging from schools to the catechumenate to marriage cases and regarding politics. Lefebvre wrote: "There is much talk these days about 'Uhuru,' freedom, and about TANU, and most of us felt the need to thoroughly clarify what our position would be and what to advise the people. All has been very well clarified by the Bishop."

We can presume that the Maryknollers continued to discuss the topic of imminent Independence extensively over the ensuing two years. That the continued presence of expatriate missionaries could become tendentious was demonstrated in an incident that Lefebvre experienced in May, 1960, during TANU sports day. He stopped to watch the sports events but was confronted by the TANU secretary, who ordered Lefebvre back to the mission, where he belonged. However, the people surrounded Lefebvre and told the secretary that he was their priest and not a colonialist. Lefebvre wrote that "the TANU secretary later apologized in a half-hearted fashion."

In October, 1961, John Ganly wrote that TANU tried to close one of the Catholic bush schools by persuading the parents to withdraw their children from the school, with the intention of taking over the school buildings themselves. But the people refused. He wrote: "TANU does run bush schools but they are not very good, because of lack of intelligent and diligent supervision. People will not send their children to a TANU school if there is another one nearby."

The road to Independence in Tanganyika was peaceful but there were bumps in the road.

Ganly also wrote that month:

Tanganyika will soon have UHURU, or complete Independence. The next few years should be very interesting. While Tanganyika is an extremely underdeveloped country it is united behind a very good man, Julius Nyerere. He is not without monumental problems, though.

The diaries reported in 1960 that the mission was progressing very well. There were big crowds for Masses, particularly on feast days such as Pentecost and Corpus

Christi. The latter was also known as the 'Feast of Flowers,' and the school teacher's wife prepared a large group of young girls to wear flowers on that day to spruce up the festivities.

Shinyanga has long dry seasons and in October, 1961, John Ganly wrote:

The country is very treeless, especially in more populated areas. This has come to be a problem in East Africa even if the people don't know it. The desert is moving down from Sudan and Somalia at the rate of five to ten miles a year. Scorched earth was alright in the past, when there weren't too many people and there was a lot of bush area. Then they could leave wasted areas and clear a new place in the bush. Now the bush is becoming rare and the decimated areas have a serious water problem.

To address this, Ganly planted several hundred tree saplings around the mission when the rains began. He picked a good year to plant. The diary of December, 1961, should have been about the Independence celebrations but instead a more pressing concern captured the attention of the priests – the famous Uhuru rains. Ganly wrote that it rained for 23 straight days. As a result roads and bridges collapsed; one outstation chapel collapsed; many outstations could be reached only by foot; for a while they were forced to eat only rice and canned carrots, although they sent runners into Mwanza to bring them food; Ganly's vehicle tipped over into a ditch and then fell into a sinkhole; Lefebvre had to leave his car between two swollen rivers and walk for six hours through rivers, mud and rain back to Malili (a great raconteur, this incident obviously gave Lefebvre lots of material to talk about). Independence on December 9, 1961, was peaceful but Ganly estimated that fixing all the roads could take half the annual government budget.

In his diary Ganly reported a telling statement from an old man. No one could remember such heavy rains in the history of Tanganyika but the old man said "his grandfather talked of a very heavy rain that caused a severe famine." (Cf below, in the Excursus on Witchcraft in Tanzania, the theory of the direct connection between heavy rainfall, dramatic decline in resources/income, and increased killings of alleged witches.)

In September, 1962, a new, unexpected, and perplexing phenomenon struck the area around Malili, the deliberate mob-killing of elderly women named as witches. Following the long and very heavy Uhuru rains, which ended in May, 1962, the dry season proved to be exceedingly dry and by September food was running low. Lack of rain meant no work in the fields could be done. A combination of factors, including strong traditional beliefs in the reality of witchcraft, led to this outburst, as Ganly tried to explain.

In the past few months the Government has done away with the office of Chief, the ultimate authority in the eyes of the people; secondly, we were in the season between the harvest and the next planting season and people have little to do; and third a little girl died of an unknown sickness.

A diviner, *nfumu* in Kisukuma (popularly called a witch doctor), named one woman, who transferred blame to another woman. The latter was killed by the mob and

eventually the first woman was also killed. Over the next few days two other women were killed. A Christian refused to take part in the killing, resulting in him being beaten, fined a cow, and threatened that his house would be burned down. Two women feared they would also be accused of being witches, called *balogi* in Kisukuma, which means people who walk naked at night, are perversely evil, and use sorcery to cause evil, especially the death of a young person, and came in to the mission to seek refuge. As the mob sent a threat that they would come at night to kill the women, and as Fr. Zachary Buluda was leading a retreat for 75 women, who were all staying at the mission that night, Ganly took the two women twenty miles away for their protection.

The police rounded up 300 men at first, all of whom pleaded guilty, which was technically true since every member of the mob is required to strike at least one blow. The jail wasn't big enough to hold all the men, so the court case was taken to Mwanza and a number of men were jailed there. At first the men considered this a lark, but then they realized that the courts were going to treat this very seriously. Police came out in force to the Malili area and with the combination of police presence and several score of men in jail in Mwanza, the killings came to an end – but not before several other people had been killed in Dutwa and Chamugasa. Over the course of several months over 500 men were tried in court in Mwanza and many were released, as the court began to learn who the instigators were. Even though the killings came to an end, an uneasy calm settled over the area and Lefebvre said “the people are very apprehensive.”

At the end of September, 1962, Ganly was assigned to Wira Parish (replaced temporarily by Tom Burke). In the last few days before he left Malili Ganly was sick in bed, but while driving to Wira he felt that he had become miraculously cured.

Lefebvre, in his diary of October, 1962, offered an explanation and rationale for the killings that took place the previous month.

If one looks at this misfortune as simply a barbaric occurrence one really is mistaken, because that is how the Sukuma will get rid of a menace. True, no one condones the violence and murder; but again one cannot condemn as cold-blooded the action of these people. We only have to look back to the days of witch hunting in America.

#### EXCURSUS: WITCHCRAFT IN SHINYANGA

(This excursus depends greatly on research done by Edward Miguel of the University of California, Berkeley, and the report of his findings and conclusions titled, “Poverty and Witch Killing.” Some comments also come from articles in the Huffington Post of 5/29/2012, USA Today of 2/27/2015, and AFP 1/23/2015.)

We should not think that allegations that certain individuals are witches have been relegated to the past; in Tanzania the phenomenon of witch-killing has increased since the 1960s, probably due in part to the nation's economic travails related to socialism, villagization, and collective agriculture. Although witchcraft fears and witch-killing are widespread in sub-Saharan Africa, in fact they are most prevalent in Tanzania, and within Tanzania Shinyanga Province has the highest incidence of reported witch-killings, about two-thirds of the country's total. As this excursus was being written in early 2015 Tanzania made the news in many international news publications due to several grisly

killings, particularly of a woman alleged to have bewitched a hyena into killing a young boy near Magu, which is not far from Mwanangi-Nassa.

In the six-year period from January, 2009, through December, 2014, about 3,000 people were killed in Tanzania for allegedly being witches, of whom the overwhelming number were elderly women aged between 50 and 60 years old. In the District of Meatu, where Miguel's research was done, the median age of the women killed was 57.6 years. (Maryknoll priests were stationed in several parishes in Meatu in these years.) Almost all the women in Meatu were from households well below average in income and household possessions, in a District that ranks well below the national average in per capita income, in a country that is one of the poorest in the world. Thus, a co-relationship between poverty and witch-killing can be well established. Additionally, in almost all cases the culprits in the killing were relatives, kin or neighbors of the women who were killed.

The Huffington Post article reported that in the vast majority of cases the women were killed shortly after the death of a relative; families consulted diviners, who said witchcraft was the cause of the relative's death. In Miguel's research in Meatu District people responded that the most common reason for killing a witch is that witchcraft caused the death of someone. Other calamities rank much lower as justifications for killing an alleged witch. Sometimes the diviners named a specific individual, but one factor in the targeting of the women who were killed is the presence of red eyes. After years of cooking over smoky kitchen fires, often using cow dung rather than firewood, causing excess indoor pollution, the women develop redness in their eyes, considered a sign of being a witch.

A major factor in the justification of killing people alleged to be witches is the strongly held indigenous religious beliefs of the Sukuma people in Shinyanga. For a long time they have been resistant to Christian and Muslim proselytization and even when Sukuma become members of one of these world religions they firmly retain indigenous beliefs. Two-thirds of Sukuma still follow traditional religious beliefs. In Tanzania as a whole 93% of the people believe in the reality of witchcraft as the cause of evil; this is probably even truer in Sukumaland.

Miguel explains: "Witchcraft beliefs allow people to make sense of arbitrary misfortunes; and to pin blame on a particular person rather than on chance." Witches are considered criminals. Thus, killing them is seen as the pursuit of justice and a public service to the community.

The most striking result of Miguel's research is what he calls the "the income shock theory," namely that an extreme event has led to a rapid decline in income and resources for very poor communities and households. After much co-relationship analysis he came to an even more striking finding, that the event was an extreme rainfall event. There was a very clear co-relationship between the extreme rainfall event of the El Nino year of 1997/98 and a huge spike in the number of witch-killings. Extreme rainfall events occur in East Africa about once every six years, some more extreme than others. The most extreme lead to crop failure and a loss of income of about 25% below the already very low level of bare survival for many households. These years consistently coincide with huge increases in the number of witch-killings.

Miguel compared witch killing with other types of killing; over a ten-year period there were as many non-witch connected murders as witch killings. But the other murders are spread evenly over the decade, with no co-relationship factor, whereas witch killing

clearly co-relates with extreme rainfall events, severe crop losses, and dramatic declines in income (an income shock).

Thus, if a village suffers an extreme income shock and then someone, particularly a child, unexpectedly dies, the community suspects witchcraft and immediately takes steps to discover who the witch is.

Miguel examined another possible extreme event that could be a prime factor in witch-killing, namely a widespread disease epidemic. However, research and analysis indicated that there were no spikes in witch killings connected with disease epidemics.

One question is what accounts for the huge preponderance of elderly women? The village committees are made up almost exclusively of elder men and the *Sungu Sungu* vigilante groups are likewise male only. *Sungu Sungu* were village/neighborhood security groups started in the early 1980s, in response to a wave of cattle thefts accompanied by the severe national economic crisis of that decade. They patrolled rural village areas and urban neighborhoods, and were popularly credited with restoring order to perceived anarchy. Another purpose of *Sungu Sungu* is to combat witches; to seek ‘credible’ information about them and to expel and/or kill them. This particular institution plus the general societal gender bias against women help explain the targeting of women. Men are also physically stronger and therefore less vulnerable. Furthermore, women in patrilineal societies marry away from their birth homes and have no siblings or cousins to protect them in their marriage households. In contrast, in non-witch killings men were the main victims, often connected with cattle theft.

But why would relatives and kin kill a member of their own family? Miguel has posited what he calls the ‘Extreme Scarcity Theory.’

Households at the consumption level will kill, expel or starve unproductive elderly members to safeguard the nutritional status of other members. In extreme conditions the sharing of resources puts all members at risk of starvation.

He examined witch killings in other countries and continents, including Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In Europe those killed were usually women, often widows, predominantly poor and elderly, and even in the face of opposition by Church and political leaders. The killings co-related with extreme weather, such as heavy precipitation accompanied by low temperatures, which reduced crop yields. A similar situation prevailed in Salem, MA, in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century; the women were killed during very cold years.

Other individuals killed by indigenous peoples are infants and young children, again during times of extreme society or community stress, such as in Congo in recent decades (in Kinshasa, 80% of the 40,000 street children fled their homes after being accused of witchcraft). Miguel posits that societies living on the edge of survival resort to ridding themselves of unproductive members in response to acute environmental stress. Throughout history there have been many examples of indigenous societies engaging in “death-hastening” activities, such as the Inuit, who abandoned elderly members on ice floes, actions that guaranteed certain and imminent death.

Miguel states:

Geronticide is decided by an intimate group of kinsmen and violence is justified by various means, e.g. witchcraft in western Tanzania. The belief that the victim is truly a witch alleviates psychological trauma and social stigma. People tend to hold views consistent with their self-interest. Certain individuals truly are witches and must be killed.

In general the solutions to killing of alleged witches are concerted efforts to expand education (especially secondary school education) and comprehensive rural development. Miguel concludes: "Violence against "witches" will continue in rural Tanzania as long as most households live in grinding poverty and are unable to insure themselves against large income shocks."

He also offers the following policy prescriptions:

- 1) Greater policing and arresting of murder suspects in target areas. But this will be strongly resisted by residents of those areas and by their politicians. Since 1928 public witchcraft accusations have been illegal in Tanzania, but government action has been very limited and unsuccessful. If it aggressively pursued perpetrators of witch-killing it would be accused of siding with witches.
- 2) Improve the system of formal insurance against extreme rainfall shocks, so that households can balance consumption across years of good and bad rainfall.
- 3) The African Famine Early Warning System (FEWS) can be made full use of. This system already exists and should be fully implemented.
- 4) Provide elderly women with regular pensions, which would make them an asset rather than a liability to extremely poor rural households. This program worked effectively in the very poor Northern Province of South Africa, where there previously were many witch killings. However, Tanzania would need external donor assistance to put this program into effect.

Another phenomenon in Tanzania related to the killing of witches is the killing of albinos. In 2015, it was estimated that Tanzania had 33,000 albinos, out of a total population of nearly 50 million. Some people believe that using a potion made of the organs of an albino can bring them great wealth. (In part this is ghoulishly true; albino organs can sell for as much as \$75,000.00.) However, despite the excessive publicity about albino killings, making it seem like a pandemic, in fact there were only 75 reported killings of albinos in Tanzania in the fifteen years between 2000 and 2015, according to the USA Today article of 2/27/15.

A segment of the Tanzania population (percentage unknown) believes that albinism is a curse that comes from the devil. They also believe that albinos don't die, they merely disappear. Others believe that sexual intercourse with an albino woman can cure AIDS, and there have been reported cases of rape of albino women for this reason.

Tanzanians themselves, especially in Dar es Salaam, are rising up in protest of these beliefs and actions and hopefully with widespread secondary education beliefs about albinos will be relegated to the dustbin of the past.

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To conclude with Malili Parish, in 1962 Ganly was transferred to Wira Parish and Tom Burke came to Malili for several months. Burke had been at St. Pius Seminary in the

late 1950s and then was the Spiritual Director at the Venard for a year before returning to Tanganyika in 1962. He worked briefly in several places in Shinyanga Diocese, including Malili, before being asked to start a new parish at Ilumya.

Lefebvre remained as pastor until mid-1963 and was joined that year by Mike Callanan, who had come to Shinyanga Diocese in 1960 and had previously been stationed in Mwanangi-Nassa for two years after he finished language school. In his last diary from Malili, in October, 1962, Lefebvre wrote that there were 500 adults and school children in the catechumenate

In the latter half of 1963 Lefebvre went on furlough to the U.S. and Callanan was made pastor. On return to Tanganyika in January, 1964, Lefebvre was assigned to Sayusayu. In his place Fr. Leo Kennedy came to Malili on a six-month assignment. Kennedy had been at Busanda for three years but in 1963 several Maryknollers were needed to fill in temporarily for those going on furlough. As of 1963 fourteen new parishes had been started by the diocese, in addition to the original six. Staffing them all, with a number of Maryknollers going on six-month furloughs every year and fewer new Maryknollers coming to Shinyanga Diocese, had become problematic for Bishop McGurkin. Furthermore, some priests got sick; others had accidents. The diocese also had to have several priests on the staff of the seminary at Makoko every year. And in 1964, the new Regional Superior, Joe Glynn, had begun asking the Maryknoll dioceses to supply priests to work elsewhere in East Africa, beginning in Dar es Salaam. Therefore, some priests had to agree to be temporary fill-in help in Sukuma-speaking parishes.

Unfortunately, Callanan was never interviewed for the history project and he wrote only one diary from Malili. Kennedy also did not say much about his short time in Malili, except to observe:

You don't get to know people. You just do one job and you're getting familiar or friendly with people and all of a sudden you're gone. I like staying longer in places and I think most people do. If it's too quick you don't make any relationships.

In his only diary from Malili, in June, 1964, Callanan wrote about the Corpus Christi festivities. The White Fathers had tried to make this a major feast and at Malili this was connected to dance groups coming for three days of celebrations and competition. They were supposed to sing religious songs, but this could not be completely controlled as many of the group leaders were not Christian and were trying to win a competition. As good as the singing and dancing was, which gathered huge crowds, Callanan discussed with the Christians the possibility of separating the feast of Corpus Christi and the dance festivities, holding the latter several weeks later.

Callanan was joined by Fr. Bill Tokus for a brief time in 1964/65. Finally in 1965 Eppy James was assigned to Malili and when Callanan went on furlough later that year Eppy became pastor, staying at Malili till the early 1970s.

We will conclude the history of Malili up to this point. If there is any documentation, more will be said about Malili in the next Chapter on Shinyanga Diocese.

## CHAMUGASA, OUR LADY OF PEACE PARISH:

The parish at Chamugasa was established on October 31, 1960, and Fr. Jim Bradley was named the first pastor. He was a World War II veteran and first arrived in Shinyanga Diocese in September, 1956, where he began study of Kisukuma at Nassa Parish. In 1957 he was transferred to Sayusayu and after two years there he was assigned back to Nassa in 1959. It is not known the exact month he moved to Chamugasa, because the rectory and church were not completed until 1961.

Chamugasa was the second parish to be sub-divided from Mwanangi-Nassa Parish, after Malili, and is located about twenty miles north of Mwanangi, near the Serengeti gate. Bradley estimated that it was equidistant from both Mwanza and Musoma, about 75 miles from each place. Lack of documentation makes it difficult for us to know precisely when the decision was made to open the parish at Chamugasa, how and when Maryknoll got the plot for the mission, and when construction began at Chamugasa.

Brother George Carlonas oversaw the building of the rectory and church. He was in Nassa in 1959 up to sometime in mid-1960 and he probably started construction at Chamugasa at that time. From mid-1960 to mid-1961 he was at Mipa building the Catechist School and doing some other architectural/building projects in Shinyanga, but prior to July, 1961, he had come back to Nassa and moved out to Chamugasa. He and Bradley lived in smaller buildings – Carlonas said that he set up a tin hut in places where he was doing construction – and in the diary written by Bradley in July, 1961, he said that the rectory was nearly completed. Church construction was also coming along steadily and was probably completed before the end of 1961. The mission also had a primary school and a dispensary on the property.

The parish territory was about 250 square miles with a total population of 15,000, almost all of them Sukuma, of whom 600 were Catholics. The parish lay fully within only one Chiefdom, called Kalemela Masanza II, led by Chief Yakobo, who was an old man as of 1961. (A year later the independent government abolished Chiefdoms in Tanganyika, so Yakobo's age turned out not to be a hindrance to possible future progress in the area.) As of July, 1961, there were 250 catechumens throughout the parish. In December, 1960, 31 adults had been baptized and they expected another 60 to be baptized in 1961. The parish had eight outstations and nine catechists. In addition to the primary school at the mission, there were two bush schools overseen by the Catholic parish.

Bradley concluded his diary of July, 1961, by saying, "People are responding well to the presence of a parish here." He also wrote that there was a rapidly growing number of people steadily moving into the area.

This was the only diary written from Chamugasa and Bradley was never interviewed for the history project. During Bradley's time as pastor Fr. Dennis Behan, who had arrived in Shinyanga in 1963, was assigned to Chamugasa in 1964 but then went to Busanda the following year. Bradley remained pastor until 1965, when he returned to the U.S. for furlough and then opted to become a Chaplain in the U.S. Army (the U.S. troop build-up in Vietnam had just begun).

When Bradley left, Fr. Dan Ohmann, who had been ordained in 1955 and worked on Maryknoll Promotion in the mid-West for nine years, became pastor. He came to

Tanzania in 1964, studied Kisukuma at the language school in Musoma, and then went to Chamugasa in June, 1965, just in time for the feast of Corpus Christi. He stayed at Chamugasa for only a year, after which in 1966 he was assigned to Malili.

Since he was not at Chamugasa very long he had little to say about the parish, but Ohmann did comment on his first experience there. Corpus Christi was known in Sukuma as the Feast of Flowers (*bulabo* in Kisukuma), when there would be a huge procession with people dancing and girls scattering flowers all along the procession route. Many dance groups, whose members were not Christian for the most part, would come to the church for this feast. Jim Bradley chose to be away on vacation at this time and merely left Ohmann an enigmatic letter saying to merely say Mass in the church and do nothing else. Ohmann's Kisukuma was too limited for him to properly understand what the catechists were telling him about the upcoming feast and so he expected only several hundred people for the Mass, enough to fill the church. In fact, 10,000 to 20,000 people showed up. Ropes were extended all around the church and the catechists allowed only bona fide Catholics to come into the church for the Mass. When Ohmann carried the monstrance containing the Blessed Sacrament from the altar to the outside hut where it would be placed for Benediction everybody was dancing and singing, including all the non-Catholics (still called pagans at that time), and one old woman came up and danced very rhythmically in front of Ohmann for several minutes during the procession.

Bradley later told Ohmann that he thought this feast was becoming too pagan, although Ohmann, being new, appreciated seeing the incorporation of local customs into the Christian liturgy.

In 1966 Ohmann was assigned to Malili, where he stayed for one year, and was replaced at Chamugasa by Fr. Tom Burke, who had started the new parish at Ilumya in 1963 (which will be commented on here below). Burke said that there were non-Kisukuma-speaking people living at Chamugasa, in the shopping areas, and pockets of Luo people doing fishing along the lake, necessitating the presence of a priest who spoke Kiswahili, which Burke had learned while living in Musoma in the 1950s (at Makoko Seminary).

Newly ordained Fr. Tom McDonnell also came to Chamugasa after he finished language school in early 1966. None of those assigned to Chamugasa in the 1960s had anything to say about the parish itself, except that the catechumenate had been reduced to two years, divided into stages that were formally recognized with celebrations when catechumens completed a stage, and that included the period of intensive instruction, called Siku Jose in Shinyanga Diocese.

Burke said that when Chamugasa was opened and then two years later Ilumya, the four parishes (along with Mwanangi and Malili) formed their own deanery. Whereas in previous years there had been regular visiting back and forth between Nassa, Kilulu and Sayusayu, once there were four parishes all within 25 miles or so from one another visiting and socializing usually took place within this group. There were also Maryknoll Sisters at Mwanangi, doing pastoral work and running the 40 bed Mary Mahoney Clinic. In addition to socializing and forming uniform policies for the deanery, the Mwanangi Deanery regularly invited speakers to their group meetings to give them input on new directions the church was moving, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the Second Vatican Council. Three of the parishes were along the Mwanza road; Malili alone was off in the hinterland.

While at Chamugasa Burke was chosen to be Dean of the four-parish Deanery. In an interview he said that while he was Dean he participated in a crucial meeting at Bunda Parish with all the Maryknoll Deans of Musoma and Shinyanga Dioceses and the Regional Superior, Joe Glynn. Glynn asked them to approve the assignment of several Maryknollers to urban work, most likely to Dar es Salaam. Burke related what transpired in this long discussion.

Our consensus was that this was not our work. We felt that we should be at the grass-roots level with the poor, where our skills and abilities really were. We questioned why we should move in with more affluent people.

But then Joe wisely explained the great need and that the future of many of these developing countries was going to be in the city. He drew up a list of personnel in both dioceses, showed how some places were overstaffed, and that there were personnel available.

So, after his explanation we had a change of heart and I said, "Yes, it would be wise to consider an urban parish."

More will be said about this decision when we treat of Maryknoll's assigning three men to Dar es Salaam in 1967. Burke said in his interview that although he was initially skeptical of urban work and that he himself did not want to leave rural work in Chamugasa, in fact he agreed to be one of the first three to go to Dar.

In 1967 Burke went on home leave and was replaced at Chamugasa by Fr. Mike Callanan, who had previously been at Malili and Wira Parishes. McDonnell stayed on at Chamugasa until the end of 1967 and then he went to Mwamapalala Parish. When McDonnell left, Callanan remained as the only Maryknoller at Chamugasa up till 1971. On his departure from Chamugasa no other Maryknoller was assigned to this parish.

While Callanan was at Chamugasa the problem of constructing on black cotton soil started to become evident, as buildings started to slowly sink into the ground, even with good pillars and foundations. Cracks appeared and correcting the underlying cause was very difficult. Despite this, Our Lady of Peace Parish, Chamugasa, is still one of the parishes in the Diocese of Shinyanga.

## ILUMYA

After Fr. Tom Burke arrived in Shinyanga Diocese as part of the large class of 1955, he went to Nassa Parish for Kisukuma language then to Kilulu Parish for two years. In late 1957 he was assigned to St. Pius Minor Seminary in Makoko, Musoma, where he became Rector from 1959 to 1961. After completion of this assignment he was assigned to the Venard from 1961 to 1962 as Spiritual Director, but in 1962 he requested an assignment back to Tanganyika. The General Council had actually contemplated sending him to Catholic University for studies, but Burke said he preferred going back to mission in Africa.

On return to Shinyanga Diocese in 1962 he served as fill-in temporary help in various parishes until 1963, when he was assigned to open a new parish at Ilumya, which

was a large outstation of Mwanangi-Nassa Parish. By 1963 two other new parishes, Malili and Chamugasa, had already been broken off from Mwanangi, and now Ilumya would be the third.

Ilumya was only about five or six miles south of Mwanangi, along the Mwanza road, very close by the usual standards of Shinyanga Diocese, but it was inland from the lake and had a very good nucleus of active Catholics. Burke said, “Ilumya already had a church, but we hired a contractor to build the rectory, buildings for the catechumens in the Siku Jose course, and to make improvements to the church.”

Burke’s priorities were two-fold: setting up the two-year catechumenate, which entailed catechumens living at the mission for the final intensive course of instructions, called Siku Jose, and working with the catechists who would be doing the teaching. Burke did not mention whether Ilumya had its own outstations nor how many there were.

Once both Chamugasa and Ilumya parishes were established, in 1960 and 1963 respectively, a new deanery was formed, called Mwanangi-Nassa Deanery. Although each parish had its own registry and records, Burke says that uniform policies were discussed and decided on at Deanery level, which each parish was expected to comply with. The two most important matters that parishes dealt with – in addition to Mass and sacraments, of course – were catechetics and schools, and the policies were more or less uniform throughout Shinyanga Diocese in the 1950s and 1960s.

In 1964 Fr. Dick Hochwalt was assigned to Ilumya and he remained there about a year to a year and a half. He had been pastor in Buhangija from 1959 to 1963, and also assisted Bishop McGurkin with matters pertaining to the diocese, given his degree in Canon Law. In 1963 Hochwalt went on furlough and on return in 1964 he was requested to go to Ilumya. In 1965 he also became a temporary fill-in at a number of parishes in the diocese, and Hochwalt claimed that he “loved it.” In 1966 he was assigned to teach at the Major Seminary in Kipalapala, Tabora.

In 1966 Burke was assigned to be pastor at Chamugasa and was replaced at Ilumya by Fr. John Ganly. Ganly remained at Ilumya until mid-1970, when he went to Musoma to learn Kiswahili. As was mentioned above, Burke served as pastor in Chamugasa only one year and then in 1967 he embarked on a very new assignment in urban work in Dar es Salaam.

Ganly was never interviewed and there were no diaries written from Ilumya. Although both Burke and Hochwalt were interviewed for the history project over twenty years later, they did not say much that specifically refers to Ilumya, instead reflecting on general matters regarding apostolic work in Shinyanga Diocese.

After Ganly left Ilumya in 1970 no other Maryknoller was assigned to this parish. As of the 21<sup>st</sup> century Ilumya was no longer considered a separate parish and it seems that at some time, perhaps as early as the 1970s, it was reincorporated into Mwanangi Parish.

#### BUGISI, MOTHER OF GOD PARISH:

In 1959 Bishop McGurkin began building a church in Bugisi, a major outstation of Busanda Parish, and he conferred with Fr. Moe Zerr, the pastor of Busanda, as to whom he should assign to start the parish in Bugisi. Zerr had been working in Busanda since 1956 and he was ready to transfer to a different place. In addition, he knew the people of Bugisi and felt that they were very responsive Christians, in contrast to the

Catholics of Busanda, who had become jaded by their parish's long existence (Busanda, established in 1932, was the second parish after Sayusayu to be established in what eventually became Shinyanga Diocese).

McGurkin hired a contractor from Mwanza by the name of Del Port to do the construction, but Brothers John Wohead, who was living at Busanda in 1959 and moved to Bugisi in 1960, and Cyril Vellicig, who came to Bugisi in mid-October, 1959, and stayed until April, 1960, engaged in further construction projects.

The parish was officially erected by Bishop McGurkin in July, 1959, and the church blessed on August 16, 1959. Zerr continued living at Busanda until the rectory was completed at the end of August and moved into Bugisi on September 2, 1959.

The parish had a large territory and included all of the Chiefdom of Mendo (sometimes referred to as Lohumbo, the main town in the Chiefdom) and the western part of the Chiefdom of Nindo, with a total population of about 30,000, of whom 500 were Catholic. The Chief of Mendo was David Christopher Shikila, a very good Catholic. In contrast, Nindo was a very undeveloped area. In November, 1959, Zerr used Vellicig's large motorcycle to take a trip through Nindo, which began 10 miles from the mission and continued on for 25 more miles, and commented that it was all forest, with elephant droppings on the road and almost no people. There was one school only, near the end of the Chiefdom, but parents were afraid to send their children through the forest to school. Several years previously three children had been killed by lions in the forest. Zerr realized that it would be difficult to start good Christian communities in that area, as people were scattered far apart.

He remarked that living at Bugisi could be lonely, but that in his first month and a half being alone did not affect him. He did appreciate it when first Vellicig came and then the following year Wohead. The Brothers liked to go hunting, usually for ducks and other birds that could be eaten, and Zerr often went out with them. The isolated location of Bugisi meant that they got few visitors, even though the parish was adjacent to the railroad. Other than Busanda all the parishes in the diocese were northeast of Shinyanga town; visiting Bugisi required a trip specifically for that purpose. They did get visitors, though, including the Maryknoll Sisters from Shinyanga, who had to be pulled through two rivers in order to get to Bugisi. (Zerr and Vellicig had an incentive in assisting the Sisters; they were bringing a cake.)

In his first month at Bugisi Zerr noted three problems: lack of money, the diocese's lack of personnel, necessitating only one or two priests to serve large territories, and at Bugisi a lack of water. Zerr had to haul water from the river for general purposes and go regularly to either Busanda or Shinyanga to get drinking water. When Vellicig arrived in October the first thing he did was put in five 1000-gallon water tanks that fortunately filled up with good rains in the beginning of November. Later Vellicig put in five more tanks. One of the final things that he did before leaving for Nassa Parish in April, 1960, was to put colored windows in the church, making it very attractive.

Vellicig oversaw one other beneficial task before he left, the planting of 800 trees all around the mission property. For the first year (1960) the Maryknollers feared the saplings had not taken root, but in 1961 they were happy to see the trees growing.

The parish built a small dispensary right from the beginning of the parish and hired a good dispenser, a local Sukuma man who had training. However, contrary to the practice in other parishes, there was no school at the mission. The only Catholic school

was at an outstation called Ilola, where Wohead supervised the construction of cement block classrooms (at least four) and teachers' houses. Wohead also oversaw the building of a catechumen classroom (called a kigango), two outdoor, sheltered altars, and workshops at the mission, and in outstations rooms for the catechumenate. He also did repairs on teachers' houses.

The only other school close to the mission was run by the Native Authority. Catechists taught religion at the two schools and in 1960 a total of eighty children from the two schools were baptized. In July, 1960, the missionaries met with the people and agreed to start four new bush schools, one of them at the mission. The people were expected to make mud bricks and build the walls, and the mission would provide chicken wire, cement, aluminum sheeting for the roof, and supply a teacher and books. Wohead assisted in the construction of these schools.

Wohead talked about one fascinating happenstance with regard to the construction of the church at Bugisi.

A funny thing was that a lot of people were coming to watch them build the walls of the church. The contractor was curious and he asked them, "Why are you watching me?" And the man said, "We come to see when the walls are going to fall down."

There was a lot of witchcraft (*uchawi*) in that area and all the people had moved out. There were houses there, but no people. That is probably why we got the land; nobody wanted to live there. Later on people moved back there.

One problem bedeviling the missionaries was that of white ants (or termites), which destroyed mud walls, grass roofs and any form of timber. At Bugisi they tried potent pesticides but after a short time the ants were back. The only long-term solution was to build with cement blocks and treated wood.

After starting to live at Bugisi Zerr got into the catechetical and religious work right away. He began having a short instruction after daily Mass two days a week for the baptized men and women; he selected a head catechist, "a young man full of life and zeal;" he found three new catechists for outstations; he visited all the outstations to question the catechumens and encourage the Catholics to improve their chapels; he initiated an envelope system, in which every adult Catholic was supposed to put a shilling (equal to fourteen cents; it was not said if this was weekly, monthly or quarterly; a shilling in 1960 was still a lot of money for the average Tanganyikan); and he had several marriages in church in his first three months in the parish.

Fr. John Bergwall, a medical doctor, was one of five newly ordained Maryknoll priests who came to Shinyanga in September, 1959, and he was supposed to come to Bugisi to study Kisukuma. However, he had already started developing symptoms of Multiple Sclerosis and it was decided that he would live in Buhangija. He was able to remain in Shinyanga for three years, until health concerns forced his return to the United States in mid-1962. He made a noteworthy contribution in his short stint in Shinyanga Diocese, and came out to Bugisi from time to time to help with medical matters.

In the first five months of 1960 several of the priests who were at the language school in Shinyanga Town came out to Bugisi to help with sacramental services,

including confession, which was a welcome assistance to Zerr. John Ganly came in April and helped with Holy Week services. He then stayed until May and Zerr thought he would be assigned to Bugisi after he completed language school, but instead he was assigned to Malili. In his place, Fr. Ray Kelly came to Bugisi, arriving on July 16, 1960. Kelly had been ordained in 1958 and after language learning at Gula he went to Malili for one year. From Malili he came to Bugisi.

The value of catechists was deemed indispensable by Zerr and he prepared the monthly meeting with the catechists well in advance. At each meeting he gave explanations of five to ten catechism questions/answers, going over them with one of the catechists several weeks before the meeting. Due to language limitations, Zerr patiently helped this catechist to fully understand these questions and then had the catechist explain the questions to the other catechists at the meeting.

Zerr also was constantly looking for other men in outstations who showed the qualities of being a catechist, often helped by other catechists who made recommendations. Those seen as having good potential were also invited to come to the monthly catechist meetings at the mission. All those attending the monthly meetings stayed overnight and were given ample meals during their time at the mission. An important discussion topic every month concerned the upcoming Sunday readings and themes arising from the readings. Zerr recognized that in fact the catechists were going to be giving the sermons in the outstations on most Sundays and he wanted them well prepared. In the early 1960s there were about 12 to 14 outstations in the parish.

Zerr also began an innovative form of primary evangelization (this term was not used in 1960), by inviting pagan couples to the mission for an all-day introduction to the Christian viewpoint on the purpose of life. Zerr was assisted in this effort by two very good catechists, Augustino Kinyage and Simoni Ntikiro. This very successful series of Saturday gatherings was highlighted both in the diaries and much later when he was interviewed for the history project. He explained it as follows:

I tried a new method of attracting pagan men to the Catholic religion. I asked each of our eleven catechists to bring in three men on a Saturday morning. I began with a half-hour talk on how the Catholic religion can help them to be better members of TANU and work for the good of the country. After a short break with tea and mandazi, Augustino, the head catechist, gave them two talks: "Where do we come from," and "Why are we here?" After this we had a full meal of bugali and beans. After a brief rest they came for the final talk by Simoni: "Where are we going?" Afterwards we shared local beer, had discussions, speeches and singing.

The following Saturday they were all told to come back again, with their wives, for the exact same schedule. The men were allowed to remain outside while the talks were being given to the women, but they decided to hear the talks again. There were ninety people in all who attended.

News of this spread to our whole parish and we extended it to our outstations. We got twenty to thirty pagan men and their wives each Saturday.

Even if they are coming only for the free food and beer, that is alright. They have to listen to what we say and some will think it over. We don't know if we will get converts, but we are building up good will.

This program continued every Saturday, except for Holy Week, from March to the last Saturday of July, 1960, and on the final day 167 people attended. Zerr didn't give an estimate of the total number who attended, but it must have been over 1000 people. As the sessions progressed the talk on citizen involvement in TANU was dropped and Zerr usually gave the middle talk on "Why we are here."

Zerr did not have his own personal money while at Bugisi but Maryknoll was providing subsidies to parishes for catechetical purposes and this money was used at Bugisi in the ways described above. While home on his first furlough in 1961 he spoke at all the Masses in his home parish outside of St. Louis, got many personal sponsors, and used this money in future assignments for various parish and catechetical needs.

In an interview many years later Zerr commented on the leadership structure in Shinyanga Diocese in the 1950s and early 1960s, prior to the formation of parish councils. There were generally at the parish and in each outstation a small group of elders, called *Batongi* in Kisukuma, who acted as church leaders. This was a type of leadership modeled after the village structure in Sukumaland.

I never really cared for the *Batongi* that much and in any parish where I was they were not strong. They became a law unto themselves. All of a sudden you would hear that the *Batongi* were shoving people around, demanding this and that of the people, and it became an abusive thing as far as I was concerned. So my chief assistants were the catechists basically.

I also believed that the catechist should be someone from that community, one of them already accepted by that community. Sometimes we made the mistake of picking a catechist from an area and moving him into another area where he was not accepted.

In March, 1960, the mission obtained a generator and a number of film strips and slides, which Zerr and later Kelly showed at the mission and outstation churches. Augustino, the head catechist, accompanied them to give the commentary. The slides were of people and celebrations at the mission, and of the Old Testament and the Life of Christ.

While at Bugisi Zerr went out to outstations three or four times a week, for all day visitations. The people would straggle in and each would have to be greeted. Zerr stressed that you do not greet Sukuma people as a group; you must greet each person individually and the greeting can go on for several minutes. Afterwards there would be confessions in a little house that the people had built, followed by Mass. After Mass there would be time to discuss problems, assisted by the catechist and a few elders. Finally, by mid-afternoon lunch would be ready, cooked by the catechist's wife and several other women. Inevitably a group of about ten men would share the meal, resulting in only a limited amount of food per person. As long as there was time left Zerr would visit any sick

people in the vicinity, and finally about 5:00 pm he would get back on his motorcycle to return to the mission.

On Sundays there was one Mass at the mission and one outstation Mass. If there was a second priest, he would say two outstation Masses, provided Mass could begin early enough at the first outstation. In October, 1960, Bugisi adopted a liturgical change that was taking place throughout the diocese, saying Mass facing the people. Zerr also spent one Sunday, during Mass, explaining all the parts of the Mass in Kisukuma. Bugisi had another advantage in the head catechist, who was also a dance leader. He produced many original Kisukuma songs that could be used in the liturgies, making Mass very lively.

Other changes were taking place in the thinking of the Maryknoll missionaries in the early 1960s. In August, 1960, Ray Kelly reported that Frs. Paul Bordenet, the Regional Superior in Nairobi, George Daly and Mike Pierce stopped by on their way to Tabora for an inter-diocesan conference on the Lay Apostolate. They had just attended a conference in Mwanza led by Bishop Blomjous on political and social responsibility. Laymen and clergy attended from all over East Africa. A coordinating team of four experts came from London to facilitate discussions on community development, urban and rural problems, and the social changes taking place in East Africa. Kelly said, "We expect more seminars at the new social training institute in Mwanza." In November the Shinyanga Deanery received reports on these conferences as well as a report from Jim Lenihan on the apostolic leadership course for young men in the Xaverian Movement.

No matter how remote their mission, such as Bugisi, Maryknollers were aware of impending Independence. In February, 1960, Zerr wrote that schools were closed early that year, for two months, because the teachers were needed to register voters for the election later that year. In May, 1960, John Ganly wrote that TANU was filling the vacuum being created by British withdrawal from making administrative decisions in the territory. He said that in some places TANU officials were creating problems although they had no problems at Bugisi. In January, 1961, Zerr reported that there had been all night dances every Saturday in the local town of Didiya, in celebration of TANU.

Tanganyika could still be an adventurous place to live, as discovered by Kelly and John Bergwall in September, 1960, when they travelled on an unmarked route through thick forest and swamps to see the Iambi Leprosarium run by Lutheran missionaries, 200 miles from Busanda. Bergwall was about to become Director of the Leprosarium in Busanda and wanted to gain information from the Director of Iambi, whom he had previously met. The following day they visited a Catholic mission of Singida Diocese, called Chem-Chem, 50 miles from Iambi, which proved to be exceedingly poor. Both priests were away and there was no food at all at the mission, although the two Maryknollers were able to buy a little food at a local shop (called a duka). The African curate returned in the middle of the night and said he had been at Lake Eyasi all day digging up salt that he sold to get money to buy food. Kelly and Bergwall returned to Shinyanga the next day, not without more adventures, such as having the engine conk out in the middle of a river, getting lost, and having to fix flat tires.

Given the travel difficulties, in December, 1960, Bugisi used the diocese's 5-ton truck to haul 90 loads of gravel to fix up their road into the mission. This turned out to be a very economical way to address this problem.

In 1960 the priests set the annual church tax (called *zaka*, a Swahili word) at Shs. 10/- per year (\$1.43). In lieu of monetary payment parishioners could work at the church. If someone had not paid for two years and done no work at the church, he/she would not be allowed to receive the sacraments. Chief Shikila received a raise in his salary and promptly came in to pay his increased *zaka* amount, setting a good example for the rest of the Catholics.

[In future sections on Musoma and Shinyanga we will see that the goal of financial self-reliance became one of the Maryknoll priests' primary goals. However, even by the second decade of the new millennium this goal has not been satisfactorily resolved. In 2010, of the 48 million people in Tanzania over 50% were absolutely poor.]

In January, 1961, the bush schools at Bugisi and an outstation called Ikingwamanoti were opened, each with about 90 students and only one teacher at each school. At Bugisi there were as many girls as boys and the other school also had many girls. Both schools had a split schedule; girls came in the morning and the boys came in the afternoon. The priests intended to expand the schools by a class per year in subsequent years.

In February, 1961, Wohead was assigned to Mipa to help with the construction of the catechist school and several months later both he and Zerr went on furlough to the U.S. Thus, Kelly became pastor, but for the second half of 1961 he was alone at Bugisi. On Zerr's return to Tanganyika he was assigned to the minor seminary at Makoko, where he became Rector for two years. Wohead returned to Bugisi in 1962 and remained there for one more year. Likewise, in 1962 Fr. Dick McGarr was assigned to Bugisi. He had come out in 1960, studied Kisukuma at the language school in Shinyanga Town, and then gone to Mwamapalala for a year. At sometime in either 1962 or 1963 Fr. Castor Sekwa, the future bishop, was also assigned to Bugisi. He had been ordained in August, 1959, at Sayusayu and then been stationed in Busanda before coming to Bugisi.

In one of his diaries Kelly mentioned something that might have been a harbinger of future interfaith tensions in Tanzania: neighboring Muslims complained about all the trees that the mission had built along the road, accusing the Catholics of wanting to steal land. Kelly responded that trees beautify the area and prevent erosion, protecting the all-weather road. Not long after, the Muslims were mollified when run-off rain water flowed into their rice fields from the drainage ditches along the sides of the road.

There were only two diaries written from Bugisi after 1961, one by Kelly in January, 1962, and another by McGarr in March, 1964. Both diaries focused on efforts at inculturation of liturgical rites with Sukuma songs and dance. A White Father, Fr. David Clement from Canada, had built a church at Bujora, outside of Mwanza, that modeled itself on a traditional Sukuma home and made use of Sukuma melodies, rhythms, and deep drumming in the celebration of Mass. Catechists from Bugisi went there to view what was being done and bring back suggestions to Bugisi.

One result was a three-day celebration at Bugisi after adult baptism that would primarily be a dance competition to see which group could produce the best Sukuma dance song with Christian words. Kelly was commissioned by the parish dance committee to award the first prize, a bull, plus lesser prizes to the other groups. Certain groups were not to be allowed to participate, such as those using non-Christian words (i.e. words with sexual connotations) and the snake-dancers – to Kelly's chagrin as he

wanted to take pictures of the snake-dancers. Naturally, thousands came for the three-day celebration, attended by several Chiefs and their wives, and at which vendors sold food. At the end, the parish dance committee began planning the next celebration. (Kelly's lengthy diary of January, 1962, which is in digital format at the Maryknoll Archives, gives a very humorous report of the festivities.)

Another cultural form of worship was reported by McGarr in 1964, the practice of putting on a Passion Play on Good Friday, which the Catholics of Bugisi had been doing for several years. In 1964 they expanded this rite by walking uphill for two miles.

In late 1963 Kelly came down with hepatitis and then returned to the United States, where he worked on Promotion for some years. He did not return to Tanzania. In April, 1964, McGarr was transferred right after the Easter celebrations to Mipa, to replace George Weber. After this there was no Maryknoller in Bugisi – until 1970, when Dick Hochwalt was there briefly, and 1986, when Paul Ferrarone also served there for about a year.

Prior to leaving Bugisi in 1964, McGarr wrote about the establishment of a Parish Council of elders, started by Kelly and him, to assist the priests and catechists in parish policies and building up the church community. A major responsibility was trying to increase local financial self-reliance. One test came when a poorly-built mud walled church fell down in heavy rain at an outstation, despite having good corrugated iron sheeting on the roof. McGarr made it known through the elders that he would not put the church back up. The Christians in that outstation would have to take on this responsibility themselves. (McGarr left Bugisi before discovering if he could out-wait the Christians. Once the parishioners learned that they would have only Sukuma priests at their parish, they probably realized there would be no more assistance from America.)

Several other methods were begun to increase church income. Each outstation had two elders who were responsible for collecting the annual church tax and these elders were on the parish council (it was not called this at that time) that had a deliberative vote on how the money would be spent. At Bugisi the council used church money to build two ox-carts and buy four oxen (young bulls) to haul a variety of goods, earning income for the church. The Christians of Bugisi also farmed cooperatively the one-acre plot at the mission, using fertilizer, growing rice and peanuts for sale.

Unfortunately, there is no more documentation on the subsequent history of Bugisi. We will therefore conclude at this point.

### MWAMAPALALA, QUEEN OF THE WORLD PARISH:

Mwamapalala, also spelled Ng'wamapalala (this is the correct spelling in the official diocesan factsheet), was officially established on March 1, 1959. It is located on the road between Nyalikungu (Maswa) and Bariadi, about halfway between each place. Bishop McGurkin assigned Fr. Bob Julien, who was both a fluent speaker of Kisukuma and skilled at mechanical and electronic work, to be the first pastor. He wrote that Mwamapalala was halfway between the two existing parishes in 1959, Kilulu and Sayusayu, and took territory from each of these parishes. In fact, as the years went on its central place along a main road made Mwamapalala a larger and more important parish than the two older parishes. (The White Fathers penchant for starting parishes distant

from urban settlements ensured that they would eventually be eclipsed by urban parishes.)

When the parish was established there was no rectory or church. In fact, even when Julien wrote his first diary, at the end of September, 1959, neither of these buildings had yet been built. Julien was part of the big class of 1955 and first went to Sayusayu for two years, and then to Gula for two years, before being assigned to Mwamapalala. For much of 1959 he lived at Kilulu and commuted the twenty miles to Mwamapalala. He described the place in these words:

A plot has been obtained in the village of Ng'wamapalala – this word literally means 'refuse heap' – where a church will soon be built. The plot is located on the main road, which is a narrow, dirt road, close to African-owned shops. Nearby is a large reservoir, formed by an earthen dam, constructed by the local water department. The dam has drawn many Basukuma people to move in and settle this area, which was uninhabited bush just several years ago. The dam provides water, a scarce commodity here, for home consumption and their herds. As a result, at mid-day there are many herds all around the dam.

The plot had been granted to the mission by Chief Limbe Ng'wanilanga, whose palace was on a hilltop at Ikulu, about a mile away. The Chief was described by Fr. Ernie Brunelle, who came to Mwamapalala in 1960, as “a good man, very friendly to the church, and helpful in many other ways, for example in settling land disputes among neighbors.”

Many years later a new, wider and better road was built between Nyalikungu and Bariadi, resulting in the parish being over a half-mile from the road. The land in between the two roads, about five acres, was given to the church, as the people deemed this land unproductive and of little use. The priests planted trees on the land, mostly the neem tree. Branches can be harvested from this tree to be used for firewood and the tree will subsequently sprout new branches, making for a continuous source of firewood.

The people in the area were progressive. Julien wrote that more and more people were using oxen-drawn plows and that some Sukuma had tractors, bought with loans. They were able to charge local farmers Shs. 50/- (\$7.15) per acre of plowing. The main crop was cotton, which was picked and cleaned manually, and then taken to the nearest cotton store. Usually the farmers were paid immediately for their cotton, at the price of Shs. 0/50 (7 U.S. cents) per pound of cotton. Julien said, “Indians have many cotton stores and ginneries throughout Sukumaland, but Africans are also getting into the business – and doing well.” Julien also reported that Paul Bomani, a Sukuma businessman and politician, had started an African Cultivators' Union, and built a large cotton gin near the government center of Maswa, which was one of the biggest ginneries in Sukumaland, using extra-special cotton gins imported from Dallas, Texas.

Once settled in Kilulu Julien began doing parish work, such as going out to all the outstations, saying Mass in various buildings that could be used, such as school buildings and a cotton ginnery at one place, teaching the school children preparing for baptism (this was done at Kilulu in April, 1959, in conjunction with the Kilulu children), questioning the catechumens, and starting the sacrament course for adults (Siku Jose). At one school,

Josaphat Nyerere, the half brother of Julius Nyerere, was a teacher. Josaphat was baptized a Mennonite but expressed a wish to become a Catholic.

In April Julien began using a duka (a shop, which can be fairly large), which belonged to a Catholic, for Sunday Mass and two months later he also started using a small room in back of the duka as an office and occasional bedroom. This duka was used in June, 1959, as the classroom for the 38 catechumens in the first month of their sacrament course. In October the second month of the course was held and an additional twelve school children attended. On October 31, 1959, fifty people were baptized, Mwamapalala Parish's first baptism.

Even though the parish had no church they were able to participate in the celebrations for Fr. Castor Sekwa, who was ordained at Sayusayu in August, 1959. Several weeks later Sekwa came and said Mass at Mwamapalala, after which a celebration was held in his honor.

Establishing schools and outstations was a primary goal for Maryknollers in Shinyanga Diocese in the 1950s and in his first six months Julien started a new school at Mwamapalala and was trying to start new outstations. The condition for an outstation was that the Christians of a particular area had to put up a kigango, a combination chapel and classroom for the catechumenate.

A major program that Julien ran for the last two weeks of August, 1959, was a special course for the catechists of the parish on how to teach religion. The course covered doctrine, liturgy, Church history, songs in Kisukuma, and the biblical themes of fall and redemption. Julien said, "Many of the catechists took notes."

Julien remained very busy as the year went on. In November, 1959, he visited the homes of every Christian and catechumen throughout the parish, and received the wonderful Sukuma hospitality everywhere – with the exception that he told the catechist to tell each householder not to prepare food, as he had many houses to visit. In place of food Julien received many gifts. Julien concluded:

In that way I came to know my Christians and readers much better, and also became familiar with all the villages and sections, their names and locations.

In that same month he reported that three new bush schools had been approved and were starting to enroll and teach school children. The catechists would also use the buildings to teach religion. Julien gave the main rationale for starting bush schools:

The bush school is a very definite means of spreading the faith here and for getting the children baptized.

In addition to purely religious matters Julien's diaries indicated a concern for matters relating to people's everyday lives, such as the state of rainfall – so crucial for subsistence farmers – and the announcement in December, 1959, by the new Governor of Tanganyika that there would be a speeded-up timetable leading to independence.

Julien also reported in 1960 of the adult education schools being started by TANU. He explained: "The purpose, according to Nyerere, is to raise the standard of literacy in Tanganyika and thus make the people more capable of self-government. These schools are to instruct the native population in the essentials of reading, writing and

arithmetic, and were to cater exclusively to older people. However, in some places Headmen have admitted children into the TANU schools.”

Julien thought the implementation of this program was slipshod. “Most of the teachers are young boys and girls who have finished only four years of primary school. The system lacks overall organization and supervision.” However, Julien cooperated with TANU by giving educational supplies to the schools. In return, he asked that the schools allow a half hour of religious teaching, which was taught by either catechists or the teachers themselves.

Later in 1960 Ernie Brunelle was assigned to Mwamapalala and he and Julien remained together there until 1964, when Julien developed medical problems and returned permanently to the United States. In 1961, while Julien was on furlough Dick McGarr came for a while, and in late 1964 Eppy James also came to Mwamapalala for a while. Brunelle later stated that his few years with Julien were very helpful to him.

Julien was an experienced pastor and had an excellent knowledge of Kisukuma. He knew the people of the area well and he introduced me to the Christians, the catechists and the catechumens, as we visited every corner of the large parish in Julien’s little red jeep.

We worked together to add new outstations in areas that were being cleared of bush by the numbers of new people moving in. At Zagayu we built a large chapel of concrete blocks as a center. Julien used his building skills and I used my carpentry skills to build the altar and sanctuary. When the church was blessed a dramatic play was put on to re-enact the martyrdom of the Uganda Martyrs, to whom the chapel was dedicated.

We used drama later at Mwamapalala by putting on a musical play based on the Gospel of Luke, performed by a troupe from the Sukuma Cultural Center run by Fr. David Clement in Bujora, near Mwanza. Many of our local Christians acted in this play. It was done in costume and sung in Kisukuma, using indigenous melodies. For years after it was remembered as a deeply moving experience.

Many years later Brunelle said that when he arrived at Mwamapalala in mid-1960 the rectory and church had not been completed. McGurkin had taken on the responsibility of hiring a contractor to build rectories, churches and schools in all the new parishes, made of cement blocks, and this was going on when Brunelle arrived. The rectory and the church were completed before the end of 1960. The priests took steps to preserve an acacia tree between the church and rectory; this tree grew to be a large and very shady tree, often used for teaching religious instruction to catechumens. The last diary from Mwamapalala was written in April, 1960, but we have other documentation of some community development projects initiated by Julien and Brunelle in the years 1960 to 1965.

In April, 1964, Bishop McGurkin wrote his first diary from Shinyanga since 1958 and listed a farrago of development projects in many of the parishes of the diocese. Regarding Mwamapalala he said, “Bob Julien and Ernie Brunelle put in a water pump, storage tanks and a filter system from which the people of the area can freely draw.”

Around 1964/65 Brunelle noticed that there was an increase in the number of people coming with ordinary medical problems that could be treated with simple remedies. Thus, he compensated a man living on the corner of the mission compound with a different plot and a new house, and built at this part of the mission a small, two-room dispensary. Later this was turned into a pre-school, and a larger dispensary with beds was built in 1967 on a plot adjacent to the mission compound. In 1970 Maryknoll Sister Katie Taepke came to work in the dispensary and two other Maryknoll Sisters, Ann Klaus and Sue Rech, did development work with women in the parish.

In 1965 Brunelle went on furlough and on his return to Shinyanga in 1966 he was assigned to Mwanangi-Nassa. To replace him, George Pfister was assigned to Mwamapalala in 1965 from Busanda, where he had been stationed in 1964. In the years 1966 and 1967 Fr. Joe Sullivan, who had been ordained in 1963 and studied Kisukuma at Shinyanga language school in 1963/64, was also stationed at Mwamapalala. Neither Pfister nor Sullivan was interviewed for the history project and there were no diaries written from Mwamapalala in those years. Thus, we will leave off the history of this parish, until the next section on Shinyanga in the 1970s.

#### WIRA, ST. THERESA OF LISIEUX PARISH:

Wira became an outstation of Buhangija Parish in 1956, when a kigango was built there. Wira was about 24 miles (40 kilometres) northeast of Shinyanga Town and had three Chiefdoms within what was to become the parish, namely Usiha, where the parish was located, Uduhe and Uchunga. After the parish was started it took in a small part of the Chiefdom of Mwadui as well.

In the 1940s, when the White Fathers were looking to establish another parish northeast of Shinyanga, they bypassed Wira because the Chief was a Muslim, the very well-known Chief Mukwaya, and the local town, Ukenyenge, also had many Arab Muslims living in the town – who, incidentally, spoke very good Kisukuma. Instead, the White Fathers established the parish in the Chiefdom of Uduhe, where the Chief, Maximilian Shoka, had been a very good Catholic since the 1930s. This was Ng'wamagembe, which in 1949 was moved to Gula, which was a more central place for the parish and where Chief Majebera had given the White Fathers twenty acres of land.

In 1947 Chief Mukwaya died and his son David Kidaha became Chief. Kidaha was baptized a Catholic in 1954 and began bringing in relatives and neighbors to the Catholic Church. As a result the priests at Buhangija began looking to establish a Catholic community in Wira and Jim Lenihan, who was at Buhangija in the years 1955 to 1958, regularly went on Mass safaris to Wira – as well as to other places that later became parishes, such as Mipa and Salawe.

In 1958 Bishop McGurkin decided to build a parish at Wira and had the diocesan contractor begin constructing a rectory and church. Fr. Tom Keefe, who had been stationed at Mwanangi-Nassa since his arrival in Shinyanga Diocese in 1955, was assigned to be the first pastor of Wira and oversee its establishment. Keefe moved to Buhangija in March, 1958, and began covering Wira as a parish, although it was not

officially established until 1959. As of Christmas, 1958, the church was far enough along that the Christmas Masses could be held in the church, attended by throngs of people.

In 1959, Fr. Phil McCue was also assigned to Wira. McCue was ordained in 1958 and first went to Gula for the Kisukuma language course that had been organized there by Phil Sheerin. Although McCue was several years behind the large class of 1955, he was older than some in that class, since he was a veteran of the Marines. In March, 1959, the rectory was finally completed and Keefe and McCue moved to Wira at the beginning of that month.

For the next two months they continued to use the kigango for Sunday Mass, with the exception of Palm Sunday, when the crowds were very large. Finally, in May the church was completed and on May 24, 1959, it was blessed by Bishop McGurkin at a Mass attended by an estimated 1,500 people, including many pagans and Moslems.

In November, 1959, McCue wrote that "the population of the parish is about 86,000, of whom about 750 are Catholic." He said that there were nine outstations, including one very near Williamson Diamond Mine. There were 200 in the catechumenate at the mission and several hundred more in the outstations, many of whom were nearing the time for baptism. The final stage of the baptismal course was for six weeks at the mission. Prior to that they had taken instruction from a catechist, either in outstations or at the mission. By the end of 1959 several small groups had been baptized, a total of 42 adults in all.

In 1960 the priests had two large buildings built to be used for baptism classes, parish retreats, the teaching of adults, and also to serve as a dormitory for Catholic boys at the government middle school, who otherwise would have had to live with relatives, many of whom were pagan.

As was the case in other parishes, the catechists and other parish and outstation leaders, called Batongi in Kisukuma, came in on the Thursday before the First Friday, for an all day meeting with the priests at the mission. At times young men who were interested in becoming catechists also attended these meetings.

Visiting outstations was an important part of the priests' work, although while construction was going on at the mission, and especially if one of the priests was away for vacation or other reasons, it was difficult to schedule long safaris. One of the outstations, Ng'wamashele, had a large cement chapel by mid-1960, located on a hill with a picturesque view of the Tungu River below. Another outstation, Mhunze, later also had a large cement church built and became in effect a sub-parish. On outstation safaris, in addition to Mass, sacraments, and questioning catechumens, the priests also endeavored to register school children for the baptism classes that would take place at the mission during school vacation months. Children who had been baptized as infants also attended these classes, in preparation for First Communion. Generally, about fifty children attended each of the courses.

As of 1959 David Kidaha had left the office of Chief in order to join government service. He had studied at Oxford University in England and was rising up in the Government of Tanganyika. He was replaced as Chief by his brother who, although a Moslem, was favorable to the Catholic Church, as many of his family and relatives were Catholic.

In fact, according to Tom Shea, who came to Wira in 1968, all the Muslims in Ukenyenge town were very friendly to the Catholics, inviting the priests to Muslim feasts and attending various festivities at the Catholic parish. They were mainly business people and owned the petrol station and some of the shops in the town, and operated the bus service to Shinyanga and Mwanza.

Cotton was an all-pervasive factor in the lives of the people, affecting the parish and other sectors of life in the area. The neighboring Chiefdom of Uduhe especially was a major cotton-growing area. Construction of a large cotton ginnery there led to completion of a bridge over the Tungu River, which previously was often impassable during rains. The priests discovered that when cultivation season was over they had very good attendance at catechetical instructions in the catechumenate but that during cultivation and harvest seasons they almost had to call off the catechumenate.

Another fundamental aspect of Sukuma economy was cattle. On one morning the priests witnessed thousands of cattle being driven to vaccination stations to be inoculated against Rinderpest, a disease usually fatal to cattle and which had been a huge scourge in Tanganyika.

In the latter half of 1961 Tom Keefe went on furlough and on his return in January, 1962, he was assigned by Bishop McGurkin to start a new parish at Ndoleleji. To replace him Fr. John Ganly was assigned to Wira. Ganly had been ordained in 1959, studied Kisukuma in both Malili and the language school in Shinyanga Town, and worked in Malili Parish until the beginning of 1962 (Bob Lefebvre was pastor in Malili in those years). Ganly and McCue stayed together at Wira until 1966, when Ganly was transferred to Ilumya to replace Tom Burke. McCue stayed on until 1967 and then was transferred to first Malili and then Kilulu. Two Brothers were also assigned to Wira in those years, Carl Bourgoin in 1964/65 and Dominic Russo in 1965/66.

Neither McCue nor Ganly was interviewed for the history project and after 1960 there was only one diary from Wira, written by Ganly, so we have scant documentation about the parish throughout most of the decade of the 1960s. Likewise, neither of the two Brothers was interviewed. Ganly's diary indicated that the parish was progressing on smoothly five years after its founding in 1958. He did note, however, that the southern part of Shinyanga seemed to have less rain than the northern part.

In 1967 Fathers Bob Lefebvre and Dennis Behan were assigned to Wira. Lefebvre did not stay long and Behan was named pastor. Behan had been ordained in 1963, studied Kisukuma at the language school in Shinyanga, and in 1964 he first went to Chamugasa. In 1965/66 he was assigned to Busanda after which he came to Wira. In 1968 Behan made the decision to return to the United States and withdraw from Maryknoll. He was replaced as pastor by Charlie Callahan, who had been in many parishes by then and was in 1968 temporarily stationed at Mipa. Fr. Tom Shea, who had been ordained in 1967, studied Kisukuma at the Language School in Makoko for eight months, and then gone for several months to Mwamapalala, was assigned to Wira with Callahan in October, 1968.

We will conclude our treatment of Wira at this point and continue it in the next section of Shinyanga Diocese, especially about Shea's long tenure as pastor at Wira.

Between 1960 and 1963 a total of eight parishes were established by Bishop McGurkin, of which two, Chamugasa and Ilumya, have already been discussed in the

above pages. We will here treat the remaining six, in the order of their establishment. The establishment of these eight parishes brought the total number of parishes in Shinyanga Diocese to twenty as of the year 1963.

After 1963 there were only three parishes started in the next twenty-seven years, Ng'wanhuzi in 1974, Bariadi in 1984, and St. Paul the Apostle Parish at Shinyanga Secondary School in 1984, prior to the establishment of the Cathedral Parish at Ngokolo in Shinyanga Town in 1991.

As was mentioned in the chapters on Musoma Diocese, the two Maryknoll Bishops had as a primary objective the establishment of as many parishes as was feasible, in accordance with their projections for Maryknoll personnel and finance in the early 1960s. We will just remind the reader that in the early 1960s vocations in the United States peaked. Maryknoll had built new seminaries or made extensive additions to existing ones, in anticipation of a continued increase in vocations and corresponding increase in ordinations. No one expected it to suddenly come crashing down.

Events after 1963 caused the Maryknoll Bishops, and the Maryknoll Society as a whole, to re-examine their goals in these dioceses. This explains why for the next twenty years only one new parish was started in Shinyanga Diocese after 1963. But let us look at the remaining six parishes started between 1960 and 1963 (actually only in the years 1962 and 1963).

#### NYALIKUNGU, OUR LADY OF MARTYRS PARISH:

Fr. Charlie Liberatore was one of the large class that came to Shinyanga in 1955 and was stationed in Sayusayu his first two years. In 1957 he was transferred to Buhangija and became pastor there when Jim Lenihan started the new mission at Mipa. Liberatore remained pastor at Buhangija till 1961, when he went on furlough to the United States in the latter half of that year. In 1961, either just before he went on furlough or possibly while he was on furlough, he was assigned to be the first pastor of Nyalikungu Parish. However, the parish was not officially established until 1962 and Liberatore moved there only in early 1962.

Liberatore was never interviewed for the history project and there were no diaries written by him or anyone else stationed there, so we have no documentation about the first decade of this parish.

Nyalikungu was the government headquarters for Maswa District and we can only presume that Bishop McGurkin felt it was imperative to have a parish in the town. Sayusayu is about ten to fifteen kilometres from Nyalikungu – another instance of the White Fathers building a mission some distance from the town. Nyalikungu was the second town parish, after Shinyanga Town Parish, started by the Maryknoll-run Diocese of Shinyanga, indicating that Maryknollers considered urban work of significance. [Editor note: Bariadi is today one of the largest towns in Shinyanga Region, possibly even the largest, but was not started as a parish until 1984. Prior to that year it was served by Old Maswa Parish. But even in 1990 Bariadi was still a small town.]

Despite the government presence, Nyalikungu was a small town in 1961. It is located on a major road junction: one road runs from Bariadi through Nyalikungu to

Malampaka (a well-used railway station) and on to Mwanza; the other road, beginning at Nyalikungu goes south to Shinyanga Town, via Lalago and Wira.

The parish property, only about two acres, was located just slightly east of the commercial center of town, on a hill that yielded glorious sunsets. A rectory and church, both of modest size but well built, were constructed on this plot. The church was sufficient in the 1960s and 1970s but the incessant growth of the town led to crowding in later decades.

In 1965 Liberatore was joined by Bill Tokus, who came from Malili Parish and remained in Nyalikungu for close to three years. Tokus also was never interviewed for the history project. Liberatore had a bad fall around Christmas, 1964, falling on the altar inside the church while putting up Christmas decorations and he severely hurt his back. His incapacity may have precipitated the assignment of Tokus to Nyalikungu, as Tokus had been at Malili for only a year at most.

In March, 1966, Bishop McGurkin visited Nyalikungu, where he apparently stayed for a number of days. He wrote an interesting diary from there about the importance of cotton in the lives of the local Sukuma people. Basically it boiled down to having or not having money: most of the year they had little or no money, and then for a month or two after receiving their payments for the cotton crop they could pay school fees, contribute to the church, and buy clothes for their families – or do whatever it was they intended for the money in that year.

McGurkin, who came from Hartford, Connecticut, said there was a direct connection between New Haven, CT, and Nyalikungu (or Maswa) Tanzania, namely the cotton gin. Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin, was born in Westboro, MA, travelled to Savannah, Georgia, where he encountered another place whose fortunes depended on cotton, and ended up in New Haven, where he fashioned his system of a wire screen and toothed cylinders that could separate cotton seeds from cotton lint. Previously it could take a worker up to ten hours to get one pound of cotton lint. His first gin, powered by water, could produce 1,000 pounds of cotton a day.

By the 1960s the Victoria Federation of Cooperative Cotton Growers had huge ginneries using machines made in the United States, making for McGurkin a direct connection between Maswa and Connecticut.

He also noted that the priests often used cotton stores in which to say Mass, except for the two months when the stores were full of cotton bales.

In 1968 Tokus went on furlough and on his return he was at first assigned to the Bishop's office for some months and then in 1969 to Mipa Parish. Liberatore also went on furlough in 1968 and it is possible that for a time the parish of Nyalikungu had no priest living there. If so, it would have been assisted by the priests at Sayusayu. Liberatore in 1969 was returned to Buhangija where he became pastor for the next nine years.

Fr. Lionel Bouffard was ordained in 1963 and worked in various parishes in Shinyanga Diocese until his furlough in 1967. In 1968 he studied Swahili at the Language School in Makoko and then was assigned to Arusha, where Maryknoll had just taken on responsibility for a parish. This parish was a part of Joe Glynn's effort to move Maryknoll out of Shinyanga and Musoma to other parts of Tanzania and to eastern Africa in general. Arusha was a completely Swahili-speaking town, enabling Bouffard to become proficient in this language.

When the Maryknoll initiative in Arusha did not come to fruition, Bouffard was assigned in 1969 to Nyalikungu, where he lived by himself for two years. In 1971 he was joined by Fathers Jim Lenihan and Ed Davis and in January, 1972, he transferred to the Maryknoll parish in Chang'ombe in Dar es Salaam.

Bouffard was interviewed but had almost nothing to say about his three years at Nyalikungu. He enjoyed his time there and helped to consolidate the parish on firm foundations as it transitioned from the original pastor to subsequent priests who would minister in this town parish.

We will leave off here and resume the history of Nyalikungu in 1972. Although this has taken us well beyond the cut-off year for this first section on Shinyanga Diocese, the fact that there was almost nothing to say about Nyalikungu enabled us to move on to where we will take up its further history.

### SALAWE, OUR LADY OF FATIMA PARISH:

Fr. Jim Lenihan was one of those who had come out in the famous class of 1955 and started in Buhangija. In 1957 he was appointed pastor of Buhangija and then in 1958 he started the parish of Mipa. In May, 1961, he left Mipa and went on furlough to the United States, returning to Shinyanga in January, 1962. In 1961, prior to his return, he was assigned by Bishop McGurkin to start a parish in Salawe, a place that he had visited a number of times when he was at Buhangija. In 1962 he moved to Salawe and lived in a mud hut for most of the year while the rectory and church were being built.

Later in 1962 he was joined by Brother Carl Bourgoin to help oversee the construction. Bourgoin had come to Tanganyika in 1959 and been assigned to the seminary in Makoko for three years. In 1962 he was transferred from Musoma Diocese to Shinyanga Diocese. By the end of 1962 the rectory was ready and in 1963 Bourgoin was transferred to Old Maswa and then the following year to Wira.

In 1963 Brother George Carlonas came to Salawe, after returning from furlough in the United States. Carlonas said that his work at Salawe was to improve the school with cement blocks, build teachers' houses and do additions and repairs to the church. He likewise stayed at Salawe for only a year and was then transferred to Buhangija and Shinyanga Town.

Carlonas said that there was a common design in the diocese for both the rectory and church in each parish. This made it economical to build. Furthermore, his team of builders learned the plan of these buildings and could engage in daily construction without much supervision. Generally a rectory could be built for about \$7,000 and a church for \$12,000 to \$15,000. Money for rectories was usually budgeted from Maryknoll, whereas money for the churches was raised by Bishop McGurkin from his own personal sources.

Salawe is about sixty miles northwest of Shinyanga town. In between was swamp land that would fill up with water from the overflow from the southeastern part of Lake Victoria during heavy rain. Combined with black cotton soil this section became impassable during the rainy season. Lenihan said that one could travel to Shinyanga only from June to December and maybe in January in certain years. During the other months

they were essentially marooned in Salawe, although they could go around on a different route that added about thirty miles onto the trip. In June, 1958, while stationed at Buhangija, Lenihan foresaw that Salawe was growing in the number of Catholics and would become a parish someday, and he wrote in a diary:

There is great potentiality in Salawe. The population is 18,000 and they are located within a small area. The remaining part is all bush. The problem is that whoever is assigned to Salawe will be cut off four or five months of the year.

Helping with the construction was the first goal at the new mission but Lenihan had other priorities as well. One was to go around visiting this new parish's outstations, getting to know the people, having a catechumenate set up, choosing catechists, and cajoling the people to build their own outstation buildings (vigango).

While at Salawe from 1961 to 1967 Lenihan said that parish financial self-reliance and preparation of the parishioners for the future when diocesan priests would replace Maryknoll priests became paramount concerns of his. He talked with the parish council, which he had already set up in the early 1960s, and said that he wanted to forego his Maryknoll viatique and instead receive Shs. 200/- a month for his food expenses. This was equal to about \$28.50, a moderately large amount in Tanzania in the early 1960s. The parish council agreed and Lenihan felt that this was a positive, concrete step toward parish self-reliance.

Lenihan also discussed the important function of diocesan meetings, so that the priests could discuss policies regarding infant baptism, marriage cases and other such matters. He stated:

There was some commonality and some agreement on general guidelines. That was cooperation although not everyone would necessarily agree. So, there was growth there because we saw that what one does in a parish might have a negative contribution to the spirit of the Church there and the next guy comes along and he has to address that.

If we can talk about this and come to a valid understanding and develop certain general criteria it would be helpful for the people. When I go to a parish and change things and then I leave and another guy comes in and changes things that's a tough situation for the people who live there.

Encouraging vocations to the seminary and to the Sisterhood were also important goals for Lenihan while he was at Salawe (and in other parishes where he worked). From Salawe Fr. Joe Mayunga and one other young man were ordained diocesan priests and Sr. Teresa Waje Ng'wana Mathias joined the IHSA Sisters.

Beginning at Salawe and continuing to other parishes where Lenihan worked, it became the practice of Bishop McGurkin to assign newly arrived Maryknoll priests to his parish after they finished their Kisukuma course. They would come for a year or two and then move on, to be replaced by another newly ordained priest. In 1964 Fr. Joe Sullivan, who had been ordained in 1958 and then worked on Maryknoll Promotion in the U.S. for five years, was assigned to Salawe and remained there for two years, after which he was replaced by Fr. Mike Duffy in 1966.

In 1967 Lenihan went on furlough again and on his return to Tanzania he was assigned to Sayusayu. Fr. George Cotter was assigned from Ndoleleji to be pastor at Salawe and he and Duffy remained there until 1969. When they both left Salawe, no Maryknoller was assigned there until Lenihan was asked by Bishop McGurkin to return there in 1974. As neither Cotter, Sullivan, nor Duffy was interviewed for the history project, we have no further documentation about the parish at Salawe. We will conclude here until the next Chapter on Shinyanga Diocese.

#### NDOLELEJI, MARY QUEEN OF AFRICA PARISH:

In 1961 Bishop McGurkin asked Fr. Tom Keefe to move from Wira to establish a new parish at Ndoleleji. He went on furlough in mid-1961, returned to Shinyanga in January, 1962, and moved out to Ndoleleji at that time. The site for the mission had been chosen after a fire at the original, grass-roofed school in April, 1957, and a new school made of cement blocks was constructed (cf pages 57-58 on Gula Parish). The Chief, Maximilian Shoka, was a good Catholic and in 1954 Ndoleleji had been made one of two main Mass centers of Gula Parish. As a result, when Keefe moved to Ndoleleji he found it had a good nucleus of Catholics already.

Both Ndoleleji and Salawe were very remote parishes, on terrible roads that were often impassable. The ruggedness of these two parishes was incessantly explained to visitors and residents at Buhangija whenever either Keefe or Lenihan came into Shinyanga Town.

In 1962 Lenihan was joined for some months by Fr. Lou Bayless; Bayless had come back from furlough in 1961 and been assigned by Bishop McGurkin to be temporary help-out in several parishes, such as Nassa, Gula and Ndoleleji. In 1963, he moved to start a new parish at Malampaka.

In 1964 Bishop McGurkin visited Ndoleleji and wrote the following:

Ndoleleji is a gently rising elevation overlooking a vast plain. Although formerly under populated, today there are vast cotton fields, and fields of maize, millet, peanuts and sweet potatoes. Homesteaders have also brought their herds of cattle, sheep and goats.

As of 1964 there were about 16,000 people living in the parish territory, of whom about 500 were Catholic, but the population was growing rapidly due to immigration of Sukuma from other areas. Fr. Dan Ohmann reported that in 1978 there were 55,000 people in the parish, well over a three-fold increase. There were only four outstations as late as 1967, with a total of six catechists, probably due to the parish emphasis on agricultural and technical development, although in subsequent years there was an appreciable increase in outstations. Keefe put a priority on the role of catechists and from the beginning he met with them on Tuesday every week, a practice he maintained until he left for the U.S. in 1967. The catechumenate was set at two years, with two one-month Siku Jose periods at the mission prior to baptism. In the 1960s there were about 100 adult baptisms a year, with another 200 or so baptisms of infants and school children.

Shortly after arriving in 1962 Keefe opened a dispensary, which by 1966 had a 17-bed maternity clinic. A man from Pare in northeastern Tanganyika, Alan Fue, was hired to be dispenser and his good personality and service resulted in the dispensary being well attended.

In 1962 Keefe and also Bayless lived in mud-walled buildings until both the rectory and the church were completed. Although there is no documentation, we can presume that a contractor from Shinyanga did the construction, as no Brothers were assigned to Ndoleleji. In 1963, after Bayless moved to Malampaka, Fr. George Cotter was assigned to Ndoleleji. Cotter had been ordained in 1960, taken the Kisukuma course at Shinyanga Town, and in 1961 was assigned to Gula for two years. Both Cotter and Keefe remained at Ndoleleji until the beginning of 1967.

Ndoleleji became known for its developmental outreach to the area in agriculture and vocational training, and these became priorities for Keefe and Cotter from the beginning. Unfortunately, neither was interviewed for the history project and there were no diaries written from Ndoleleji. Thus, we will quote Bishop McGurkin for the rationale for these efforts.

The rapid (population growth) has created many problems: the need for household goods, farm equipment, such as ox-carts and trailers, tables, chairs, door and window frames, kerosene stoves and pressure lamps. More and more tractors are coming into this area, requiring qualified mechanics. Trucks and mechanical farm implements are increasing and also require maintenance.

For the people Keefe sees an urgent need of trained agricultural leaders and instructors, more good carpenters, and mechanics with the resourcefulness to repair a variety of types of machinery – from bicycles to tractors.

In early 1964 a man from Holland, Frans Van de Laack, who had been in Tanganyika for six years and had just spent several months doing scientific research on the terrain around Ndoleleji, came to Keefe with a plan and an offer. Frans said it would be a mistake to build a classroom and teach vocational subjects to twenty or thirty boys in a class. He said it would be better to choose a small group of Eighth Grade graduates (usually older teen-agers by then) and train them as apprentices in their own home area to make and repair the goods needed in that area. Thus, the priests and Van de Laack converted a warehouse on the property into two large rooms, one for training young men in carpentry and building skills, and the other a garage for the repair of tractors and other vehicles. Ohmann later stated that in the mid-1960s there were 150 tractors in the Ndoleleji area, with the closest garages in either Shinyanga, fifty miles away, or Arusha, 200 miles away.

This program turned out to be very successful and produced scores of young men with needed skills. Van de Laack worked there for six years till 1970 and would have liked to stay on as he was marrying a Sukuma girl from the area, but Bishop McGurkin wanted to turn this project over to local Tanzanian instructors. Van de Laack was then hired by the Dutch Aid program in Tanzania, working on water projects in Mwanza and Morogoro for many years.

Later in 1964 Joe Rott, a volunteer from Germany, also came to Ndoleleji to do agricultural outreach. He and Van de Laack lived in a two-bedroom house on the mission property. Rott was trained at an agricultural training college in Klausenhof, Germany, and taught methods of plowing, tie-ridging, contour plowing, use of artificial fertilizers, and new types of fruit and vegetables. Rott also started a poultry project that was producing eggs for the mission and local people. He stayed on up till the 1970s.

McGurkin said that already in 1963 Keefe had planted fruit and vegetables in an island in the adjacent Mangu River that the local people had considered worthless “but in one year it has turned into a magic garden, astounding the people.”

In April, 1964, Bishop McGurkin wrote his first diary from Shinyanga since 1958 and talked about the development projects being implemented in a number of parishes in the diocese. In the 1950s his diaries concentrated almost exclusively on church matters but by 1964 he had attended two of the sessions at the second Vatican Council in Rome and had also become well versed in the social encyclicals issued by Pope John XXIII. In this diary he reported the projects at Ndoleleji and quoted the following from the Pope’s encyclical “Mater et Magistra.”

Above all we affirm that the social teaching proclaimed by the Catholic Church can not be separated from her traditional teaching regarding man’s life.

The Church is solicitous for human needs, not only food and sustenance, but also all that contributes to the advance in the changing circumstances of life.

It is not only Ndoleleji Parish that began in the early 1960s to make what came to be called socio-economic development a constitutive part of Maryknoll mission work in parishes. This was right after Independence and in conjunction with Julius Nyerere’s speeches throughout the country exhorting the people to engage in self-reliant development in farming, infrastructure improvements, and other areas. As the decades went on the missionaries at Ndoleleji and many other Maryknoll missions engaged in many other projects and programs, which will be treated in the next chapter on Shinyanga.

In 1967 Cotter was assigned to Salawe to replace Jim Lenihan as pastor. Tom Keefe went on furlough to the United States and while at Maryknoll he was asked by the Superior General to join the faculty at the major seminary. To replace them Fr. Dan Ohmann was assigned as pastor of Ndoleleji. Ohmann later commented that he had only one month with Keefe before taking over and he wished he had had more time. Ohmann, though, had grown up on a farm in Minnesota and he readily adjusted to the agricultural aspects of Ndoleleji Parish.

Later in 1967 Ohmann was joined by newly ordained Fr. Lawrence Louis, who stayed in Tanzania for only a short time.

We will conclude our history of Ndoleleji here, and take it up again in the next Chapter on Shinyanga Diocese.

## OLD MASWA, ST. ANNE PARISH:

Fr. Charlie Callahan had been assigned to be Diocesan Education Secretary in 1960 when Fr. Charles Kenney had serious back problems. While living at Buhangija with Bishop McGurkin Callahan used to express his opinion that the area of the diocese with the most people and the most Catholics was the northern area and he wondered why parishes were being built in the southern area. So, McGurkin said that when he had come back from furlough Callahan would be assigned to open a new parish in the northern area, where Callahan had previously been working – mainly in Kilulu.

Callahan went on furlough in 1961 and returned to Shinyanga at the beginning of 1962. However, he at first went to Mwamapalala, as Bob Julien had an infection and was not returning from his furlough immediately. When Julien came back in mid-1962, Callahan was assigned to open a parish in Old Maswa.

Actually, there was no plot that had been chosen for the new parish as of 1962 and probably the parish should have been started in Bariadi, a small but growing town at that time and only six miles from Old Maswa. Furthermore, a church had already been built at Somanda, a part of Bariadi, in 1961 by Fr. Tom Gibbons, who was stationed at Kilulu. Callahan explained how the spot at Old Maswa was chosen.

(Bishop) McGurkin asked me to find the best place. So, I went to the government offices, got all the population figures that showed exactly where the people were located, and gave it all to McGurkin. And Old Maswa was chosen because of the figures and the population.

Between Gula and Mwamapalala there's a section with a big population and then this section at Old Maswa. Also the Chief's place was at Old Maswa.

There was no church or rectory at Old Maswa and Brother Carl Bourgoin was assigned to oversee the construction, which took most of a year from mid-1962 to sometime in 1963. Callahan lived at Kilulu, about 25 miles away, but began covering the territory as the parish had already been established.

Callahan said that the work at Old Maswa for the six years he was there, up till 1968, was typical parish work, namely establishing and visiting outstations every month, setting up the catechumenate, having baptisms and marriages, working with the catechists, and visiting people at their homes. Old Maswa had a large territory and many outstations. The largest, of course, was Bariadi, but others were also fairly large outstations.

In 1967 the diocese needed people to fill in at several parishes, in some cases unexpectedly, namely Mipa, Wira and Ndoleleji. Fr. Bob Lefebvre was at Mipa alone, experiencing some health related problems, and Bishop McGurkin and his priests' council felt that he should have someone live with him. Callahan was requested by the Bishop to move to Mipa. After less than a year Fr. Dick McGarr returned to Mipa and Callahan went to Wira Parish.

In his place Fr. Paul Fagan was assigned to Old Maswa. Fagan had been at Buhangija till 1966 and went on furlough until January, 1967. On return, he went to Buhangija for several months and then made the move to Old Maswa, around April or

May of 1967. Fagan said that there were actually two parishes open at that time, Old Maswa and Ndoleleji, but Dan Ohmann was assigned to Ndoleleji. Fagan was open to going to either place and readily accepted his assignment to Old Maswa.

Fagan said that when he arrived in 1967 Old Maswa itself was still a very quiet place. Only infrequently did someone come to knock on the door to see a priest. There were nine outstations in the parish and Callahan's method was to regularly visit outstations and people at their homes. Fagan said: "(Callahan) was great at meeting people. He went to the hospital, which was just a health center then, but he knew almost everyone in the parish because he was out all the time. That was his work."

Fagan continued this style of work but he also began introducing various forms of agricultural development and what would today be called environmental preservation activities, such as tree planting on the property. Since parish involvement in community development is one of the major topics of the next chapter on Shinyanga the many developments at Old Maswa will be treated in that section. Fagan remained at Old Maswa up to the year 2009 and most of his missionary career is intricately linked to this parish. Over the years others joined him, including priests, Brothers, OTP seminarians, and Lay Missioners, but Fagan remained the constant in all those years.

However, we will leave off the history of Old Maswa at this point until the next chapter on Shinyanga.

#### MWADUI, HOLY CROSS PARISH:

In 1962 a parish was established inside the Williamson Diamond Mine at Mwadui (often called Mwadui Mine by Maryknollers), a parish that has existed up to the present day. In the section on Buhangija we saw that the Catholics living inside the mine were served from Buhangija every Sunday from about the year 1955 till the parish was founded. This service required two Masses: one at a chapel for African Catholics and another at a different chapel for European and Asian Catholics. The mine had some South African ownership and many South Africans working there, so it should not be a surprise that in the 1950s and 1960s South African style apartheid was being practiced.

The first Maryknoll pastor assigned to this parish was Fr. George Mikolajczyk, who had first come to Shinyanga as part of the large class of 1955. He had previously been pastor at Kilulu, taught at the seminary in Makoko, and then was stationed in Shinyanga Town prior to coming to Mwadui. He was never interviewed and never wrote a diary from Mwadui, so we have no documentation on his ministry at Mwadui. Mikolajczyk left Mwadui in 1969, returned to the United States and did not return to Tanzania.

He was replaced in 1969 by Fr. Joe Brannigan, the former Vicar General and Diocesan Education Secretary for Shinyanga Diocese. He had also been pastor at Sayusayu for four years in the mid-1960s. In an interview many years later Brannigan reflected on his two years at Mwadui.

It meant learning a new language as this was the first time I used Swahili. It was easier than the other place (Sayusayu), but (in reality) it wasn't. I really didn't care that much for Mwadui. There were too many Europeans, it was inside

of a fence, and the people were walled off from the rest of the country. It was really hard to make a community or to feel like it was one group.

They were terrific for Mass and the mine built us a nice church. They also gave us a house to live in. They were very helpful with anything we needed for the church. They were always cooperative and the people were pretty good. But it was an unofficial set-up as far as I was concerned, so (after two years) I left there.

I guess it was sort of a burn-out for me. It wasn't recognized as such then, but looking back now (twenty years later) I guess I should have left one or two years earlier. The missions had lost their excitement and challenge for me.

In 1971 Brannigan celebrated his 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of priesthood at a big celebration at Mipa, while he was finishing up his two years at Mwadui. He would not be the last Maryknoller in Tanzania who experienced symptoms of burn-out after twenty to twenty-five years in East Africa. He returned to the United States but later came back to East Africa, working at the center house in Nairobi for several years.

It is not clear what Brannigan meant by calling Mwadui an "unofficial set-up." Perhaps he was referring to its total separation from general life not only in Shinyanga but in Tanzania as a whole, an upper-class European fish-bowl type of situation, complete with a swimming pool, small golf course, a pond with an actual marina, modern mini-supermarket, and a movie theater, at almost total odds with Maryknoll's general purpose of building up an indigenous church in a very poor part of Tanzania.

It should be noted, though, that the stringent restrictions on visiting the mine had been relaxed by the late 1960s and visitors could come in, tour the mine and its workings, and spend a day and evening there. Maryknollers working in very rural, physically difficult missions may have enjoyed the occasional foray into the mine. It is true, however, that it was not possible to integrate the parish in the mine into the general objectives of Shinyanga Diocese, with the exception of liturgical changes after Vatican II.

After Brannigan left, Fr. Al Smidlein came in 1972 for about four years. He also was never interviewed.

Thus, we will leave off here and resume our history of Maryknoll's work in Mwadui in the next chapter on Shinyanga, starting from 1978, when Charlie Callahan was assigned to this parish.

### MALAMPAKA, OUR LADY OF MERCY PARISH:

Malampaka was the last of the fourteen parishes started by the Diocese of Shinyanga between the years 1957 and 1963, and the last one until Mwanhuzi was established in 1974. It is most fitting that the priest assigned to Malampaka, Lou Bayless, features in this concluding parish in the first half of this history of Maryknoll in Tanzania (still called Tanganyika in 1963). He has already been mentioned many times: he was the first Maryknoll pastor in Tanganyika, at Nyegina in 1947, the first Maryknoll pastor in Shinyanga Diocese, at Busanda in 1955, and he had also been pastor at Buhangija and Shinyanga Town prior to moving to Malampaka (he had also been pastor at Iramba Parish in Musoma Prefecture from 1951 to 1953). After going on furlough in 1960,

Bayless filled in at Nassa Parish in 1961/62, then went to several places on temporary fill-in, such as Gula, Wira, and Ndoleleji.

Bishop McGurkin visited Malampaka in 1966 and described the town.

Malampaka is a busy crossroads in the heart of Sukumaland. Trains between Dar on the Coast and Mwanza stop at Malampaka: three mail trains a week in each direction and several freight trains every day. Buses from Mwanza and Shinyanga cross the rail line at Malampaka and go to all the far corners of Maswa District. A cotton ginnery, a sisal factory, and a busy granite quarry have attracted workers from various parts of Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and lately from the Congo. Bayless has told me of at least a dozen tribes living in Malampaka.

There used to regularly be wild animals in the area, including a Cape Buffalo that once walked down the main road in the town, but by the 1960s the main thing they had to be wary of were the numerous snakes living in the bush and granite outcrops outside the town. Snakes were of all species, many poisonous ones plus pythons, which are not poisonous. Not all wild animals had disappeared, as hyenas were frequent night visitors.

Wild animals and the train station factored into one diary of Bishop McGurkin, when he related the story of a train worker who, many years previously, had been killed at Malampaka Station in the middle of the night by a lion. He liked to tell stories of lions, some true, some half-true, and others tall tales. An example of the latter was of lions in the Roman Coliseum who refused to kill the Christians when the leader of the Christians whispered into the lions' ears. When the Emperor demanded to know what was whispered, the Christian leader responded that he told the lions if they killed the Christians the Emperor would give a long speech. McGurkin told this story after telling of a government official in Mwanza who, at a party for Bishop Blomjous, gave a very, very long speech explaining why there would be no speeches that evening (this is a true story).

Bayless went to Malampaka in mid-1963. He said that previously it was served as a major outstation of Sayusayu Parish, which was about 23 miles away (38 kilometres). Fr. John McGuire of Sayusayu gave of his time to drive Bayless around the parish, showing him all the outstations and villages. Bayless spoke of what he found at the parish in 1963:

The church had not been built. Nothing had been built until I got there. I started with the contractors and eventually I was able to move into the rectory. The only things that we built were the church, rectory, catechist's house, plus a storeroom and outdoor kitchen.

The property was well marked out. It was rectangular shape and a good piece of property. We did not put any buildings on the property for the catechumenate. Later an office and some other buildings were built.

An important aspect of Bayless' work at Malampaka was with the catechumenate and catechists.

When I met with the catechists they would come in with their books. Some catechists would keep exact records of the attendance of the Christians on Sundays, but others, who did not have good catechumens to begin with, would just mark everybody present. The good ones would have from ten to thirty catechumens and they would mark each one either present or absent for each session and for Sunday Mass.

Bayless had ten to twelve outstations when he began and visiting them was an enjoyable aspect of his work at Malampaka.

I liked very much going out on safaris to different outstations, especially one safari to Lugongo up by the Simiyu River, a rather long safari through Shishiyu. I went there every month to be with the Christians, who were doing very well. That was a long, long trip but they appreciated it very much. Those were happy days there with the people because they showed such appreciation.

I never needed to stay out overnight; the places were not that far. The roads were dirt roads and slow, and during the rainy season I wouldn't leave the mission because it would be useless. I had a small car, a Volkswagen, which could not make it through the bad roads and mud. When the rainy season set in I stopped all safaris and stayed close to the mission.

Although the changes brought by the Second Vatican Council will be major topics for consideration in the next chapters on both Musoma and Shinyanga, we will report what Bayless had to say about how he implemented the changes at Malampaka.

I had to study up on it and gradually introduce the changes to the people. I would instruct them slowly and they were very good in listening and implementing the changes. The most important changes were in facing the people while saying Mass and use of local languages rather than Latin.

In the early days the people had learned all the Mass in Latin and they loved the Latin and the Latin songs. Of course, the readings, sermon, and catechetical instructions had always been in the local language. But Sukuma songs were being sung from way back and then Swahili songs came in, so they were prepared.

In some places they went too fast and the people didn't understand clearly all the changes. But for the most part I think we were very successful.

In response to questioning, Bayless commented on security in the first two or so decades that Maryknoll worked in Tanganyika. He said that there was persistent pilfering in many of the places, including breaking of windows or taking of window panes, but that he never felt endangered. Armed robbery was not an issue back then. Bayless said that, of course, they had to make sure their vehicle doors were locked and all windows up when they parked in town centers, such as Shinyanga Town or Mwanza. Likewise, if one's handbag or briefcase was full of money the missionary had to be alert at all times, and not drive down the street with the window wide open. That would be inviting thievery.

Bayless was at Malampaka for eight years, until 1971, his longest stay at any parish up till that time. [Editor note: this is a telling comment on the first twenty years of Maryknoll's presence in both Musoma and Shinyanga, during which there were constant transfers of priests from one parish to another. This had many causes, but the most significant cause was the rapid increase in the number of parishes in just a few years.] In 1971 he went on furlough and on his return he was assigned to Buhangija to be procurator for the diocese. When Bayless left Malampaka, for several years there was no Maryknoller assigned to this parish.

We will leave off the history of Malampaka at this point and take it up again in the next chapter of Shinyanga Diocese, beginning in 1973 when Fr. Ernie Brunelle was assigned to Malampaka.

### CONCLUSION TO SHINYANGA DIOCESE, THE FIRST NINE YEARS:

This short summary conclusion of the first nine years in Shinyanga will list an array of initiatives implemented around the diocese, in what in hindsight seems to be a very short period of time. Maryknoll accepted responsibility for Shinyanga/Maswa in order to establish the diocese, its necessary administrative offices, establish as many parishes as were feasible, construct well-built, cement block rectories, churches and other necessary buildings on each mission compound, and start schools, both at the primary and middle levels, and medical clinics. Some special schools were also started, such as Shinyanga Commercial School and the School for the Blind at Buhangija. A special clinic for people with Hansen's Disease was started at Busanda. About a half dozen Mary Mahoney Maternity Clinics were started throughout the diocese.

In 1954 there were seven Maryknoll priests in the diocese; in 1964 there were about forty Maryknoll priests, according to an estimate by Dan Ohmann (given the comings and goings of Maryknollers, it is hard to get an actual figure, so this is a good estimate). The diocese had grown from six to twenty parishes, in only nine years. By 1964 all had very nice churches, although as the decades went by, many of them might have been considered not large enough. There were also some opinions expressed that maybe the construction should have progressed more slowly, in order to persuade the Sukuma Catholics to contribute labor and some money to the building of their own churches. Contractors were available in both Shinyanga and Mwanza, and there were about a half dozen Maryknoll Brothers who were doing invaluable construction work, and Bishop McGurkin made the decision to have good churches available for the Catholics as soon as possible. [Even in the 2010s Maryknoll has financed the construction of large, modern churches in Tanzania. This history takes no position on this issue.]

In addition to the rapid establishment of parishes Maryknoll also wanted to build on the White Fathers work with the catechumenate in each parish. The missionaries met with catechists every month – in one parish every week – and did as best they could to choose qualified men as catechists, at both the parish level and in each outstation. Netting large numbers of baptized adults was not the goal, but rather Maryknollers tried to ensure the teaching of religion would be of high quality. Many also moved to more modern syllabuses, based on biblical themes and life questions. The instructions over the two-

year period were for the most part decentralized to outstations by the early 1960s, although a number of parishes continued to have the catechumens come to the mission for two one-month periods of intensive instruction prior to baptism, called Siku Jose.

In addition to catechists Maryknollers tried to improve the quality of the parish leaders. This was in the pre-parish council era, but parishes had elders, called Batongi in Kisukuma, in each church who would advise the priests, a system of advise-and-consent based on the traditional Sukuma model of decision-making. Many of the elders were not in fact good leaders and by the 1960s many had been replaced by more responsible – probably younger and more educated – leaders. A number of the priests said, however, that their most trusted leaders were the catechists.

Much more concerted effort was put into making parishes financially self-reliant beginning in the late 1960s, as we will see in forthcoming chapters, but already in the late 1950s a number of Maryknollers were writing of attempts to increase local income to meet some essential parish needs.

Within three years after the Diocese of Shinyanga was officially established in August, 1956, the Maryknollers had moved to start a formal course in Kisukuma, first at Gula and then in Shinyanga town, and to build and open a catechist training centre, borrowing from the White Fathers' model at Bukumbi and Ndala.

As important as competence in the Sukuma language and culture was, through professionally structured courses, Maryknollers also recognized early the necessity of Swahili in the towns, such as Shinyanga Town, Nyalikungu (Maswa District's government headquarters), and probably Malampaka. However, Maryknoll priests in rural parishes of Shinyanga Diocese did not jump as eagerly in using Swahili in parish work and liturgy as was the case in Musoma Diocese in the 1960s, in response to President Nyerere's call for the nation to have one united language. Priests who knew Kisukuma well continued to use it even up to the new millennium.

The emphasis on Sukuma led the missionaries to incorporate many Sukuma cultural forms into the liturgy very early on, especially in song, dance and drumming. In some places drama and story-telling were also used. Interestingly, some parishes and outstation churches preceded some Vatican II liturgical changes by several years, such as having the altar put forward so that the priest could say Mass facing the people, and having most of the Mass recited or sung by the congregation in Kisukuma (while the priest was reciting the canon silently in Latin).

There were some very complex cultural issues that Maryknoll missionaries reflected on deeply, trying to find some common ground between African cultural norms and western modes of thinking, and especially with regard to marital canon laws. In fact, African marriage (patriarchal, done in stages, open to polygamy) and marriage according to canon law are incompatible. (Canon law views marriage as monogamous for life and taking effect at a specific point in time at the beginning of the marriage.) Even in 2015 a suitable solution has not been found. In addition to this conundrum missionaries encountered beliefs in charms and witchcraft, likewise with no facile solution. Fortunately, in Sukumaland the missionaries did not have to deal with the matter of female circumcision. In the 1950s and 1960s the pervasive role that patriarchy plays in all important societal matters had also not yet received much attention.

The dizzying speed of all these initiatives makes one wonder how it was possible. Fortunately all the missionaries were quite young, in their twenties and thirties. Very few

were over forty and even McGurkin was only in his fifties in that first decade. It should also be remembered that Shinyanga was a rugged diocese, with some very remote parishes and many terrible roads. During rainy seasons many roads became impassable. These conditions took a toll on vehicles and personnel. Luckily Brother Vic Marshall was an excellent mechanic and kept vehicles running. As of 1964 burn-out was not yet recognized as a problem; it would become an issue requiring attention in later decades.

One surprising fact of those years was the harmonious relations between the Catholic missionaries and local Muslims. The Arabs who settled at the East African coast in the 13<sup>th</sup> century brought with them from Yemen and Arabia the non-radical Shafi'i branch of Sunni Islam. This form emanated throughout Tanganyika in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, along with the Swahili language, in the search for ivory and slaves. This form of Islam emphasized learning, purity, piety, and civilization, and these became the goals of the Swahili Muslims who settled in the many towns throughout Tanganyika. (Of course, they saw no conflict between these goals and holding many African slaves.) Growing conflict between Muslims and Christians in Tanzania resulted only when the radical, militant form of Wahabi Islam was extended from Saudi Arabia to East Africa beginning around the year 1980 (or maybe slightly earlier). In the 1950s Christians and Muslims cooperated in the nationalist movement seeking independence and perhaps this is one reason that there was no conflict at that time. In any event, the American Maryknoll missionaries enjoyed good relations with Muslim neighbors in several of the towns where missions were located in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Diocese and the various deaneries held meetings, annually or even several times a year. One purpose was to forge through democratic discussion common policies in each parish with regard to a number of areas of ecclesiastical life, particularly with regard to rules on baptismal and marriage policy. One wonders if the American example of democratic decision-making made a lasting impression on diocesan priests and possibly even on the European priests. At some diocesan meetings broader issues were broached, through input from someone from elsewhere, followed by discussion, such as on the church's role in social and economic development. Deaneries also invited speakers to give special input on a variety of topics.

We conclude by again reminding the reader that this all happened in just nine or ten years. It was a time of great energy and enthusiasm – and accomplishment. But new issues were approaching, some of which would be complicated, tension-filled, and almost stubbornly insolvable. At the same time there would be new ideas and approaches in order to address the rapidly changing circumstances of newly independent Tanzania. These matters will be looked at in the next chapters on Maryknoll's history in Tanzania, from the 1960s to around the early 1990s (in some cases right up to the present day), and a final chapter on more current ministries. Maryknoll's work in Dar es Salaam will also receive its own chapter, from 1967 to 2012. This will include work in Morogoro and Arusha. Likewise, Maryknoll's work in Mwanza from the 1980s to 2012 will also have its own chapter, in which brief mention will be made of work in other places in Tanzania, such as Sengerema and Rulenge.