

MARYKNOLL IN TANZANIA  
CHAPTER TEN

MUSOMA DIOCESE POST INDEPENDENCE  
NORTH MARA PARISHES

The area north of the Mara River in Musoma Diocese was divided into two sections or Deaneries that followed the ethnic make-up of each deanery. The two ethnic groups were probably the largest in the diocese, the Luo and the Kuria. In almost every parish in this whole area either one or the other ethnic group was the overwhelming majority within the parish boundaries, with the exception of Komuge, populated by the Basimbiti ethnic group, and Tarime, which is a town parish populated by many ethnic groups. But even in Tarime the Kuria is the largest group, followed by the Luo. Others living in the town are from all over Tanzania and there are probably some from Kenya also living there. Since the Basimbiti have close affinities with the Kuria, Komuge Parish will be linked with the Kuria parishes.

We will begin with the Luo parishes, since Kowak was the first parish in North Mara, and it has remained a parish of great importance to Maryknoll from 1946 up to the present.

KOWAK, ST. BRIDGET PARISH:

In the first volume on Tanzania we had left off writing about Kowak in the year 1962. At that time the pastor, Fr. Frank Murray, had decentralized the parish into several large centers, each of which served a few outstations. The catechumenate, sacrament course, and parish records were to be done at the center level. The decentralization was done primarily for practical purposes rather than for theological reasons: it was impractical to expect people to walk long distances into the mission every Sunday. The post-Independence era had begun and people had become much busier in their farms and in other economic endeavors. Thus, it was necessary to bring the church closer to where they lived. The theology of local communities or what came to be called small Christian communities had not yet been developed, nor had the Vatican II theology of the full role of the laity in the three offices of the Church – priest, king, and prophet – yet been articulated. But the practical reasons for decentralization were sufficient.

In 1962 Murray was assigned to teach at Mara Secondary School. Many years later, to the chagrin of Murray, Kowak Parish was re-centralized, with all books and registers brought back to the mission. A practical rationale lay behind this decision as well: the priest was heavily involved in development of the educational and health facilities at the mission and could not devote the time necessary to serve a de-centralized parish. The catechumenate, however, remained at the center or outstation level. The era of having the sacrament course for six months at the mission had passed and could not be resurrected. Fr. Tom Donnelly, who was at Kowak in the years 1961 to 1963, commented, “He was strongly opposed by other veteran missionaries. They said that (decentralization) was destroying the central mission. But it was the way to go and eventually everybody went that way.”

As was reported in Chapter Four of the previous volume, Kowak Parish had been sub-divided into four large centers, of which Kowak was one, along with Butuli (or Waturi, as Donnelly called it), Wategi, and Kotuo. In the years 1961 to 1963, each priest was responsible for one place: Tom Donnelly for Waturi, Jim Kuhn for Kotuo, and Murray for both Wategi and Kowak. Donnelly described how he served Waturi.

I worked in Waturi regularly. It was like its own parish and I was like a junior pastor in that area. I rode my motorcycle all over the area and knew the people, probably the best I have known people in all my years in Africa, and they knew me pretty well.

We had excellent sacrament courses there for three years. It was probably a high point for catechetical work; things were just booming. They hadn't had that much attention ever before; they were always just a remote outstation of Kowak. I was living there two or three days a week, every single week, and they responded in kind. It was a true renaissance in Waturi.

I slept in a room behind the church and had plenty of water in the water tank, which got water from the roof. I did my own cooking in a kerosene pressure burner. Then Frank Murray built a house for a catechist behind the church and a catechist and his wife came down and lived there. So, Waturi had a resident catechist, which was good for the people.

Waturi is located in a valley and has a lot of villages. I went around to all the villages and got to know the people very well.

When we get to the years of mid-1980s to the present in Kowak we will see that Fr. Jim Conard, the pastor, was heavily involved in building a Girls Boarding High School and expanding the bedded dispensary into a full hospital. At that time we will put forward the arguments of mission as social development versus mission as formation of self-reliant, faith-enriching Christian communities. We will see that there are valid arguments for both, but by the 1990s and especially in the new century the critical question for Maryknoll missionaries in Tanzania was how limited personnel should focus their time, energy and resources.

There were personnel changes at that time. In 1961 Jim Kuhn was assigned to open the new parish of Ingri. In his place, Fr. Tarcisius Sije had been assigned to Kowak. Sije was ordained at his home parish of Nyarombo on August 16, 1959, and worked in Tatwe Parish for his first year, transferring to Kowak in late 1960. Thus, in the years 1961 and 1962 the three priests at Kowak were Murray, Donnelly, and Sije, until Murray went into Musoma to teach at Mara Secondary School. When Sije was at Kowak Murray decided to take two Centers and have Fr. Sije serve the Mission at Kowak.

Murray was transferred from Kowak either at the end of 1962 or very beginning of 1963 and in 1963 Fr. Bill Daley was assigned to Kowak to be pastor in place of Murray. Daley also took the two Centers that Murray had been serving. In 1963, the transfers continued: first, Tom Donnelly went to the U.S. for his furlough and on return to Tanzania in 1964 he was assigned to Tatwe. Later in 1963 Tarcisius Sije was also transferred and a Luo priest from Kenya was brought to Kowak. Unfortunately, this priest had an alcohol problem and did not stay long. Finally, in 1964 Fr. Wayman Deasy was

assigned to Kowak with Daley. They had been together in Masonga for a year or so from 1959 to 1960. Unfortunately for Daley, Deasy went on furlough in 1965 and on his return to Tanzania he was assigned to Ingri. But prior to that, in 1964 Fr. Bill Sweeney had been assigned to Luo work in Musoma Diocese and he took the newly inaugurated course in Kijaluo at the language school in Musoma. On completion of the course in early 1965 he was assigned to Kowak and he and Daley remained there together for the next six years.

Of those mentioned above, two – Wayman Deasy and Bill Sweeney – were never interviewed and we have no direct information about their work in Tanzania. Fortunately, we do have sufficient information about both Kowak Parish in the 1960s and the Luo Deanery in those years from Daley and Donnelly.

One matter that Daley commented on was that Kowak and later all the Luo parishes of North Mara followed the policies of Kisumu Diocese, which served all the Luo people of Kenya until Kisii Diocese was established in 1960 (and Homa Bay Diocese in the 1980s).

Bishop Oomen of Mwanza had set this policy when Kowak Parish was started. The White Fathers always treated Kowak differently from the other parishes. They made the decision that Kowak would do whatever was policy for Luos in Kisumu Diocese, except for one thing, the disparity of cult (i.e. a dispensation for mixed marriage). I don't know why Kisumu did not give this dispensation but we did.

Daley wondered, however, what would happen if a priest was assigned to Kowak coming from a background of serving Bantu parishes. He argued that there should be a uniform policy for all the parishes in Musoma Diocese regarding such matters as mixed marriage, second wives, the question of baptism of children of second wives, and what policy to have with regard to a widow, who in Luo cultural law was obligated to be taken as the second wife of the deceased husband's brother, similar to the Old Testament levirate law. In the 1960s and even into the 1970s Kowak was still providing refuge for Catholic widows so that they would not be forced to become second wives and therefore denied further reception of the sacraments. The women did various tasks at the mission and at least one proved to be a superb catechist.

The Luo parishes of North Mara also continued using the modified version of the old White Fathers' four-year medal system of catechumenate, albeit shortened to between fifteen and twenty-one months and de-centralized to the outstations and Centers. Daley said that the Mill Hill Society in Kenya used baptism as a means of earning money for the parish by charging high stole fees. Half of the stole fee was given to the catechist, giving the catechist a great incentive to bring in as many converts as possible. This local income along with money from Europe enabled Mill Hill missionaries to build magnificent missions and also achieve a modicum of local self-support, at least compared to Musoma Diocese. However, it is also probable that Kenya's more advanced national economy fostered greater local support. In any event, Daley preferred the medal system, which emphasized catechetical instruction.

He said that as result of the catechetical movement in the 1960s new catechetical materials were introduced. When the Komuge Catechist School was started Fr. Art Wille taught the catechist trainees how to use the book "African Way of Life," which Fr. Mike

Kirwen translated into the Luo language and which Daley used at Kowak. Daley, like other Maryknollers who had come out in the early to mid-1950s, expressed nostalgia for the old Sacrament Course held at the mission.

The old Sacrament Course was beautiful, the people being in the mission. Especially when you're new you could go at night after they had finished their work for the day. They would be cooking and you'd sit down and talk with them. That was nice.

Daley also commented that as valuable as was the Komuge Catechist Training Centre, it created its own internal dilemma of having men trained as leaders and educated about politics and community development, just at a time when the newly independent Tanzania government was seeking trained community leaders. Lack of a decent salary from the church led to many accepting those government jobs, as has already been noted in previous chapters.

Throughout the 1960s the de-centralized form of parish ministry continued, with the priests dividing up the four main sub-parishes among themselves and saying Mass every Sunday in each of these churches. The parish books, particularly the sacramental registers and financial books, remained in each sub-parish until the late 1970s. There were major changes in personnel in the beginning of the 1970s but the new personnel retained the policy of de-centralization through the early and mid-1970s.

The hospital at Kowak continued to provide worthy medical services to the people, although it was technically called a "bedded dispensary." Daley said that the government refused to permit Kowak to become a full hospital since there were already two other hospitals in North Mara, namely Tarime and Shirati, the latter run by Mennonite Missioners, whereas there was only one hospital in Musoma District. By the mid-1960s relations with the Mennonites had become good and there was very good cooperation between the medical staffs at Kowak and Shirati. Kowak was served capably throughout the 1960s and 1970s by Maryknoll Sister Margaret O'Brien, an old Army nurse. She had taken over after officials of the newly independent Tanzania government trumped up false allegations against Dr./Sr. Marion Puszcz in 1965, ordering the Diocese to remove her from Kowak. Daley explained that these officials, including the demagogic Area Commissioner, were making very aggressive sexual demands on the African nurses at Kowak, were confronted sternly by Puszcz, and this led to her removal.

Even though Kowak Hospital charged patients for diagnosis and treatment, people preferred it to the government hospital in Tarime. Treatment was theoretically free at the government hospital but often there was no medicine and usually people had to make under-the-table payment to nurses and doctors in order to be treated.

Donnelly commented about another aspect of life in Kowak and Luo-land, the very good social camaraderie among all the priests working in the Luo parishes and the positive results of a strong Luo Deanery.

All the missions were very active and during the week everyone was busy carrying out their work in each mission. But after about two weeks or so there would be a social on a Sunday evening, usually at Kowak but sometimes at other

places, where we would have a big meal and recount tales of what was going on in the parish.

There was a tremendous exchange of information. This was just the Luo Deanery, all the Luo missions. We had a reputation of being our own special clan and there may have been a rivalry with the Bantu Deaneries of North and South Mara. This was most intense in Musoma Diocese and went on for at least twelve years.

I thought we had tremendous cohesiveness for those years, in part due to this social life. The men worked together and shared ideas. We certainly had our fights and differences of opinion, but I mourn its passing. I haven't experienced that since those early days in Luo work. Kowak was the center. It was very helpful. We younger fellows picked up a lot of information, from not only those we were working with but from others in other missions. So, it was a social alright, but it accomplished a lot besides just getting together for a meal and drinks.

Fr. Don Donovan, although he was at Masonga Parish, also commented on the role that the Luo Deanery played in the formation of Maryknoll priests assigned to Luo land. He first pointed out that the Luo people had a reputation of being aggressive, in contrast to the neighboring Bantu ethnic groups, in their manner of questioning, objecting and requesting monetary help from expatriates.

All of us who worked with Luos found them good, but challenging of course. We would see just the opposite of the priests working with the Bantu. One group was ready with a response whereas the other was passive. So, whichever you liked, then fine.

There were a number of us in Luo work at that time and we got together frequently, which gave us a wonderful spirit. A lot of our talk when we got together was of the work, i.e. of the various techniques we could use, problems with catechists, and so forth. We picked up an awful lot from the older missionaries.

When Mike Pierce, Frank Murray and Joe Glynn left the Luo Deanery (by the end of 1962) it began to lose some of its cohesiveness, according to Donnelly. They were referred to as the 'big three,' and looked on as sort of the leaders of the deanery. Donnelly pointed out, however, that they didn't always agree, but that one of the strengths of the Luo Deanery was that people could have strongly expressed differences of opinion without decreasing the effectiveness of the deanery and the work in each Luo parish.

[Editor note: refer to Volume One, the chapter on Mombasa Diocese and specifically to Marafa Parish, where Donnelly is quoted bemoaning that Maryknoll did not approach the apostolate to the Giriama people on Kenya's coast, which exhibited many elements of what is referred to as primary evangelization, in a manner as comprehensive and cohesive as what he had experienced in the Luo Deanery in the 1950s and 1960s. He thought that Maryknoll should have assigned between six and ten

Maryknoll priests to about four parishes in the territory of the Giriama, learned Kigiriama, and formed parish communities by emphasizing the values of action, group reflection, constant evaluation, and consensus in decision-making.

These insightful reflections may have something to say to Maryknoll as it discerns the direction that a small, viable society will take in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Of course, to the values mentioned above would have to be added the importance of collaboration with the other Maryknoll entities as well as probably with other religious and diocesan groups.]

Forty years after Donnelly had left work in Luo land he was interviewed again. By then he had worked in other parts of Tanzania and in Kenya for over twenty years, and his reflections on the Luo may be intermingled with his memories of other African peoples and places. One important matter regarded the language of liturgies in Luo parishes, i.e. the change-over from Luo to Swahili in Tanzania. Luo live in many other parts of the country, but as minorities, and have no alternative but to attend Mass in Swahili in what are mainly Bantu parishes. But the five parishes of the Luo Deanery resisted into the 1970s changing over to Swahili. All the priests had learned Luo, with hard work and struggle, and were proud of being able to converse with people in their own indigenous language.

In interviews many years later various Maryknoll priests offered differing interpretations of how mandatory it was for Catholic parishes in Tanzania in the 1970s to adopt the Swahili Mass. One priest who worked in Luo parishes stated that after a “raging discussion” for several years Bishop Rudin insisted that all Luo parishes adopt the Swahili liturgy, in conformity with the national policy of forging national unity through use of one language. He said that the Tanzania Government also was pushing this. However, others have stated that Rudin never insisted that Swahili be used nor did the Tanzania government ever dictate this.

The priests argued that use of the local language fostered deeper faith and greater participation, especially for a non-Bantu people, than use of a national lingua franca. In addition to those in Luo parishes, priests in Kuria and Sukuma parishes also resisted the change-over to Swahili. By the 1970s most parishes in Musoma Diocese had changed over to Swahili, in part due to the language school’s teaching of Swahili only, for all newcomers to Tanzania. When Fr. Jim Conard was assigned to Kowak as pastor in 1978 he was able to celebrate Mass only in Swahili. He had worked only with Bantu people and knew only Bantu languages prior to his assignment to Kowak. However, later when Fr. Bill Daley returned to the Luo parishes of Ingri and Kowak, he continued to use only Luo. He had attempted to learn Swahili in 1971 but never learned it well enough to use. With regard to diocesan priests, it was not unusual for a Luo priest to be assigned to a Bantu parish and for Bantu priests to be assigned to Luo parishes. To this should be added the caveat that African priests – and Bishops – learn indigenous languages other than their own very quickly. For them it is a matter of pride – an expectation, in fact – to be able to speak the dominant local language in a parish they are assigned to, at least to an acceptable level of communication.

Donnelly also talked about the steady, inexorable inculturation of the liturgy in ways of singing, symbols, instruments, use of dance and manner of conducting Mass, as well as the length of Sunday Mass. However, he noted that these changes came about

gradually, until in the new century it could be said that African liturgies are far more African than western.

While the liturgy in Luo parishes and in East Africa in general was becoming much more African in form many traditional customs were slowly dying out or receding in importance, as Donnelly further explained. One was bride wealth; this has never disappeared but the number of cows required for payment has greatly decreased, or actually payment in cattle has been replaced by money, which can be very high.

Education of girls got a head start in Musoma Diocese thanks to Mary Hancock, the government Education Secretary for Mara Region. We have already referred to her insistence that in all the primary schools, as far back as the 1950s, girls receive as many places as boys in the first grade, even ordering the Heads of schools to remove the bigger boys and replacing them with girls before her next visit to the school.

Polygamy is another structural element in Luo society that has been eroded by modern transformations, as Donnelly commented:

When girls got educated they did not want to be in polygamous situations. Furthermore, economically the man could no longer afford it. Their wives demanded modern household items and nice clothes, and taxes increased so men could not afford to have a second wife. This was a solution to polygamy without the Church having to make it a major issue, which would have been futile anyway.

Donnelly said that prior to about 1980 polygamy was such a strong element in Luo society that many Catholics, even catechists, took second wives, which meant they could not receive the sacraments. Interestingly, according to Donnelly, a man might like one of his younger wives better than the first wife, perhaps because of her good personality, but “when he dies he must be buried in front of the first wife’s house and if she’s dead they build a symbolic little house and he is buried in front of that.” Another factor that has made polygamy untenable is lack of land in the rural area, due to population increase.

Thus, arguments about baptizing polygamists or second wives have ceased for the most part. However, many African Catholics do not receive communion in the new century, due to high bride price and the African custom of marriage in stages. Most Luos are baptized as children and then are denied the sacraments in adulthood when they marry without a canonical marriage.

Some traditional practices have disappeared due to modern influences, such as removing the six lower front teeth of boys and girls and cutting the face to make permanent scars that would be tribal markers. The Luo never practiced circumcision, so that was not a practice that needed replacement. However, belief in the spirit world has not disappeared, and Donnelly said that those preparing for baptism were readily drawn to the Church’s teaching on the Communion of Saints, since spirits in Luo belief (and African belief in general) are the dead ancestors, who still retain a relationship with those who are alive. Donnelly said that traditionally Luo were very much afraid of the evil that spirits could inflict on them and that they were attracted to Christianity because it offered

hope. Fear of evil (e.g. famine, disease, or sudden death), use of charms, and recourse to diviners for medical treatment are still very common even well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

As mentioned above, Donnelly was transferred from Kowak to Tatwe after his furlough in 1964. He was replaced at Kowak first by Wayman Deasy and then in 1965 by Bill Sweeney, who was the first to take the course in Kijaluo at the language school. Daley remained at Kowak up till January, 1971, when he went for Swahili and then was assigned to Ingri. Sweeney then became pastor of Kowak and was joined by two others. First Fr. George Rosenbaum was assigned to Kowak, the first non-Luo-speaking Maryknoller assigned to a Luo parish. He had been ordained in 1967, learned Swahili at the language school and then worked in Iramba Parish up till the end of 1970. In 1971 newly ordained Fr. John Eybel was assigned to Kowak, after finishing the six-month course in Kijaluo at the language school. The three of them were together up till 1972, when Rosenbaum left Kowak and returned to the United States for a course in Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE). He, unfortunately, was never interviewed and after a year or two in the U.S. he left Maryknoll.

Thus, our main source of information about Kowak in the early 1970s is Eybel, who lived there until 1975, and became pastor when Sweeney went on for Swahili in 1973. Eybel said his course in Luo was very good. It had been developed by Mike Kirwen and placed great importance on learning Luo tones. Thus, Eybel was able to get started right away in the schedule of parish work, even if it would be several months before he began feeling comfortable in speaking. Most days he went to a small outstation and listened to the faith discussion taking place, gradually building up facility in taking part in the discussion.

By 1971 Kowak was a very well developed parish. The four sub-parishes, or Centers, namely Kowak, Utegi, Butuli, and Baganjo (previously referred to as Kotuo; all four places have alternative names), still received Mass every Sunday. In addition to these were 44 small outstations, called either kigangos or groups or eventually Small Christian Communities, which were visited every other month, on weekdays, for seminars and faith enrichment. The three priests concentrated on this work of deepening the faith of baptized Catholics. As of 1971 the primary school, now a large, full primary school for boys and girls, was completely in government hands, and the bedded dispensary was also being capably managed by Sr. Margaret O'Brien, so the priests did not have to worry about either of these institutions. Eybel explained how the priests went about their pastoral work.

The three of us were trying to break down the clerical, hierarchical structure of the church in favor of the small groups, or SCCs, that had been developed by Marie France, Dan Zwack and Gerry Pavis. (Cf ahead on Nyarombo Parish) In fact the whole Luo Deanery had this history of a strong emphasis on these groups rather than on the big Church with big liturgies. We did do big liturgies on feasts such as Easter, and we were good, but we put more emphasis, time and energy on the smaller group meetings.

There were 44 designated areas where people met, usually in someone's house but sometimes under a tree. A few of the places had built a small kigango,

or chapel, where we could meet. Between the three of us, each place was visited once every other month, and we were very regular in doing this.

In addition to this, every month there was a full-day seminar at the mission and one or two people from each outstation were supposed to come in for this, either 44 or sometimes 88 people. Their job was to learn something to take back to the weekly meetings in small groups. Mostly there was no priest present at the weekly meetings, but at least there was someone prepared to facilitate the discussion. This was a highly organized day and they would have a meal. It created a lot of church consciousness on the part of the local communities.

The topics for these seminars ranged widely. It could be something as simple as songs or sacraments or about self-help. One time we had government people come in to make a presentation. But usually the seminars were about some matter of catechesis or something related to the Church year or on a particular spiritual or religious theme.

There were three or four catechists who had been trained at Komuge, plus another seven or eight at the four sub-parishes. These had only a small amount of training, such as short course in Makoko. At that time Komuge had not yet started the short courses for catechist. The trained catechists helped us in teaching at the monthly seminars.

This pastoral work with small groups consumed most of the priests' time but they did other things beside. George Rosenbaum was very interested in youth and when visiting the small groups he encouraged the formation of youth groups, making youth work a specialty of his. Eybel had learned good boxing skills while in the seminary in the United States and he tried to introduce boxing at Kowak. But only a few people were interested and it was short-lived. However, he gained a reputation as a great boxer, which followed him several years later when he was transferred to Musoma. Sweeney, being the pastor, took on responsibility for administrative matters in the parish.

They did a few things with regard to community development, such as supplying hybrid seeds and teaching about proper plowing techniques. They also tried to keep the people, almost all farmers, abreast of weather and rainfall forecasts. In 1972 or 1973 Eybel tried to help someone start a secondary school on the mission compound. This was a "colossal failure," and closed after one term. The school lacked water, food and facilities, and started with 300 students, far too many.

Keeping the water pump working properly was a constant chore as well as providing diesel for the generator. A secure supply of water and electricity was necessary for the hospital. Often Eybel had to use much of his time digging out pipes and getting them repaired. He remarked, "When I first went there I didn't know anything about a water pump, but I consider myself an expert water engineer now."

Fortunately while Eybel was at Kowak there were no robberies or any violence. He discovered that there were a lot of young men with nothing to do, just hanging around, and some engaged in petty theft. This was one reason he tried to start a boxing club, to give them something to do.

In 1973 Bill Sweeney went to Makoko to study Swahili and he never returned to Kowak or Luo work after this. The previous year, in 1972, Fr. Frank Murray was asked

by Joe Glynn to return to Kowak, where he had been pastor ten years previously. However, as of then Murray had been doing research projects for dioceses, Episcopal conferences, and other church institutions and preferred to continue doing research on church issues rather than parochial work. He stayed in Kowak only forty days and then went to the United States to look for an assignment.

In 1973 a major event took place in the country, Ujamaa Villagization, the forced relocation of the whole rural population into ujamaa villages of about 100 to 200 families. (Cf Chapter Seven, pages 22-25, including Eybel's comments on its effects in Kowak Parish.) It is not clear if Sweeney was still in Kowak at that time or if Eybel was alone (Eybel was alone in Kowak at the end of 1973). In any event the parish became pulled into helping people, most of whose houses had been demolished, by hauling all kinds of furniture and building materials, providing accommodations in the church for young men and boys, whose job was to build the new houses but had no place to stay, and even making available a school classroom for the six wives of a businessman who lived not far from Kowak and whose houses had also been knocked down. The chaos of relocation, called *uhamisho* in Swahili, lasted about two months or so and then people were re-settled.

As mentioned above, in late 1973 Eybel was alone in Kowak, but in 1974 Fr. Jim Kuhn was assigned there. Kuhn remained in Kowak until 1975, but unfortunately he was never interviewed for the history project. In September, 1974, Eybel went to Makoko to learn Swahili. He had felt self-conscious because of knowing Luo only and in fact he avoided Musoma town where he could not talk to anyone, except Luo people living in the town or those who could speak English. Often, for a break, he went to Kisumu, in Kenya, where he could converse in Luo with people there. In those years crossing the border was not a difficult matter.

Although he was in Kowak for only four years, Eybel felt these were good, successful years. He appreciated the well organized manner in which the parish was set up by Bill Sweeney and the very good training he got from Sweeney.

(Sweeney's) basic principle was to enjoy the people and that is what he made it his business to do. As a result they liked him and they could like themselves better because they could identify themselves as Christians, a place where love is manifested. I think that's the measure of success.

After he completed the Swahili course Eybel went to several parishes for a brief period of time, such as Tarime and Nyegina, and finally to teach at St. Pius Seminary in Makoko for several years. Kuhn finished up in Kowak in either 1975 or early 1976. He then went to the United States for an assignment there and several years later to Zambia.

Apparently in 1976 there was no priest to assign to Kowak and it was administered by several catechists, who left the rectory a mess. From 1977 to mid-1978 two Polish priests were assigned to Kowak. Finally, in June, 1978, Fr. Jim Conard was assigned from Mugango Parish to Kowak. He had just installed electricity in Mugango and was barely able to enjoy it when he was assigned to Kowak, where the pump was not working, there was no electricity, and the rectory and other buildings were in disrepair, obviously the reasons why Conard was assigned there by Bishop Rudin.

Conard was joined by Fr. Castully Neema, who had been ordained for one year, and they set about trying to find out the state the parish was in. In addition to the need for wholesale repairs and re-building of almost every building on the mission property, they discovered that the catechists were not following proper procedures for baptism, in essence baptizing any baby that was brought in. At least one was also taking the church tax for himself. When Conard went to the main outstations, such as Utegi and Butuli, he found out that leadership was in a poor state, due to the catechists' abuse of their responsibilities. Furthermore, the two Polish priests had long leaves in Poland during their year and a half and did little in the parish, except say Mass and administer sacraments. Conard dismissed the catechists and replaced the leaders in each place, causing the new Regional Superior, Fr. Bill Daley, to call him 'Attila the Hun.'

Regarding construction, Conard said:

I built a new convent for the African Sisters, a new hospital and staff houses, put in a new water pump system and new generators, repainted and electrified the church, putting locks on all the church doors, and re-built the primary school, putting in doors and windows on all the classrooms.

It was several years before I got to the rectory, first taking out the ceiling and driving all the bats out of the rafters. I repaired the roof, put in new ceilings, installed electricity, and painted it inside and outside. Because of the bat droppings the rectory had a constant odor, which we finally eliminated.

Neema was a very good man to live with and cooperated in the pastoral work. They restored the Sunday Mass system for the four main outstations, expanded on the work of the Polish priests to have a good first communion program, and after a couple of years they started again having confirmations. Also, new catechists were hired.

In December, 1978, just six months after Conard arrived at Kowak, Sr. Margaret O'Brien retired from the hospital and returned to the United States. Several IHSA Sisters came to run the hospital. In 1982 one of the Sisters was attacked at Kowak and Bishop Mayala closed the hospital for about nine months, until two Sisters of the Society of Helpers came to Kowak, Sr. Elaine Kelly from Scotland and Sr. Yuriko Kashiwase from Japan.

In January, 1981, Neema was assigned to a different parish and Fr. Joe Masatu was assigned to Kowak in his place. Shortly after that Conard came down with hepatitis and since it was his 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of ordination he went back to the United States for a year. In 1981 a layman, Paul M. Jameson, a member of the Volunteer Missionary Movement (VMM) that has its headquarters in London, came to help with the building projects. This happened just before Conard came down with hepatitis. He was in the parish alone with Masatu and unfortunately he did not have a vehicle, making procurement of building materials very difficult. Compounding this, he did not have control of the money allocated for building a new convent for the IHSA Sisters and another staff house for the hospital. However, he was able to get these projects started and in 1982 Conard returned to Kowak. At the end of 1982 Jameson finished his contract and returned to England, with the buildings only partially completed. Conard then took on the tasks of finishing these buildings, most importantly the second staff house, which became the residence of the two Sisters of the Society of Helpers.

Throughout the rest of the decade of the 1980s Conard was heavily involved in building and doing repairs, using his own donor money, money from Maryknoll, and at times money from other funding agencies. He stated in an interview in June, 1989, that he replaced the roofs on all buildings of the compound with new corrugated metal sheets, tore down the old convent of the Maryknoll Sisters and built a new building that became part of the hospital, built a three-vehicle garage for the hospital, did wholesale renovations of the mud-walled, grass-roofed house that the White Fathers and the first Maryknollers who came in the 1940s lived in, making it presentable for general use, and began construction of a larger hospital (but still technically a bedded dispensary).

In April, 1984, Fr. Tom Tiscornia was assigned to Kowak, where he joined Conard and Fr. Alex Choka, who had come in either 1982 or 1983 in place of Joe Masatu. Later in 1984, in October, Fr. Rab Murphy was assigned to Kowak from Issenye Parish, where he had been living and working since 1963. Rab had a brief stay at Kowak. One day in January, 1985, he and Conard went to an outstation near the Mara River, a distance from the parish. Rab was not feeling well that day and took some chloroquine, for malaria. But he was very confused at the Mass and Conard recognized that something was wrong. Although Conard was going to Nairobi the next day he didn't think Rab was very sick – just another bout with malaria that they were all familiar with. On Conard's return to Kowak he was informed that Rab was very sick and that several Polish priests who were going to Nairobi for their own business had agreed to take Rab there. Sadly, Rab succumbed to a heart attack shortly after that, on February 7, 1985, and a week later he was buried at the cemetery at St. Pius Seminary in Makoko. Two diocesan priests, Fathers Peter Misana and Faustine Massawe, who died in December, 1984, and February, 1985 respectively, were also buried in this cemetery at about the same time (cf ahead about Tarime Parish). Later in 1985, Fr. Ed Hayes, the Tanzania Regional Superior, ordered head stones from Maryknoll, NY, for all three deceased priests. In June, 1999, Fr. Joe Reinhart died in Musoma and was also buried at the cemetery at Makoko.

Conard commented that there were a number of deaths affecting Musoma Diocese in late 1984 up through the middle of 1985. In addition to the above mentioned deaths, a seminarian assigned to Kowak used a motorcycle at the mission without permission, took a terrible flip at speed, and died from a forceful blow to his head. In March, 1985, Conard's father also died in Green Bay, WI, for which Conard returned to preside at the funeral. Conard commented, "1985 was kind of a tough year here."

Tiscornia talked about his time at Kowak, which ended up to be only two and a half years.

I did pastoral ministry, village work. I also taught religious education at Shirati Secondary School, a private school thirty miles away near Masonga Parish, which is what I was doing in Musoma in the 1970s. Once a week I would go and teach at the school, in Swahili.

I felt that it was not only my teaching but what was important was to have a presence with the young people. Hopefully some of them, because of my having gone out there, have a better relationship with the Church today. It was worth it.

He had been at Mugumu Parish for a year prior to coming to Kowak and found some huge differences. Because of the hospital at Kowak there were people coming on to the mission compound every day. Likewise, because Kowak was near the main highway Maryknollers and other religious personnel stopped there frequently, in contrast to Mugumu, which was 100 miles out at the end of the road.

Since Tiscornia had worked at Nyarombo Parish, also a Luo parish, five years previously, he and Conard concentrated on the Luo areas of Kowak Parish, even though neither actually knew the Luo language. Tiscornia worked mainly in Utegi and Baganjo, where there was a mixture of Luo and non-Luo people. In the few short months that Rab was alive, he used to often go along the north side of the Mara River to places inhabited by Bantu people, Bakuria and Basimbiti, where Conard was previously going. After Rab's death, Conard resumed going out to these places, since he also had a Bantu background.

In 1986 Tiscornia volunteered to be a member of the group going to El Obeid Diocese in Sudan and in January, 1987, he made this move. One other comment Tiscornia mentioned regarding his years at Kowak was the great opportunity to live at the same mission with Maryknoll Lay Missioners, Dr. Susan Nagele and Sandy Cavendish, a nurse, who came to Kowak in mid-1985 after finishing their Swahili course. Tiscornia felt that the great relationship among all the Maryknoll entities, priests, Brothers, Sisters and Lay Missioners, in the 1980s was an important sign of the new face of mission.

Alex Choka worked in two Luo Centers, namely Kowak itself and Buturi. However, when he first arrived in Kowak in 1983 he was very sick, recovering from a serious bout with ulcers. He did no work for the first few months. Conard said they changed the diet to accommodate him and after a few months Choka recovered, becoming very healthy and happy in the work at Kowak, according to Conard. Choka also worked with the Women's Development organization at the parish. In mid-1986 Choka was assigned to Musoma Town Parish.

Shortly before Tiscornia left for Sudan, Fr. Carl Meulemans was assigned to Kowak, arriving in October, 1986. On arrival he found that the parish was still serving the four large centers, but rather than concentrate on only one or two places Meulemans wanted to know people from throughout the parish.

Previously in Shinyanga Diocese I and the other priest had divided the parish in half between ourselves but after discussion with others I thought it would be better to know everyone in the parish (in Kowak). Jim (Conard) and I alternated the four centers on weekends; he took two and I took two and the following week we swapped places.

Jim was doing building and didn't have time to visit villages during the week. I decided to go around to all villages, no matter how long it took, and get to know all the people.

Then I found a whole valley full of Kuria people, even though Kowak is a Luo parish. There was a schoolteacher there who volunteered to be a catechist and for a couple of years things went well, until he was transferred back to his home area.

My main work at Kowak was to develop a good catechetical program. There were four main catechists, one for each center, and I met with them to develop the catechetical materials we had. We also recruited people from each village to be local catechists. Some did well but others not so well. Meetings with villagers followed the style of a scriptural discussion, surfacing problems in the village and actions that the Christians could take.

There was also a youth group that I started to meet with on the hillside opposite the mission, about six or seven young adults. At each meeting they would decide to help cultivate somebody's farm, or come in and visit people in the hospital, or visit an older person at home who was sick. They were a neat group to work with.

After three years I broke my leg on the motorcycle and I was getting over-extended. Jim Conard had started building the girls' secondary school and the rectory had constant interruptions, which I found upsetting. So, after overseeing the catechumenate and baptisms for three years I requested a different assignment. I was assigned to teach at the minor seminary in Makoko and also begin the interviews for the history project.

Part of Meulemans' work in the Kuria valley was to collaborate with the people to build a church, according to Conard. The priests and one lay missionary oversaw the construction of several churches along that valley, just north of the Mara River, all the way out to the end where there was a gold mine. The mining company built a road, which made it possible for the priests to go out there. Prior to that, Conard said that it was often impossible to get there even by motorcycle.

In addition to catechist training in the parish at village level, Meulemans and an IHSA Sister, Sr. Imelda, ran special one-week courses once or twice a year at Komuge Catechist Training Centre for catechists, one week for Luo catechists and one week for Kuria catechists. Meulemans said, "We used materials from Lumko Institute in South Africa, to which Sister Margaret Monroe had gone one summer. She was doing the education component at Makoko Family Centre and brought back these materials from Lumko." Meulemans explained that the methodology of the Lumko materials was similar to the conscientization method formulated by Paulo Friere of Brazil, popularized in his book, "Pedagogy of the Oppressed."

While at Kowak Meulemans developed a good friendship with Dr. Susan Nagele and Sandy Cavendish, a nurse, who were Maryknoll Lay Missioners working in Kowak Hospital (cf below). Around 1987 or 1988 they collaborated to develop workshops to address the growing AIDS pandemic. They obtained teaching materials, including posters, from Uganda, one of which was very effective, a poster with people of various occupations and professions from poor, working class to the upper class, and a question: "Who among these have AIDS?" The answer of course, according to Meulemans, is anyone of them may have contracted the HIV virus. They included one or two catechists, school teachers, and government people from each area, and took the workshops to all four of the major centres of Kowak Parish, concluding at Kowak itself. The main goal of the workshops was to educate people how AIDS is contracted so that they would know how to avoid it.

In Meulemans' final year in Kowak he worked with Fr. Julius Manyonyi, a newly ordained diocesan priest, to facilitate development of his skill working with groups in the parish. They worked with the catechists, a women's group, leaders in various churches, and formed an association of primary school teachers that continued to meet regularly. In Meulemans' opinion, mentoring of young diocesan priests had become by the late 1980s and 1990s probably the most important contribution that older Maryknoll priests could make to the Diocese of Musoma.

Before moving on to parish work after 1990, we will first look at the development of Kowak Hospital, the assistance of many lay missionaries and volunteers, and the establishment of Kowak Girls Secondary School.

As noted before, Kowak had an active dispensary ever since the Maryknoll Sisters first arrived there in 1948 and by 1978 Sr. Margaret had built it up to a small medical clinic with thirty beds, specializing in maternity care. The IHSA Sisters kept it going till 1982, when Bishop Mayala ordered it closed, due to security concerns. In the meantime, Jameson continued to try to build some residences for Sisters who could staff the hospital and in 1982 was joined by Conard, who came back from the U.S., fully recovered from his bout with hepatitis. However, construction of the new hospital really began with the arrival of the two Sisters of the congregation called Helpers of the Poor Souls, either in late 1982 or early 1983. First, Sr. Kelly from Scotland came and after about a half year Sr. Yuriko from Japan joined her. Conard said:

They started by cleaning the old buildings first. The old primary school was turned into a ward and then a couple of classrooms were repaired and cleaned.

Then Sr. Yuriko got a nice gift from Japan, money that was donated by the schoolchildren of Japan. Then two workers came from Japan to do building, after which one went back there and brought out a woman volunteer. Later these two got married on their return to Japan.

The original Maryknoll Sisters' house was demolished and also the house that Sr. Margaret O'Brien was living in. Then these Japanese workers built up the hospital. In 1990 a delegation from Japan came, including a couple of children representing the school children who donate money, to have an official opening ceremony.

Over the ensuing years the wards were extended, to forty beds in 1990 and fifty-two beds by 2003. Also added were a laboratory, a culture room, a Maternal Child Health room, an operating room, an isolation ward, and a seven-bed ward for the girls from the secondary school (started in 1989).

The hospital got a big boost in 1985 when Dr. Susan Nagele and Sandy Cavendish came. Cavendish stayed at Kowak until 1991 and was replaced by Nancy Skinner. Nagele stayed until 1992, when she was replaced by Dr. Greg Ryan and his wife Marian, a Maryknoll Lay Missioner couple who remained at Kowak until 1994. Thus, for a period of close to ten years there was at least one medical doctor working at Kowak Hospital. Another Lay Missioner couple came to Kowak from 1993 to 1995, Eric and Margo Cambier. Margo was hospital administrator and Eric helped with building projects

both in the hospital and secondary school. Others in the mid to late 1990s were Liz Mach and Roland Moran.

In the late 1990s, around the year 1998, there were no expatriate personnel staffing the hospital and Conard had to entrust management to local Africans. The hospital was badly managed and began to go downhill. But in 1999 Conard was able to bring out a congregation from India, the Adoration Sisters, who sent three Sisters at first and then added another shortly later. Three of them were Registered Nurses and the other an accountant, and they resurrected the hospital. One of them later went on to train to be a Clinical Health Officer, the equivalent of Physicians' Assistant in the United States.

The hospital benefitted financially from the Ryans' stay at Kowak. On their return to Rochester, New York, they established good relationships with the pastor of Our Lady of Lourdes Parish, Fr. John O'Connor, who was looking for a good opportunity to twin with a parish overseas. Since the mid-1990s this parish has sent a sizeable amount of money to Kowak Hospital every month, enabling Conard to at first keep the hospital going and then to expand construction projects after the Adoration Sisters came. The latter stabilized hospital administration and local income was able to pay staff salaries, buy medications, and pay for local transport. Conard arranged to buy medications from an organization called Meds, located in Nairobi, Kenya, using money contributed by Our Lady of Lourdes Parish of Rochester. In the early 2000s this organization opened an office in Mwanza, Tanzania, and since then the staff of Kowak has gone there.

Fr. O'Connor of Rochester came out to visit Kowak twice and on one of the trips he was accompanied by parishioners. Because of these trips interest was sparked to not only contribute monetarily but to volunteer at the hospital. At various times several people from Rochester have come out for a few months each. O'Connor was transferred to a different parish later on, but Sr. Joan Sopava, the pastoral administrator, has continued the twinning practice.

Conard stated in an interview in 2012 that "over the years I have been fortunate to have very good lay helpers." Among these were Maryknoll Lay Missioners Tom Scott, who primarily worked in the school, handling accounts, and Vickie Smith, who worked in the hospital. After leaving the Lay Missioner Program both of them have come back to Kowak on their own over the years. Another Lay Missioner couple were in Kowak in 1999 to 2002, Lou and Patricia Flaim. Lou oversaw construction of a church at an outstation and Pat did general administration work in the parish, school and hospital. Many young American women who are nurses have come to Kowak for periods of two to three months. Others have come from Europe. A dentist, Dr. John McGrear, also came for a while. He had an unusual side skill, fixing locks, and he spent a lot of time repairing and firming up the locks on all the doors of the mission compound.

Conard has had to build a number of houses to accommodate all these volunteers as well as the African staff. In addition to single houses there are also three duplexes that can accommodate either families or four to six staff personnel, depending on their marriage situation. Most of the overseas volunteers have some means or other to take care of their own expenses in Kowak – living in rural Tanzania is very inexpensive, with the exception of health insurance and air fare back home. A few volunteers need assistance from Conard during the months they are living at Kowak.

Beginning in the late 1980s the AIDS epidemic hit the whole area surrounding Lake Victoria and it did not spare Kowak. Conard explained the hospital's response:

I built a special house a short distance from the hospital, which has become the AIDS clinic. The clinic operates three days a week and fifty to eighty people with AIDS come on each of those days, a total of 1,300 each month. They get free medicine, advice and counseling. It's called CTC: Counseling Treatment Center. The local word for HIV/AIDS is *UKIMWI*, a Swahili acronym from the words *Upungufu wa Kinga ya Mwili*, literally deficiency of bodily protection, an attempt to translate "acquired immune deficiency syndrome" (AIDS).

One of the Adoration Sisters runs this clinic. The medicine is free in great part due to the PEPFAR Program of the United States AID agency.

Common diseases, in addition to HIV/AIDS, were (and still are) malaria, typhoid, cholera (epidemics of cholera occur every two or three years), meningitis, bilharzia (caused by a liver fluke in the lake, ponds or rivers), and worms, which are all tropical diseases. Some people also suffered from high blood pressure.

Around 2009 or 2010 Conard wanted to raise the status of the bedded dispensary to a full-fledged hospital, but discovered that a hospital needed a minimum of 100 beds. In 2010 a theatre wing was built and in 2011 new wards were built, expanding the hospital to 112 beds. There are also three beds for doing blood transfusions and Conard said that "there could be from one to seven receiving blood at a time." He went on to narrate how primitive services and transport were in rural Tanzania, even as recently as 2012.

Malaria is a terrible thing. When someone comes in maybe they have only a 2.2 HB count. Most are saved, but we lose some. Some come in too late.

You won't believe this story. One day they brought in a woman on a motorcycle from Butuli. She died just as they arrived. They tied her to the driver of the motorcycle and sent her body back to Butuli.

Motorcycles are travelling all night long. When you see three people on a motorcycle, the first one is the driver, the second the patient, and the third is holding the patient.

Conard added that malaria continues to be a major concern. He himself still came down with it on occasion. In early 2012 he stated that there seemed to have been a spike in malaria, to almost epidemic level, for reasons he could not determine.

There was progress in some areas, at least. Conard said that there was a large, new blood donor centre in Mwanza, able to test for many types of antigens in the blood. Interestingly, most blood in western Tanzania is donated by secondary school students, but still strictly tested for the HIV virus. Despite this progress, there was not enough blood. Conard said that Kowak needed from 200 to 300 units of blood every month, although they could stretch this out by giving children only half a unit. At Kowak they can test blood for HIV and TB, but not for hepatitis and many of the other things that the blood bank in Mwanza is able to do.

Conard managed to obtain special funding from a number of NGOs, mainly from Europe, to buy expensive equipment needed in a modern hospital. He has put in a radiology machine, an X-ray machine and air conditioning unit for the X-ray room, an

ultra-sound machine, a cardiac monitor, a blood analyzer, and a chemical analyzer. He was also hoping to get a Sister from India who was both a pharmacist and X-ray machine operator.

The head of staff at the hospital, as of 2012, was an Assistant Medical Officer (AMO). Conard described his skills and role at the hospital.

There aren't many medical doctors in this country. A lot of them go into administration, or work for NGOs, or for companies, wherever they can get good money. The expression we use is: the AMO is the *punda* or donkey of the medical field. They do all the operations and all kinds of medical work. (In America they would be called the 'work-horse.')

Our AMO does caesarian operations, tumor operations, hernias, and many different operations for women. Anything beyond his ability he refers to Bugando Hospital (in Mwanza; cf ahead in the chapter on Mwanza for full treatment of this hospital).

Bugando is hinting that it will come to our hospital to operate. That would be great. Our theatre is large enough, one of the best around, and we have the equipment. But there is always a lot of talk and we just have to keep trying.

One problem he was having in 2012 was irregular and unreliable supply of electricity from Tanzania's electric company, called TANESCO. The mission had a ten kilowatt generator, but the X-ray machine alone takes fifty kilowatts. Conard didn't know in 2012 whether he could afford to buy a large fifty to one hundred kilowatt generator, to ensure supply of electricity when TANESCO's supply cuts off.

In early 2012 Conard had two big hopes for Kowak Hospital. First, he wanted to have the government elevate it to one of several District Hospitals for Rorya District. The government would then pay the salaries of all medical staff and presumably assign a medical doctor to Kowak. His second hope was to start a nursing school.

Just before he was interviewed in mid-February, 2012, Conard's hopes for a nursing school may have been aided by a calamitous event with a possible fortuitous outcome. Kowak's mission compound was struck by a mini-tornado or perhaps what is called a microburst, a violent rainstorm accompanied by gale or hurricane-force winds. It blew off the roof from half the rectory and all the metal sheets on the roof of the primary school. Despite grumbling huffily, Conard oversaw the rapid clean-up of the compound, helped by the boys from the vocation club, and within about three days had a new roof put on the rectory, using new corrugated metal sheets intended for one of the churches, which he later re-supplied.

Conard hoped that the local leaders would finally agree to move the primary school, a fully-managed government school, off the mission property to a new location not far away. He had been urging this for some years, as he wanted to use this part of the mission compound to construct the nursing school.

We would have a two-year school with fifty students who have finished Form Four (i.e. secondary school), twenty-five in each year. Maybe those who have finished Form Four in our secondary school here could join. We would then have extra help in all the wards and in all the work that has to be done.

I haven't asked anyone yet for a nursing school, but I know it has to come. With the roof blowing off that school last week maybe now that hope will come to fruition.

The other major project at the mission is Kowak Girls Boarding High School. In the late 1980s President Ali Hassan Mwinyi reversed the directive of 1968 that had nationalized all secondary schools in the country and that had essentially forbidden the establishment of schools run by the Catholic Church or any other religious denomination. The goal of this directive was to foster a sense of national unity among secondary school students. Exceptions to this were the seminaries and a very few expensive, private, non-denominational schools. One unexpected consequence of this was that the seminaries became the top schools in the country and its graduates took an overwhelmingly large percentage of jobs in the civil service and other sectors of the economy, causing bitter resentment in Muslims, who felt marginalized.

By the 1980s it had become apparent that public secondary school education was in a pathetic state and Mwinyi sent out word to the Catholic Bishops that he would welcome the Church to start secondary schools. (There may have been stipulations that Catholic schools, even if private, accept Muslim students.) In Musoma Diocese several Catholic secondary schools were begun, such as Mwisenge Day Sec. School next to Musoma Town Parish at which a number of Maryknoll Lay Missioners taught, and at Masonga, taught by Marist Brothers. Jim Conard quickly latched onto this opportunity, as he explained.

In 1989 I began building a secondary school for girls and we opened in 1992. In 1995 we had the first graduations. In 1999 we started Forms Five and Six and in the early years we had some big classes, although by the 2010s the classes had become smaller.

It's a boarding school, because there is a big advantage with a boarding school. We have electricity and the girls can study at night. If they lived at home there would be no lights and the girls would not be able to study. They might be cooking or even going out at night. No girl in a day school would get this much time to study and prepare for exams. This is why our school is doing so well.

Sisters from several congregations have taught in the school, including one or two St. Joseph Sisters from Springfield, MA. By either the late 1990s or early 2000s many Sisters from the local IHSA congregation were teaching and doing administrative work in the school. In 2003 seven IHSA Sisters were studying in the school, as they had joined the novitiate with inadequate secondary school education. As these Sisters were expected to finish Form Six, equivalent to a junior college, they would then be able to pursue a university degree, either in Tanzania or overseas, such as in America.

In the 1990s there were several Peace Corps volunteers who taught in the school, but with a change in the program in the 2000s Kowak Secondary School stopped getting them. Conard said that the volunteers liked working in Kowak because they received decent housing as compared to many other secondary schools in Tanzania.

As of 2003 there were 420 students in the school and by 2012 the total enrollment was 620. There were about 150 girls in each of the three lower Forms and another 100 or

so in Form Four. There were about 70 in Forms Five and Six, filling up the 620 beds in the school. The Secondary School had an excellent reputation throughout the country and girls came not only from the Luo parts of North Mara but from many places, especially Mwanza and Musoma. Because of the large contingent from Mwanza there were many Sukuma girls in the school. However, it was known as a Luo school and Luo parents from Dar es Salaam regularly took their daughters to Kowak for secondary education. The Form Four results were among the top three in Mara Region every year – and one year it was the top school, beating out even St. Pius Seminary – and is always one of the top ten percent of secondary schools in the country, but the Form Six results have not been as good. Conard said that its high school section does not have the good reputation and does not get quality students. He hoped that by expanding the secondary school to 150 per class many of its graduates would continue on into high school at Kowak. He also realized that the High School section needed a quality Science program.

In 2003 the Headmistress and Assistant were IHSA Sisters, but in 2012 the school had a lay man, Elias Masubi, a university graduate, as Head Teacher of the school. His aunt, Sr. Susan Masubi, was Headmistress of the school in the early 2000s. In 2012 the school had twenty-three teachers, of whom six had university degrees. All teachers at the High School level must be university graduates and the secondary school teachers must have at least diplomas in education. A diploma means that the teacher has finished Form Six plus two years of teacher training. Good administration can be a problem, but fortunately Tom Scott, a former lay missionary in Kowak, has been coming back on his own to administer and do financial accountancy for the school. In 2012, however, he had health problems that kept him in the United States for some months, returning only later in the year.

Conard built housing for all the teachers, with many of the buildings duplexes such as at the hospital. All staff houses have electricity, each with its own electric meter.

Being private, all salaries and boarding expenses must be paid from school fees. However, since the school construction is subsidized from external funding sources, the fees are not excessive.

After Meulemans transferred from Kowak in April, 1989, Conard and Manyonyi carried on the work in the parish, although Conard was very busy building the secondary school. Later that year, in October, 1989, they were joined by Fr. Ken Sullivan, who had just finished a three-year term on Mission Promotion in the U.S. Things went smoothly at first and Sullivan settled into the pastoral work of the parish. However, his time on Promotion had been erratic, with transfers to five different houses in only three years, and he returned to Tanzania with an unrecognized slight depression.

Julius Manyonyi left Kowak in 1990 and was replaced by Fr. Godfrey Maruru, who was having difficulty dealing with his own personal issues, leading to some behavioral matters. We won't speculate on what his personal difficulties were but they created tension and conflict within the rectory at Kowak. Conard and Sullivan asked the Bishop to remove him, but Maruru repented, changed his attitudes, and for a while the rectory was peaceful.

Conard then went on furlough and Sullivan and Maruru were alone in the rectory. The conflict re-surfaced, causing unacceptable stress for Sullivan. In part to avoid this, he did pastoral ministries he liked, such as going out to the villages of Kowak, to minister to

the IHSA Sister postulants at Baraki, where he would stay for several days almost every week, and to visit Fr. Bill Daley, who was living in Ingri Parish. But in 1991 Sullivan asked to transfer out of Kowak and in April, 1991, he returned to the U.S. for a sabbatical, to address his depression and stress, and to take a scriptural renewal program in Israel. He also had his cataracts removed and after a year he was able to return to Tanzania, to live at Makoko in Musoma.

Godfrey Maruru also left Kowak at about the exact same time, leaving Conard alone. The timing was unfortunate since there were three ordinations scheduled at Kowak Parish. However, Conard was able to handle them without undue difficulty, with the help of priests from the area, particularly some diocesan priests.

In 1994 Fr. Bill Daley was assigned to Kowak, moving over from Ingri Parish, where he had been since finishing his terms as Tanzania Regional Superior in 1983. He had thought of retiring at the Gleason Residence in Nairobi and may have even gone there briefly, but his classmate Jim Conard persuaded him to retire in Kowak. Daley knew Luo, a language he preferred to use rather than Swahili, and his presence in Kowak complemented Conard's, who only spoke Swahili.

That same year Fr. Frank Flynn likewise retired and moved from Nyamwaga Parish, where he had been for ten years, to Kowak. Since there were Kuria-speaking outstations in Kowak Parish we presume these were the places that Flynn visited and served liturgically and catechetically. Flynn remained in Kowak until 1997 and then moved to live in the Brown House at Makoko.

In 2001 Fr. Ed Hayes was assigned to Kowak, with the intention – expressly stated to him by Bishop Justin Samba – to serve the Kuria people of the parish. Other priests were also assigned to Kowak so that in the early 2000s there were five priests stationed at Kowak: Jim Conard, Bill Daley, Ed Hayes, Laurenti Magesa, who was chaplain at the hospital, and a newly ordained priest. Conard said that often Kowak was chosen as the first assignment for a newly ordained priest and that this resulted in frequent changes of personnel at Kowak. As one left after a year another one came. Conard said, “It's kind of an internship for their first year. They have to get a driver's license, a license to perform marriages, and learn how to drive. These have been very good priests and have been working very, very well.” When he was interviewed in 2003, Conard was informed that the new priest coming was Fr. Julius Mwita, who had been ordained on July 25, 2003, to replace Fr. John Baptist Itaruma, who had been ordained in 2002 and was being assigned to teach at Nyegezi Seminary. (In 2012 Itaruma was appointed secretary to the Apostolic Nuncio in Zimbabwe.)

Conard went on to say that even though there were five priests there was a lot of work to do in Kowak, as the parish had thirty villages and four of the priests were over seventy years old. Conard was also still very busy in construction and overseeing school and hospital expansion. Bill Daley was retired and said Mass in Luo at Kowak and a Luo outstation. Magesa worked full-time in the hospital as chaplain and lived in his own house on the mission compound. Conard commented, “He does a very good job. He works with the staff and with the patients. He visits them twice every day, in the morning and afternoon, and he is also on call.” In January, 2004, the diocese celebrated Magesa's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary since ordination and also his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday. Magesa had been the first diocesan priest ordained in Musoma Diocese.

In addition to churches built by Lou Flaim, Fr. Carl Meulemans, and by Conard in the valley populated by Bakuria people, Ed Hayes also oversaw construction of several churches. The activity by Kowak Parish led to a very good response from the Kuria, with many baptisms per year. A wealthy Kuria man, Mwitā Gachuma, who owned a Coca-Cola bottling plant in Mwanza, sponsored construction of a secondary school in that area, although Conard feared that the school's educational component was not very good. By the early 2000's Conard had found and hired two Luo men, named Julius and Abich, who were good builders and able foremen, to organize and carry out construction projects both at the mission and at outstation churches.

In 1993 several outstations near Tarime were removed from Kowak and made a part of Tarime Parish, in part because these places had many Bakuria as well as Luo. Tarime had also become a small parish in 1993 when Sirari Parish was started on the border with Kenya and took a huge chunk of territory from Tarime Parish. That was when the priests of Kowak started giving more attention to the southern part of their parish, where the Bakuria were living as well as many Basimbiti people.

When Ed Hayes came to Kowak in 2001 he started working with the Kuria people in Bukenye and other places in the Kuria valley. However, Conard was so busy with construction projects in the hospital and secondary school that many aspects of parish work were not being fully done, such as with the parish council, catechists and youth. Bill Daley was retired and did not do the more taxing parish work. Thus, Hayes informed Bishop Samba that he could not give full attention to the Kuria areas along the Mara River valley, unless a diocesan priest was assigned to Kowak to take over the pastoral work in the Luo areas. Thus, Itaruma was first assigned and then Mwitā. In subsequent years other diocesan priests were also assigned to Kowak. This freed Hayes to concentrate on the Kuria areas and try to establish a new parish.

There had been a church center at Bukenye for many years, about four to five kilometres from the main highway at a place called Surubu, where a large church had been built. (Bukenye is the name of the Ward.) However, a rapidly growing town called Komāsua, located on the tarmac highway, was the home of Mwitā Gachuma, the man who had built the secondary school in the Kuria valley, and he persuaded the government to make Komāsua a town center with a police post, an office for the CCM political party, and other services. At that time Bishop Justin Samba visited the area with Hayes and they both decided that Komāsua was going to become a town and was much better situated than Surubu, four kilometres away along a dirt road. A fifteen-acre plot became available in Komāsua when the government decided against putting a cattle auction there, since another one already existed in the Ward, and the government donated this to the new parish. In 2002 Komāsua Parish was officially erected, but Hayes did not move there until 2005, after a rectory was built in 2004. (Cf ahead about Komāsua Parish.)

Not only did Ed Hayes move from Kowak in 2005 but also Bill Daley's health deteriorated and he had to return to the United States in late 2005, where he was admitted to St. Teresa's Nursing Home. He resided at St. Teresa's for over two years, eventually passing away on February 18, 2008. After Hayes and Daley left, no other Maryknoll priest was assigned to join Conard in Kowak.

Laurenti Magesa also remained at Kowak for only a couple of more years. Since he left, the only priests who have been stationed in Kowak have been Conard and a succession of young diocesan priests. The latter have been doing most of the pastoral

work in the parish, but fortunately by 2010 Kowak Parish had become a much smaller parish, as Conard explained.

There are now other parishes in the territory formerly under Kowak, such as Komaswa and Utegi, which in 2009 was officially named as a parish. However, there is no priest in Utegi and I am still the pastor of Utegi (as of 2012). There are twenty-one villages in the two parishes, Kowak and Utegi. Komaswa took almost all the Bakuria and Basimbiti who were in Kowak Parish.

Kowak includes Butuli and Kisumwa, all around the Rorya Mountain, which had not been done before. I built two churches on the other side of the mountain and named them after two young men who had become catechists and were martyred around 1917. They were Acholi, a Nilotic people similar to the Luo. Both were beatified by Pope John Paul just before he died. So, one chapel is called Blessed Jiro Irwa Chapel and the other Blessed Daudi Okelo. (In Swahili the word for Saint is *Mtakatifu* and the word for Blessed is *Mwenye Heri*.)

On Sundays one priest goes to Utegi and then says another Mass in a village. The other priest stays here and says two Masses, one at 7:00 am at which all 550 girls from the secondary school attend and another Mass at 9:00 am. The girls fill up the church for the first Mass, as the church holds only 650 people. If the curate says the Masses at Kowak he goes out for a third Mass somewhere. He's young, but it's still a struggle and he doesn't get back until late in the afternoon. At my age I can't do that.

Conard praised the curate he had in 2012, who was doing excellent work. He went on to talk about Luo religiosity, after eighty years of Christianity being in the area, remarking that many people go to church but the Luo people still cling to their traditional customs, such as inheriting wives despite the risk of spreading AIDS, resorting to diviners because of fears of witchcraft, and polygamy for those who think they can afford two wives. Luo are also strongly holding on to their language, although Swahili is used in Kowak Parish without any problems. By the 2010s most Tanzanians can understand Swahili and even converse in this national language.

Conard was interviewed in February, 2012, and even as of early 2016 he was still the pastor of Kowak Parish and one of the Bishop's consultors in the diocese. Most of the construction in the hospital and school had been done. The parish was functioning without any undue difficulties. Volunteers have continued to come and with the large staffs of the school and hospital the mission compound is sort of like a small, bustling cosmopolitan village. In 2016 Conard will celebrate his 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of priesthood and will turn 87 sometime in the year. He intends to carry on as long as his health will permit – but this will probably not be for too many more years. He summed up his vision of why he has done mission work in Tanzania for so many years.

My role here is to try to make some progress. We can use the word *Maendeleo* (usually translated as development), but I mean progress in life and in everything else. That's why I got involved in hospital and school work, and in previous years it was with animal husbandry. I don't call it outside work; it is a

part of parish work. If a priest thinks he's here only for sacraments, he's making a big mistake.

### RORYA DISTRICT:

Before moving on to look at the other parishes in Luoland, we will have a short excursus on the establishment of Rorya District, which was broken off from Tarime District in 2007. The following information comes from a Wikipedia article, which says that in the 2012 census the total population of the district was 265,241, of whom the majority are Luo. Other ethnic groups in the district are Kuria, Suba, Kine, and especially Basimbiti. The district capital is Ingri Juu, located along the road from Utegi to Shirati, central to the whole district. The whole Kuria Valley north of the Mara River and most of Komaswa Parish were retained in Tarime District, in which the overwhelming majority of people are Bakuria.

The district's terrain is mostly grassland stretching from the main highway down to Lake Victoria, with a few hilly areas – particularly the striking Mount Rorya that peaks at about 6,000 feet – and some forested areas encompassing about thirty percent of the land. Forests are a source of firewood and timber for housing and furniture-making. The district is low in altitude, ranging from the lake-level of 3,800 feet above sea level to a maximum of 5,000 feet in a few places (except for the peaks of the few large hills in the district). Kowak, situated on a rise at the end of a long plain, is at 4,500 feet above sea level. Since the district is only one degree south of the equator, it goes without saying that daytime temperatures are hot – mid-eighties to mid-ninety degrees – and nights are comfortable because of the dry climate – low sixties to maybe mid-fifties at times.

The hot, dry climate coupled with poor soil quality renders the district unfavorable for farming, although most households engage in subsistence farming on limited acreage, primarily of cassava, maize, millet and sorghum, plus some vegetables and fruit. About 17,000 hectares of land are suitable for irrigation from Lake Victoria but at present only 1,000 hectares are under irrigation. The main enterprise of most rural households is livestock raising, especially cattle. Potential environmental consequences are being addressed through education, such as of the benefits of limiting the size of herds, zero grazing, and controlled burning of forests.

Along the shore of the lake in Rorya District are twenty-three villages with a mixture of Luo and Suba people, of whom many engage in indigenous fishing, for local consumption and for commercial sale to other parts of the region and country, especially Nile Perch and Tilapia. (Cf a later chapter of this volume for comments on critical challenges to the lake's ecological health and to the indigenous fishing industry.) As was noted in the previous volume on Tanzania, the Suba people pre-dated the migration of the Luo to this part of Tanzania and have engaged in small-scale fishing in the lake for 1,000 years or more. Some claim that it was the Suba who taught the Luo to fish. Today, however, the Suba have been almost totally assimilated into Luo culture, mores and language, although Swahili is probably more prevalent today than Luo.

The district has few mineral resources, since the gold mine remains in Tarime District. Without doubt many Luo men from Rorya District migrate to the mine for work. The district has a few small-scale industries, such as soap making, leather processing, bakeries, milk processing, and spice processing. At least ten groups are engaged in bee-

keeping and production of raw honey, although they are using traditional methods of keeping bees.

The above comments on the district's climatic conditions, unwieldy soil, and lack of resources, explain why Wikipedia makes the following observation: "The two biggest problems in Rorya District are hunger and AIDS."

In contrast, this small, poor district has other institutions that make it stand out among rural Tanzania Districts, namely two hospitals, at Kowak and Shirati, and at least two excellent high schools, at Kowak and Masonga, to say nothing of the schools run by the Mennonites in Shirati. The Catholic and Mennonite denominations can be thanked for these two forms of institutional assistance.

### MASONGA, OUR LADY OF THE LAKE PARISH:

When we concluded the history of Masonga Parish in the previous volume Fr. Don Donovan had just become pastor in 1962. Fr. Bill Daley had gone on furlough that year and on his return to Tanzania he was made pastor of Kowak. Fr. Joe Glynn had been at Masonga briefly but then was elected Regional Superior and had moved to Nairobi, Kenya, to live. In 1962 and for much of 1963 Donovan was alone in Masonga, until late in 1963 when newly ordained Fr. Mike Kirwen joined him there.

Donovan remained in Masonga until the end of 1965, when he went on furlough and then studied Swahili at Makoko. One of the main things he accomplished at Masonga in his three years there in the early 1960s was to oversee the construction of a new church. He said that both Joe Glynn and Mike Pierce had wanted to build a church at Masonga. Both were good builders and built the churches at Nyarombo and Tatwe respectively, but these two missions were more recent than Masonga, which was the first Luo mission started after Kowak. The people of Masonga had great expectations that they would get a new church but it devolved to Donovan, beginning in 1964, to accomplish this.

In 1963, immediately after Mike Kirwen was ordained, he took a course in linguistics that summer at the Oklahoma University School of Linguistics, focusing on the Cheyenne language, an extremely complicated language that had voiceless vowels. Kirwen commented that as soon as he arrived at Masonga later in 1963 (the language school was not yet open, and newly ordained priests were expected to learn the tribal language at a parish):

I immediately set about analyzing Luo. I was able, over a period of three years, to crack the tonal structure of that language, much to the amazement of my Maryknoll colleagues in Luo work.

From this I got my first understanding that the Luo people were thinking differently than I was thinking. At one point some people said to me, "You speak our language well, but you don't know what you're saying." As I reflected on that I realized that they were right. My conceptual framework was still Western and I was perceiving issues such as marriage, polygamy and witchcraft through Western images of these phenomena. For instance, polygamy: my mindset was of something like a North African harem, of old men seeking agreeable young women to join the harem.

By getting involved with the people I gradually came to realize that conversion was for me, rather than converting the (Luo) people. Even at that point I still had the sense that I was culturally more developed and that the (Luo) people would at some time in the future catch up, rather than understanding their culture, communication system, and the egalitarian dimension to their culture.

So, that was the beginning of it. And it was the linguistic method that really sparked my interest and curiosity.

From that time Kirwen made deep cultural learning and understanding one of the major focuses of his ministerial presence in the Luo parishes. This was further refined beginning in 1968 when the first OTP seminarians arrived in Tanzania and Kirwen was made one of the theological advisors. He believed that the cultural component of their insertion into ministry in East Africa was not comparable to the very good language learning that they received at the language school. As a result, in 1970 he requested permission to go on for higher studies at the University of Toronto, studies which eventually led to his setting up the TEFO program in Musoma Diocese (cf Chapter Nine, pages 57-59), and later in the 1980s establishing the Maryknoll Institute of Africa Studies in Nairobi, Kenya, which specializes in facilitating trans-cultural awareness and sensitivity, for expatriates coming to East Africa to do church and secular types of work. (Cf Volume One on Kenya) However, in the meantime in the 1960s there were other things going on in Masonga.

Bishop Rudin, when he was interviewed in 1989, discussed a very helpful project that Kirwen introduced to Masonga, namely portable power mills for grinding corn. Power mills are large machines that need to be bolted into a cement floor. Since the mills were few and far between, women had to walk long distances to get a forty pound tin of corn ground into flour. So, Kirwen bought a small cast-iron motor and put in the correct teeth for grinding corn. He arranged to have it carried around on a trailer pulled by a tractor. Two men could lift it on to the trailer. Other men needed were the tractor driver and a mechanic. So, the power mill came to the women and it often could go to two or even three places in a day.

In 1965 Donovan was going on furlough and then to study Swahili at the language school, after which he was assigned to Nyegina Parish. In his place Fr. Joe Corso was assigned to Masonga. He had recently finished up working in Muhoji Parish and then went to Tabora to study Swahili. But when Donovan went on furlough Mike Kirwen had been out only two years and the opinion was probably that he needed a few more years before being made pastor. Corso remained in Masonga for two and a half years or so and then was assigned to Tarime, where there was a staffing shortage and, being a town parish, someone with knowledge of Swahili was needed. On Corso's transfer to Tarime, Kirwen was made pastor of Masonga and Tom Donnelly was assigned back to Masonga, where he had begun in 1957 and lived for three years.

Donnelly spoke about one very important breakthrough that happened in the late 1960s at Masonga.

There was tension between the Mennonites and us over schools, which lasted until my second time at Masonga. A Mennonite couple named Ruth and Richard Weaver came. They were Mennonites but first and foremost they were

super Christians. They struck up a friendship with Mike Kirwen and myself and were the first ones to come and have tea at Masonga Mission, which was unheard of. That broke the walls down.

We started something, on New Year's Day I think, inviting all the Mennonites up to Masonga. We had all the priests and Sisters from all the Missions of North Mara come to Masonga, for a big meal. The following year the Mennonites invited all of us to their place at Shirati. It was just great.

Those two people, the Weavers, broke down that tension and religious rivalry and it's been broken ever since.

Bill Daley said there were other factors in the change of attitude of the Mennonites, such as the papacy of Pope John XXIII, Vatican Council II, and the election of John Kennedy as U.S. President. The Mennonites were curious about Kennedy and asked Catholics about him. Daley said that in the mid-1960s the hospital at Shirati received a significant amount of grant money from Misereor, a Catholic funding organization from Germany. All of these events coalesced into a complete reversal of the Mennonites' views of Catholics and the Catholic religion. Since the late 1960s there has been great cooperation between Mennonites and Catholics, particularly in the two places that Mennonites had large hospitals – Shirati and Mugumu. Donnelly added that Bishop Rudin and the Mennonite Bishop got together to discuss matters. They became friends and this too alleviated the former enmity.

Donnelly said that there were a lot of other things going on at Masonga. He and Kirwen each worked their own areas, visiting them without cease. The small church communities, at that time called *chamas* (groups, but implying a neighborhood community), had been started in Nyarombo and were quickly incorporated into Masonga Parish by Kirwen. Kirwen was utilizing the *chamas* to devolve responsibility to lay Christians in many matters of parish leadership and administration – although Donnelly was more sanguine about how successful this was going. This led to some differences of opinion and in 1969, when Wayman Deasy was going back to the U.S. for an assignment, Donnelly was assigned to replace him at Ingri Parish.

Two Maryknoll Sisters, Barbara Nowack and Barbara Lambert, were stationed at Nyarombo Parish, where Fathers Dan Zwack and Gerry Pavis had started the *chamas* or Small Christian Communities. According to Don Donovan, the former church at Masonga had been rehabilitated by Mike Kirwen in 1969 into a small house with inside plumbing so that the two Sisters could come to Masonga for several days at a time to work with the SCCs and with women. However, in 1970 Nowack left Luo land and in 1971 Bishop Rudin requested the Maryknoll Sisters to withdraw Lambert rather than leave her living alone in a very rural area. In 1970/71 the two priests at Nyarombo, Zwack and Pavis, also left work in Musoma Diocese. However, the seed they had planted and nourished grew and by 1973 the Small Christian Community movement spread to all the countries of eastern Africa and eventually to all of Sub-Saharan Africa (cf ahead on Nyarombo Parish).

Donnelly was interviewed in 2000 and talked about a former Chief in Masonga who had thirteen wives but always came to church on Sundays. For many years he

presumed he could never be baptized, but he insisted that all his children come in for instructions in order to join the Church, although some of his wives joined other denominations. Finally, in 1969 the old Chief, named Nyatiza, asked to take instructions from Donnelly, who had known him well from his time in Masonga ten years previously. Nyatiza withdrew his stools from the houses of all his wives and in return gave each a blanket, symbolizing that he was no longer cohabiting with any of them. By then he was too ill to come into the church to be baptized, so the baptism ceremony was held at his home. There was a big celebration and a cow was slaughtered to provide meat for everyone. Nyatiza was baptized, confirmed and received communion, and about a year later he died.

Nyatiza had been very helpful to the priests working in Masonga over the years, according to Donnelly, particularly with regard to Luo customs. He also knew the teachings of Catholicism well, as he had attended Mass faithfully every Sunday, listening intently to what the priests were preaching. His household, despite thirteen wives and numerous children, was very well ordered and Donnelly considered it an example of a Christian household.

Just as an aside, it can be pointed out that several (or possibly many) of the first Bishops in East Africa had fathers who were polygamists. The father of Cardinal Maurice Otunga of Nairobi had about ten wives and around seventy children. As a result, Maryknoll missionaries who have worked in East Africa for a number of years have a very nuanced perspective on polygamy.

With Kirwen going for studies in Canada at the beginning of 1970 and Tom Donnelly assigned to Ingri at the end of 1969, to replace Wayman Deasy, who was going on for assignment in the U.S., Don Donovan was assigned back to Masonga at the end of 1969 or beginning of 1970. He had been pastor of Masonga in the early 1960s, then went for Swahili studies and worked in Nyegina for three years. However, as he knew the Luo language he was considered by Bishop Rudin the most suitable priest to take Masonga. He was alone in Masonga until Fr. Jim Kuhn was assigned there in 1971. Kuhn had also been in Masonga previously, in the late 1950s. Kuhn was unfortunately never interviewed for the history project so we don't have his perspectives on what happened in Luo land in the 1960s and 1970s.

Donovan said that he had some trepidation about being assigned from Nyegina back to Masonga, because of stories he had heard about the chamas, for instance that they were deviating from church rules or saying Mass with ugali (the pliable, loaf-like, staple dish, made of boiled corn flour). He later discovered that these stories were not true, but the stories were circulating nevertheless, creating controversy. He didn't know what it was all about and was unsure that he could fit in with the new form of church that the chamas or SCCs embodied, as he explained.

Before I accepted I visited the parishes of Kowak, Ingri, Nyarombo and Masonga, more or less stating my position, and listening to their procedure first hand, so that there would be no surprises. The general thing I came away with was that each parish had its own style of chama. When I came I also could have my own style of chama. And I found that this was true. For example, one priest might be heavy into development work as his particular approach with the

chamas. Another priest might be doing something else. Nothing was forced on anyone. But the physical aspect of the group (i.e. a Christian group of a local neighborhood) and the principle of it were accepted by everyone.

Donovan was in Nyegina in the years 1967 to 1969, when the chamas were being formed in Nyarombo and Masonga, and he had no direct knowledge of their beginnings. But after going to Masonga and experiencing them, he was able to give a good description of their purpose.

The idea was to have people working more in community, rather than one-on-one with the pastor or the main church. For catechumens, their relations with the community were very important. They would not be accepted into the Church directly by the priest any more but would have to go through the community. Great stress was put on how involved they were with the community. It wasn't just how much you knew, or how many prayers you said, or how often you went to Mass, but how often you helped your neighbor.

Dan Zwack wrote several reports about them, which were published in AFER (the East African Ecclesiastical Review). Many people became interested in them and priests came from far and wide to experience this new form of church.

The chama approach was a very positive thing, which led to the small Christian Communities. That fit in very nicely with the history of the country, the move into ujamaa villages.

Another major change at that time, already discussed in Kowak Parish, was the changeover in the liturgy from Luo to Swahili. All the Maryknoll priests who had learned Luo strongly resisted this but after about two years the changeover was done, even if some individual priests continued to use Luo rather than Swahili. Donovan, of course, had become used to the Swahili Mass, while he was at Nyegina.

Donovan commented that there were other transitions going on at that time.

There was a whole move to self-reliance. Gradually, the subsidy for catechists was cut down. This wasn't forced on us; we decided to do it ourselves. It worked very well. The people responded well to supporting themselves.

I also gave more authority to the people, rather than their being completely dependent on the priest. Later when I was alone I was forced into this. If I was going to be away for a month or two the work had to go on, and there was no one to replace me. So, I was forced to move a lot of authority onto the shoulders of the people and they responded wonderfully.

In 1972 Donovan went to the United States and took an updating course. On his return to Tanzania in 1973 he was assigned to Chang'ombe Parish in Dar es Salaam. Jim Kuhn also left Masonga at the end of 1972 and was assigned to Kowak. They were replaced at first by Fr. George Delaney, who had done OTP in Tanzania from 1969 to 1971 and then been ordained in 1972. Shortly after his arrival at Masonga in late 1972 or

the beginning of 1973 he was joined for a short time by Associate Maryknoll priest Fr. Bill Picard. Neither Delaney nor Picard was interviewed for the history project.

In September, 1973, another former OTP seminarian, newly ordained Fr. Tom Tiscornia, came back to Tanzania, took a short refresher course in Swahili at the language school and was then assigned to Masonga. By then Picard had completed his contract and returned to the United States. An OTP seminarian, Jim Lee, had been assigned to Masonga, and he and Delaney were at Masonga when Tiscornia arrived. Lee remained in Masonga until June, 1974, when he returned to New York for his final year in theology. On return to Tanzania in 1975 after ordination, he went to Shinyanga Diocese.

Tiscornia said that the most important activity they did at Masonga beginning in 1973 and through much of 1974 was helping people to move into Ujamaa Villages. People were forced to move from their homes to the villages, as was reported above in Chapter Seven and in comments from other parishes. As for Masonga, Tiscornia said:

We lived very close to the Kenya border, where there were many Luo people. Some people from our parish, rather than move into the ujamaa villages moved back to Kenya.

I was in Masonga for only one year but a lot of my time was spent helping people build houses in the villages. The intention of the government was that facilities, such as a school, a clinic, and water, would be available for them if they all lived closer together. It didn't work out for economic reasons. Providing schools and water for thousands of villages would cost a lot of money. So the government could not immediately fulfill the promises they had made.

The Church was also upset. The places they had previously been meeting for prayer had been changed. So, we could not serve the people in the way they had been served. So, a lot of my time was spent out working physically with the people and helping them to build homes.

After a year, in late 1974, Tiscornia moved to the seminary at Makoko to take over chaplaincy of Musoma's secondary schools, in place of Ed Wroblewski. Sometime in early or mid-1975 George Delaney went on furlough and on his return to Tanzania in 1976 he moved to Shinyanga Diocese.

Don Donovan had been working in Chang'ombe Parish in Dar es Salaam for two years at that time, but was asked to come back to Masonga Parish. He was to remain as pastor in Masonga from 1975 to 1985, and for many of those years he was alone in the parish. He said that, in fact, Masonga Parish had been empty for several months prior to his move there in mid-1975. In contrast to the very good church, the rectory was the oldest in the diocese and in a dilapidated condition. However, it would still be a number of years before a new rectory was built. In the meantime, throughout his final ten years in Masonga, Donovan had to oversee continuous repairs and other forms of maintenance on the rectory. At the back of the rectory was a strong cement veranda, one flight of stairs up, and at night two large dogs stayed there, acting as watch-dogs to protect the rectory. However, hyenas would periodically come in, snarling and trying to go up the stairs to attack the dogs. But the dogs could protect themselves, having the height advantage at the top of the stairs, and the hyenas always withdrew to seek easier prey.

As of 1978 Masonga Parish had been in existence for thirty years and was well-established, with many Catholics. Donovan described the work in that ten-year period from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s.

Masonga, geographically, was not a large mission. In addition to the mission, we had one main outstation called Obembe and another outstation near the hospital. These places received Mass on Sundays.

The chamas had evolved into villages, which we called Small Christian Communities (SCCs). We had about fifteen of them, which would meet once a week. I would go out to them on weekdays, getting to each one once a month. There we would have Mass and infant baptism. The babies would be accepted into their own particular small community, rather than to the larger community at the main mission. The local community would have a lot of say on whether the baby should be baptized, depending on the faith of the parents.

If anyone was sick, I had plenty of time and could go and visit the sick people. If somebody had died I could go and bless the grave. So, there was no rush at that visit to the SCC, unlike at Sunday Mass stations.

Some SCCs had a catechist. The program was that each SCC should have a prayer leader, a catechist, and another – a very important person – to bury the dead and lead prayers for the sick. Some places had better leaders than others, but they were all volunteers, right from the SCC itself.

Some of the volunteer leaders had received training, at courses in Musoma.

Donovan talked about being alone in Masonga for most of the ten years, and that at times it was lonely. He pointed out that in addition to being alone in the large rectory, Masonga was at the end of the line. No other Maryknoller would pass by while going elsewhere. If someone visited Masonga it was because that was his/her destination. But he said that the parishioners were supportive and attentive to his needs, for example one time when he cut his finger, which became infected and he could not cook or wash dishes. Parishioners came in to do everything for him. Donovan stated, “We like to think of how much the people need us, but I had the feeling that I belonged to them, that I needed them, and that was important.”

For a year, at least, Donovan was not alone. In late 1980 Brother Kevin Dargan was assigned to Masonga and stayed there for slightly over a year. He had done OTP in Musoma and on his return to Tanzania in July, 1980, he went back to Musoma for a couple of months. He then took a refresher course in Swahili in September and October, moving to Masonga shortly after that. He enjoyed his time in Masonga, commenting on how safe and quiet it was, compared to Musoma town, and that he and Donovan got along very well, even if Donovan was a night person and Dargan a day person. He described various aspects of his work at the parish.

There were still two widows living in houses on the mission compound, a throwback to a ministry formerly done by Luo missionaries, but there were three empty houses, which we used for First Communion classes for school children.

There were about 300 children taking First Communion and Confirmation classes. The old church was still there, used for meetings. There were very few adult catechumens, and only a small number of school children for baptism. These were children of parents who were either polygamists or weren't able to have a canonical marriage when the children were born.

I got involved in teaching in schools, in the sacramental courses, and working with catechists. I did some work at the hospital in Shirati with lepers. I got involved with the Mennonite community, which was a good thing. We did a lot of visiting back and forth, which was a good thing for all of us.

After a while I started giving a sermon in Swahili at Sunday Mass, and Don would give one in Luo. Later on I would go out for Eucharistic Services at outstations, on Holy Days or other special days. It was a good time for me and I found praying with the people really great.

Originally, I walked everywhere, even ten to fifteen miles in a day. They used to call me the walker; I had a big cowboy hat and everybody knew me. Don gave me a big motorcycle that nearly killed me. Then I got a small Honda motorcycle. That was a good little bike, even if I looked ridiculous on it. Once, though, I slammed into a riverbank in order to avoid hitting a kid – but I survived.

There was no need of primary evangelization, in the sense of baptizing people, but there was a lot of re-evangelization. We did a lot of work with what the Luos call chamas, which we call SCCs. Don did it through Mass and a long discussion on the gospel. We had a good First Communion course because Don felt that the children needed a good foundation.

I look back on Masonga as probably the *crème de la crème* of my mission career. I loved that place.

In January, 1982, Dargan moved to Nyegina Parish, where several Polish Fidei Donum priests were working.

Donovan stayed three more years alone in Masonga and in April, 1985, he finished up his time there. "I had been so long and alone at Masonga that I thought that it would be good for me and for the people to have a change." After a furlough in the U.S. he made a major decision to transfer to Kenya, where he started off in Umoja Parish in Nairobi. The rest of his missionary career was spent in Kenya, mainly in Mombasa Archdiocese on Kenya's coast. In the year 2006 ill health forced him to return to the United States and on April 8, 2007, he died at Maryknoll, NY.

After Donovan left Masonga no other Maryknoller was assigned to Masonga. The parish is today staffed by diocesan priests and the pastor as of 2012 was Fr. Julius Manyoni. In the 1990s or early 2000s a secondary school was started at Masonga. It is now a large day and boarding school for boys and girls, staffed by Marist Brothers.

In the year 2000 a parish was established at the town of Shirati by Polish priests, who still staff it. Shirati has become a large town, with a current population estimated at 50,000. In contrast, the population of the area around Masonga village is about 2,500. The Mennonite Hospital is still the major institution in Shirati and has a nursing school to complement the hospital work. In the 1990s the Mennonites established a reliable water source, by pumping water from Lake Victoria to a 500,000 liter water tank on top of a

hill on the outskirts of the town. Around the same time electricity was installed in the town with a large town generator. As of 2010 operation of the water pump and electricity was being managed by the local government and due to lack of sufficient finances these services are not as dependable as before.

#### NYAROMBO, OUR LADY OF GRACE PARISH:

When we left off the history of Nyarombo Parish in the previous volume it was 1962 and Fr. Joe Trainor was filling in for the pastor, Fr. Gerry Pavis, who was home in the U.S. on furlough. Sometime in late 1962 Trainor was joined by Fr. Dan Zwack, who had been living at Nyegina, doing a combination of pastoral and teaching work. In 1963 Pavis returned to Nyarombo and Trainor went to the U.S. to work on Development for five years. Between November, 1958, and September, 1963, there were no mission diaries written and neither Pavis nor Zwack was interviewed for the history project, since both left Maryknoll about the year 1970/71. Fortunately, though, Zwack wrote a series of interesting and informative diaries between September, 1963, and May, 1969 (one of the very last diaries written from Tanzania).

Some of his diaries tended towards the whimsical side, narrating anecdotes of wondrous happenings and beliefs of the people, especially the last diary he wrote. These told of a woman who shoved her walking stick into the mouth of a leaping lion, temporarily saving herself from being mauled, although lack of nearby medical treatment resulted in her eventually losing her life, an old man whose ammunition belt around his waist saved his life when shot in the stomach during World War I fighting in Tanganyika against the Germans, a polygamist businessman who liked to talk with Zwack and claimed that with independence they “would now be marrying White women,” stories told by boys of a magical island in the lake enchanted by a powerful witch and populated by fantastic fishes and monsters, a belief that people lived on the far side of the moon, including relatives of the old German White Father Erwin Binder, who worked in Kowak in the 1940s, rumors that the British ground up the bodies of executed criminals for meat to sell, legends that the Germans left hidden treasure on the shore of Lake Victoria when they left in 1918, and many such stories and beliefs. These make amusing reading.

Many of his diaries, however, reflected his opinion that the catechumenate had been superficial, teaching rote memorization of prayers and catechism answers, and equating Christianity with religious exercises. Although he continued throughout the 1960s to express worries that the teaching by catechists was not of sufficient quality, even as early as September, 1963, he optimistically wrote that good changes were coming about.

The priest should teach religion, not theology, not a philosophical system, not a lot of pious practices. The movement in Musoma (Diocese) is strong now in this good direction. Our catechetical instructions tend to become more biblical-historical in approach, more integrated into knowing and sharing in the Paschal mystery. People tend to pious practices; they want magic rather than religion. But religion is what they need and Christianity is what we are giving them.

Subsequent diaries fleshed out what Zwack meant by religion, in essence practice of the Golden Rule, the two main commandments taught by Jesus in the gospels, i.e. love of God and love of neighbor. His diaries list a number of practical teaching examples he used, some successful and others not as successful, to engage those taking instructions to equate the Christian message with service actions in the community.

Zwack felt that the Catechist Training School at Komuge would be a big help, provided that high quality men were chosen to take the course. In February, 1964, he cited statistics for Musoma Diocese, which we can assume are quite accurate: a total population of 400,000, of whom 65,000 were Catholic – about 16%, which matches closely figures from other sources. According to John Hudert, who was stationed at Tatwe Parish in 1964, about 65% of the Catholics in Musoma Diocese were of the Luo ethnic group. Zwack commented that the Church was expanding rapidly, although he threw in a caveat that maybe it was growing too rapidly, questioning:

What is the best catechumenate? Some want many baptisms and choose a short and easy catechumenate. Others want quality and persevering Catholics, and have as long and intense a course as the people can bear. Where does the balance come?

As noted elsewhere, Musoma Diocese's Catholic percentage of the total population reached 18.5% in 1970 and remained basically the same for the next forty years. Of course, in absolute terms the number of Catholics continued to grow impressively, reaching 250,000 in the year 2004, a couple of years before Bunda Diocese was broken off from Musoma. Since the Maryknollers in Musoma Diocese changed the emphasis, coinciding with Vatican II, from numbers to quality, it is quite likely that the Catholic population of Musoma Diocese in 2015 had become much more faith-literate than was the case in 1960.

One of the critical elements in the creation of a high quality inculturated Church was the establishment of Small Christian Communities (SCCs), which arguably had their beginning in Nyarombo Parish in 1966. One piece of evidence for this was the diary of Zwack written in March, 1967, exhibiting a radical change of tone from skepticism to joyful hope for the Church in North Mara. It began with the arrival of a young French woman, Marie France Perrin-Jassy, who came to do her doctoral research in sociology on indigenous community formation in northwestern Tanzania.

Fr. Frank Murray had met Marie France (I will refer to her by this name throughout this chapter, the name by which she was known by all Maryknollers) while he was in Lumen Vitae in France to study Catechetics. In the early 1960s the Maryknollers working with the Luo in both Tanzania and Kenya were deeply perplexed by the separation of some 90,000 Luo Catholics in just three years from the Catholic Church to establish their own indigenous Church called Legio Maria, borrowing a name from the Catholic Church – Legion of Mary in English. It began in Kenya, where the numbers were larger, and spread to Tanzania. This sect, or actually a religious denomination in its own right, has lasted to the 21<sup>st</sup> century and has grown immensely. It borrowed rites from the Catholic Church to which it added many indigenous features, such as ease of getting titles of honor, such as priest, bishop, Cardinal, and even Pope, women with leadership tasks, all congregants wearing robes at liturgical ceremonies, use of local melodies and

instruments in worship, and perhaps most important of all emphasis on the egalitarian nature of the community.

Marie France arrived in February, 1966, living at first in a small house in Tatwe, to do a research project on the fundamental nature of all the various break-away churches, funded by the Africa Region. The Regional Superior, Joe Glynn, fully endorsed this project. According to Tom Donnelly, she walked around to as many households as possible, wearing something similar to ballet slippers, until the shoes were ruined and her feet badly blistered. After treatment for her feet at Kowak, she bought a new pair of strong walking shoes and had no further problems.

When she began her interviews of the Luo people she had a Catholic Luo woman as informant, but this did not work out well. The woman dismissed the people's answers about the Legio Maria religion with disdain, with the result that people began refusing to answer Marie France's questions. Marie France dropped this woman and hired another named Cecilia (Donnelly did not give her Luo name), a former teacher who was very good in Luo, English, and Swahili. Donnelly said, "Cecilia was the perfect person, excellent in translation, very interested herself, often making suggestions about how to phrase questions, and who learned much about her own ethnic customs." After the research program ended, Cecilia got a job with East African Airways in Dar es Salaam, and helped Maryknollers get reservations on airplanes at the last minute for emergency reasons.

Donnelly, as did many Maryknoll priests, had effusive praise for Marie France's methods and research findings.

She was a super sociologist. She had trap questions. If people answered what they thought Marie was looking for, she had another question, which would show this was a false answer. She learned as she went along.

She and Cecilia were a super team. They liked their work and the people liked them. They were the first Catholics to give the Legio Maria any kind of serious time. Marie France habitually went to the Legio Maria services, so she was not at the parish on Sundays.

She found out that they don't have a single leader, unlike the Catholic Church where leadership is centralized in the priest and to a lesser extent in the catechist. Luo have leaders for singing, for liturgy, for prayer, for many different aspects of religion. There were many other things that she found out. She wrote a book on it and gave seminars to us.

In July, 1966, Marie France presented her initial report to the Luo deanery, although her research was not yet complete. Dan Zwack became very excited about her findings and had her move over to Nyarombo Parish, where Marie France continued to visit the meetings of the chamas that were being started at that time. Zwack gave a long account of this and how he responded, in a diary written in March, 1967. Here below are some excerpts from this diary.

Marie France was invited to do a study within the Luo Deanery, a group of five adjacent parishes, of the various African separatist churches in the area, with special reference to the Legion of Mary. She set about making a statistical survey

of all the Pentecostal sects she could contact, which came to twelve. She tabulated and compared their origins, structures, worship, social activities and peculiarities, their impact upon members and outsiders, the types which adhere to such groups, and the staying power of the societies and members.

We had discussed and tried many ways to create communities amongst our people, but found no real success. We thought only along European models and categories, and these don't work here. Our sociologist showed us the patterns which she discovered and that the indigenous churches invariably were coming up with identical solutions to their problems. Why shouldn't we learn from them what African religious community means and encourage our people to do the same?

The sects put great stock in extemporaneous prayer at public and private worship, and in prayers for the sick or for disturbed persons whom they consider possessed by devils. For several years I had been trying, with indifferent success, to help our catechumens with such prayer, but at least the catechists were familiarized with it. So, we had been preparing the ground for such plantation. I had also been trying to introduce native forms of singing, with little success, but at least the catechists knew I was trying. And I was trying to impress on the catechumens that the only law of their new religion is love.

In July of 1966 I put the whole thing plainly before two groups of catechumens, to form communities of prayer and mutual help, with their own leaders and activities. I played recordings of songs from the sects, which delighted the catechumens, who sang along with them, swaying back and forth. We also had the sick sit on chairs in the middle of the group, for whom several people would pray extemporaneously. Then all of us would lay our hands on each sick person's head. Then the sick person would be lifted up while we prayed something like: "May the Lord Jesus Christ restore you to health and peace."

Later some Christians told me that they had secretly been praying for the sick and only now learned that it was approved Christian practice!!

Each group chose six leaders, three men and three women, to whom I read passages from the gospels about the Christian idea of leadership as humble service. They adopted the rite of washing the feet of members as a regular feature of their meetings. The catechists helped but it was all so congenial to their mentality that they easily fell in with it. The groups engaged in activities, such as helping someone whose garden got behind, cutting grass for a thatched roof, or building a hut for another.

In September, 1966, I found a most valuable adviser and helper, a catechist named John who lives near the mission but was not in either of the groups. He is a man of extraordinary intelligence, knowledge of religion, deep goodness, manliness, and zeal. The two of us with Marie France thought up structures, practices, and activities that would hopefully bind our people into communities.

Zwack kept the communities local, with no more than fifty adults. An enrollment fee of one shilling was charged (fifteen cents), but kept in the community's account at the mission. Only the community would decide how to use the money. Not long after

beginning this experiment the baptized Christians learned of it and wanted to be a part of it. Zwack said that they quickly took it over, "since it was plainly Christianity in African minds, hearts and hands." The need for indigenous melodies was also solved when one catechist took a parable and put it to a native melody. Others started creating new songs from other themes.

The catechumens were urged to get sponsors from the local community, who were expected to truly sponsor the catechumens throughout the catechumenate period.

However, despite incorporating all these indigenous forms of community, after this group of catechumens was baptized, many of them dropped out of further active membership in the community, for reasons that Zwack did not understand. It should be noted that this has been a persistent problem all over East Africa regarding adult and school child baptism: the catechumens are merely seeking a name, a Saint's name or European name, and once baptized they have no further need of the Catholic community or parish. With regard to the establishment of communities along the lines of the sects, Zwack said that as the older Christians were in control and dependable people were in charge, the communities were persevering.

A special Mass was celebrated to inaugurate the communities, using inculturated ceremonies prepared by the catechists of the two communities along with John and the people of the communities. The Mass included a rite of reconciliation by shaking of hands, a washing of feet, each communicant putting his/her host in the ciborium at the Offertory, preparation of the altar by members of the community, a basket of food placed on the altar, prayer for the sick after Mass, a meal after Mass, and the sharing of a gourd of gruel by everyone gathered for the ceremony and meal. Many outsiders came to watch what was happening, and a catechist explained everything and what they were trying to accomplish. Most importantly they wanted everyone to know that this was not a new religion being started, but just the kind of Christianity that people would like.

Seven more communities were started. Mass was celebrated in each community once a month, on Sunday if possible. The communities were encouraged to conduct their own services on Sunday if no Mass was celebrated nearby. Zwack wrote that one impediment to good services without a priest was the general level of illiteracy.

Zwack thought these communities would be good places to start socio-economic development projects, but on a small scale only, so as not to thwart the self-help character of the communities, such as donations of hybrid seed and fertilizer for a communal garden. For women, Zwack helped with half payment for cloth for a group that found a woman who could teach them how to sew. He also gave seedling fruit trees to some groups, hoping that this could be expanded to a re-forestation project on rocky hillsides, preventing erosion.

It should be noted that he never called the communities *chamas*, but used the word community throughout the diary. However, it is possible that they were called chama when using either Luo or Swahili.

In January, 1968, Zwack wrote another diary, stating:

Now, almost a year later, one can say that the work progresses on all fronts, not changing its original character, but developing, not succumbing to inevitable difficulties, but coping with them, trying to overcome them, living with

them, and learning from them. At this writing we have twenty local communities in the parish and a neighboring parish has five.

Some question me about the structure of these communities, but this is the wrong question to ask. If I were to choose a single word to characterize this work it would be “personalist,” that is an outlook that puts the greatest value on the person, in oneself and in one’s relations with everything else. The people made up a song that said:

Religion is our agreement with God and with all people on earth.  
Religion isn’t a garment we put on,  
It isn’t something one ties around his neck,  
It isn’t something one keeps in his pocket,  
It isn’t reception of Baptism,  
It isn’t assiduous attendance at Mass,  
But religion is our agreement with God and with all people on earth.

One matter that he wrote about was the Luo fascination with externals, such as holy water, the crucifix, actions such as the sign of the cross and genuflection, laying hands on the heads of the sick, praying with outstretched arms, and many more including receiving communion. Zwack wanted the people to understand these as merely signs, not types of magic that protect them from harm. He said that the catechists seemed to understand this and were better at teaching the people the correct understanding of signs than he could do. Subsequent history has indicated that Zwack was more optimistic than warranted. Even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century most Luo people seek exotic objects and rites that they believe can save them from evil being inflicted on them, usually by resorting to diviners. Likewise, many Catholics perceive sacral objects in the Church as having mysterious power over supernatural evil.

Several years earlier Zwack wrote that he tried to explain the Eucharist by using the local foods, ugali, or *fufu* in the Luo language, and beer, as being concomitant with the basic food and drink used by Jesus in his era, namely bread and wine. This may have been the origin of the rumor that they were using ugali and beer in Mass in Nyarombo. But even catechists could not distinguish between the elements used for Mass, i.e. hosts and wine, and those that had been consecrated. One catechist called unconsecrated hosts and wine the body and blood of Christ.

In 1968 the priests of Nyarombo collated answers to questions put to the catechists and the parish council, in order to present the answers to the Luo Deanery. The questions related to whether people in non-canonical marriages, widows taken by a male relative, and polygamists and their wives, could be re-admitted to the sacraments, if they proved themselves to be faithful Christians in all other matters. Both groups leaned strongly in favor of re-admittance, as Zwack explained in a diary of June, 1968.

The discussions stressed faithfulness in matters other than canonical marriage. The guiding maxim was the law of love. If anyone seems to keep that law he/she ought to be admitted to the sacraments, which are seen as signs of that same love. Persons are not to be refused sacraments because they are in social situations from which they are not, morally speaking, able to escape.

This was the last diary written by Zwack on the establishment of communities and some of the changes that they were making in Nyarombo. As noted earlier, he wrote a final diary in 1969, but on strange happenings in the area rather than on the church.

In 1969 Marie France moved to Shinyanga, to continue research and presentation of her findings on indigenous formation of community in northwestern Tanzania. There she met her husband-to-be, Josef Rott from Germany, who was helping the Diocese of Shinyanga with some large agricultural programs. They had three children and in the late 1970s moved back to Europe. Marie France died of pancreatic cancer in 1987, which saddened many Maryknollers in Tanzania since she had not yet reached age fifty.

In 1970 Zwack departed from Tanzania and in 1971 Pavis – who wrote no diaries from Nyarombo – also departed. They both returned to the U.S. and eventually left Maryknoll.

One fascinating incident happened in September, 1970, in response to a request from the Bishop of Kisii for a Maryknoll priest working in Luo land to come to Kisii Diocese to be pastor of a Maryknoll parish among the Luo in that diocese. Pavis was the most outspoken in objecting to this request, much to the chagrin of Joe Glynn, who was at the meeting, and to the amazement of Bishop Tiberius Mugendi of Kisii, who had never experienced priests speaking so forthrightly in the presence of the Regional Superior and a Bishop. The Maryknollers of Luo Deanery argued that Kisii had just got nine Passionist priests to staff three parishes in the Luo parts of Kisii Diocese, whereas they were having great difficulty staffing the five parishes of Luo land in Musoma Diocese even as it was – and, of course, Pavis himself left Tanzania shortly after this meeting. The result of the meeting was that three of the newly ordained that year went to Kisii Diocese, but only to the area of the Kisii ethnic group, establishing the parish of Kebirigo a year after they finished language school.

The phenomenon of local ecclesiastical communities being the foundation of an inculturated Tanzanian Church and taking precedence over the parish structure was still in its infancy in 1971 and its long-term sustainability was still very tenuous. Enough priests saw value in establishing communities in their parishes and beginning in 1973 this movement became a major aspect of pastoral work in East Africa. Before writing an excursus on Small Christian Communities, however, we will first finish up with Maryknoll's presence in Nyarombo.

After Pavis departed from Nyarombo either at the end of 1970 or beginning of 1971, there was no Maryknoller assigned to this parish until 1977, when Fathers Tom Tiscornia and Dick Baker came to Nyarombo. Tiscornia said, in an interview in July, 1994, that he arrived at the end of 1977, right after Christmas, and took over from diocesan priest Fr. Tarcisius Sije. In addition to Sije, there had been other diocesan priests assigned to Nyarombo between 1971 and 1977, although their names were not mentioned. Tiscornia said that there was a convent at Nyarombo in 1977 but no Sisters present at that time. He had worked with Luo people in Masonga four years previously and he mentioned, "I have a pretty good appreciation and affection for Luo people. They're a very honest, open and happy people."

He did not want to live alone, a condition for his assignment to Nyarombo that he made clear to Bishop Rudin. The first one assigned to be with him was a diocesan

seminarian, Alfonse Timira, who stayed at Nyarombo for about six months in 1978 as part of his pastoral year.

Baker had been ordained in 1971 and was initially assigned to the famous “Mission X,” designated as such as there was a likely chance they (with his classmate Fr. Vince Cole) would go to Pakistan, but this could not be stated publicly until they received work permits, which never came through. They then tried to get resident visas for Malaysia but were again told that this would not be possible. Baker and Cole then went to Indonesia but after a year or two Baker withdrew over a misunderstanding of how he viewed his assignment to an overwhelmingly Muslim country. He returned to the United States and did urban studies at Portland, Oregon, and then was assigned to Tanzania at the end of 1977. He began Swahili studies in January, 1978, and was assigned to Nyarombo on completion of the course. Baker presumed he would be at Nyarombo, a rural parish, for three years and then be assigned to Dar es Salaam, because of his studies on urban dynamics. But six months after arriving in Nyarombo there was a crisis in Chang’ombe Parish in Dar es Salaam and Baker was assigned there in January, 1979.

In 1978 a Maryknoll seminarian, Nick Cieri, was assigned to Nyarombo for part of his OTP experience. For a short while in 1978 there were four people living in the rectory at Nyarombo, until Timira left a little later.

Regarding his short time at Nyarombo Baker said: “It was a good experience, but it’s not the best place to practice Swahili because of the heavy Luo influence. I visited a lot, walking around the parish, and got to know a lot about culture. Tom was very helpful in learning the language and understanding the culture.”

After Baker moved to Dar es Salaam in January, 1979, Cieri returned to the U.S. a short while later and decided not to continue in the Maryknoll seminary. To fill the void another diocesan seminarian, Godfried (or Godfrey) Biseko, was assigned to Nyarombo also for a period of six months. When he left there was no one else available to come to Nyarombo. Tiscornia said that he was not created to live alone, so he made the decision to move to Ingri, where three other Maryknoll priests were living – Bill Daley, Mike Kirwen, and John Hudert. (Tiscornia may have been confused about this, because Daley had become Regional Superior in 1978, for the African Region at first, living in Nairobi, and then later in 1978 for the Tanzania Region, when he moved to the language school in Makoko. Daley may have regularly visited Ingri in 1979/80, because he had been working there previously.)

Tiscornia praised Pavis and Zwack for the great work they had done starting the small Christian Communities, which were still going strong ten years later.

The people had moved into Ujamaa Villages and were living more closely together. With the SCCs there was a Christian presence in each village. There might have been a catechist or leaders, with different responsibilities. Their purpose was visiting the sick, making sure everyone had enough food, and other things like this. There were fifteen or twenty villages involved in parish life at that time, and there was a very good base for Christian communities in each village. Our time was spent mostly in visiting people and conducting liturgies.

The people I worked with were all good people, but it was exhausting at times because every six months I had to break in a different person. But they are

all friends of mine now. They were all different but their way of doing ministry and my way were all complementary.

After moving to Ingri in 1979, Tiscornia continued to drive to Nyarombo to serve the parish. In 1980 he went to the United States on furlough and took a renewal program at the Weston School of Theology in Massachusetts. While in the U.S. he was asked to join the new Vocations Team then being established.

After 1980 no other Maryknoller was assigned to Nyarombo. Fr. Bill Daley was interviewed in June, 1989, and commented that Nyarombo Parish had not been well served in the 1980s but that the basic core of faith persevered because of the SCCs. In 1989 there was no priest in Nyarombo. Instead the parish was administered by several IHSA Sisters. In 2016, as this history was being written, Fr. Faustine Abala, a diocesan priest, had been pastor for many years.

#### EXCURSUS: SMALL CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES:

We have already cited the rapid and expansive growth of this extremely important addition to the Catholic Church in Tanzania and throughout East Africa, in coverage above of other parishes and of the intensive research and implementation of SCCs by Fr. Joe Healey. In Musoma Diocese there was slow, incremental growth of this movement from 1971 to 1973, at which time the villagization in Tanzania created an opportunity for establishment of SCCs in as many villages of a parish as possible. The spread of SCCs to other dioceses of Tanzania was negligible before 1973, however, (there were some solid efforts in Tabora Diocese to start SCCs) and non-existent to other countries of East Africa.

Because of articles about this movement in AFER magazine by both Dan Zwack and Marie France and publication of Marie France's research findings in book form, awareness and knowledge of SCCs was being disseminated throughout East Africa. Many priests and other religious came to Nyarombo and Masonga in the late 1960s to observe the implementation of SCCs, according to Zwack. It depended on individual priests, however, to adopt this new form of church within their parishes.

The breakthrough came during the AMECEA Study Conference in Nairobi in December, 1973, on "Planning for the Church in Eastern Africa in the 1980s." (Most of the following information comes from the AMECEA website's historical and theological document on Small Christian Communities, written by Fr. Joe Healey in 2014.) In 1973 AMECEA proclaimed:

We have to insist on building church life and work on Basic Christian Communities in both rural and urban areas. Church life must be based on the communities in which everyday life and work take place: those basic and manageable social groups whose members can experience real inter-personal relationships and feel a real sense of communal belonging, both in living and working.

We are convinced that in these countries of Eastern Africa it is time for the Church to become truly local, that is, self-ministering, self-supporting, and self-propagating.

Calling for establishment of small communities had several precedents, such as the Base Christian Communities (Comunidad Ecclesial de Base) started in Brazil and other countries in Latin America in the 1950s and the inauguration of Living Ecclesial (or Christian) Communities in the Democratic Republic of Congo (later called Zaire, and now called DRC again) by the Bishops of that country in 1961. However it was not until 1971 that Living Ecclesial Communities became widespread in Zaire, when President Mobutu Sese Seko decreed an “authenticity” campaign, abolishing all expatriate religious orders and institutes. By the early 1970s the beginnings of basic Christian communities had also begun in Philippines. AMECEA attributes the start of SCCs in East Africa to the work done in the Luo parishes of North Mara in the late 1960s, as elaborated above. Other factors were the Seminar Study Year in Tanzania in 1969 and the Vatican II ecclesiology of communion. Healey has also stated that Fr. Ed Killackey had an essential role at the AMECEA study conference of 1973 in educating the Bishops about this new movement in the Church, plus its underlying theology.

An important point to be emphasized is that the eruption of SCCs (known by various names) throughout the world was unique in each part of the world and independent of SCCs’ presence in other places. Thus, unlike other places, East Africa’s SCCs (and by the mid-1970s all of Sub-Saharan Africa) were directly linked to the parish structure and this remains so to the present. Examples of their integral parish connection are the rotating schedules in parishes for SCCs’ responsibility to do church tasks on weekends (e.g. church cleaning, taking up the collection, doing the readings, etc.) and announcements each Sunday at Masses as to the meetings of SCCs during the upcoming week. Just as importantly, parish council representation comes from the SCCs. In other parts of the world SCCs tend not to be connected directly to the parish, although they are not considered to be completely autonomous of parochial or diocesan purview.

Despite the AMECEA proclamation in 1973 and other pertinent statements at the World Synods of Bishops in 1971 and 1977, growth of SCCs in East Africa continued to be slow. The boost came with the next important meeting of AMECEA in Nairobi in 1976, a Study Conference titled, “Building Small Christian Communities,” at which the Bishops stated, “Systematic formation of Small Christian Communities should be the key pastoral priority in the years to come in Eastern Africa.” It was at this meeting that the formal name of SCCs was enshrined. The word small was chosen in part to indicate that this was an independent African initiative, not something brought in from elsewhere, and also due to concerns about the word basic. There was a fear that calling them Basic Christian Communities would entangle their creation with the overtly political purposes of some BCCs in Latin America, at a time when some Church people in Rome and other places were suspicious of tenets of Liberation Theology. Calling them Small Christian Communities in Africa kept them safe from any potential political overtones. In the 1970s most African countries were one-party governments or even outright dictatorships and they did not brook any opposition to government decisions. If SCCs were even remotely perceived as discussing matters of political import then the members would be endangered and the whole movement could have been summarily repressed.

After the 1976 AMECEA declaration, actually promulgated in 1977, the concept of SCCs spread rapidly throughout the Church in East Africa and many SCCs were formed. One problem was that they were seen at that time as top-down creations, from

the Bishops to the priests and then to the laity, rather than a true grass-roots movement. Despite this, once begun many lay Catholics readily recognized their value and willingly kept coming to the weekly meetings – especially women, who are religiously inclined and who relished the opportunity for quiet, thoughtful reflection with other women.

In 1978 the Lumko Missiological Institute in Germiston, South Africa, developed excellent training manuals for SCC leaders and formulated what is called the “Seven Steps” method of bible/gospel sharing. These manuals were published all over the world and SCC leaders from many countries began using them. However, it seems that in East Africa only a few SCCs used these materials and this method. At most meetings the readings of the upcoming Sunday were read, followed by faith-sharing emanating from what each SCC member heard in the readings and what each one deemed a possible contemporary response.

The goals of SCCs were (and still are) community-building, an understanding of church as interpersonal relationship (in contrast to an impersonal experience of church at Sunday worship in enormous congregations, no matter how exuberant the liturgy might be), greater scriptural and theological knowledge, opportunities for individual members to share their faith, and service to the wider community. Some priests had hoped that social analysis might be an important element in SCC gatherings, but this has never developed, up to the year 2015 at least. Catholics of East Africa shy away from discourse in religious settings of any topic perceived as political – with the exception of the topic of abortion.

The Catholics who were most amenable to membership in SCCs were those in urban areas, which may explain why Kenya, the most urbanized nation in Eastern Africa, has the most SCCs. Townspeople are removed from their rural homes, where family and community were inherent realities in their childhood. In towns they have few if any relatives and usually live in multi-ethnic neighborhoods, although they probably can quickly locate people from the same ethnic group, an action not merely important but probably essential to the well-being of displaced tribespeople. The need to find and deeply feel community in isolating urban environments is a prime motivation for people to join SCCs.

In contrast, it has been difficult to sustain SCCs in rural areas. The rural areas of Eastern Africa are already overpoweringly communal and the imposition of a church form of community comes across as redundant. Outstations, however, tend to be small and in fact fulfill almost all the purposes of SCCs in urban areas. Large Centers that are almost like sub-parishes located in rural towns or large villages often have several SCCs, in part because there are probably residents of these towns from diverse ethnic groups. For such people, the desire for community becomes very important, and a church structure provides a positive form of community, versus hanging around in bars, for example.

In the 1980s SCCs became common and by 1990 they were solidly established as an essential part of church structure in all countries of East Africa. Since the millennial year East African Catholics have been happy to describe the SCC to which they belong, and Bishop Christopher Mwoleka of Rulenge Diocese of Tanzania always introduces himself at international gatherings as a member of his local SCC.

The Africa Synod held in Rome in 1994 helped ratify SCCs as basic structures of the African Church, as stated by Pope John Paul II in Number 89 of his Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation, titled “Vital Christian Communities:”

Right from the beginning the Synod Fathers recognized that the Church as Family cannot reach her full potential as Church unless she is divided into communities small enough to foster close human relationships. The Assembly described the characteristics of such communities as follows: primarily they should be places engaged in evangelizing themselves, so that subsequently they can bring the Good News to others; they should moreover be communities which pray and listen to God’s Word, encourage the members themselves to take on responsibility, learn to live an ecclesial life, and reflect on different human problems in the light of the Gospel. Above all, these communities are to be committed to living Christ’s love for everybody, a love which transcends the limits of the natural solidarity of clans, tribes or other interest groups.

This was re-affirmed by the Second Africa Synod, held in Rome in October, 2009, which stated:

Here we would like to reiterate the recommendation of ‘Ecclesia in Africa’ about the importance of Small Christian Communities. Beyond prayer, you must also arm yourself with sufficient knowledge of the Christian faith to be able to “give a proof of the hope that you bear” in the marketplace of ideas.

Two years later Pope Benedict XVI promulgated the Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation “Africa’s Commitment,” in which he referred to SCCs as fundamental structures of the African Church. Important goals of SCCs, according to this document, were inculcation and promotion of reconciliation and peace, and daily biblical reading and reflection, including the practice of Lectio Divina.

According to Healey, “(Since the early 2000s) there has been increasing involvement of SCCs in promoting forgiveness, healing, reconciliation, justice and peace in Africa. There is considerable documentation on how some of the 20,000 base communities (another name for SCCs) were involved in the reconciliation and healing ministry in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide.”

There has continued to be ongoing emphasis on education and training, and Lumko Workshops are held throughout Africa. In the 2000s these have been complemented by increased use of social media, the internet, and networking, under the mantra “the future is now.” The Small Christian Communities Global Collaborative Website has been established ([www.smallchristiancommunities.org](http://www.smallchristiancommunities.org)) which shares contacts, information, events, materials, and news for all six continents. It is also to be hoped that the Biblical Centre for Africa and Madagascar, known as BICAM, located in Accra, Ghana, will increase training programs in biblical knowledge and understanding.

It was recognized that priests, seminarians, and Sisters need to be fully educated about SCCs. At the AMECEA Study Conference in Dar es Salaam in 2002, it was recommended that courses on SCCs be included in the normal curriculum of major seminaries and houses of formation of both men and women. Since moving to Nairobi in

2007, Healey has been teaching a full semester course on SCCs at Tangaza College and a Seminar Course at the Jesuit-managed Hekima College, both in Nairobi.

So integral are SCCs to the parish and diocese in East Africa that beginning around 2005 a new feature appeared, namely utilizing SCCs as fund-raising mechanisms within parishes and on behalf of the diocese. If a diocese needs to raise money, for example for an ordination, for seminary expansion, or for some institutional need in the diocese, not only are parishes assessed a specific amount but also each SCC in each parish. The question is whether this is putting an undue burden on active SCC members. Active members number about twenty to thirty, or forty at the most, but in the neighborhood of each SCC there are probably 100 or more Catholic adults, most of whom attend church services regularly or at least occasionally. It is not clear if all Catholics living in the SCC neighborhood are being taxed, or only the active members of the SCC.

Some church people also fear that the fund-raising obligations being imposed on SCCs may distort their purposes, which Popes John Paul and Benedict have said are community building, faith enrichment and evangelization. If SCC members feel that constant monetary requests have become overwhelming they will start dropping out of the SCCs.

To read the full AMECEA document about the history of SCCs, written by Joe Healey, one may merely go to Google and type the words: ameccea small Christian communities.

#### TATWE, HOLY FAMILY PARISH:

The history of Tatwe ended in the last volume in 1964, with Tom Donnelly as pastor – having replaced Wayman Deasy at the beginning of that year – assisted by John Hudert. Donnelly had been in Masonga and Kowak, each for about three years, and then went on furlough in 1963, returning at the beginning of 1964. Hudert had been ordained in 1962 and went to Tatwe to study the Luo language. At Maryknoll Seminary Fr. Joe Grassi, a scripture teacher, had given the seminarians lessons on linguistics and Hudert had been given a book on a methodology of learning a language. Hudert hired an informant, with whom he met every afternoon to teach him phrases in Luo that he tried using the next morning. He did this for nine months, but already by December, 1962, he took the plunge and preached his first sermon in Luo. In 1963 he went to Masonga to fill in for Don Donovan for three weeks. Living on his own forced him to learn Luo in a hurry. By 1964, when Donnelly arrived, Hudert knew Luo and was fully involved in pastoral work.

In 1963 Deasy and Hudert had already begun to concentrate on the baptized Catholics, for two reasons: numbers in the catechumenate had fallen off and secondly it seemed that the baptized Christians were being neglected, which could have led to some or many of them falling away from the church. When Donnelly came in 1964 he and Hudert agreed to continue this approach. They divided the parish in two and each visited every Catholic family in his half of the parish, after which they swapped the two halves and visited every Catholic family in the other half. Hudert said that as a result he spent almost every day on his motorcycle. Once having arrived at an outstation, he walked

around with the catechist to home after home. There were fifteen outstations in all in those years, in the early to mid-1960s.

By the time Donnelly arrived in Tatwe the carpentry school had closed and the sewing school for girls was on the verge of collapsing as well. Since the government had both a primary school and a medical clinic in Tatwe, the priests were able to concentrate on pastoral work, primarily visiting people at their homes and teaching.

Tatwe was one of the most pleasant parts of Luo land, as described by Donnelly.

Tatwe was a little difficult to get to but a beauty spot when you got there. It was much greener than either Masonga or Kowak. It was a good farming area of rolling hills, studded with trees. Cattle and crops supplied the people with financial profit as well as adequate sustenance.

Mike Pierce had built a very nice rectory and by the middle of 1964 Hudert and Donnelly had organized the construction a new red brick church, much bigger than the old mud-walled, grass-roofed church. Pierce had left many of the building materials for the church plus a sizeable amount of money in the parish account, enabling the priests to hire an Indian contractor from Tarime – Mistri by name – to take the building contract. As of October, 1964, Hudert estimated there were 6,000 Catholics in the parish, although the numbers in the catechumenate had dropped from 300 to only 100 in just three years. In February, 1967, Donnelly estimated that there were 18,000 people living within the parish boundaries of whom one-third (i.e. 6,000) were Catholic. These were only estimates but showed that growth in the numbers of Catholics had slowed, due to smaller catechumenates, but that Catholics were still a larger percentage of total population than in other areas. As mentioned elsewhere, in the 1960s it was estimated that Luo made up almost two-thirds of the Catholics of Musoma Diocese.

When interviewed Hudert said that the numbers really became obvious at the big feasts, such as Christmas, Easter and Palm Sunday. He suspected that many of the people who came to church on those days were not baptized Catholics, making the church very crowded. In the early 1960s crowds could also be unruly and difficult to control.

In a diary written in October, 1964, Hudert explained the reason why they were making changes to the catechumenate, namely making it more intensive since it lasted only a year or a little more, by having instructions four days a week in each outstation taught by catechists and priests doing instruction one or two days a week. They were also trying to give more attention to instructions for school children, many of whom were the baptized children of Catholic families. These were done in schools, where the government allowed religious instruction for thirty minutes a day, five days a week, taught by catechists, and during the three four-week vacation periods, during which the priests organized special instructions for the school children at the mission. As for the focus on baptized Catholics, he wrote:

I am young here and I can't make comparisons, but I do not believe our instruction is adequate. The challenge now is to take more notice of the Christians than we have. The veteran missionaries made what they thought was a necessary change. Now we must change with the times and concentrate on the Christians we have.

Hudert said that Mike Pierce had put great effort in teaching the catechists both updated catechetical content and a more modern pedagogy, and Hudert thought the catechists were a good group, adequate at their task. Each outstation had its own catechist.

At the beginning of 1965 Hudert was transferred to Kowak, to replace Wayman Deasy who had to go back to the United States to help care for a sick relative. When Bill Sweeney arrived at Kowak from language school in June, 1965, Hudert moved to Muhoji Parish to work with the Luo people in South Mara.

After Hudert left Tatwe Donnelly was alone until 1966, when Fr. Tony Bengert was assigned to Tatwe. He had been ordained in 1965 and studied Luo at the language school, after which he was assigned to Tatwe. However, he remained in Tatwe for only a year at most and then was moved over to Ingri. Donnelly was then alone again until he went on furlough in 1967. On return to Tanzania in 1968 he was assigned to Masonga.

Donnelly said that there were several other things that took place in Tatwe in those years. First, in February, 1966, Marie France came to live in her small house at Tatwe, as has been recorded above under Nyarombo. When she moved to Nyarombo in 1967, two IHSA Sisters, both Luo, came to Tatwe to work with the women. This went very well, but unfortunately they stayed for only three months.

In addition, Tatwe had an outstation populated by Kuria people that was served by a Kuria-speaking priest from Tarime Parish, usually Fr. Joe Sheehan. The priest would come on Saturday evening and then go out Sunday morning to the outstation. On weekends when no one came, Donnelly had to say Mass at that outstation – but unfortunately in the Luo language rather than in Kikuria.

Although Donnelly appreciated the findings of Marie France's research, he did not start the chamas at Tatwe. His focus was on home-visiting at that time; this is not unconnected to community building, but there is a distinction between these two facets of pastoral work. Donnelly also like learning about Luo customs and culture and he used to talk with some of the older people about this, including some polygamists who could not receive the sacraments.

The mid-1960s were also the time of introducing the changes of Vatican II, although it would be several more years before Luo parishes made the transition to Swahili liturgies.

One major change in parish structure that came in the mid-1960s – around 1966/67 – was the establishment of parish councils. The outstations and the mission always had a few informal leaders, who along with the catechists gave consultation to the priests. But true participation in decision-making and official representation at the parish had not yet been implemented.

In February, 1967, Donnelly wrote a lengthy diary narrating that two attempts had been made over a two-year period to start a parish council in Tatwe, with no success. Reasons for failure were election of unsuitable people, the Luo cultural trait that dictates that women keep quiet in the presence of men in a deliberative assembly, and concern only with how church money be spent. The first two councils did not do anything to raise money from parishioners. Parish council members from a distance were concerned only with their own areas. There were also some inter-personal conflicts between some of the members. By the end of 1966 both of these councils had been abolished.

Thus, after Ash Wednesday in 1967 (early February) Donnelly called a meeting of twenty-five excellent Catholics to discuss the situation. They chose fifteen people to represent the area around the mission. Donnelly hoped that this new body would work well, but as this was the last diary from Tatwe we do not know the subsequent outcome. Parish councils did become normal in all parishes, so we can presume that eventually in Tatwe the wrinkles were smoothed out and they had a functioning, stable parish council. In 1967 Donnelly wrote:

The concept of a parish council is in sharp contrast to the people's previous experience of the Fathers handling everything. It is one more strange change, along with liturgical changes, relaxation of certain rules, and introduction of a new catechism. Coming with bewildering swiftness, these changes are resisted by people conservative by nature and not too imaginative.

As mentioned above, Donnelly went on furlough to the U.S. later in 1967 and on return to Tanzania he was assigned to Masonga. At Tatwe he was replaced by Fr. Jim Kuhn, who came sometime later in 1967. There were no further diaries written from Tatwe and Kuhn was never interviewed for the history project. In 1969 he was joined by Fr. Joe Trainor, who had just come back from doing development work in the U.S. and took a refresher course in Luo at the language school. He stayed in Tatwe about one year and then went to Makoko to study Swahili in January, 1970, after which he was assigned to Nyegina Parish.

Trainor did not say much about his time in Tatwe except that he found the people there, whom he called the Mukroni, a more pleasant and nicer people to work with than those he had encountered at Nyarombo Parish. Thus, he enjoyed his time at Tatwe. He also mentioned that both Joe Sheehan and Frank Flynn used to come from Tarime to serve the Kuria people in the northern reaches of Tatwe Parish. Since the rectory at Tatwe was big it was easy to have guests stay there. Given the difficulty of the road, not many guests came to Tatwe.

Kuhn remained in Tatwe up till the end of 1970. In 1971 he was assigned to Masonga Parish. Kuhn also went to Makoko to study Swahili at about this time, probably prior to going to Masonga.

After Kuhn left Tatwe no other Maryknoller has been assigned to this parish. Apparently Fr. Tarcisius Sije was pastor at Tatwe in 1971, but when he was assigned elsewhere in 1972 Tatwe became a sub-parish under Ingri Parish and was served as an outstation. In the 1980s this was still the case. The Maryknollers lived at Ingri, but the house at Tatwe was available and still very good, so a priest could go there for several days at a time.

The final Maryknoller left Ingri in 1994 (Bill Daley). At some point after that diocesan priests were assigned to Tatwe. In 2012 a diocesan priest, Fr. Pasley Ghati, was pastor and then in 2014 he was replaced as pastor by a Fidei Donum priest from Poland.

#### INGRI, ST. ALOYSIUS PARISH:

In the previous volume not much was said about Ingri. Fr. Jim Kuhn had established the parish and oversaw the construction of rectory and church. When he left

in 1966 he was replaced by Fr. Wayman Deasy, who remained pastor in Ingri up till the end of 1974. Unfortunately, neither Kuhn nor Deasy was interviewed for the history project.

In 1972 Deasy was joined by Fr. Bill Daley, who became pastor in 1975, when Deasy had left. Daley was joined at Ingri later in 1975 by Fr. Mike Kirwen, who had just completed his doctoral studies in anthropology and theology. Daley remained at Ingri until he was elected Regional Superior, first of the Africa Region and then the Tanzania Region, in the beginning of 1978. When he was interviewed in 1989 he did not talk about the years 1972 to the end of 1978 at Ingri, because in 1978 he became Tanzania Regional Superior and when his second term ended in 1984 he went back to Ingri. His comments on Ingri refer to the latter years.

From the years 1976 to 1978 Kirwen was the assistant to Daley in Ingri, although in 1979, in response to the call from the Chapter to teach theology to Maryknoll seminarians overseas in Maryknoll Regions, he began setting up the TEFO program. For much of 1978, when Daley had moved first to Nairobi and then to Musoma, Kirwen was alone in Ingri, covering both places. When Daley had begun living in Musoma he probably went up regularly to Ingri on weekends to help out. One apostolic program that we know Kirwen vigorously implemented in both Ingri and Tatwe was the establishment of Small Christian Communities, which being self-reliant and self-ministering were indispensable components of continued church presence. Unfortunately, when interviewed many years later Kirwen did not comment on his time in Ingri Parish.

It seems that Fr. Joe Corso was also assigned to Ingri for at least a few months in 1978 after which he moved to Kenya, to the parish of Kebirigo in Kisii Diocese.

Finally, at the end of 1978 Fr. John Hudert was assigned to Ingri, where he was to remain until 1992. He had worked in Tatwe and Kowak parishes for four years after which he moved to Muhoji Parish in South Mara to work with Luo Catholics. Following on that he studied Swahili and worked in Bunda Parish from 1970 to 1974. He then went to the U.S. to work in the Development Department, stationed in Denver and Seattle, up till 1978. After taking the Mission Renewal Program in early 1978 he returned to Tanzania and took a refresher course in Swahili at the language school from August to October, 1978. He then moved to Ingri. One important matter he commented on in a later interview was the loneliness he had experienced in his final years at Bunda and then on Development, where the work in the huge States of western America forced him to be on the road for weeks on end. He was hoping the living situation back in Musoma Diocese would be different, but this was not necessarily to be.

When Hudert arrived in Ingri Daley was living in Musoma, Corso had moved to Kenya, and Kirwen was beginning to involve himself full-time in organizing the TEFO program. Although he had been away from Tanzania for five years, Hudert made the following comments on his arrival in Ingri:

It was as if time had stopped. There were still cobwebs on the outhouse. They went to meetings with the same topics. I had changed but the situation hadn't changed much.

But there were a few more houses with corrugated metal roofs. There was one major change that I wasn't aware of, the Small Christian Communities. Ingri

was one of the places where Mike Kirwen had been and they were very much into SCCs.

It seemed, though, that everybody got sick at the same time so I ended up with both parishes all by myself for two years.

In the latter half of 1979 up till 1980 Tom Tiscornia moved to Ingri to live, while still covering Nyarombo Parish. Kirwen was also living at Ingri, although only intermittently in those years. Thus, Hudert was not completely alone as far as his living situation was concerned. But once Tiscornia returned to work in the U.S. in 1980 and Kirwen became completely involved in the TEFO program as of January, 1981, residing for the most part in Zanaki Parish, Hudert was mainly alone for the next four years.

At the conclusion of the TEFO program in 1983 Kirwen went back to the U.S. to teach and begin to plan on setting up a course on African inculturation that in 1989 became the Maryknoll Institute of African Studies (MIASMU) in Nairobi.

After Bill Daley completed his terms as Tanzania Regional Superior, he returned to Ingri Parish in late 1984, after first taking renewal programs at the Vatican II Institute and in Israel. However, he had visited Hudert in January, 1984, and said he would come to live in Ingri as soon as he finished his sabbatical programs. Hudert was alone for most of 1984 and he had to request a Swahili language student to take the Holy Week services, Thursday to Easter, at Ingri while he went out to Tatwe for those four days.

Regarding parish work from 1979 on Hudert described it the following way:

The emphasis was on parish councils and working with them, by developing them at the grassroots through seminars. Home visiting happened to be what I found to be helpful. Through seminars, talks, and homilies I tried to touch on things that are really of consequence to their lives. The people really run the seminars themselves. We just help to coordinate them.

One interesting area he tried to explore with people was dream interpretation, a method of awareness-raising of one's own inner self, especially hidden motivations residing in a person's unconscious. He had learned this method while living in the United States.

There were both diocesan and parochial needs requiring local self-reliant responses, such as providing food for seminarians at St. Pius Seminary, starting early a fund-raising campaign for an upcoming ordination of a young man from Ingri, and replacing the grass roofs on outstation churches with corrugated metal sheets. As of 1989 there were only four churches that did not have good roofs. Hudert believed that the ten-year experience of an African Bishop and the increase in number of local priests and Sisters had made the Catholics more conscious of their need to support the Church. "In both of the parishes of Tatwe and Ingri, and I am sure in other parishes, the thrust is for this self-governing and self-support."

When he was interviewed, Daley said that he and Hudert organized the two parishes, Ingri and Tatwe, into eight major Sunday Mass stations, with each receiving Mass one Sunday a month, or twice a month when both priests were in the parish. Ingri and Tatwe were considered merely two of the eight Sunday Mass centers, receiving Mass

only once or twice a month on Sunday. All of the places had Services without a Priest on the other Sundays, a liturgical rite that had become formalized in the national Tanzanian Church by the 1980s. There were smaller outstations as well, called kigangos, fifteen in Tatwe Sub-Parish and five in Ingri. These received Mass on a weekday at least once a month.

Daley observed that the weekday schedule had changed considerably from thirty years previously. In the 1950s the priests were still following a schedule handed to the Maryknollers by the White Fathers, namely two days a week teaching the Sacrament Course at the Mission and three days a week out at outstations, from morning to evening. In the 1980s the catechists taught the catechumenate, which at Ingri and Tatwe was mainly for school children, as there were very few adults seeking baptism – most were already members of one Christian religion or other, or else were not interested in membership in the Catholic Church. Many Luo men were not living in the rural area. The migration of Luo men from their rural homes to urban areas all over East Africa seeking salaried work has been a well-referenced phenomenon, due to the paucity of suitable agricultural conditions in North Mara (and in the South Nyanza and Siaya Districts in Kenya).

Daley said that “now the only work we really do is go to Small Christian Communities and say Mass in outstations.” Daley said that he normally would go out at around 2:00 pm, after the people had finished their farming work. Some people would have personal matters to discuss and then there would be a business meeting with the leaders of the outstation. He would then lead a gospel discussion, similar to what was done at an SCC. He would conclude the visit with Mass. Daley said that Hudert used to go out earlier and walk around visiting homes before having the meeting and Mass at the church.

The various groups in the parish were earnestly asking for retreats, which Hudert saw as their recognition of “the need for spiritual renewal, which are positive signs of a growing church.” The groups ranged from the catechists, to small Christian communities, the parish council, to the women’s group and the youth group. The constitutions of each group actually said that each group should have an annual retreat. Hudert said that it was handled more on the deanery level, with a team sharing the retreat schedule. Someone, for instance an African priest or African Sister, would go from one parish to another to lead the retreat, so that the people could hear something new. Hudert had held seminars for the SCCs but these were not so successful, as only a smattering of older women came, mainly for the food. With the retreats, the people themselves chose the topics they wanted addressed.

The five parishes of the Luo Deanery had formed a deanery-wide youth program, bringing together young people, mainly older teenagers and young adults, for various activities. However, as sports were involved, especially soccer, the youth gatherings gradually focused on soccer only (Luo males are known for their passion for soccer) and netball for girls. Since winning matches was vital, teams’ players were not necessarily Catholic, negating the objective of a Catholic youth program.

Hudert had hoped that there would be substantial reflection and discussion of marriage in a Christian context in the youth programs, but as of 1989 he was finding it difficult to get youth groups together for serious discussions, since sports had become the whole focus.

Co-habitation without church marriage was common in the Luo parts of North Mara. Two other traditional aspects of marriage were still strong as of 1989, namely inheritance of widows by a male relative of the deceased husband and polygamy. Hudert said that if a widow was young it was mandatory that she raise up more children to her deceased husband's name and line, a tradition that showed no sign of abating.

The quandary facing the priests was whether and when children of unmarried couples, of widows in levirate marriage, and of wives of polygamists could be baptized. The adults were barred from reception of the sacraments. Hudert said he consulted canon lawyers, who said, "Well, canon law says this is impossible. However, I know in your pastoral wisdom you will know the right thing to do."

Hudert did not know what to do. He said that he began letting at least some people return to reception of the sacraments, which he asserted did not cause scandal for the Catholics, for the most part. He did include the local Catholic community in discussion of allowing someone to receive the sacraments and they usually agreed. In a few cases some Catholics insisted on a strict interpretation of canon law, at which Hudert firmly explained that the Church also taught that because of the requirement of fortifying the faith it was most advisable to find a way for people to receive the sacraments. In a very few cases, if there was widespread opposition to a particular person receiving the sacraments, then Hudert saw it prudent to back off.

Hudert did not explain which particular cases he was referring to. However, if a Catholic young man married a Catholic young woman in church and then later took a second wife (and maybe even a third), it would be near impossible for this man to be re-admitted to the sacraments – except maybe on his death bed. So, this was probably one example he was not referring to.

Even in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century these marriage conundrums have not been settled in the East African Church.

Hudert was also the Unit Coordinator for North Mara, an organizational tool for getting Maryknollers together to discuss pastoral, social and theological matters. The Units were working well in the 1980s and often included the methodology of Pastoral Theological Reflection. However, in 1989 when he was interviewed (while in Nairobi recovering from hepatitis), he had time to reflect and observed that the diocesan priests also had their organizational grouping, called UMAWATA (a Swahili acronym standing for *Umoja wa Mapadre Wa Tanzania*, meaning Union of Tanzanian Priests), to which the diocesan priests belonged. Hudert wondered if the diocesan priests and the Maryknollers were moving in parallel routes, without knowing what the other was discussing.

In January, 1989, Justin Samba had become the new Bishop of Musoma, replacing Bishop Anthony Mayala, and was re-emphasizing the Priests' Senate and the office of Bishop's Consultors, a smaller group. Hudert hoped that these diocesan organs would foster greater harmony in the diocese. Earlier in 1989 the diocesan priests had issued a statement that stated they felt they were not being listened to by the expatriate priests. Some Maryknollers took offense at this statement, but Hudert thought it was mostly a call for taking seriously the feelings of local diocesan priests and that it was worthwhile for them to state it. Hudert interpreted this as a sign that the Church in Musoma Diocese was growing.

As of 1989 Daley had been in Tanzania for thirty-three years, always in Luo work with the exception of six years as Regional Superior. He had studied Swahili at the language school in 1971, but never learned it well and continued to do pastoral work primarily in Luo. He reflected in 1989 that Maryknoll's presence in Tanzania was inexorably winding down, even though he remained there until the beginning of 2005 and even in 2016 there are still two Maryknoll priests stationed in Musoma Diocese. But he felt that the Church had been well established by the end of the 1980s and that diocesan priests were beginning to come into their own in serving the Church pastorally. Parishes had firm foundations, with well-functioning catechetical programs, organized systems of scheduled Mass outreach, and faithfully-attended meetings of SCCs. The major diocesan structures had served their purposes, such as the catechist training centre and Family Life Course. The seminary had become one of the top secondary schools in the country, but was far better at producing well-qualified workers for government and business rather than priests. But the vast number of seminary graduates had created an essential pillar to sustain the Church into the future, namely many educated, middle-class laity, who were active in parishes.

As for himself, Daley had learned to take it easy with the people, not needing to strictly insist on certain ways of doing things. He continued to experience events initiated by the people that gave him hope that the Church was truly taking root.

Daley enjoyed his relationships with the people, although he did not have what could be called intimate friends from the parish. He thought that the training in the 1950s militated against forming personal friendships with parishioners, unlike those who came out in the 1970s and 1980s on OTP. Since they were not priests in the beginning, they were able to form friendships not based on clerical status, which Daley saw as an advantage. One seminarian on OTP, Bill Tillson, was stationed in Ingri in 1988.

In 1992 John Hudert returned to the United States for health reasons and did not return to Tanzania. A little over a year later, at the end of 1993 or beginning of 1994, Bill Daley retired and moved to Kowak Parish, to assist the pastor there, Jim Conard.

As noted above, in 2007 the new District of Rorya was established and Ingri Juu became the district seat, several miles from the parish location at Ingri Chini. The town naturally began to grow, as it is also along the main road from the Kenya/Mwanza Highway to Shirati. When Mike Kirwen was stationed in Ingri he had built a nice chapel in Ingri Juu, dedicated to the memory of his parents. Thus, the town fortunately had a church long before it became the district capital.

In 2012 Ingri Parish had been entrusted to the Polish Fidei Donum priests but in 2015 the Polish pastor returned to Poland. Fr. Jeremia Musira, a diocesan priest, was appointed pastor. As noted above, Tatwe had long before become a separate parish again, with its own resident priests.

Two additional parishes were established in the Luo area of North Mara, Shirati (Our Lady of Victory Parish) and Utegi (St. Felister Parish), as was mentioned above when considering the histories of Masonga and Kowak respectively, although as of 2012 there was no resident priest in Utegi. In 2015 another new parish was established in Rorya District, Bukama Parish. There were also several parishes established in the Kuria-speaking areas of what was once Kowak Parish and these will be covered in the section of this chapter beginning here, on the parishes in Kuria land, including Komuge.

## TARIME, ST. JOSEPH THE WORKER PARISH:

When we left off the history of this parish in the previous volume, it was 1965 and the priests in Tarime were Frs. Laurenti Magesa and Joe Sheehan. Sheehan had been ordained the previous year and studied Kikuria at the language school. Previous priests in Tarime had departed: Joe Reinhart to teach in the minor seminary, Jack Manning to Musoma Town Parish and then to begin Maryknoll's presence in Isibania Parish, across the border in Kenya, Ray McCabe to Kiagata, and Frank Flynn had gone to the U.S. on home leave and on his return to Tanzania he also went to Isibania in Kenya.

In 1965 Fr. Les Rogers, who had come out in 1959, studied Swahili, taught in the minor seminary at Makoko, and then worked in Komuge Parish from 1962 to 1965, came back from furlough and was assigned as pastor of Tarime. However, he was there for only a short while. In early 1966 Fr. Joe Glynn, the Regional Superior, came to inform Rogers that his father was very ill in the United States and gave him money to fly back. Rogers went to the U.S. and never returned to Tanzania.

Magesa had the following to say about his time in Tarime.

Tarime was just a small town but the work was the same (as in Musoma, where he had previously been stationed). The difference was that in Musoma we had just the town to take care of, but Tarime had a big area to cover. It had many outstations and I had to go out. I originally had only a motorcycle, but by then I had a Land Rover, which helped me during the rainy seasons.

In either late 1967 or the beginning of 1968 Magesa was transferred from Tarime to Nyamwaga Parish.

Sheehan was stationed in Tarime for three years, to 1968, and then he also transferred to Isibania. No diaries were written from Tarime in those years and Sheehan was never interviewed for the history project. However, Fr. Joe Corso was assigned to Tarime in 1968, and he commented in an interview about the work that Sheehan was doing. Corso had been at Muhoji Parish up till 1965, went to Tabora to study Kiswahili, and then was assigned to Masonga Parish. He was assigned to Tarime because the diocese saw that with Magesa gone a Swahili-speaking priest was needed for the town. Regarding Sheehan's ministries in Tarime, Corso said:

Joe knew the Kuria language very well and was well respected by the people. He was available to the people, even driving people to the hospital in the middle of the night. He was responsible for the rural areas, since he didn't know Swahili, and I was more used to working with the Luo. I leaned on him regarding Kuria traditions, such as marriage customs, circumcision, and other matters.

He gave a lot of time to cooperatives and credit unions. He had four cooperatives and two credit unions functioning when I arrived there, all in the rural areas. He didn't have any in the town center. However, there were some complaints in the rural areas of the parish, because he was giving a lot of time to

meetings with the shareholders of the cooperatives and credit unions as compared to other baptized Christians who were not members.

There were a good number of people entering the catechumenates and the Catholics were certainly attending Mass and receiving the sacraments, and the cooperative movement may have had a good influence in this respect, but Joe couldn't give the time to the catechumenate because of so much involvement with meetings, going to Kisumu, or working at repairs of the grinding mills, all connected with the consumer cooperatives. Many people had shares in the cooperatives and depended on Joe giving a lot of his time for this.

Later in 1968 Sheehan was transferred to Isibania and Frank Flynn came from Isibania to Tarime. Sheehan tried to continue assistance to the cooperatives while in Isibania but it was more sporadic. Flynn also provided some help in procuring fuel for the mills. But the coops and credit unions began to slowly flounder over the next two years. Coop members didn't trust their leaders with the funds, account books were not being closely audited, and people complained that funds were missing from the credit unions. Attendance at meetings went down, very few people became new members, and even maintenance of the mills suffered. Two and a half to three years after Sheehan moved to Isibania the cooperative movement in Tarime was in essence coming to a halt.

Corso had been in Muhoji, which was flat, dry and not a good agricultural area. He appreciated moving to Tarime, where the surrounding area was hilly, had ample rainfall, and produced an abundance of maize and vegetables. In an interview, Corso discussed the work he did in Tarime Parish.

I found the Kuria people to be more responsive to their faith and more faithful in receiving the sacraments on a regular basis. I had heard this from other priests and Sisters who worked with the Kuria, that they were more loyal to their religious practices.

I was responsible for the town ministry – the boma (government offices), government officials, the police, hospital workers and others in the town. We had large catechumenates, both in the town and in rural areas. One place on the Kenya border, called Bunjari, had a large number of old Catholics baptized before Rosana became a parish and they were staunch Catholics, going long distances to attend Mass. Because of their sacrifices they had a deep commitment. We had many adult baptisms there, averaging between 150 and 200 a year. We had other adult baptisms throughout the parish and in one of the years we had 400 adult baptisms.

I had been ordained before Vatican II and didn't understand the cooperative movement. I didn't go against it and tried not to be negative. But I didn't give them the encouragement that I probably should have.

There were no Sisters stationed in Tarime in the late 1960s, but the two Maryknoll Sisters from Rosana, Srs. James Florence Blanchard and Nuncia St. Pierre, used to come down twice a week to give classes to women in crafts, cooking and domestic science. Mrs. Katerina Boke, a dynamic women related by marriage to

President Julius Nyerere through her husband, Joseph Gabriel, the brother-in-law of the President, was the chairwoman of the women's domestic science group.

Later in 1968 Joe Sheehan was transferred to Isibania and Frank Flynn moved from Isibania to Tarime. Flynn was together with Corso for less than a year, as Flynn went on home leave in late 1969 and on his return to Tanzania in 1970 he was asked to accept an assignment as pastor in Kiagata. Flynn said that while he was in Tarime he covered three Kuria-speaking places, Bumera, Bukenye, and Bukira, whereas Corso worked in the town and in places north of Tarime town. Flynn knew the Kingoremi language, which is close to Kikuria, and had previously studied Kikuria in Tarime.

Corso had come to like Tarime Parish and the Bakuria Catholics and asked to stay on in Tarime. He had started to go out to Kuria-speaking outstations, such as Bunjari, and had helped to build up the outstation of Sirari, right on the border with Kenya. In 1968 Corso had a traumatic experience when a drunken man on a bicycle crashed into his Jeep in the muddy roads of the town and suffered a concussion. Corso had come to a complete stop in his vehicle, witnessed by many people, and afterwards many Catholics came to the rectory to commiserate with him, which Corso appreciated. The great support he received from so many Catholics solidified his fondness for the people and the parish. Fortunately, the man recovered after a week or two in the hospital.

In 1970 Fr. Joe Reinhart had completed his six years teaching at St. Pius Seminary in Makoko and was re-assigned to Tarime, where he had been the first pastor and established the parish. Corso went to Makoko in 1970 and studied the Kuria language, so that he would be able to stay in Tarime. Although he stayed there for only one and a half more years, it was seen to be very advantageous for a priest to be able to speak three languages in the town – Swahili, Kuria and Luo.

Corso appreciated the leadership programs that Maryknoll had started in Musoma Diocese for the laity, as he explained.

We were already, even prior to Vatican II, looking ahead and talking about lay ministries. I believe the Church made great moves in its emphasis on lay ministries, such as the couples' course at Makoko Family Centre, to which we sent many couples, especially from among the Kuria. The Kuria people seemed to respond to that very well and that was the beginning of my involvement with marriage programs.

However, in January, 1972, it was necessary for him to move to Isibania to replace Joe Sheehan, who was moved back to Tarime. Corso remained at Isibania till November, 1974, and returned to the U.S. to work on Promotion. After finishing work on Promotion he was re-assigned to Kenya, and did a lot of work in the area of Catholic Marriage Encounter.

Sheehan remained in Tarime for only one year and by the end of 1972 he had returned to the United States, where he later withdrew from Maryknoll. Fr. Tobias Magesa, a diocesan priest, was also stationed in Tarime for a few months in early 1972.

Reinhart's first language was Kikuria but having lived in Musoma for six years he also knew Kiswahili and he used both languages in Tarime town. There were two Masses at the parish on Sunday, one in Kikuria and the other in Kiswahili, and he preached in

both languages. According to Reinhart the church in the town grew constantly. He described the work at Tarime in the early 1970s:

Tarime was a small town and the parish was a combination of rural and urban. We had a lot of outstations, from out near Tatwe to south to Bukenyé way down in the valley below Kowak.

In the town we had different schools. We did a lot of teaching – I did anyhow, in the government schools. With some of the catechists we'd go and teach religion a couple of times a week. We were allowed free time in those days.

We always had visitors. Every day somebody was going to Nairobi, passing through, or coming back from Nairobi. It was kind of a central place for guys traveling.

But we did a lot of safari work. We built up Bunjari, which became rather strong at that time. There were not too many Christians, but they were strong.

The catechists came in every month, usually on the first Friday, for their salaries and discussions. There were about eight or ten. We had one trained catechist from the Komuge Catechist School. They discussed the class work that they would be teaching in the coming few weeks.

We would also discuss a lot of tribal customs, what is good, what is bad. I would try to find out about the different sacrifices and ceremonies, such as circumcision, marriages, and a unique ceremony called jubilee marriage after they've been married so many years. We would try to see where we could Christianize some of those customs and maybe condemn certain things.

At that time they were paid fifteen shillings a month (\$2.14), which was very low, but the common salary for many catechists. The trained catechist received more. In Tarime over the years there were three trained catechists. They were well trained and good teachers, but they all eventually left catechist work.

The catechumenate was held in the outstations, or centres. There was never a sacrament course at the mission, which had no room for people to live at the mission. When we would go out to outstations for Mass we would also check on the catechumenate.

The people built the outstation churches themselves, nothing fancy, mud huts. At Bunjari we could stay overnight, as they had a room in back. The catechists led services without a priest and the singing. They had night and morning prayers in the churches. The catechists were very zealous at that time, walking in every month for the meetings. Some had been catechists with the Mill Hill Fathers, when Isibania was serving all the Kuria people in both Kenya and Tanzania.

We had good unity in the Kuria parishes, particularly with Brendan Smith in Rosana and Ed Hayes in Nyamwaga. We would get together, talk about different customs and compare notes. But Tarime was different because of the Swahili in the town. Particularly, the town flourished. It's a big town now (1992).

One propitious relationship Reinhart formed at Tarime was with an Agricultural Officer named Castully Neema, who was originally from the Wairaq ethnic group that

lives around Mbulu, a town about seventy miles south of the city of Arusha. As a result of this relationship, Neema decided to join the seminary and was ordained in 1976.

Reinhart added that there were no inter-clan wars among the Kuria in those days, but even then there was some friction between the Bukira people and other people. He seemed to think that the violence resulted from the different clans moving out to the Mugumu area.

At the beginning of 1973 Reinhart was going back to the United States and Canada for furlough and an assignment to the Promotion Department. He was assigned to the Buffalo house, only a two-hour drive from his parents' home near Toronto. Tobias Magesa had gone to Bwiregi in 1972 and then to the United States in early 1973 and Joe Sheehan was leaving before the end of that year. With Reinhart leaving it was necessary to find another priest to take his place. Fr. Don Doherty, who was working in Zanaki Parish, was assigned to Tarime, arriving late in 1972. This brought about a big change in the parish, as he knew only Swahili. From then onwards Swahili became the only language used in Tarime Parish.

Reinhart and Doherty were together in Tarime for only a couple of months and when Reinhart left Doherty was the only priest in the parish. Knowing this was to be the case, he had asked for an OTP seminarian and John Sivalon, who had gone to the language school in August, 1972, was assigned to Tarime, arriving in early 1973. Sivalon spent his whole time on OTP in Tarime, returning back to Maryknoll, NY, in mid-1974.

Doherty and Sivalon were the two pastoral agents in the parish, although only Doherty could celebrate Mass and administer sacraments. But Sivalon, despite knowing only Kiswahili, did a lot of work in outstations in addition to the town. The town's ethnic make-up was so varied that Swahili was the normal language, used for the most part even by Joe Reinhart although he knew Kikuria. Doherty had the following to say about Tarime:

Tarime was an interesting place, with a lot going on in the town. In the hall we had a kindergarten in the day time and then at night it became the Tarime Social Club, which was very popular. Many young government people came in at night to use it. I gave some local musicians some instruments and we started the Tarime Jazz Band. We also had a soccer club.

There was a new high school in the town and a teachers' training college, and I taught in both places. We had a nice variety of ministries: the rural, the city, social club activities, youth activities, and the teaching.

When Sivalon returned to the United States in mid-1974 a newly ordained priest, Fr. Justin Samba, the future Bishop of Musoma, was assigned to Tarime. Doherty and Samba established a very good relationship. Samba was from the Chagga ethnic group, from around the Moshi/Mount Kilimanjaro area, and was very good in Kiswahili. Doherty spoke about his two years with Samba:

I enjoyed it. Justin was very sharp and very hard working. It was good also for me in learning the Swahili language, but he spoke very good English if we wanted to speak English. He did basically the same things I did – outstation ministries, youth work in the city, etc.

In 1976 Samba went to Dar es Salaam, to Chang'ombe, to study at a teachers' training college, and he was replaced by newly ordained Fr. Leo Kazeri, with whom Doherty also had a good relationship.

Doherty said that the people of the parish were very cooperative and that they had a good parish council. The people participated fully in the liturgical celebrations and the parish had a good group of young people. Some of the girls later joined the IHSA Sisters. Doherty commented that "we had a good family kind of atmosphere." Castully Neema had worked in Tarime as an Agricultural Officer and later as a seminarian and considered it his "home parish" in Musoma Diocese. Thus, he chose to have his diaconate ordination there, bringing over several busloads of family and friends from his home in Mbulu, south of Arusha, 250 miles away.

While Doherty was at Tarime in the mid-1970s the Church was being more inculturated with African forms of expressing their faith. Doherty thought that in previous decades, before Vatican II, some priests were very strict on forbidding African cultural expressions, thinking they were superstitious, for instance using drums in church. But in the 1970s they started using drums and guitars during Mass, rather than singing Gregorian Chant, and youth groups would have processional dances, such as at the Entrance, the Offertory, and at the end of Mass.

Doherty discussed this in the following words:

After Vatican II there was much that we had to get rid of, stuff that didn't matter any more. We had to shift away from the mental attitude of a very hierarchical Church. The Eucharist was ritual rather than the celebration of the community, with the community participating. So, there were major changes we had to make.

There was also great emphasis on lay leadership, such as the training of catechists and other lay leaders. African culture facilitated these changes because they were used to participation and doing things in community.

There was the occasional African priest who held extreme views on Africanization, maybe in relation to the Black Power movement in the United States. In 1977 Doherty was the only Maryknoller in Tarime, living with Tanzanian priests, with whom he had very good relationships. However, one priest came back from the U.S. and told Doherty, in rather crude fashion, that it was time for all expatriate missionaries to go back home – in the process shocking the other Tanzanian priests present. But this priest was a rare exception to the cordial relations that existed between Maryknollers and diocesan priests at that time – and that have continued to the present.

Doherty knew President Nyerere personally, as he had worked in Nyerere's home area of Zanaki, and he thought that Nyerere was a saint, but perhaps too idealistic in imposing the Ujamaa socialist system on the country. It unfortunately created huge shortages of all basic goods, which in turn spawned corrupt efforts to procure scarce supplies, sabotaging the national unity that Nyerere sought.

In the town Doherty did not directly experience the forced villagization, but with regard to Ujamaa Villages, Doherty said:

Even though we talk about community in Africa they hadn't done communal farming and didn't want it. The idea was great, moving people close together in order to give them services, but it was a radical change of their way of life.

You can't socialize poverty. When you're on a subsistence level you can't have socialism. You have to have something first or build people up to a certain level and then you can do more sharing.

By the mid-1970s there were fewer Maryknollers stopping to stay overnight at Tarime, since the roads in Kenya had been paved all the way to Nairobi. If someone left Musoma or even northern Shinyanga early in the morning, he could be across the Kenya border by mid-day and was then able to reach Nairobi by dusk. Doherty said that the guest rooms at Tarime were extremely small in any case, rendering them uninviting for anyone to spend more than one night. Furthermore, in 1977 the border between Tanzania and Kenya was closed, making it impossible to drive across the border (except for Dave Jones, who had special presidential permission).

In 1976/77 the Africa Region had put out feelers for any Maryknollers interested in working in Dar es Salaam, especially in Chang'ombe Parish. For various reasons Maryknoll priests had come and gone from this parish, which the Region considered very important to retain. Fathers Lionel Bouffard and Don Doherty let it be known that they were willing to move to Dar. Doherty had grown up in New York City and felt very comfortable in cities (in fact he joked that he once drove to a very distant, rural part of Tarime Parish and wondered what a man from the Bronx was doing in such a remote place). In April, 1977, Doherty departed from Tarime and Leo Kazeri became pastor. For the next eight years diocesan priests served Tarime. Doherty said, "We had been talking for some years of turning over some of our parishes, such as the town parishes of Musoma and Tarime, to diocesan priests. That is what we actually did in Tarime in April, 1977."

When Doherty left Tarime the Maryknoll Africa Region informed Bishop Rudin that Maryknoll would no longer work in Tarime Parish, for several very good reasons. The parish had an excellent parish council, very good financial support, and superlative participation by the Catholics, both in the town and outstations. Maryknoll believed it could easily support two diocesan priests. Maryknollers would go to the "bush" parishes, i.e. the very rural and very poor parishes that still required external support.

Furthermore, Maryknoll stated that it would not allow any Maryknoll priests to take on leadership positions in the diocese, such as Deans, Rectors, or other title jobs. Rudin passed this information on to his successor in 1978, Bishop Anthony Mayala.

Thus, Maryknoll had not contemplated sending anyone to Tarime after that, but in 1984/85 several tragic accidents caused a radical change of plans. As of December, 1984, Fr. Peter Misana had been pastor of Tarime for several years, and according to Ed Hayes, who was stationed in Nyamwaga Parish at that time, Misana was very helpful. "At that time there were shortages of everything in Tanzania. In Tarime they had the Regional Trading Corporation (RTC), which now and again got a supply of food, which was gone immediately. I would come down to Tarime and Peter would say to me, 'Some rice came in, I got you five kilos.' Or, 'Some sugar came in, I got you a kilo.' He was good to me."

On December 19, 1984, Misana got sick and started to drive to Kowak Hospital. He passed out, his pickup truck rolled over with his head sticking out of the window, and his head was crushed. Misana was a well-liked priest and his death pierced the hearts of not only Tarime parishioners but huge numbers of priests, Sisters and laity throughout the diocese. Newly ordained Fr. Faustine Massawe, who had been ordained just the previous month in November, 1984, and assigned to Tarime, carried on with pastoral duties as best he could.

Then, just two months later on February 21, 1985, Massawe was a passenger in a vehicle that was speeding and got into a terrible accident, causing his death. The horrific deaths of two priests in the same parish in a short period of time cast an enormous pall over the parish. Parishioners were traumatized and the parish could almost have been described as clinically depressed. The other priest in the parish was likewise adversely affected – and he already was prone to using alcohol as a means of sedating his emotions.

Fathers Misana and Massawe were buried at the new cemetery plot set aside at St. Pius Minor Seminary in Makoko, alongside Maryknoll Father William “Rab” Murphy, who had also died in early February, 1985. Headstones ordered from Maryknoll, NY, mark the graves of these three priests.

Fr. Mike Snyder had been working in Bunda Parish until asked to move into Musoma to organize a comprehensive diocesan-wide youth program. In early 1985 he was finishing up a three-month exploratory study of how to implement this. At the same time Bishop Anthony Mayala approached Fr. Ed Hayes, the Tanzania Regional Superior, to ask him if he could assign a Maryknoll priest as pastor of Tarime. Hayes replied it was alright if he could find one. Mayala then requested Snyder to accept an emergency assignment to be pastor of Tarime Parish as it was the second largest parish in the diocese and a very active parish, with great lay participation. Snyder agreed to move to Tarime as soon as he came back from furlough in the summer of 1985.

The other priest who had remained in Tarime was re-assigned elsewhere and it was arranged that priests from the Opus Spiritus Sanctus (OSS) Society from Moshi, Tanzania, would send priests to Tarime to assist Snyder. The first one, Fr. Francis Chuwa, who had been working at Mugumu Parish up till then, arrived at about the same time Snyder did. One of the first things that Snyder discovered was that the parish had no money and bills were arriving that could not be paid. Restoring fiscal stability was the first order of business, which was accomplished by the end of the year.

Construction of a convent for IHSA Sisters was unfinished, causing an on-going conflict between Bishop Mayala and the previous priests, but by 1986 Snyder and the parishioners had succeeded in finishing the construction. At the same time two Maryknoll Sisters, Janet Srebalus and Norma Angel, asked if they could work in the parish, which offered them opportunities to do ministry in a multi-ethnic, urban environment as well as with one ethnic group (Bakuria) in rural areas. They rented a house and lived in Tarime till the year 1991. They did training for religious education teachers and women leaders, helped start cottage industries, and cooperated in establishing income-earning small enterprises. They also gave seminars and attended parish meetings. Sr. Norma started a youth group called *Shirikiana* (help each other), which specialized in using song, dance, drama and crafts to portray values needed in the contemporary Tanzania context. This

group travelled in 1991 to Sr. Norma's homeland of Curacao and to the United States, presenting shows in each place.

An OTP seminarian, Jim Eble, also came to Tarime, after finishing language school in December, 1985. He appreciated the mixture of town and rural ministry. He described his time in Tarime:

I had the privilege of being free to slowly enter into the culture and learn the language. I had no pastoral responsibility and that was a real blessing. To help learn language I was teaching religion in a primary school, to those in third grade.

I was assigned a home village, called Remagwe, which I always visited. A typical day for me was to do a lot of walking around in the town, spend time at the market, which was a good place to not only learn the language but also to just begin to feel at home in Africa, and then go to my home village where I did a lot of visiting. Eventually, I was able to lead the service without a priest on Sundays, for which I had to prepare a homily. I was preaching and leading the people in prayer.

Eble did not have much contact with government officials or employees in the town and due to language limitations he did not do anything with the catechists. He felt himself most drawn to the village life and experience. He spent most of 1986 in Tarime, after which he moved to Mugumu, and said that he appreciated his experience in Tarime in an active parish that had good lay leadership.

Three IHSA Sisters also came in 1986 to work in a pre-school program, teach in a primary school, and be coordinator of the parish religious education program for school children. In addition, in mid-1986 a second OSS priest was also assigned to Tarime. The parish therefore had a large staff, three priests and five Sisters.

After discussions with the others Snyder set up a program to enable good communication among the staff.

We began very early meeting as a team every Monday morning, except for the two IHSA Sisters in school work. We did that faithfully for years and did a lot of our planning there. The Africans did not like this at first but came to appreciate this style of leadership as opposed to a more authoritarian model, where you're told what your job is and to report on it. We had an open atmosphere and talked about finances, for example, or about what to do in certain places.

We did this in our other gatherings, such as the parish council. Decisions were made on what the people wanted, rather than on what I wanted. It brought out leadership and participation, and helped the parish to blossom.

Snyder was in the parish for only a little over four years but in addition to finishing construction of the IHSA Sisters' convent, an office block was built, the social hall construction was completed, the church was expanded from a capacity of 500 people to 1000 people, and a small trade school was started on the parish grounds in collaboration with the District's Adult Education Department.

In 1989 Snyder was elected the new Tanzanian Regional Superior and before he moved into Musoma to begin this task he commented regarding Tarime:

The parish now is certainly alive. We have many activities, such as women's and youth groups, and other apostolic groups, such as the Holy Name Society and St. Anne's Society. The whole parish is organized along the Small Christian Community model, from which parish council representation comes. The SCCs carry out tasks, such as taking up special collections or providing local, unskilled labor for building the church.

We have fourteen SCCs in the town, but these are much bigger than the typical SCC, about 300 families each rather than 10 to 12 families in other places. There are about twenty villages outside the town and each contains just one SCC. This is a novel concept in the villages and hasn't really developed much. SCCs have been in the town since 1980 and are very well organized.

We did a survey and found that only about five percent of Catholics participate in these communities, of whom eighty percent are women. The meetings do scripture sharing, prayer, and discuss what they can do in the community. Unfortunately, very few men and youth take part.

We had seminars, one of which was very successful in flushing out issues in the town. Tarime is a very violent town. Once a group of armed robbers came to a wake and robbed everyone present of everything, leaving people completely naked. After dark, people are afraid to be outside. People responded with mob justice; once they burned a man to death right in front of the courthouse.

At the seminar we asked, "Who is doing this?" They responded, "Our children." We then asked, "Why?" They gave various reasons. We were not able to follow up effectively, however. What I wanted to do was get the people to see that government was ineffective and that they had to mobilize to make government more effective.

Other seminars raised additional problems in the town, such as lack of clean water or garbage removal. They came alive during these seminars but afterwards were hesitant to take any steps. With regard to the violence, the people of the town in collaboration with the government adopted the vigilante form of community security, called *Sungusungu* in the Shinyanga/Mwanza area, in which young men patrol neighborhoods after dark with permission to stop and even detain anyone not from the neighborhood. They flushed out the thieves and hooligans and the situation changed dramatically.

Over the final year that he was in Tarime, Snyder worked with parishioners and staff to facilitate the erection of a new parish to the north of Tarime Town. However, this had not been accomplished when he left at the end of 1989. The new parish was Sirari, on the border with Kenya, and it was formally established in 1993.

When this parish started it took many of the rural villages belonging to Tarime Parish. Although church work in the town is time-consuming, the remaining parish was quite small. Thus, a major outstation of Kowak Parish, called Bujanjo, and its five villages were transferred from Kowak to Tarime. Most of the people in Bujanjo Centre were Bakuria, making it logical for them to be moved into a Kuria parish.

In 1989 Snyder was elected the new Regional Superior of Tanzania. He had expected to remain in Tarime for two more years, but for no more than two years, and he knew that some type of transition plan was needed to prepare one or two priests to serve Tarime Parish. The parish was self-reliant financially and had good leadership. The kind of priests required were those who had good administrative capabilities, were able to relate well with people, deal with inevitable interpersonal difficulties within the parish, and had the energy to go out to the rural areas and to visit townspeople. He had hoped that one or two young diocesan priests could be assigned to Tarime for a lengthy assignment, hopefully to be mentored by an older Maryknoll priest for several years. There was no Maryknoll priest available, however.

The OSS Society had been wanting to take a parish in Musoma Diocese and the priests of this Society who were in Tarime Parish stayed there. The OSS Society was still staffing Tarime Parish in 2016 when this history was written.

Tarime Town is a much larger town than when Maryknollers worked there. According to one source the town population is 53,000. Tarime District is smaller than in previous years, because of Rorya District having been separated from it in 2007. Despite that, the population of Tarime District in 2012 was 339,693, making it the densest rural district of Mara Region, due to the great agricultural potential of the area. In 2015 Tarime District was divided in two: Tarime Urban and Tarime Rural.

Tarime Town itself is about 5,000 feet above sea level, making it warm in the daytime – it is only one degree south of the equator – but pleasant at night. The hills and escarpment to the north and east range from 5,500 to well over 6,000 feet in altitude and can get noticeably chilly at night. In addition to food crops, coffee is grown in the hilly areas as a cash crop.

The Catholic percentage of the district is not known, but probably about the same as for the diocese as a whole, namely sixteen to twenty percent – or somewhere between 54,000 and 68,000, divided up among seven parishes. Tarime Parish is a large, active parish, but unfortunately the compound is the same small compound that the parish was given in 1959.

#### ROSANA, IMMACULATE CONCEPTION PARISH:

In the previous volume we concluded the history of Rosana Parish in the year 1964. Fr. Dennis Powell had been living alone in the parish since 1961 and in 1965 he returned to the United States permanently. In his place Fr. Brendan Smith, a former pastor of Rosana, came back, after teaching at Mara Secondary School for four years. Smith remained in Rosana up till 1983, when he moved to Makoko to be the Maryknoll procurator. During his years in Rosana he was joined in 1965 by newly ordained Fr. Dave Stang, who moved to Bwiregi Parish in 1966. Fr. Dave Jones may also have lived in Rosana briefly in 1968, while in the process of starting the Makoko Family Centre.

None of the above was ever interviewed for the history project and after 1964 no diaries were ever sent from Rosana. Thus, we have no documentation of Rosana's history after 1964.

In 1973 the Maryknoll Sisters, who had been in Rosana running a very successful dispensary and doing development work, primarily with women, turned their work over to the IHSA Sisters, who have remained in Rosana since then.

After Smith left Rosana in 1983 (or beginning of 1984) no other Maryknoll priest served in this parish. Even though it was the original parish in Musoma Diocese for the Bakuria people, over the years it became a much smaller parish territory-wise as new parishes were started. In the 2010s the parish priests were from the OSS Society, who also staff Tarime Parish and Isibania Parish in Kenya. The parish has a health centre (formerly the dispensary) and vocational training centre.

#### NYAMWAGA, ST. MATTHEW THE APOSTLE PARISH:

When we left off in the previous volume this parish, called Bwiregi up till the year 1972, had gotten off to a good start as of 1961, with the first pastor, Jack Manning, then Moe Morrissey and Ed Hayes. Manning was extremely good in Kikuria whereas Morrissey was not, although he knew Kiswahili, but both had very good relationships with the Bakuria people, models that Hayes followed. As the years went on, Hayes was also to become very fluent in the Kikuria language and immensely knowledgeable about Kuria customs.

In 1962 Morrissey moved into Musoma to be Diocesan Education Secretary and newly ordained Fr. Dave Jones joined Hayes, who had become pastor of Bwiregi. Jones was never interviewed for the history project, but Hayes talked about his presence in Bwiregi.

Dave came as a young priest in 1962 and was very good. He did not do extremely well in the language but he was communicating, very active and very energetic. He was very well liked. In 1965 I was going on furlough so Jack Manning came to replace me and I was going to go someplace else when I came back. Then the Region made a commitment to work in Kenya and Jack went to Isibania.

I returned from furlough in January, 1966, and went back to Bwiregi, but Bishop Rudin told me to be prepared to move somewhere else. In the meantime, Dave Jones was transferred to Kiagata to be with Ray McCabe. In Jones' place newly ordained Dave Stang came to Bwiregi, as soon as he finished learning Kikuria in language school.

Stang stayed in Bwiregi for only one year and then was transferred to Komuge Parish to assist Fr. Dick Quinn.

Dave Jones stayed in Kiagata for only a year or so and then started the training program, first for catechists and then for couples, which soon became the Makoko Family Centre.

After Jones and Stang were transferred from Bwiregi no other Maryknoll priest was assigned there until 1976, although Fr. Laurenti Magesa came to Bwiregi in 1967 and remained there until 1972.

Hayes was interviewed and gave a long account of the history of Bwiregi/Nyamwaga Parish. He said that in the early 1960s they were still very much involved in overseeing large catechumenates and the six-month sacrament course at the mission – twice a year in Bwiregi, with baptisms in July and January. The priests taught in the sacrament course in the morning hours and in afternoon hours would go out to outstations, where monitoring of the catechumenate was an important part of the visit.

As noted in the previous volume, young children, some as old as ten years old, were baptized in conjunction with their parents' baptism. In later years very few came in for instructions for First Communion, but as adults they wanted to have a church marriage. The Kuria parishes have been fortunate in having many church marriages, thanks to bride price being accessible, at least prior to 1990. The priests had to deny church marriage for many of the couples unless these young adults underwent instruction leading to First Communion. In recognition that few baptized children came for religious instructions when of school age, Hayes began refusing to baptize children when their parents were baptized, except for bona fide infants – a decision that elicited complaints from the Catholics right up to when Hayes left Nyamwaga in 1983.

In Bwiregi/Nyamwaga the family apostolate was emphasized, utilizing the courses at Makoko Family Centre. The Kuria parishes were the strongest supporters of this centre and at least 150 couples from Nyamwaga attended the three-week courses at Makoko. Nyamwaga Parish also supplied several of the staff who worked at Makoko Family Centre. Hayes commented: "It was a great thing. The Makoko course is one thing that made Nyamwaga Parish what it is today." (Cf Chapter Eight)

In the early 1960s, in response to the documents of Vatican II, Hayes began making changes to the liturgy. One was to replace the singing of old Latin hymns with Kuria melodies and words. A government teacher who was a former seminarian used to come to Mass only once a year, on Palm Sunday, to sing a Latin hymn from the old Latin book of rituals (called a *Liber Usualis*) during the procession. Hayes gathered the catechists together to discuss replacement of this tradition with an inculturated hymn. There was a woman who led Kuria songs and dances whom Hayes asked to prepare a jubilant Kuria song to welcome the President to Nyamwaga for Palm Sunday Mass. On Palm Sunday the singing became ecstatic during the procession, with people dancing to the beat. Halfway through, Hayes said it was not the President but someone greater coming, "Our King, Jesus." This ruse worked and Hayes commented:

That was our first attempt at inculturation and it went over great. People got really involved in that procession, all done in Kikuria, using words from scripture. It was only a tiny group of very traditional Catholics for whom this was very controversial. But the ordinary Catholics liked it.

In 1964 Hayes's seminary classmate, Fr. Bob Ledogar, who had just finished getting his doctorate in Liturgy at Leuven University in Belgium, was invited to give talks on Vatican Two's changes in liturgy. Hayes drove Ledogar around, including to the Dioceses of Shinyanga and Tabora, giving them lots of time to fully discuss liturgical matters. Another change being introduced was Mass with the priest facing the people, which at least one priest in Shinyanga Diocese strongly opposed. Hayes, however, had

had a strong interest in liturgy going back to his seminary days and had a subscription to *Worship* magazine. He had a picture of Pope John XXIII saying Mass facing the people at the Vatican, which he showed to Bishop Rudin. Although Rudin did not agree with this, he allowed Hayes to start celebrating Mass facing the people in 1963 or 1964.

Another liturgical matter was the language of Mass. Immediately after the Council ended Rome directed that Mass be celebrated in the local language rather than Latin. Bishop Rudin strongly recommended that parishes in Musoma Diocese use the Swahili Mass that had just been translated. However, Hayes told Ledogar that in Bwiregi no one knew Kiswahili, intimating that the language of Mass in Kuria parishes should be Kikuria. Hayes started working on a translation of the first canon of Mass, which Fr. Laurenti Magesa reviewed when he came to Bwiregi in 1967. Hayes and Magesa agreed that they would use the Kuria translation for Mass on Holy Thursday in 1967. Magesa liked it so much that he said he would never use the Swahili Mass again in Kuria parishes.

Subsequently the two priests translated all four canons into Kikuria and took them to Bishop Maurice Otunga in Kisii Diocese, who approved them. According to church law, once one Bishop approves a translation it can be used in other dioceses. So, Hayes has continued to celebrate Mass in Kikuria ever since then, at Nyamwaga and in other parishes that he has gone to. He received no objections from Bishop Anthony Mayala when he became the ordinary of Musoma in 1979, even though Hayes had heard that Mayala was adamant that Swahili be used in all parishes. Nor did the other Bishops object, such as Justin Samba and the current Bishop of Musoma, Michael Msonganzila. In fact, Msonganzila, a Sukuma by ethnicity, asked Hayes for a copy of the Kuria New Testament, so he could learn it. On another occasion Bishop Msonganzila asked Hayes if he was able to celebrate Mass in Kikuria. Hayes replied affirmatively, but the Bishop never officially endorsed celebration of the Mass in Kikuria.

As was noted with regard to the Luo parishes, choice of which local language to use, Kiswahili or a tribal language, has been controversial. By 2015 it was normative in almost all dioceses and parishes of Tanzania to use Kiswahili, since all Tanzanians born since Independence in 1961 have learned Kiswahili very well. However, in rural parishes, where almost all the people are of one ethnic group, priests have not been forbidden to use the indigenous language in liturgy. There is no Tanzanian priest working in Musoma Diocese who does not know Kiswahili extremely well and uniformly they celebrate Mass in Kiswahili, even in rural areas. Religious instructions, parish council meetings, and meetings with other parish groups are almost all done in Kiswahili.

Inculturation referred not only to liturgical matters but also to whether tribal customs can be considered compatible with Christianity. One custom concerned what is called *SUBA*, the conferral of elderhood on tribal elders, as Hayes explained.

This was probably the most effective thing we did in inculturation. The Kuria have feasts, called *nyangi*, which are initiation ceremonies, such as youth circumcision, marriages, and conferral of elderhood. The suba was a feast that had always been condemned by the Church, which I never questioned. No Christian ever goes to a suba feast, which was considered a bad feast, but I was trying to find out about it.

One day an old man with Christians in his family was baptized at the hospital by catechists in danger of death. He recovered and then wanted to have the suba feast, which is forbidden to Christians. This was a very important part of his life and everything was ready. It takes years of preparation, paying cows and many other things. He asked if he could have a Christian suba, which would be a great honor for his parents.

So, I called the Catholic elders together and quoted a motto from Cardinal Lavignerie: "Don't change their customs. If something must be changed because of faith or morals, then don't change it until you can replace it with something of value." I asked them what we could put in its place.

Some rituals of the suba were going around a spirit tree seven times, the placing of witchcraft medicine where they would pass with the understanding that one of those present would die as a result, the sacrificial slaughtering of a bull, and the placing of palms on the roof of the house. We replaced these with going around the homestead, where the sighing of children symbolized life, which is in the home, saying Mass instead of sacrificing a bull, using some beneficial medicine instead of witchcraft medicine, and blessing the palms before putting them on the roof. Actually, no one knew what the palms symbolized or meant.

That first feast we took a chance. It went over very well and the elders accepted him as an elder, an *omosubi*, who had the right to carry a flywhisk. From that day there has never been another pagan feast in Bwiregi.

I had all the local elders on my side, whether Catholic or pagan. But it was controversial. Some younger African clergy objected to it, but others supported me. Fr. Tobias Magesa, when he came to Bwiregi in 1972 or 1973, when I was on furlough, stopped everything, including Kuria singing and dancing in church and even Mass in the Kikuria language.

Hayes said that there were incidences when young diocesan clergy felt slighted at Bwiregi, such as when Catholics asked to see the "older priest," i.e. Hayes, or if they could not speak Kikuria with a perfect Nyamwaga Kuria accent, no matter how good they were in the language. Their slight accent pegged them as foreigners, which irked them. It didn't bother Laurenti Magesa, an Mkwaya who spoke Kikuria with a noticeable accent, and naturally it did not bother Hayes, who knew he was a foreigner. (Note: Hayes spoke and speaks Kikuria extremely well.)

Customs varied widely from ethnic group to ethnic group. Priests from a very different ethnic group would at times vilify certain Kuria customs, such as how to conduct funerals. Hayes explained that the tendency of these young African priests was to generalize their own ethnic culture as the universal African culture.

When Africans say that someone knows their language well, it doesn't necessarily mean how one speaks the language. Some speak the language very well, but Africans would not consider this so. Others who were not as fluent would be described as: "They know Kikuria very well." It means more than language; it means culture in their minds.

Despite any teething problems young priests had, both Bishops Rudin and Mayala considered Nyamwaga as an ideal parish for young priests to get pastoral experience. Several young diocesan priests were assigned to be with Hayes, such as Tobias Magesa and William Wasonga (a Luo). Hayes said, "When they come up here they get a good reception and feel a good spirit among the people. Bishop Mayala told me he felt they would get a good pastoral experience in Nyamwaga and how important that was for young priests." Hayes added that he had very good relations with all of them. There were also a number of diocesan seminarians who stayed briefly, for about a month, to experience parish work, such as Justin Samba, Charles Masaga, and Julius Manyoni, plus others.

The Maryknoll Sisters came to Bwiregi in 1970 due to the good public health advocacy of Hayes in the parish and good relations he was able to form with the District Medical office. In 1966 the Maryknoll Sisters in Rosana had been invited by Hayes to give DPT vaccinations to infants, to prevent a variety of potentially fatal diseases among children. The Kuria elders refused, claiming that the medicine was a trick by the government to kill off the Kuria and sell their land to the Chinese, who had just arrived to work in Tarime Hospital. Hayes strongly advocated in church that all Christians should bring in their children to the clinic to be vaccinated, and when the Sisters came the clinic was mobbed. Furthermore, the people brought their children for all three series of shots. Later that year a severe outbreak of whooping cough spread through the area, killing scores of children. But none of the children who had been vaccinated died. Hayes said, "This turned the whole thing around. Once they saw the results of the DPT shots they agreed to bring their children. They said that if the Church was giving medicine they would come, but they didn't trust the government."

Two years later, in 1968, the Salk Polio Vaccine became available and Bwiregi was chosen as one of the places for it to be administered. Hayes once again publicized this extensively and preached how essential it was for children's health. On the day before the district medical team was to come to Bwiregi, Hayes went to Tarime and visited the District Medical Officer, Dr. Mugaya. Hayes asked him if there was anything he could do to prepare for their coming, but Mugaya responded that no one would be coming, because when the government held the exercise in Tarime town only eighteen people showed up. This poor turnout was due in part to the leadership of the District Commissioner, Werema Chambiri, who was detested by the Kuria people. Dr. Mugaya said, "These people aren't cooperating. I know these people; they just don't want this medicine." Hayes told him that there would be at least 2,000 people in Bwiregi and they should prepare, but the Dr. Mugaya just scoffed at this.

In fact 5,000 people showed up. When the medical team arrived, they were totally unprepared, with vaccinations for only 500 people and no system of organizing the people. In the end it took five days to complete the procedure.

The following Saturday Dr. Mugaya drove up to Bwiregi with a case of beer and a bottle of Scotch for Hayes and Laurenti Magesa. He said that he wanted them to open a dispensary to be run by Sisters. According to Hayes, Dr. Mugaya explained, "These people want medicine and that's not true in other places. I want you to start a dispensary." Hayes responded that he thought it was too close to the Mennonite Hospital, just five miles away, and that he was not sure the Maryknoll Sisters would agree to staff

the dispensary. But the Sisters did agree. Then the Regional Medical Board denied permission, saying it was too close to other medical facilities, but Dr. Mugaya argued strenuously with them and permission was granted. In 1970 two Sisters came, Marilyn Snediker, a nurse, and James Florence Blanchard to do pastoral work.

Unfortunately, Snediker returned to the United States after two years, due to the illness of her father, and she did not return to Tanzania. The local staff continued on in the dispensary, with Blanchard and Hayes handling the financial aspects of dispensary administration. Eventually in 1974, Sr. Agnes O'Keeffe came to the dispensary, coming from Guatemala. However, two weeks later Blanchard suffered an aneurysm and had to permanently return to the United States.

The Maryknoll Sisters did not want O'Keeffe living alone in Nyamwaga, but Hayes was able to get the IHSA Sisters to assign Sr. Mechtilda, a young Sister, to live with O'Keeffe and do women's development in the parish. One day, when O'Keeffe was in Musoma for a meeting and Mechtilda was alone in the house, a Kuria man came with a panga (machete) because he found out that his daughter was surreptitiously storing clothes in a suitcase at the Sisters' house in preparation to join the IHSA novitiate. He didn't want her joining the convent and may have killed O'Keeffe. His angry, aggressive behavior scared Sr. Mechtilda to death, and she had to be moved to Tarime. Fortunately, though, the IHSA congregation assigned two others, Sr. Filomena and a novice, Josefa Canisius, to Nyamwaga to do pastoral and development work. Thus, O'Keeffe remained in Nyamwaga.

O'Keeffe continued on with the IHSA Sisters until 1981, when she was joined by Sr. Pat Hafey, who stayed until 1984. When O'Keeffe left Nyamwaga in 1988 she was replaced in the dispensary by Sisters from the congregation of Our Lady of Kilimanjaro. For a full account of the Maryknoll Sisters presence in Nyamwaga Parish refer to Sr. Katie Erisman's book, pages 48, 56 and 80.

Fr. Tobias Magesa was in Nyamwaga Parish for only a short time, after which he went to the United States for higher studies in 1973. For the next three years Hayes was the only priest in the parish. Fr. John Sivalon had done his OTP in Tarime Parish, returned to the United States, and was ordained in 1975. On return to Tanzania in August, 1975, he took a refresher course in Kiswahili at the language school and was then assigned to Nyamwaga Parish in January, 1976. (In 1972 the name of the parish was changed from Bwiregi to Nyamwaga.) Sivalon remained in the parish up till 1979, when he moved to Dar es Salaam.

One aspect of parish work that was not receiving due attention was youth work, which Sivalon soon took great interest in. He was assisted in youth work by Sr. Josefa, the young novice, who was described by Hayes as "an exceptionally fine young woman." Hayes was very involved with the elders and the catechumenates, and was very appreciative of the others' attention to youth work. They started the Young Christian Workers group in the parish, called by its Swahili acronym VIWAWA, which was later extended to VIWAWAWA, meaning a youth (or young adult) group for workers, teachers, students, and even artists. The group was set up so well that it continued well into the 1980s after both Sivalon and Sister Josefa had left Nyamwaga.

At that time the villagization had just taken place and each village had schools. Primary school education was mandatory and the priests realized they had an opportunity

to do something about the number of baptized children who had not come for First Communion religious instructions. Sivalon and Sr. Josefa set up a catechumenate in the schools and a schedule for all the staff of Nyamwaga Parish to go out to schools to teach.

A third area that engaged Sivalon's time and interest, along with Sr. Josefa and a second IHSA Sister, Sr. Filomena, was in trying to establish Small Christian Communities (SCCs). Hayes commented: "They tried very, very hard and put in a lot of time. But it didn't catch on, for some reason." As was noted above on the excursus on SCCs, they have multiplied rapidly in urban areas but in rural areas SCCs have difficulty taking root.

Sivalon was also on the diocesan Justice and Peace Committee, chaired by Fr. Leo Kazeri, the pastor of Tarime Parish at that time. One issue that led to differences of opinion between Sivalon and Hayes was in regard to a diocesan pastoral letter to be read at all Kuria parishes, appealing to Kuria Catholics to stop the practice of forced marriages of their daughters. Three people were behind this letter: Kazeri, who was not of the Kuria ethnic group, Sivalon, who was still new in Tanzania, and Sr. Filomena, of the Bakwaya ethnic group, which is matrilineal and traditionally did not have bride wealth. In Kuria marriage, once the cows were paid, which often was right at the beginning of the marriage unlike in other ethnic groups where it takes years to complete the bride price payment, the bride immediately leaves home and goes to her husband's home. Sr. Filomena interpreted this as fathers forcing their daughters to be married to young men, sight unseen, in order to gain a high payment of cows.

The letter was written by the Vicar General, Fr. Justin Samba, since Bishop Rudin had come down with hepatitis and was not in Musoma. Samba also was a non-Kuria, from the Chagga ethnic group of the Mt. Kilimanjaro area. Hayes read the letter privately when it arrived and strongly objected to it. Hayes explained to Sivalon that the prospective bride and groom have met, know one another, and that the young woman does have the right to refuse to be married to this young man. Even though marriage takes place immediately after bride price being paid, there has been a period of deliberations between the two families prior to the marriage. Hayes stated that he would read the letter in church at all the Masses but that he expected a huge outcry from the people – which is exactly what happened.

In the discussion that Sunday evening at the Sisters' convent, which got rather testy, Hayes let his anger overtake his emotions and said, "Do you want us to be like the Bakwaya, who never get married to anybody?" Naturally Sr. Filomena, an Mkwaya, was not amused.

A few days later the parish council met to angrily denounce the pastoral letter and Sr. Filomena was in attendance. One of the members stood up and made an almost word-for-word statement that Hayes had made: "What do they want us to do? Become like the Bakwaya who never get married to anybody?" Seething with indignation Sr. Filomena asked to meet with Hayes, who she thought had suggested to the parish council member to make that statement about the Bakwaya, although in fact Hayes had not spoken with that man. When he was interviewed, Hayes did not say how this conflict was resolved, but he did try to explain to Sivalon and Sr. Filomena that Kuria men are not forcing their daughters to get married.

Despite some of the comments made above, we should not suppose that there was any serious inter-ethnic conflict or hostility in Tanzania. In fact, just the opposite, thanks in great part to the decision to have a national language – Kiswahili – which helped forge national unity and harmonious relations between the 125 ethnic groups in the country. Naturally, stereotypes of people not of one's own ethnicity do not completely disappear. The Church has an enduring responsibility to help promote the fundamental human unity of all peoples, while at the same time protecting and even rejoicing in human differences, plus also advocating for the rights of minorities, including the right to maintain unique cultural customs and traditions – unless demonstrably harmful.

A year later another Kuria custom, circumcision of girls, also came up for criticism from the diocesan Justice and Peace Committee. It originated with the District Commissioner of Tarime requesting Fr. Leo Kazeri, the pastor in Tarime, to have the Church condemn female circumcision. Before Bishop Rudin could write a pastoral letter on this, Hayes wrote a long letter to him saying that he would not read such a letter in church and that female circumcision will need time and education to eliminate. Bishop Rudin decided not to write the letter.

The issue of girls' circumcision, today referred to as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), has been mentioned in the previous volume and will be discussed ahead in this chapter. By the 21<sup>st</sup> century this had become an international issue, with many women's organizations and international health organizations vigorously campaigning against it. It came to a head – at least with regard to Maryknoll personnel – around the year 2011 in the parish of Rogoro, where Ed Hayes has been stationed since 2009. When we get to this parish, the matter of FGM will be fully aired.

Hayes offered one example of the unforeseen consequences for a Kuria woman who was not circumcised, an incident that happened in the 1970s. This woman grew up in Dar es Salaam, in the household of President Nyerere, as she was a relative by marriage, and was never circumcised. After some years had passed she was working and gave birth to a baby, although she was not yet married. She returned to Nyamwaga to show her family the young boy, a beautiful baby. After a short while the baby died and the woman returned to Dar es Salaam. The report was that the baby had been killed by some form of witchcraft (not poison) because the woman had named the baby after its great-grandfather, a famous man in the area. The Kuria people from that area said that since the baby's mother was not circumcised she had no right to give the baby the same name as a prominent ancestor. The baby's death was deemed punishment for such an offense, the breaking of a powerful taboo in Kuria beliefs. Hayes narrated this example to demonstrate how deeply the custom of female circumcision was in Kuria tradition – and how difficult it would be to eventually eradicate the practice.

John Sivalon was stationed in Nyamwaga for only a little over three years, although he had expected to be there longer. He knew Kiswahili well and was able to converse with the young people with no difficulty because they all knew Kiswahili. However, Sivalon decided that he should learn Kikuria and was making attempts to learn it at the parish. He even went to Makoko to take the Kuria course that the language school had prepared. Shortly afterwards, however, these plans were completely changed. The Tanzania Region had agreed to set up the TEFO program for Maryknoll seminarians

in Tanzania and the Region needed credentialed teachers. In 1979 Sivalon was tapped to move to Dar es Salaam, live in Chang'ombe Parish, and study Sociology at the graduate level at Dar es Salaam University, in order to teach this beginning in 1981.

Shortly before Sivalon left Nyamwaga the War against Idi Amin broke out and many Kuria men joined the Tanzania Army to go and fight in Uganda. The priests feared that many of them would be killed and sent an emergency request to Maryknoll, New York, for a fairly large subsidy to help the war widows. In fact, however, very few Kuria men from Nyamwaga or Rosana died. Instead, many of the veterans of this war brought back their arms and ammunition.

At the very beginning of the 1980s the first inklings of intra-ethnic war between clans, or sub-tribes, of the Kuria ethnic group began to appear. Hayes said:

Before that there was cattle robbery, but no killing. They had spears, but now they had guns.

I had three sub-tribes in my parish, Bwiregi, Nyabasi, and Nyamongo (in the valley below the escarpment on which Bwiregi is located). The Bairegi were fighting with the other two groups. I was involved in the middle of it and was talking with the Bairegi elders. I was looked on with suspicion, even by Christians from other areas. If someone from another sub-tribe was killed in fighting with people from Bwiregi, it meant that the Bairegi were bad people, and that I should not associate with them.

Since Bwiregi is the name of a sub-tribe, we changed the name of the parish in 1972 to Nyamwaga, which was the first name of the Ujamaa Village. Right after we changed the name the village was split and named Keisangora, but we did not go through the name change for the parish again, because it is so laborious. Nyamwaga is actually the name of the ward.

Sr. Pat Hafey told me that people from other parts of our parish were saying I was on the side of the Bairegi. I responded that this is where I live. I love them very much, but I don't see that this means I am taking sides.

Hayes added that a big meeting was held near Nyamwaga and many CCM (the political party ruling the country) officials came. One Kuria elder was near tears and told the officials that people now had guns and were killing one another. He said that in the old days of TANU (the original name of the political party, changed in 1977 to CCM) they had a government but that now they had no government, meaning that the CCM government seemed powerless to stop the fighting and the proliferation of guns.

His words were misconstrued as calling for secession from the Tanzania government and formation of a new Kuria regime. CCM people went directly to Butiama, where President Nyerere happened to be, and reported that the Kuria were in revolt against the government. Hundreds of heavily armed soldiers drove immediately to the Kuria plateau, especially to the Bwiregi Sub-Tribe, and started rounding up people. Many of the soldiers were of the Chagga ethnic group and Catholic. One of them explained to Hayes that the Kuria had formed an army and had a flag with a leopard on it. Hayes tried to explain to him that he had never seen a flag, the people had no army, and that each Kuria sub-tribe has a totem animal – for the Bairegi it is the leopard. Totems of other sub-tribes are elephant and zebra.

Hayes commented that it was a bad time and that fighting between the Bairegi and Banyabasi went on for a while, spreading down to the Mara Valley and to Mugumu. Fear spread and security became very tight. When Aloys Magabe, whose parents are from two separate sub-tribes, Bukira and Nyabasi, was ordained in 1982 it was proposed that the ordination be moved to Tarime, but eventually it was held at Nyamwaga.

For the full account of the Kuria Wars refer to Chapter Nine, pages 81 to 85, about the fighting in Mugumu, attempts by the priests there to mediate the conflict, and an analysis of underlying causes of the conflicts.

In 1983 Hayes was elected Regional Superior of Tanzania and he moved to Makoko in July, 1983, to begin the first of his two terms. Already diocesan priests had been coming to Nyamwaga Parish to assist Hayes and in 1983 one of them, Fr. William Wasonga, stayed on as pastor. According to Fr. Frank Flynn, who replaced Wasonga at the end of 1984, Wasonga was very active, saying two Masses every Sunday and going out to each of the 20 or so outstations every month on weekdays. He also continued with a practice common in parishes of Musoma Diocese, having the catechists come in one day every month for either catechetical seminars or business meetings.

Flynn had been in the United States for a year, due to heart problems, and returned to Tanzania in December, 1984, whereupon he was immediately assigned to Nyamwaga Parish. He replaced Wasonga as pastor, but we don't have documentation on where Wasonga was then assigned. Flynn remained at Nyamwaga until 1994.

Given his health conditions, Flynn said that he could not keep up with the very busy schedule that Wasonga had been following. Instead he emphasized centres, saying Mass at Nyamwaga every Sunday and at two other major centres two times each every month on a Sunday. In addition, two other places, Nyamongo and Kibaso, also received Mass, on a Sunday if possible. The other outstations were considered as locales for catechetical instruction leading to reception of the sacraments of Baptism, First Communion and/or Confirmation. The Catholics of these outstations, however, were expected to go in to the Centre for Sunday Mass, when the priest came. Flynn explained his rationale as follows:

I put more stress on the centres. The people had to have more of a sacramental life and to do that they had to come to a centre. I couldn't get to 18 outstations. I could get there but I couldn't talk with the people, see the catechists, and attend to people's spiritual problems.

Each outstation had a catechist and each of the three centres had centre catechists who were on a parish catechetical committee along with two other people. They met once a month to prepare the two monthly catechists' meetings, which alternated between a business meeting and an instruction period. Sometimes the instruction periods would take place three months in a row, if for instance Confirmation was coming up and we wanted to help the catechists know what to teach.

In addition to the catechists' committees the parish also had a parish council and an executive committee, each of which met every month. The latter committee was charged with monitoring implementation of actions that the parish council had approved.

These meetings took place at an outstation that was more geographically central in the parish.

Flynn said that instructions for the catechumenate were divided into three periods of about three months each. The first was taught by the catechists in each outstation, but the second and third periods were taught by the centre catechists. The centre catechists also had a certain amount of authority over the other catechists and were expected to monitor and evaluate how the outstation catechists were doing. Flynn believed that de-centralizing the parish in this fashion was a positive step forward, in part because it was the only manner by which a large parish (100 square miles) could be administered by only one priest. Although the positives of de-centralization vastly outweighed the negatives, according to Flynn, he did say that one lacuna was insufficient personal contact by the priest with the 18 outstation catechists and with those undergoing catechetical instruction in the outstations.

Nyamwaga Parish already had a tradition of having many church marriages, something that persisted while Flynn was pastor. He said the parish averaged 100 to 150 marriages a year. Here too de-centralization facilitated the process of scheduling and registering the marriages. The outstation did the first scrutiny as to the couple's free state, after which the couple and then the couple's parents came to the priest for the final interviews. There are very few parishes in East Africa that have large numbers of church marriages such as Nyamwaga was having in the 1980s. Since then Nyamwaga and Rogoro Parish, which was originally a part of Nyamwaga, have continued to have large numbers of church marriages. It would be worthwhile for an East African church entity to carry out a well-researched and reflected analysis of why Nyamwaga has been so successful in this. Flynn also did not say whether these marriages were all individual ceremonies or whether some were combined into group marriages.

Ed Hayes commented that as early as the 1960s the Catholic elders of Nyamwaga said that no Catholic should go to a marriage feast of any couple marrying outside the church. As almost every family had relatives who were Catholic it would be shameful if they did not come to the marriage feast. Feasts are an extremely important component of Kuria society. Hayes believes that this might be one factor that compels young Kuria couples to be married in church.

As there may be other factors at work, a thorough research project would be very helpful. Elements within Kuria culture and society could be used as models for other peoples in Tanzania to stimulate increases in canonical marriages. Paucity of church marriages by baptized Catholic adults cohabiting in non-polygamous unions is one of the thorniest problems inhibiting full sacramental participation in church life in East Africa.

In 1989 Flynn embarked on two construction projects: one was a new dispensary, a larger building than the older building, with the intention of making the old dispensary a maternity unit. The other was an expansion of the convent occupied by the Sisters of Our Lady of Kilimanjaro, also called the Huruma Sisters. There were four Sisters there in 1989 and of these one worked in the dispensary and two others helped do office work, catechetical work and women's development. The fourth Sister took care of the house and cooking and was also a driver. In late 1989 a fifth Sister came who was a nurse/midwife.

Flynn said that by the late 1980s Nyamwaga was still a bi-lingual parish. The young diocesan priests in the parish used only Kiswahili, but Flynn found it advantageous to use Kikuria with the older catechumens. If he taught school children he used Kiswahili. Mass was celebrated in Kiswahili but Flynn would at times preach in both languages. Almost all adults went to confession in Kikuria.

Flynn remained in Nyamwaga until 1994 and then retired first to Kowak Parish, where Fr. Bill Daley was also living in retirement and Fr. Jim Conard was pastor. Three years later, in 1997, Flynn moved to the Brown House in Makoko, where he lived until 2003. He returned to the United States in 2003 and died in New York on December 13, 2003.

After Flynn departed from Nyamwaga Parish it has been staffed by diocesan priests. The pastor in 2012 was Fr. John Ndhune.

Flynn had many good friends among the Tanzanian people including a couple of families that he was very close to. He summed up his life as a missionary in the following words:

Mission is service, helping people in a spiritual way. At times I got hard on the people but I felt that I was helping them. I got a good response with the sacraments, in counseling people with personal matters, marriage or family problems, and with attracting people to come to be baptized.

Although I don't have emotional peaks I took joy in the ordination of priests and Bishops, especially if I had taught them in the seminary. I also appreciated the joy of friends of mine with their first child or success of their children in school or life.

Del Robinson had a very positive effect on me. He was an analytic thinker and he used to bounce his ideas off of me when we lived together (in Iramba, in the mid-1950s). His ideas were very helpful to me.

I appreciated the opportunities that Maryknoll gave us to be updated in theological and scriptural topics. I always used to do a lot of reading and kept up with the new changes coming out of Vatican II. I did not mind being alone and liked being able to sit down alone at night to do some reading.

At about the time that Flynn was departing from Nyamwaga Parish two of its outstations were erected as new parishes: the large Nyamongo Centre and the outstation of Masanga, which was named Rogoro Parish. Both were erected in 1993. The Apostles of Jesus have staffed both these parishes since then up to the writing of this history in 2016. Nyamongo (St. Raphael the Archangel Parish) is located in the valley below the escarpment on which Nyamwaga is situated. We will look at Rogoro Parish below in this chapter.

The problems of cattle rustling and intra-clan skirmishes have not been completely eradicated in the outer reaches of rural Kuria land, but as was mentioned in the previous chapter cattle thievery has morphed into an accessory to organized crime. Cattle are stolen less for gaining bride price than to sell to international crime syndicates. Whatever solutions are to be sought they must include international policing efforts.

### SIRARI, ST. MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL PARISH:

In 1991 Associate priest Fr. Bill Stanfield came to Tanzania and first studied Kiswahili at the language school. Beginning in 1992 he started developing the large outstation of Sirari to become a parish, which was achieved in 1993. Sirari is located at the very north of Tanzania, very near the border with Kenya, meaning it is not very far from Isibania Parish in Kenya. However, the border is not only a physical barrier but the hassles of going through two immigration and customs checks are very real psychological hindrances to frequent border crossings.

Stanfield was never interviewed, so we do not have documentation on his work in Sirari, which others have commented was tireless and thorough. In his time a large church and rectory were built. Sirari took several of the outstations of Tarime Parish, which in turn received several outstations from Kowak Parish, which were primarily Kuria-speaking places.

Stanfield remained in Sirari until June, 1997, when he completed his contract with Maryknoll and returned to his diocese. The parish was handed over to the Apostles of Jesus, who staff it until today.

### KOMUGE, ASSUMPTION PARISH:

When we left off in the previous volume Fr. Dick Quinn had been assigned from Tarime Parish to Komuge in 1962 to replace Fr. Ray McCabe, who was going on furlough and then to Tarime Parish after learning Kiswahili. The previous year Fr. Walt Gleason had been assigned to teach at St. Pius Seminary. Shortly after Quinn arrived at Komuge Fr. Les Rogers was also assigned there, coming from a two-year teaching stint at the seminary.

We have already seen much about Komuge in Chapter Eight, pages 13-17, which covered the Catechist Centre. To a certain extent the parish and catechist centre were integrally connected, since Quinn and Fr. Art Wille, the centre's Director, lived together at the rectory, Wille would help with parish Masses, and catechists in training did practice teaching in the parish, at outstations and in schools. However, the parish was distinct from the centre and the following will look at events specific to the parish.

Quinn wrote diaries in November, 1963, February, 1964, and June, 1966, and basically discussed parochial matters, such as problematic marriage cases, moderate success in the catechumenate (118 adult baptisms in December, 1963, and an increase to 3,000 Catholics by June, 1966), the opening in 1963 of Isango Girls Middle School five miles from the mission at which the priests celebrated Mass every week (the school initially began in Rosana in 1961 and in 1962 used buildings in Makoko), difficulties with vehicles consequent on Tanzania's terrible roads, problems with teacher staffing at schools, the expropriation of a Catholic bush school by the Tanganyika Parents' Association, which Quinn deemed incapable of adequately supervising schools, squabbles with catechists over their stipend and whether or not they were actually teaching in the outstations, some experiments with marriage preparations, half-hearted efforts by the new independent government to stop girls' circumcision, the official opening of the Catechist Training Centre on February 7, 1966, and the building of a parish social hall in 1966.

Even though the Catholic population had grown, in June 1966 Quinn wrote that many did not go to church.

But we have a good foothold in the country. The people are friendly and receptive, which was not always true in the past. We have incorporated the new liturgy and theology, and try to be servants to the people in the spirit of Vatican II.

Since Independence we have progressed quite well and have no trouble with the government. Africans are in charge and are quite fair. The country is not ridden with graft; President Nyerere is an honest leader and has guided Tanzania for the past five years with great tact and intelligence.

A missionary today is different than in the past. Today we are living in the age of news notes, periodicals, conferences, deanery meetings, and papers by experts on every matter. There are at least ten theology and biblical digests, but where does one get the time to read.

In 1965 Rogers went to the United States on furlough and on his return to Tanzania was assigned to be pastor of Tarime Parish. He was the only African-American ever ordained a Maryknoll priest before the 1990s, although one or two others had been in the seminary. In 1967 Fr. Dave Stang was assigned to Komuge. Stang knew Kikuria, which fortunately for him was similar to Kisimbiti. Stang stayed in Komuge for only two years and then moved to Isibania Parish in Kenya. Neither Rogers nor Stang was ever interviewed for the history project. Fr. Jack Manning also came to Komuge for a few months sometime in the mid or late-1960s.

At Komuge Quinn learned Kisimbiti, his fourth language (after Kingoremi, Kiswahili, and Kikuria) and he said he thought it was easier than other tribal languages in Musoma. At the same time, he already knew Swahili and used this a lot in Komuge, especially since the Diocese of Musoma was advocating use of the national language. Mass, other sacraments, and religious instructions for school children were done in Swahili, whereas Kisimbiti could be used for adult instruction and the priests would converse with older people in their language (Wille also knew Kisimbiti, as he had been in Komuge in the 1950s).

The Basimbiti are similar to the Bakuria and share similar customs, including girls' circumcision. Art Wille said that in the 1940s the White Fathers had convinced the Catholics not to circumcise girls, for health reasons. The Catholics kept this tradition of not circumcising girls for many years and persuaded all newly baptized Catholic adults to not perform this ritual on their daughters. However, according to Wille, by the 1960s or 1970s the Catholic girls saw their pagan counterparts being circumcised, followed by being showered with new clothes and money, and the girls began pestering their parents that they too wanted to be circumcised. As of the 1990s almost all Basimbiti girls were being circumcised, but Wille did not know as of 2016 whether this has continued or not.

The priests of Komuge never supported girls' circumcision and even preached against it at times. Wille said that all Maryknoll Sisters stationed in Musoma Diocese were adamantly opposed to this practice. Sr. Marion (Jan) Puszcz, a medical doctor who worked in Kowak Parish in the 1950s and 1960s, went to view girls being circumcised once or several times and brought back the report that this was true mutilation of the girls' bodies. She was appalled by the practice and made the recommendation, on medical grounds, that it needed to be eradicated and replaced by some other form of initiation ritual.

The rectory had a back veranda and Quinn said that in the evening he and Wille, and later the OTP seminarians, enjoyed having a cold beer and talking over things. They both liked arguing the pros and cons of Ujamaa Socialism, friendly arguments through which each could refine his thinking. This was in the era prior to Pastoral Theological Reflection (PTR) but in essence these vigorous, wide-ranging conversations served a similar purpose and were a valuable contribution to the OTP seminarians trying to discover what mission in Tanzania meant.

According to the Maryknoll address book for 1968/69, Stang left Komuge in 1968, after which Quinn remained the only priest in the parish. To help him a series of OTP seminarians came to the parish. The first two, Pete Loan and Harry Coffee, arrived in January, 1969, right after they had finished Swahili language study. For the next three years two seminarians came each year. The previous two would finish their year at Komuge in December and move in January, usually but not always to Shinyanga Diocese, to be immediately replaced by the next two. In addition to helping with parish work, they would also teach in the Catechist Training Centre. Others who came were George Delaney, Dave Schwinghamer, Tom Tiscornia, Randy Madonna, Everett Charette and Jim Lee. When Lee finished his time on OTP in Komuge at the end of 1973 no other seminarian was assigned there. Not all the seminarians went on for priesthood, but all considered it a very valuable experience. Thus, in 1972 the General Chapter decreed that overseas training be mandatory for all seminarians after completion of two years of theology, a component of Maryknoll formation/training that has persisted to the present.

Art Wille commented in an interview that Komuge was chosen as the locus for the first five groups of OTP seminarians because of the good spirit in the rectory and the combination of parish work and teaching in the catechist training centre. For his full quote refer to Chapter Eight, page 16.

The seminarians assisted Quinn in parish work in a number of areas, such as teaching in the catechumenate, visiting people at their homesteads, helping with youth work, going to outstations, and meeting with Christian communities. Quinn said that even in the late 1960s and early 1970s they had an embryonic form of what were to become Small Christian Communities. The staff of the parish also collaborated with Wille of the Catechist School in promoting better methods of farming, especially introduction of hybrid seeds.

The parish had about ten to twelve outstations and many catechists. Komuge Parish sent two catechists to the training centre for each two-year course, so that by the beginning of 1972 six of the catechists had been trained. Quinn and the seminarians had regular instructional seminars for the catechists to update them in post-Vatican II theological emphases and new teaching methods.

Quinn was stationed in Komuge for nine years, a time he considered very happy. One of the more esoteric endeavors he engaged in was assistance to a group of young musicians. One day a government official, who was a Muslim, asked Quinn if the group could play for the people on Christmas Day in the afternoon at the social hall. Quinn was reluctant but agreed. All were non-Catholics and Quinn was amazed to see their home-spun instruments, such as a bicycle pump re-fashioned into a flute and an improvised contraption that served as a drum. Quinn assisted them to get high quality guitars, drums

and other instruments. The group was called the Mara Jazz Band and went on to become the highest selling band in East Africa from 1969 to the beginning of 1971.

As much as Quinn enjoyed life and ministry in Komuge, there was a weakness or an essential aspect of church missing in pastoral work in the 1960s.

I saw the Church growing by leaps and bounds at that time. People came in, they studied, they were baptized, and it was a nice feeling. Except an annoying thing bothered me, what to do with people after baptism? I asked myself that a hundred times.

Quinn said that by 1971 there were about 6,000 Catholics in Komuge Parish. In order to better serve baptized Catholics he asked to take the core theology course at Maryknoll, NY, in conjunction with his furlough in 1971, with the intention of returning to Komuge afterwards. However, Fr. Joe Glynn, the Africa Regional Superior, told Quinn to cut short his sabbatical and return to Tanzania immediately at the beginning of 1972. The Region had sent three newly ordained priests to Kisii Diocese in Kenya and an older Maryknoll priest was needed to accompany them in starting a new parish. Thus, Quinn went to Kenya and helped establish Kebirigo Parish.

With Quinn gone, the Diocese assigned Fr. Bill Picard, an Associate Maryknoll priest who had been working in Issenye Parish, to Komuge for one year. Brother Fred Hoefler, who had come in 1971, came to Komuge in 1972 after finishing language school. An OTP seminarian, Everett Charette, also came in January, 1972, and was replaced in 1973 by Jim Lee. Charette did not continue on in the seminary to ordination. Lee went to Dar es Salaam for the second half of his OTP and was ordained in 1975. Hoefler finished out one year in Komuge and then returned to the United States.

Fr. Ken Sullivan had been working at Musoma Town Parish since 1968 and in 1972 he took an advanced course in Kiswahili. When he finished this course Bishop Rudin assigned him to Komuge, as Wille had been the only priest there for some months. At about the same time that Sullivan arrived in Komuge Fr. Joe Masatu returned from his course at GABA and began working as Assistant Director of the catechist school. A layman, Dave Ramsey, a Lutheran and committed Christian, was also at Komuge to provide skilled assistance with the school and parish agricultural programs. He was given special permission by Bishop Rudin to receive communion in the Catholic Church.

Thus, in 1973 the following were at Komuge: Frs. Art Wille, Ken Sullivan, and Joe Masatu, OTP seminarian Jim Lee, and the agricultural extension worker Dave Ramsey. Sullivan said that Ramsey had a charming, outgoing personality, and that the five of them had a very enjoyable time together.

The year 1973 was also the year of forced villagization, “a traumatic experience for the people,” according to Sullivan. “There were difficult cases, but we were able to help them move.” As was seen in Chapter Seven, pages 22-25, about the forced villagization, and in Chapter Eight, pages 13-17, on Komuge Catechist Training Centre, particularly pages 16-17, the catechist school started a voluntary Ujamaa Village in 1970 and in 1973 tried very hard to facilitate implementation of forced villagization to ease people’s difficulties and make the village benefit people. The voluntary village was

achieving success and harvested 100 acres of corn a year in the early 1970s. Another village was also started at a place called Mugubiya, near Lake Victoria, which used irrigation for its acres of rice. However, once villagization became forced, against the people's wishes, lack of cooperation caused the villages to fail by the year 1978. (Those who have studied the theory of Non-Violence have demonstrated that Non-Cooperation is one of the most effective means citizens can use to resist government policies.)

With regard to parish administration, each village became a centre and built a kigango, i.e. a place where the catechumenate was taught and where people would gather on Sunday for Mass. Very few places were able to build an actual church. Sullivan said that the catechists from the training centre provided welcome help in teaching in the various outstations. The parish had a fairly large territory and required a lot of travel, often by motorcycle.

Two factors led to the catechist training centre being changed in 1976 from a two-year course to a six-month course. First, because of villagization there were 350 villages in the diocese, each needing a catechist trained to a certain extent. Secondly, the elimination of Maryknoll subsidies for catechist salaries resulted in many of the trained catechists from the catechist school resigning in order to take on salaried jobs, usually in government service. Six-month courses could train four times as many catechists as the two-year course. Furthermore, it became unnecessary for the catechists to come with their wives and children, alleviating the burden of family support.

In 1975 Sullivan was transferred to Nyegina Parish and Wille became pastor of Komuge Parish. Masatu was Director of the Catechist School that year but in 1976 he was replaced by Fr. Alexander Choka, who had also gone to GABA (in Kenya) for the one year course in catechetics. Although pastor of the parish, Wille continued to teach in the catechist school. Throughout most of these years Wille was also on the Regional Council, of Africa and then of Tanzania.

In addition to up-dating organized at the Regional level, the Maryknollers stationed in North Mara in the mid-1970s to the 1980s met every month for pastoral-theological reflection. The priests of Komuge joined with others from Luo and Kuria parishes for this purpose.

Deaneries also had monthly meetings. Participants in Deanery meetings included all priests and Sisters involved in pastoral work. At that time there was only one deanery, called the North Mara Deanery, although today there are two deaneries, one in Tarime and the other in Rorya District. Komuge is in Rorya District and thus probably in this deanery as well.

In 1982 Wille took a sabbatical program at the Vatican II Institute in California. He commented that he had done so much reading while he was Director of the Catechist Training Centre that he did not find much that was new to him during his sabbatical, although the courses presented the material in a very organized manner.

Wille remained as pastor of Komuge until about 1983 and was assisted for a brief period in 1979 by Fr. Jack Quinn, who then went to Kenya. In 1978 Wille's work took an unusual turn, when his advisory relationship with the Mothers General of the IHSA Sisters resulted in their request for his help in putting into place a system of ensuring financial self-support for this congregation. The most promising manner of doing this was with a modern agricultural enterprise, leading to the establishment of Baraki Farm,

where the IHSA Postulancy is also located. A full account of Maryknoll work at Baraki will follow immediately this history of Komuge Parish. In 1983 Wille moved from Komuge to Baraki, which became known as Baraki Farm.

In 1984 or thereabouts Fr. Edward Gorczaty was assigned to Komuge Parish. One of the first things he did was to try to resurrect the catechist school, which had been closed for several years by then. He set it up as a centre offering short courses, of several weeks duration.

In May, 1989, Fr. Ray McCabe was assigned to Komuge. He had been working in Mabui Parish for around eighteen years and it was felt he needed a change of location. When he was interviewed in 2012 unfortunately nothing was said about his time in Komuge. He remained in Komuge until 1992 when he was assigned to Kiagata Parish. Since then no other Maryknoll priest has been assigned to Komuge.

In place of McCabe the Apostles of Jesus accepted to staff Komuge Parish and priests of this Society are there up to the present (2016). Sometime in the late 1990s the Catechist School was re-opened as a Catechetical Training College, offering a two-year course in catechetics for men and women, with the goal that they assist parishes, dioceses or the Episcopal Conference in overseeing catechetics. While Wille was living at the Brown House in Makoko in retirement, from 1999 to 2003, he travelled to Komuge every week to teach in the college and help with parish Masses over the weekend.

After Art Wille retired and began living in California he used funds from various sources to build twelve churches in outstations of Komuge Parish, at the cost of about \$13,000 per church. The Christians of each church were expected to contribute non-skilled labor and provide locally available construction material, such as rocks, sand and water. Over the years Wille also assisted over 200 young Tanzanians to go to secondary school and/or college by paying their school fees.

#### BARAKI FARM:

Art Wille had developed a close relationship with the IHSA Sisters dating back to the 1950s when he was at Zanaki Parish. Zanaki was the first place outside of Musoma where this congregation established a convent. At Zanaki Wille was impressed with the Sisters' dedication and qualifications for rural pastoral work. Having formed this good relationship Wille continued to go to the Novitiate in Musoma to teach scripture while he was Director of the Catechist School in Komuge. Through this close relationship he became an advisor to the first two Mothers General, Sisters Consolata and Dorothea.

By 1978 the IHSA was getting many more vocations and the Sisters decided to expand both the Postulancy and Novitiate. At the same time the Maryknoll Society had informed the Sisters that the subsidy for their congregation would be gradually reduced over a ten-year period until completely terminated. The Sisters decided that operating a large farm would be the most suitable means of providing support for their formation programs and they approached Wille for help. At first they scouted out possible places in Kuria country, the most fertile area in Musoma Diocese. At that time, however, Wille's agricultural programs at Ujamaa Villages were floundering, particularly the irrigation project at Mugubiya. When one of the Sisters recommended starting the farm in Basimbiti country, as this ethnic group was known to be honest and peaceful, Wille agreed to assist them with their search.

One day in 1978 Sister Dorothea, the Mother General, and Sister Nunciata went to Komuge to see Wille about this. The three of them visited Joseph Gabrieli, who was the son of Gabrieli Magige, “one of the Saints of Komuge,” according to Wille, and also the brother of Maria Nyerere, wife of President Julius Nyerere. Joseph accompanied them to Kiabebe Village, where the Village Chairman said the Sisters could have any place they wanted. They spent the whole day going around the area by car and foot and settled on a site called Erenge, also named Baraki. The Village Committee agreed to give them 800 acres of land at Baraki, right next to Lake Victoria, which at that time was unused and covered with bush and thorns. Prior to 1973 people had been living at Erenge but forced villagization resulted in everybody being moved from there to an ujamaa village some distance away.

They decided to make use of about 150 acres in the valley for planting rice, using irrigation from the lake. The Sisters from the Novitiate/Postulancy came out from Musoma for two or three-week periods to do the clearing and tilling, sleeping on the floor of a grass hut, drawing water from the lake, and cooking over an open fire. They roughed it in the beginning but the land was cleared and rice planted.

Wille remained living in Komuge until 1983 although in 1982 he went to the U.S. for an up-dating course on Vatican II. Sr. Dorothea also moved to Komuge in order to go over to Baraki, about nine miles away, to observe and supervise the progress. The Sisters decided to establish the Postulancy at Baraki and in 1982 the buildings were finally complete enough that the first group could move in. In 1983 Wille also moved to Baraki.

Several Women Lay Missioners came to help at Baraki, to teach English and other subjects to the postulants and to teach about farming. The first one was Kathy Davis in the early 1980s for three years, along with Barbara Vass for one year, and in the late 1980s Janet Hackert came, also for three years.

In 1987 the farm received a great addition when Brother John Frangenburg was assigned to Baraki. He had grown up on a farm in Arkansas, had served in the Navy, and for thirty years oversaw plant maintenance at a number of Maryknoll institutions in the United States, not least Maryknoll, NY. He greatly appreciated his first mission assignment to Tanzania, and to Baraki, where he lived up till the year 2003.

Over the years Baraki Farm added a large pump at the lake to provide water for irrigation and domestic use, bought a tractor, started a power mill for grinding corn and other grains, and had other vehicles. Frangenburg was an excellent mechanic and electrician. As a result, other missioners would bring their vehicles to Baraki to be fixed or they would ask Frangenburg to go to their missions or residences for some kind of mechanical/electrical work. He taught local young men these various trades, although he confessed that their cultural lack of mechanical awareness and his poor knowledge of Kiswahili were impediments to this task. He commented that he just had to be very patient. He also taught the Sisters and Postulants about modern farm work and maintenance of farm machinery. One of them, Sr. Teresita, was the Sisters’ permanent supervisor in the garage and the one on whom Frangenburg concentrated most of his attention.

In addition to harvesting rice, the farm also bought purebred Hereshire cows, which were producing hundreds of litres of milk every day. In response to the number of people who moved in around Baraki Farm the Sisters started a dispensary, and a large

outstation was also started, with one of the Sisters working as catechist. The outstation became large enough that they were able to start three Small Christian Communities.

Wille also had a dam built that was able to provide water by gravity flow to the 150 acres of rice being grown in the valley. The rain was so heavy that it flooded the low-lying plain washing out the crops that had been planted, but they discovered that a dam would rectify this problem and provide water for irrigation in a managed system.

In 1995 Wille went to the United States to work for the Development Department. On his return to Tanzania in 1999 he retired to the Brown House, but continued to assist the IHSA Sisters and Baraki Farm. In 2003 he moved permanently to California, where he lived with his sister and brother-in-law for many years at their home near Los Altos. However, he took trips back to Tanzania every year for several months to oversee projects being done jointly with the IHSA Sisters, up till the year 2013/14.

Frangenburg remained living at Baraki until 2003, when he moved to the Brown House at Makoko. In 2007 he returned to the United States and he died on May 26, 2014.

To this day Baraki houses the IHSA Postulancy and remains a flourishing farm. It is still a large outstation of Komuge Parish.

#### KOMASWA, ST. GERTRUDE PARISH:

One of the largest outstations (or Centres) of Kowak Parish was Bukenye, located in a predominantly Kuria-speaking area. In the 1950s it was a part of Rosana Parish and Fr. Jack Manning of Rosana built an outstation church in Bukenye in 1957. When Tarime was started as a parish in 1959, Bukenye was made a part of Tarime. Bishop Justin Samba, when he was a priest at Tarime in the 1970s rebuilt this church with rocks, as it was falling down, and developed a fondness for this place. However, in the 1990s the priests of Tarime Parish, for some reason, were not serving Bukenye well. Thus, Bishop Samba had it moved back under Kowak Parish. When it became a part of Kowak, Jim Conard and Lay Missioner Lou Flaim built a bigger and better church, at a different place, called Surubu.

It was always an anomaly of Kowak Parish, considered a Luo-speaking parish, to have Kuria-speaking outstations. As was noted in the section on Kowak, Fathers Frank Flynn and Ed Hayes were assigned to the staff of Kowak Parish in the 1990s and 2000s, but with the intention of serving the Kuria-speaking parishioners. Thus, it was decided that Bukenye should be made into a separate parish, a decision that greatly pleased Bishop Samba.

Beginning in 2002 Hayes began building a new parish at Bukenye, but he moved it from its original location at Surubu to a newly-developing town along the main tarmac highway, called Komaswa (Bukenye is the name of the Ward). Please refer to page 22 in this chapter for the steps taken to obtain the site, a fifteen-acre plot donated by the village committee. Komaswa Parish was officially erected in 2002.

In 2003 Hayes went home on furlough and while in the U.S. he contacted an old friend of his, Brother George Carlonas, who had worked in Shinyanga Diocese in the 1950s and 1960s. Carlonas was a very good builder with architectural ability, although he was not a professional architect. Hayes explained that one problem at Komaswa was a complete lack of ground water, making a well or borehole unfeasible. He asked Carlonas if he could design a house that would catch enough rain water to be stored in a large reserve tank. Ever since Carlonas returned to the United States in the early 1970s he had

not been asked to design any houses and was overjoyed to get this request from Hayes. In a month Carlonas had drawn full architectural designs for a large, beautiful rectory that could funnel water to an enormous cement-lined cistern. The rectory was so well-designed and built that a later pastor, Polish Father Piotr Koszyk, used to claim it was not a house for a priest but a Bishop.

It took about two years to build the rectory and church during which Hayes remained living in Kowak but working only in the new parish of Komasa. In the course of building the contractor dynamited the ground, which was all solid rock, creating a huge crater in the center of the compound. The rectory was square, deliberately designed this way in order to catch a lot of rain water. The crater was lined with cement, through which no water leaked, and the resulting cistern held 150,000 litres, slightly under 40,000 gallons, enough for the whole compound. Hayes was finally able to move to Komasa in 2005. Being located in the town the parish had electricity. In the first year or two a newly ordained priest was also assigned to Komasa but he was moved elsewhere and Hayes remained alone for the next couple of years.

Hayes said that Komasa was not a big parish, with only seven outstations. It was a multi-tribal parish: Bakuria were the dominant group but there were also some Luo and to the south closer to the Mara River there were many Basimbiti in the parish. Two of the outstations were mainly Basimbiti.

A large church was built at Komasa, large enough that an ordination could be held inside the church rather than outside as was typical elsewhere. Hayes also built a parish social hall, necessary in a town parish.

Bishop Samba asked Hayes to build a kindergarten and teacher's house on the compound, which was done. Samba also wanted a primary school started at the parish, which had plenty of land for this, but then the Bishop died suddenly in August, 2006. As of 2012 no further steps had been taken to build a primary school at the mission.

In 2007 Hayes reached the age of 75 and submitted his letter of retirement, to the acting administrator of Musoma, Archbishop Anthony Mayala of Mwanza. Hayes explained that he had reached the age at which canonically he was obligated to retire. Mayala appreciated this letter and said that he would use it as his template when he also would reach age 75.

Mayala asked Hayes to wait until a new Bishop was ordained before retiring and then the new Bishop, Michael Msonganzila, asked Hayes to wait longer as there was going to be an ordination in Komasa Parish in 2008 – of Robert Luvakubandi. At that time there was a young curate in Komasa, but right after the ordination he was assigned to teach at St. Pius Minor Seminary. Finally, in November, 2008, a diocesan priest, Fr. Raphael Makori, was assigned to Komasa. Hayes remained in Komasa as pastor up till March, 2009, and then moved to Rogoro Parish.

In 2008 a Polish woman living and working at Kowak Parish with her husband painted a beautiful, huge mural on the front wall of the church at Komasa, behind the altar, and also painted the Stations of the Cross in this church. The woman, Barbara, was a talented artist and did some other paintings for the Diocese of Musoma. Both Hayes and Jim Conard of Kowak Parish commented on this mural, making it worthwhile to stop along the road and go into the church if someone is travelling through Musoma Diocese.

After Hayes retired and moved to Masanga Village, Makori was appointed pastor. However, shortly later he went to the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago for post-

graduate studies. Fr. Alexander Choka, who by 2009 was elderly and retired, was living with Makori but was not able to be pastor. Thus Fr. Piotr Koszyk, a Fidei Donum priest, was assigned as pastor. In 2012 Koszyk returned permanently to Poland, partly for health reasons, and was replaced by another diocesan priest, Fr. Thomas Marando. In 2016 the pastor of Komasa was Fr. Ambrose Chacha.

#### ROGORO PARISH; MASANGA VILLAGE, EPIPHANY PARISH:

Masanga was one of the major outstations of Nyamwaga Parish and in 1990, after Ed Hayes had finished his two terms as Tanzania Regional Superior he was requested by Bishop Justin Samba to establish a parish in Masanga. While filling in at Nyamwaga Parish in 1990 for Frank Flynn for a few months, Hayes went with Catholics of Masanga to dig a foundation and put rocks in. He was going to the General Chapter in New York that year, intending on his return to start the new parish. However, he was elected to the General Council and did not return. Thus, in 1993 the Apostles of Jesus came to Musoma Diocese and were requested to start the new parish. They have staffed it ever since.

As was mentioned above Hayes remained as pastor of Komasa Parish up until March, 2009, when he was finally allowed to retire. The pastor of Rogoro Parish had been asking Hayes to retire to Rogoro and that was the agreement that Hayes had with Bishop Justin Samba before Samba died unexpectedly in 2006.

In 2008/09 the Diocesan Administrator, Archbishop Anthony Mayala of Mwanza, agreed to this and asked Hayes to build his own private house with guest bedrooms at Masanga so that Mayala could go there on occasion to get away from people and his constant duties as Archbishop of a large city. Sadly, Archbishop Mayala died suddenly on August 19, 2009, and was not able to make use of the house in Masanga.

The village is called Masanga and the parish should also have been called this, but due to the closeness of its name to Masonga it was decided to call the parish Rogoro – which means East in Kikuria. Unfortunately, visitors from elsewhere do not know where the parish is and when they ask for Rogoro none of the Kuria people in the area understand what the question means. One upshot of calling the parish Rogoro was to give it the name Epiphany, since the Magi in Matthew's Gospel came from the east – in Kikuria from Rogoro. Hayes had his house built at the edge of the parish property but his address is listed as Masanga Village rather than Rogoro so that visitors can locate the place. The Catholic Health Centre in the parish also uses the name Masanga.

As a side piece of information, in 2016 the Apostles of Jesus are staffing the following parishes in Musoma Diocese: Sirari, Nyamongo, Komuge and Rogoro. They also staff Bunda Parish, but that is now in a separate diocese. Maryknoll has had a long collaboration with the Apostles of Jesus Society, such as teaching in their seminaries and giving them financial assistance.

Mass on Sunday is celebrated in Kiswahili, since Masanga, although not as large as a town, has people from other ethnic groups living and working there. The Daughters of Charity have built many Catholic institutions at the parish, such as the Dream Centre for HIV patients and for counseling, a pre-primary school, an English-medium Primary School, and the Blessed Lindalva Justo Vocational Training Centre.

Hayes on occasion will preach in Kikuria although one government worker complained about this, saying he did not understand Kikuria. Hayes responded that the older Kuria women don't understand Kiswahili, so at least at times they will be able to

understand the sermon. Hayes uses Kikuria in outstations, for example for funerals or occasionally to celebrate Mass in an outstation village. In rural parts of the parish almost all people are Bakuria.

### FEMALE CIRCUMCISION: FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION (FGM):

The specter of circumcising young girls, prevalent in several of the ethnic groups among whom Maryknollers worked in Musoma Diocese, which eventually received the current terminology of Female Genital Mutilation (or Cutting) (FGM) in 1979, elicited discussion in diocesan consultations as far back as the 1950s and has been referenced in various volumes and chapters in this history. Full discussion of this phenomenon has been held off till now because the controversy surrounding what stance the Catholic Church should take to confront, oppose, reduce, or eradicate (the reader can choose the word he/she prefers) what all admit is a physically harmful practice with no medical benefits came to a head at Rogoro Parish around the year 2010, after Ed Hayes had retired and moved from Komaswa Parish to Masanga Village a short distance away from the rectory of Rogoro Parish.

Also living at the parish was and still is a congregation the Daughters of Charity, a congregation of Sisters originally from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), where not only are girls not circumcised but boys likewise are not circumcised. These Sisters, being African women from a very different African culture, could not comprehend why Kuria Catholics would agree to either compel or allow their young daughters to have organs in their genital area incised with knives or razors, without anesthesia, in a potentially unhygienic setting. This is as far as this history will go in describing what girls' circumcision is in Kuria land. If the reader wants a full description of the four types of FGM, please consult the Wikipedia Website on FGM. But be prepared; you will have an extreme visceral reaction to the more invasive types of tissue removal in other parts of Africa and the Middle East. Kuria circumcision is Type One or at most Type Two, the least invasive types, and is done as an initiation rite on girls who have reached the age of puberty (perhaps twelve or thirteen) – unlike the dominant type of FGM, which involves the more serious types of cutting and even sewing up of the genital area, in order to (in theory) prevent an unmarried girl from having sexual intercourse, and is usually done on very young girls under the age of five. In these other countries the purpose is to preserve patriarchal control over women's sexual and reproductive functions. This latter purpose may partly underlie Kuria female circumcision but is not its main goal.

The pastor of Rogoro Parish in 2008 was Fr. Tarimo of the Apostles of Jesus Society and he was replaced in 2009 by Fr. Innocent Mosha, also of the Apostles of Jesus, at about the same time that Hayes moved to Masanga. Mosha was of the Chagga ethnic group, which also did not practice FGM, although boys are circumcised. Like the Congolese Sisters, he too did not comprehend why Kuria girls were circumcised and did not personally approve of it. But Mosha knew that this was a strong tradition going back centuries for the Kuria people and his approach was to seek a middle road to change people's understanding of what they were doing, what values were really integral to their culture, and whether an alternative way of conducting the initiation of girls into womanhood might be possible.

The Sisters, however, chose to take a much more proactive approach in trying to eradicate the surgical aspects of girls' circumcision. This began in 2008 when Hayes was asked to help with confessions at Rogoro Parish, to be followed by Mass with Confirmation for the school children. The new Bishop of Musoma, Michael Msonganzila, had come to confer Confirmation. During the readings he quietly asked Hayes if it was appropriate to talk about FGM and whether the Catholics would be offended by this. Hayes told him it was alright, because the government was also publicly speaking about it and trying to persuade the Bakuria to drop or change the practice. The Bishop spoke forthrightly, explaining the harm FGM did to women, and appealing to the Catholics to seek an alternative. (Msonganzila is a Sukuma, who also do not practice FGM.) Hayes thought that the Bishop gave an excellent sermon and at the end of Mass several Kuria elders came to the podium, informing the Bishop that they heard what he said and would discuss it.

After that Mass the Sisters inaugurated a new form of girls' initiation, modeled after a program that had been begun in Kenya in 1998 by a Loreto Sister, Sr. Ephigenia Wambui Gachiri. Sr. Ephigenia is of the Kikuyu ethnic group that practiced FGM throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century although after Kenya's Independence in 1961 it slowly disappeared until by 1990 it had been discontinued, except for a few who continued to do it secretly. The Presbyterian Church had preached forcefully against FGM in the 1930s, which led to a rift between the Church and the Kikuyu people. However, many Kikuyu have remained members of the Presbyterian Church.

Sr. Ephigenia is not the only one active in Kenya trying to eradicate FGM. Kenya has had great success in dramatically reducing the numbers of girls undergoing tissue removal from 38% in 1998 to 11% in 2014 (this latter figure seems low and is probably not accurate; there are only a few ethnic groups in Kenya who practice FGM but within these groups it is still very prevalent in the rural areas). Complementing groups' advocacy against FGM are the great increases in girls' education; most Kenyan girls now complete secondary school and many other primary school leavers receive further education or training. Research has shown a direct relationship between secondary school or higher education for women and a dramatic reduction in FGM for the daughters of these educated women.

Sr. Ephigenia's approach was comprehensive in nature. Since obtaining a PhD from Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, she has been the Director of the Abundant Life Center, which conducts programs and workshops, prepares trainers, operates counseling services, and engages in outreach to communities that practice the ritual of FGM. Her program provides support for survivors and protection for those at risk. Her persistent advocacy has changed perceptions among Kenyan women and secured greater respect for women's rights, in the face of hostility. One important component of her educational campaign was the organizing of alternative forms of initiation rituals, which celebrate the passage from one stage of life to another.

In Rogoro Parish the Congolese Sisters adopted this latter method beginning in 2008. They set up a camp at which girls due to be circumcised came for several weeks of education about all facets of life as adult women, using a book called the Christian Rite of Initiation, published by Sr. Ephigenia, after which they had what was referred to as "graduation," celebrated at Mass on a Sunday. The Sisters' approach was very forceful, however. They strongly discouraged boys from being circumcised in the traditional way,

usually at a river in a wooded area, instead advocating circumcision at a hospital or dispensary. Any girls who opted for traditional circumcision would be expelled from the schools started by the Sisters.

At the same time the government had started a very active campaign to have what was called CCM Circumcision (after the CCM Party). In this procedure the circumciser merely pricks the skin in the genital area rather than incising any organs or tissue. By the year 2008 this was becoming the normal procedure in Komaswa, Nyamwaga and other parts of Kuria land. Hayes was so impressed about this positive move forward that he wrote an article on it in the Regional Newsletter and sent an article, unfortunately not published, to *The Tablet*, the Catholic weekly periodical published in London. However, it seems that the Congolese Sisters were opposed to even this method, claiming that the purpose of the cutting was to produce blood that would be spilled into the ground, ostensibly to offer a sacrifice to spirits. They forbade any form of cutting. Hayes later explained that this was not the point of Kuria cutting at all. The purpose was to inflict pain, so that the youngsters could prove that they can withstand pain, such as during childbirth.

When Hayes moved to Masanga he discovered that the Catholics, including leaders of the parish, were refusing to send their daughter to the Sisters' camp, instead opting for the traditional form, which by the year 2009 was being done in the CCM manner (merely pricking the skin rather than an excision). Hayes recommended to the Sisters that they allow this, trying to explain the difference between merely cutting the skin and mutilation. Lay Missioner Liz Mach, a nurse stationed in Musoma, came to Rogoro in 2010 to examine the girls and Hayes thought she would affirm his contention that the new type of circumcision was not mutilation. However, Mach said that even touching a woman is wrong.

The elders – many of whom were not Catholic – of the area around Masanga complained bitterly against the Sisters and the controversy built up throughout 2010 and 2011. Things that the priests said were taken out of context and mis-reported. Hayes was accused to the Bishop of telling Catholics that their daughters must be circumcised in the traditional manner, even though what he had said in an outstation church was that the boys and girls should come to the church after the circumcision period was completed for a blessing in church – just as was done for many years in the past.

(Please note that the Kuria word for circumcision does not mean cutting, although this is understood as a part of it. The Kuria word primarily means undergoing the initiation ritual that makes one an adult. The Swahili word also has the same connotation; initiation, at which the cutting is one part of the ritual, but not the primary meaning of the word. So, when Hayes called for the youngsters to come for a blessing he was not referring to the manner in which they underwent the initiation ritual.)

Finally, after Christmas of 2011 Bishop Msonganzila sent word to the priests at Rogoro that he wanted to meet with them. He came along with Fr. Leo Kazeri, a member of the Bishops' Council, and met with Hayes and Fr. Mosha. Hayes thought they had a productive meeting and discussed matters thoroughly, although during the meeting one of the Congolese Sisters brought a thick envelope to the Bishop. The next day, however, Hayes and Mosha were called to an even more momentous meeting with the Bishop at the convent of the Congolese Sisters. Also present were Liz Mach, a representative of the diocesan Women's Development committee, Fr. Kazeri, the Superior of the Apostles of

Jesus and another priest of this Society. The letter given to the Bishop the night before was read. It contained numerous points of misinformation about things supposedly said by Hayes and Mosha in the parish, telling Kuria Catholics to pay no attention to the Sisters but instead follow their traditional culture regarding girls' circumcision. It was even alleged that Hayes would pay to have the post-ritual feast, even to buy a goat for people. The blatant lies in this letter incensed Hayes. He was so shocked by these false accusations that he did not know what to say.

Hayes went to Nairobi for retreat, talked with someone there, who recommended he go to see the Bishop personally. On return to the parish Hayes went down to Musoma and talked with the Bishop, explaining that the Bishop was new to the diocese and did not know Hayes well. Hayes said that he knew the three previous Bishops of Musoma very well and none of them would have believed the falsehoods expressed at the meeting at Rogoro. Hayes did not report on the outcome of his talk with the Bishop but apparently Msonganzila realized that he had to be careful about believing reports given by one side in a heated controversy.

Hayes was interviewed in September, 2012, and said that there was still an impasse between the Congolese Sisters and the Kuria elders in Rogoro Parish, to the point that the Kuria were postponing circumcision there in order to avoid the Sisters' initiation camp. Hayes did not know what would happen. He said that eradicating a tradition deeply held by a people for centuries takes patience and education. He said that FGM will be eradicated by two endeavors: girls' education and government action. He felt that there was progress in both these areas and that eventually the most risky procedures of the Kuria type of girls' circumcision would be terminated.

It is interesting to note that those within Musoma Diocese opposed to the practice of FGM in Kuria land are either expatriates or Africans from ethnic groups that do not practice girls' circumcision, and in the case of the Sisters from the DRC they do not practice male circumcision either. It is easier for outsiders to condemn the practice, as they see only the medical consequences.

In 2016 Hayes followed up with more information about events in Rogoro Parish.

In November, 2014, the last time initiation rites were held in Kuria-land, the traditional elders of the thirteen Kuria sub-tribes met with the District Commissioner about initiation rites. The elders and the female circumcisers agreed that from then on, instead of cutting the genital area, they would rub flour on the foreheads of the girls, after which the girls would be considered initiated. Initiation is essential for Kuria girls. Without it their parents can not have a feast welcoming them to adulthood and when the girls are married they can not undergo a traditional marriage feast. [As was said earlier in this volume, feasts (*ichinyangi* in Kikuria), marking passage from one state to another, are extremely important in Kuria culture.]

In December, 2014, I went to Nairobi and was not present when the Girls' Camp ended. The District Commissioner, the Bishop and other dignitaries were present in church for the ceremony. There were about 400 girls who had been in the Camp throughout the circumcision period. The women "cutters" came forward before the dignitaries and their spokeswoman announced that they would

not cut the girls but instead anoint their foreheads with flour, after which they would be initiated. They then threw their cutting instruments on the ground.

At that point, the seminarian who had been involved in the instructions at the Camp came forward and asked the girls: "Have you heard what the women said? Will you agree to have your foreheads anointed with flour?" In response all 400 girls shouted out as one, "We don't want; we don't want!" (In Swahili, this was *hatutaki*.)

Obviously, they were primed to speak those words, rejecting the new form of initiation, with one voice.

I remember the words from the South Pacific about prejudice: "You have to be taught; you have to be carefully taught." Many people here (i.e. in Kuria country) have the perception that the Church is not out to stop just the circumcisions but to stop very important rites of passage in Kuria culture.

In November, 2016, Kuria will again undergo initiation rites. It can not be predicted, as of the date of writing this volume, what will ensue.

Let us now look at the history of female circumcision, the beliefs underlying it, and suggestions as to how to move a people to replacing it with alternative practices.

The origins of female circumcision are murky, but it is possible that it was practiced in Egypt 2000 years ago by some people, perhaps the nobility, for unclear reasons. As a possible precedent, in the first century BCE Romans were putting rings through the genital area of female slaves to prevent them from getting pregnant (by preventing them from having intercourse), in order to keep them working. Some have posited Sudan as the origin, as it is the epicenter of the countries in which FGM is practiced, a continuum of countries from Egypt south to Tanzania and from Senegal/Mauritania east to Ethiopia/Somalia and across the Red Sea to Yemen. In addition, FGM is practiced in Indonesia and Malaysia. In Africa, the DRC and all countries south of the DRC and Tanzania do not practice FGM, and in Tanzania it is restricted to ethnic groups in northwestern Tanzania. In Uganda FGM is very rare. Today the country with the highest number of women who have undergone FGM is Egypt, with over 27 million, and Somalia has the highest percentage of women over age fifteen who've undergone it, 98%. Africa has the highest incidence of FGM: of 140 million worldwide who have undergone FGM 92 million live in Africa (Wikipedia cites other sources which claim that over 200 million women worldwide have been circumcised, with a similar percentage of about 65% living in Africa).

The World Health Organization (WHO) gives the following definition of FGM: "All procedures that involve partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons."

FGM pre-dates both Christianity and Islam, although many Muslims believe that their religion calls for this. Female circumcision is mentioned neither in the bible nor Quran, with the exception of a few hadiths attributed to the prophet Muhammed praising those who have undergone the procedure. It is likely that the spread of Islam in Africa from Egypt and northern Sudan beginning in the 10<sup>th</sup> century accompanied the introduction of FGM into other regions of the Sahel. In 2007 a council of major Imams in

Egypt said that Islam does not teach that girls should be circumcised, an important step in curtailing and eventually eradicating FGM in Muslim countries.

The underlying reasons for FGM are varied, depending on the place. Some have been mentioned already, such as patriarchal control over women's reproductive capacities. For the Kuria and its sister ethnic group in Kenya, the Kisii, FGM's function as an initiation rite comparable to male circumcision is paramount. Some anthropologists claim that in addition to the purported origin in Egypt/Sudan, FGM may have started independently in isolated African ethnic groups primarily as an initiation rite, so that women could obtain the same adult status and honor as men within the tribal setting, and this is probably the origin of FGM for these groups. The Kuria and Kisii migrated from Sudan alongside the Mountain Nilotic groups, such as the Maasai, who also practice male and female circumcision and who likewise have distinctive age-sets consequent on having undergone initiation together.

There are many beliefs associated with people's rationale for FGM, such as that it ensures virginity before marriage and fidelity during marriage, secures fertility, and ensures a woman's economic and social future in marriage. It is also believed that FGM increases male sexual pleasure, attenuates female sexual desire, and keeps female genitalia clean and hygienic. There is no evidence that any of these beliefs are valid. People practice FGM because it is a long cultural tradition and an essential part of the ethnic group's heritage.

It has also been noted that physiologically male circumcision defeminizes the male and female circumcision demasculinizes the girl, by removing organs or tissues identified with the opposite gender. Thus, physically and symbolically circumcision makes a boy a man and makes a girl a woman. However, female circumcision is not analogous to male circumcision because with FGM a much more extensive amount of tissue is removed.

Circumcision also marks ethnic boundaries and is often promoted by women. Rural Kuria women can not accept an uncircumcised woman becoming wife of one of their sons. If educated Kuria couples grow up in Dar es Salaam, for example, and the woman is not circumcised (the man usually has been circumcised, which he can do even in a dispensary), they would have to marry in the city and live there ever afterwards. They won't be accepted in rural Kuria land. Additionally, they can not name any of the children after respected ancestors of the respective families. This would be breaking a powerful taboo potentially fatal to the child, according to older members of the Kuria ethnic group.

There are some psychological consequences to FGM, such as a higher incidence of anxiety, depression, PTSD, and shame if a woman moves to another area where FGM is not done and viewed as primitive, but this is countered in the woman's own cultural setting where it gives her a sense of pride.

The physiological consequences are many, however, such as scars, keloids, strictures, obstruction, cysts that can become infected, neuroma (nerve tissue) formation where the clitoris was, pain in urination and intercourse, infertility, and obstruction of menstrual flow. FGM causes a much higher risk of problems during pregnancy and childbirth. It is estimated that ten to twenty babies per 1,000 die due to FGM, as a result of infections and scar tissue, and in societies that practice the most invasive form

(removal of labia minora and labia majora) up to fifty percent of children die in childbirth.

Since the 1920s there have been periodic campaigns against FGM, but usually not successful. In 1975 Rose Oldfield Hayes, an American anthropologist, coined the term 'Female Genital Mutilation,' and in 1979 Fran Hosken, an Austrian-American feminist published the startling and horrifying results of her research on FGM, called the "Hosken Report," which propelled an international movement to eradicate FGM. However, her strong language, such as her accusation that female practitioners "participate in the destruction of their own kind," resulted in African women boycotting her talk at the UN Conference on Women in Copenhagen in July, 1980.

Since the 1990s there have been more forceful declarations against FGM, particularly the UN declaration at Vienna in 1993 that FGM is "a form of violence against women," and the resolution at the UN General Assembly in December, 1993, titled the Elimination of Violence Against Women.

In July, 2003, the African Union (AU) adopted the Maputo Protocol, which promoted women's rights and called for the abolition of FGM. This came into force as of November, 2005, and by 2015 it had been signed by 23 of the 27 African countries where FGM is practiced. In 2007 UNICEF and UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) initiated a program in Africa to reduce FGM by 40% within the 0-15 age group and eliminate it entirely in one country by 2012. Unfortunately, this goal was not met.

In 2014 UNICEF and the government of the United Kingdom held what was referred to as the "Girl Summit," pledging to end FGM and child marriage.

Recognizing that condemnations of the practice do not effectively reduce FGM, beginning in 2003 UNICEF opted for a more positive approach, emphasizing evidence-based social norms, implementing proven methods of effective intervention, and using game theory. They looked closely at the extremely successful work of Anthropologist Gerry Mackie at ending foot-binding in China as a very promising paradigm for eradicating FGM. In 1996 Mackie wrote with regard to the obvious and multiple similarities between foot-binding and infibulation (the more invasive Type III form of FGM, although his conclusions apply to Types I and II).

Both customs correspond as follows: both are nearly universal where practiced; they are persistent and practiced even by those who oppose them. Both control sexual access to females and ensure female chastity and fidelity. Both are necessary for proper marriage and family honor. Both are believed to be sanctioned by tradition. Both are said to be ethnic markers, and distinct ethnic minorities may lack the practice. Both seem to have a past of contagious diffusion (i.e. at some point in the past the practice spread rapidly throughout an ethnic community). Both are exaggerated with time and both increase with status. Both are supported and transmitted by women, are performed on girls aged six to eight years old, and are generally not initiation rites. (Kuria girls are usually about ten years old and were older in the past; it is primarily an initiation rite for Kuria.) Both are believed to promote health and fertility. Both are defined as aesthetically pleasing, compared with the natural alternative. Both are said to properly exaggerate the natural complementarity of the sexes, and both are said to make intercourse more pleasurable for the male.

It is clear that effective, culturally sensitive, women-affirming educational interventions are urgently required. However, some anthropologists have criticized the rhetoric of the FGM eradication movement, calling it “cultural colonialism,” ignoring the cultural context in which FGM is practiced, using loaded descriptions, e.g. mutilators, and making African and Muslim cultures appear barbaric. Ugandan law professor Silvia Tamale wrote:

We do not condone the negative aspects of the practice but take strong exception to the imperialist, racist, and dehumanizing infantilization of African women.

To conclude this section on FGM it can be stated that the Church in the Diocese of Musoma and particularly the Catholic parishes in Kuria land, and among a few other ethnic groups as well, must actively search for culturally appropriate and educationally effective methods to highlight the harmful physical consequences of FGM while at the same time illuminating the positive values of Kuria traditions, initiation rituals and on-going women’s progress.

The vociferous rejection at Rogoro Parish in December, 2014, by the four hundred girls scheduled for a new form of initiation designed collaboratively by the Catholic Church (at both parish and diocesan levels) and the District Administration indicates that the rural Kuria community do not believe that their heritage and traditions are being properly respected.

Mediation theory informs that the focus in resolving difficult conflicts should be on the Process rather than on any desired outcomes. From the comfort of observing this conflict from 12,000 kilometres away it seems that well-trained mediators knowledgeable of African culture (and especially Kuria culture) could be summoned to help both parties in the conflict agree to a process of addressing how to move forward, while listening to, understanding, and respecting the values both sides hold paramount.

However, this volume is about history, not current events. Thus, this history will not report on the eventual outcome.

#### CAUSE FOR BEATIFICATION: JULIUS NYERERE

On May 13, 2005, Pope Benedict XVI declared Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the former President of Tanzania, a Servant of God, setting in motion the formal procedures of investigation into his life and Christian faith that could result in Nyerere being beatified. Beatification, i.e. being named Blessed, is the middle step on the road to canonization, when someone is officially declared a Saint in the Catholic Church. Prior to beatification a person’s life and writings are thoroughly examined to determine if he/she lived a life of heroic virtue and that there were no doctrinal heresies in the person’s writings. The Tribunal doing the examination also needs to validate a miracle attested to the Servant of God’s intercession.

Fr. Ed Hayes was appointed one of three Postulators, who collect all the writings by and documentation about the person being examined, and in 2012 he talked at some length about the process up to that time.

A committee in Musoma collected documentation and presented it to Bishop Justin Samba. He and Bishop Anthony Mayala of Mwanza Archdiocese, who previously had been Bishop of Musoma, took the documentation to Rome at the beginning of 2005. An important part of the documentation was the long document on Nyerere by Fr. Art Wille, who was one of those closest to Nyerere. The Bishops asked permission for the Diocese of Musoma to open the cause for beatification. People in Rome read the documents and approved.

Bishop Samba set up a tribunal in Musoma and we discussed a significant date in Nyerere's life that could be linked with his Catholic faith. We chose the date of his marriage, January 21<sup>st</sup>. He was married on that date in 1953 in Nyegina Parish, with Fr. Bill Collins officiating. We thought that this was an appropriate date because we were advocating for him not as a politician but as a Catholic layman, a husband and father of a family. Pope Benedict was looking for Saints who are not members of Religious Congregations but are family people. Furthermore, at the African Synod in 2010 he mentioned to the Bishops of Africa that Rome was looking for more Saints from Africa.

After Nyerere was declared a Servant of God we had a celebration at his home in Butiama. I was in Komaswa Parish at that time and we got some wealthy men from there to pay for buses to take 200 people from the parish to the celebration. The Apostolic Nuncio was there, along with many Tanzanian Bishops, and Cardinal Polycarp Pengo from Dar es Salaam. Pengo gave the talk, a wonderful talk, saying that he was very close to Nyerere and believed in his holiness.

After the Mass Bishop Samba appointed me Vice-Postulator, representing Musoma Diocese. I objected that I was too old but Samba said that a Maryknoller had to be on the Tribunal because everyone knew that Maryknoll was Nyerere's friend and there was no one else available to do this. The Postulator is a Dutch layman in Rome, who has a doctorate in canon law and is an expert in the Beatification and Canonization processes. The Vice-Postulator is a Xaverian Brother in Nairobi who teaches at Tangaza College and previously worked at the Congregation for Saints in Rome. He knows all about this process and for all purposes he is the real postulator, because he is right at hand. Three theologians were also chosen and we all took oaths of secrecy and truth. Truth in the sense that if we hear something negative we don't hide it, and secrecy in that we don't tell anyone what is being said.

The Bishop presenting the process chooses two theologians who can't be known, not even to one another. They read everything written by or about the person and notify the tribunal that there was nothing unorthodox, heretical or immoral in the writings. One of the most crucial statements by Nyerere is his talk to the Maryknoll Sisters in 1970, since it was theological and missiological, about church, mission and the work of the church. Most of his writings are about politics, economics and socialism.

But then in 2006 Bishop Samba died and the following year Archbishop Mayala died, and everything came to a stop. It finally began again in 2010 when the Bishops of Africa went to Rome for the Synod on Africa and Bishops from

other parts of Africa, including Cardinal Arinze of Nigeria, who was head of a Curial Congregation in Rome, asked the Tanzanian Bishops about the beatification process. Later the new Archbishop of Mwanza (Jude Thadaeus Ruwaichi, appointed November 10, 2010) told us that they were very embarrassed because all the other Bishops were saying that they really wanted this. The President of Liberia, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, also said that her model of being President was Julius Nyerere.

So, the process got started again. We were called to a seminar in Dar es Salaam, given by Brother Reginald Cruz, the Vice-Postulator stationed in Nairobi. While there we were told that someone in Rome asked why Musoma was leading this. It should have been initiated and implemented in Dar es Salaam, for two reasons. First, Dar is where Nyerere lived his most productive years. He was born and grew up in Musoma and retired in Musoma, but his adult life was spent in Dar es Salaam. Secondly, the Archdiocese of Dar es Salaam can afford this process, which is very expensive. A small, rural diocese like Musoma can not afford it. Thus, we decided that there would be two tribunals, one in Musoma and one in Dar.

The theologians finished their work by September of 2012. That month we all had to take oaths again. Bishop Samba had made a mistake, because I should never have been appointed Vice-Postulator. The Postulator is in Rome and the Vice-Postulator is in Nairobi. Thus, in 2012 Bishop Michael Msonganzila of Musoma established a proper, canonical tribunal. I was appointed an Adjunct Notary. The chairman of the tribunal is Fr. Medard Chegere, who has taken the canon law course in Rome and is officially called the Episcopal Delegate of the Tanzanian Bishops. In addition to him are four others: the Defender, a Notary, and two Adjunct Notaries, of which I am one.

We are to call eighty witnesses and only the chairman asks questions. We do not say anything, but only record what is stated by the witnesses. There is no cross-examination of the witnesses and no inquiries into what they are doing now. The questions are only about what they know about the Servant of God and what testimony each can give regarding his holiness.

My task is to translate from Swahili to English. The main tribunal in Rome operates in only eight languages and Swahili is not one of them. I do not know whether we can use digital recorders when taking testimony, to ensure we catch and remember everything said.

Since some of our priests who knew Nyerere now live in the United States we arranged it that they can give witness in New York. The New York Archdiocese has a tribunal set up to examine the cause of Dorothy Day, so there will be no extra expense to use that tribunal. Thus, we have three tribunals: in Dar es Salaam, Musoma and New York. Through the General Council bulletin Maryknollers were asked to write down their reminiscences about Nyerere and some of them may be requested to give witness before the Tribunal.

I told Brother Cruz some stories of my own personal interactions with Nyerere and he said this is good stuff but since I am on the Tribunal I can not be a witness. So, I am looking for some others who may have been there.

This has become a big thing in my life, to be on the Tribunal and to work towards the Beatification of Julius Nyerere. Brother said there are people in the Vatican who are interested in this and want us to move on this. I don't know how long it will take to complete the process. It was one hundred years before Cardinal Newman was beatified.

Many people have commented on the influence that the Vatican II document on the Church in the Modern World and three encyclicals, two by Pope John XXIII – *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris* – and one by Pope Paul VI on the Development of Peoples, had on Nyerere's thinking, helping him to think through his ideas of socialism. In his opinion a socialist political and economic philosophy was very much in consort with Church teaching in the 1960s, giving him confidence that he was on the right track. Promotion of the common good and of national unity were in Nyerere's view not only common sense political objectives but truly Christian goals, enabling him to put into practice his deeply held Christian values.

There were those opposed to Nyerere's political and economic measures and Brother Cruz told Hayes and the other members of the Tribunal that they would hear negative opinions of Nyerere. These had to be listened to by the Tribunal for it to be a fair process of judging the holiness of someone being proposed for Beatification. Members of the Tribunal should not be surprised to hear negative things. Cruz said that every human being has something negative or controversial in his/her past, but this does not mean that the person did not live a life of heroic holiness.

It is probably even more difficult for a politician. The art of politics is compromise – which inevitably conflicts with strictly moralistic perspectives of Catholic doctrine.

With regard to Nyerere, not only did he promote a national policy that he sincerely believed would create wealth equally distributed among all sectors and ethnic groups in the country but he lived an admirable Catholic life. He never married a second wife, despite the cultural pressures to do so for someone in a prestigious position (almost every male President in Sub-Saharan countries has been a polygamist, in accordance with expected practice), he attended daily Mass whenever possible, and he brought up his children to be practicing Catholics. Most significantly there was never the slightest hint that he engaged in corrupt use of his office (again, in contrast to many other leaders of African nations).

Hayes tells a story of a retirement party held at the Diocese of Musoma for Nyerere after he left office as President in 1985, exemplifying Nyerere's humility. One of the priests, Fr. Aloys Magabe, spoke in commendation of Nyerere that when his journey on earth had ended he could face God the Father and say, "Father, the task you gave me to do on earth I have accomplished." Nyerere shook his head at this. When it was his turn to speak he said, "The priest said that when I stand before God I can say I have finished the task given to me. No, only Jesus can say that. When I stand before God I will say, 'Father, I have tried.'"

Julius Nyerere died in a hospital in London, England, of chronic lymphocyte leukemia on October 14, 1999, surrounded by his wife and five children, members of the Tanzania government, and Fr. Art Wille. He died peacefully in bed after suffering a massive stroke and extraordinary means of life support were removed. Those gathered

were praying and there were many symbols of Catholic faith on the walls of the hospital room. A Requiem Mass was celebrated at Westminster Cathedral in London, after which throngs of African people came to pay respects to his body. On October 18<sup>th</sup> Nyerere's body was flown back to Dar es Salaam and hundreds of thousands of Tanzanian people stood along the whole 15-mile route from the airport to his home at Msasani, about three miles from downtown Dar. Among those greeting the cortege at Nyerere's home were Nelson Mandela and his wife.

On October 19<sup>th</sup> another Requiem Mass was celebrated at St. Joseph Cathedral in Dar es Salaam, attended by crowds of people standing outside the church. His body was then flown to his home in Butiama, thirty miles from Musoma, and again enormous crowds came for the viewing period, funeral Mass and burial. A small shrine was built near Nyerere's grave site and Maryknoll donated a marble statue of the Blessed Mother, Lady of Grace, made in Italy.

### CONCLUSION TO MUSOMA DIOCESE:

From an isolated almost neglected area in northwestern Tanganyika in 1946, in the northern reaches of the Diocese of Mwanza, with only two parishes and 5,000 Catholics, the Diocese of Musoma has grown in the intervening seventy years (to 2016, when this is being written) to a flourishing diocese of about 300,000 Catholics (21% of the total population), not counting many others who are now in the Diocese of Bunda, which was separated from Musoma in November, 2010. The number of parishes has increased to thirty-two, again not counting around five formerly in Musoma that now belong to Bunda Diocese. As of the beginning of 2016 there were 48 diocesan priests, with about two ordinations a year, supplemented by fifteen to twenty priests from seven other societies or orders of priests (including the Fidei Donum priests from Poland). However, this calculates to about 10,000 Catholics per parish, with only about two priests per parish – highlighting one problematic structural element not only in Musoma Diocese but in the Church in East Africa as a whole and even in the worldwide Church, namely an insufficient number of priests. One wonders if current rules of mandatory celibacy, gender regulations, and length of training exacerbate this problem.

As of 1962 Maryknoll had established fourteen parishes in addition to the original two (plus two others that are now in Bunda Diocese) and after that Maryknollers were instrumental in establishing four other parishes and assisting two other parishes in their early stages. In addition to those parishes the other current parishes were major outstations of Maryknoll parishes prior to their establishment as parishes. Thus, it can reasonably be stated that Maryknoll was essential to the establishment of Musoma Diocese and its current state as a faith-filled local church.

However, Maryknollers would be the first to say that others also deserve credit, not least the Catholics themselves of Mara Region, who so warmly welcomed the neophyte American missionaries, who did not know local languages nor African culture, into their homes (literally) and were willing to listen to their sometimes floundering attempts to teach a foreign religion that attributed its origin to a Galilean peasant who had been crucified by the Roman Empire 2000 years ago. Even today it amazes expatriate missionaries who have been in Tanzania for forty to sixty years why the Tanzanian people so readily accepted the Christian religion – with all its Euro-American trappings.

Others also deserve credit, namely the close to fifty diocesan priests and the now close to 200 Sisters of the local congregation of Immaculate Heart Sisters of Africa, as well as other groups of priests (Religious and Fidei Donum), Sisters, and Brothers. Their willingness to collaborate with Maryknollers and among themselves in inculcating and enriching the faith has borne fruit, as the statistics show.

No one would argue that every Catholic is a great Catholic, but the multitude of admirable Catholic couples, devout attendees at weekly meetings of Small Christian Communities, and throngs of weekly church-goers seeking not only a jubilant celebration but a spiritual, liturgical experience that will inspire their faith demonstrate that Catholicism has undeniably become an integral factor in the unfolding progress of society and life in Musoma and in Tanzania in general.

In 1996 Maryknoll celebrated fifty years since it began in East Africa. As of then most of the Maryknoll priests and Brothers in Musoma were either retired or just about to retire. The accomplishments enumerated above had been achieved for the most part by then, albeit enhanced even further since then. In the 2,000 year history of the Church fifty years – even seventy years – are a short timespan. The youth, energy, dedication, and hard work in physically demanding conditions of the many Maryknoll missionaries who came to Musoma are to be commended. These attributes explain how so much could have been accomplished so quickly.

This history of Maryknoll in Musoma also illustrates other facets of Maryknollers' character: their adaptability, creativity, imagination and willingness to evaluate the positive and negative consequences of their efforts to establish the Church, including changing what they were doing if they perceived something wasn't working or a different method or structure was needed. The following is a list (maybe only a partial list) of creative steps taken by Maryknoll: evaluation and re-structuring of the catechumenate; de-centralizing parishes into centres; lay training, including catechists' training, family life training, and training for other functions that would be carried out by laity; a programmed understanding of the changes recommended by the Second Vatican Council and by the Seminar Study Year in 1969 at the Bukumbi Pastoral Institute; establishment of structures within the African Region to facilitate participation in decision-making and on-going education about theological and missiological issues; professional language training and later professional cultural training; establishment of schools, including high schools, and health facilities; attempts to improve the agricultural and animal husbandry methods of subsistence farmers; the innovation of Small Christian Communities, which have become the pillars of the Church in East Africa; collaborating on research into certain cultural activities that need greater discernment by people of faith; and an openness to where change is desirable and where possibly harmful.

Innovation, creativity and technological know-how are recognized American characteristics. Many would say that these are not prime characteristics of the African people of Musoma Diocese, where the values of tradition and communal harmony within a subsistence mode of production are emphasized. In 2016 there were only two Maryknoll priests remaining in Musoma Diocese and given their ages in their mid-eighties it is safe to predict that by the year 2025 (and probably earlier) Maryknoll will have no presence in the diocese (probably including Maryknoll Sisters and Lay Missioners). Will the pastoral innovations and programs it valued and tried to implement continue, or will the diocese be led in a very different fashion? Two major issues regard

lay participation in pastoral decision-making and financial accountability. In patriarchal cultures the head of the household makes unilateral decisions and never divulges the financial standing of a family. Similar characteristics seem to be at work in church structures in East Africa, especially in a rural diocese such as Musoma.

History does not end. This volume of history goes up to 2012, with some further input up to the year 2016, but Musoma continues to face many challenges as it moves into the future. Fifty percent or more of the country's population still live below the poverty level and the percentage is probably higher in rural areas, such as Musoma. Tanzania has a very small class of wealthy people, primarily in Dar es Salaam and a few other pockets around the country, whose wealth seems to be growing exponentially. Few if any of the top one or two percent live in Musoma, so the wealth disparity is not felt much there. Tanzania's economy is also producing a growing middle class, those who can afford cars, nice houses, fashionable clothes and the many other consumer items that come with a middle-class standard. Musoma likewise has a small middle-class and correspondingly there is a large shopping mall in the town, plus hotels and restaurants offering decent accommodation and food.

However, we should not think that the middle-class is going to be the engine of overcoming poverty. The huge effort now going into secondary school education is undoubtedly the most essential one that may help many families move out of grinding poverty. A tangential but equally essential consequence of education is the opportunity for girls to finally access secondary school education. With sufficient education, women can evaluate various alternatives for increasing household income, child-raising, including decisions about the number of children, and about their role in national society. As the saying goes: "Educate a boy, you educate an individual; educate a girl and you educate a nation."

The year 2016 marks fifty-five years since Tanzania became independent and almost forty years since Musoma Diocese received an African Bishop. African culture is integral to life in Mara Region and to the manner of being church in the Diocese and this will continue into the future. The many values of African culture in consort with Christianity (such as communal concern, sharing, hospitality, peacefulness, joy, celebration, and many others, particularly at the interpersonal level) will continue to be further ingrained into church life in Musoma. With education, certain customs may undergo revision, such as girls' circumcision (FGM), but done from within the cultural setting and context.

The Catholic Church is firmly established in Musoma Diocese and will walk confidently into the future. It will behoove a few Maryknollers in the 2030's to come and spend some time in Musoma, to witness how the church has evolved and responded to challenges that we may not even be aware of now.

Postscript: In the 1940s the earliest Maryknollers in Musoma Diocese used to have parties at which they would perform short comical plays or sing new songs. Fr. Bill Collins composed a song with the following words: "Musoma, the town that's really a village, but oh what that Town means to me;" and concluded with: "From the Lake to the Coast, there is no prouder boast, than to say I'm from Musoma."