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Livelihood and status struggles in the mission stations of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), north-eastern Tanzania and Zanzibar, 1864-1926

Michelle Greenfield-Liebst
Trinity Hall
University of Cambridge

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Michaelmas 2017
This thesis is about the social, political, and economic interactions that took place in and around the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in two very different regions: north-eastern Tanzania and Zanzibar. The mission was for much of the period a space in which people could – often inventively – make a living through education, employment, and patronage. Indeed, particularly in the period preceding British colonial rule, most Christians were mission employees (usually teachers) and their families. Being Christian was, in one sense, a livelihood. In this era before the British altered the political economy, education had only limited appeal, while the teaching profession was not highly esteemed by Africans, although it offered some teachers the security and status of a regular income. From the 1860s to the 1910s, the UMCA did not offer clear trajectories for most of the Africans interacting with it in search of a better life. Markers of coastal sophistication, such as clothing or Swahili fluency, had greater social currency, while the coast remained a prime source of paid employment, often preferable to conditions offered by the mission. By the end of the period, Christians were at a social and economic advantage by virtue of their access to formal institutional education. This was a major shift and schooling became an obvious trajectory for future employment and economic mobility. Converts, many of whom came from marginal social backgrounds, sought to overcome a heritage of exploitative social relations and to redraw the field for the negotiation of dependency to their advantage. However, as this thesis shows, the mission also contributed to new sets of exploitative social relations in a hierarchy of work and education.
CONTENTS

Acknowledgments   i

Figures   v

Abbreviations   viii

Language Notes   ix

Introduction   1

Chapter 1: Missionary authority in late precolonial Magila, 1867-1887   52

Chapter 2: Life-cycle practices, north-eastern Tanzania, 1888-c.1930   99

Chapter 3: Slave status and the mission, Zanzibar, 1864-c.1930   155

Chapter 4: ‘Mbweni girls’ and slave status in Zanzibar, 1864-c.1930   199

Chapter 5: Domestic service in Magila and Zanzibar, 1864-c.1930   227

Conclusion   271

Bibliography   279

Appendices   298
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Illustration 1. Brigit Ramadhani with Irene Mashasi (research assistant) and author, 2014.

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FIGURES

MAPS

No. p.
1 The dioceses of the UMCA, c.1912 2
2 Zanzibar Island, c.1903 31
3 Magila region, c.1901 33
4 Tanganyika Territory, c.1924 40
5 Magila region 55
6 Environ of Zanzibar Town, c.1903 169
7 Zanzibar Town, c.1903 171
8 Pemba island, c.1903 174

TABLES

No. p.
1 Students in Magila schools, 1890-1898 111
2 Adult adherents at all UMCA mission stations, 1890-1899 115
3 Adult adherents in the Magila region, 1890-1899 117
4 Gendered proportions of adherents (%), 1890-1899 118
5 Adult ex-slave trajectories, Mbweni, 1874-1877 163
6 Adult converts, Mbweni, 1885-1899 164
7 Students at Kiungani school, 1864-1901 168
8 Kiungani adults, 1890-1899 168
9 Mkunazini adults, 1881-1899 168
10 Original table of Kiungani student life trajectories, 1890 193
11 Percentages indicate life trajectories of male ex-slave Kiungani students, 1890 193
12 Students at Mbweni school, 1885-1899  
13 Wages for cooks, c.1930  

ILLUSTRATIONS  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Brigit Ramadhani with Irene Mashasi (research assistant) and author, 2014.</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Baba Mbuji and his family with author, 2014.</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bartholomew, Baba Mbuji, Judith Mbuji, and Zuhura Mohammed, 2014.</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rev. Petro Limo and some of his first students, c.1896</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lawrence Mmaka and Rev. Petro Limo, c.1894</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>A missionary instructing an African in the Magila quadrangle, c.1887</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Archdeacon Woodward with Rev. Samuel Sehoza and Rev. Petro Limo, c.1893</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Group of converts at Magila, c.1890</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Anthony Mabundo and wife Rhodha with grandchild, 2014</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Judith Mbuji, 2014</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>John Mhando-Nyungu, 2014</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Rev. Manfred Mabundo</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mbweni floorplan, c.1903</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Mkunazini floorplan, c.1903</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Women at work at Mbweni, c.1883</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kiungani floorplan, c.1903</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Retired Bishop John Ramadhani, 2014</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Mbweni girls attending a wedding, 1911</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kate Mabruki in Zanzibar hospital, c.1906</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mbweni girls sweeping, c.1911</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Mbweni ‘house girls’ pounding grain, c.1911</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Academic Mbweni students, c.1911</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Female manual labourers on the Mbweni shamba, c.1893</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Female manual labourers in a village in Zanzibar, c.1910</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Elizabethi, a domestic servant, c.1905</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Water-carriers, c.1913</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Laundry work at Mbweni, c.1904</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Indoor laundry work at Mbweni, c.1905</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Female laundry workers in St. Katherine’s, Mkunazini, c.1908</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>A cook studying, c.1930</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Tea-party at Mbweni, c.1902</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>The Guild of All Saints, Mbweni, c.1896</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Signpost near Korogwe, 2014</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>William Kamna, 2014</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Missionaries at tea on safari with servants</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Herbert Frank Mrashi, c.1910</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Paramount Chief Hugh Kayamba and his son, Martin Kayamba, c.1931</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Kilimani students preparing food</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Domestic servant on safari c.1910</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Domestic servant on safari with Bishop Hine c.1914</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Porters on a mission safari, c.1923</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Bishop Weston and domestic servants on safari, c.1927</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Domestic servants carrying a missionary on a hammock, c.1927</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Baruku, domestic servant, c.1910</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Male water-carrier, c.1910</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMS</td>
<td>Church Missionary Society. Founded in 1799.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTD</td>
<td>Maria Theresa Dollar(s).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNA</td>
<td>Zanzibar National Archives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPG</td>
<td>Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Established in 1701.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMArch</td>
<td>Universities' Mission to Central Africa archive. These are held at the Bodleian in Oxford and usually referred to as the ‘USPG archive’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USPG</td>
<td>United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Formed in 1965 to combine the UMCA and SPG.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LANGUAGE NOTES

The majority of Swahili words have prefixes and suffixes. Four noun prefixes are common and used in this thesis. These signify:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wa-</td>
<td>People</td>
<td>‘Wazigua’, meaning the</td>
<td>‘Waungwana’, meaning people who are civilised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Zigua people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-</td>
<td>A person</td>
<td>‘Mzigua’, meaning a person</td>
<td>‘Mwungwana’, meaning a person who is civilised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki-</td>
<td>A language or culture</td>
<td>‘Kizigua’, meaning the</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>language of the Zigua people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U-</td>
<td>A place or abstraction of</td>
<td>‘Uzigua’, which refers to</td>
<td>‘Ungwana’, meaning ‘civilisation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a noun</td>
<td>the place in which the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Zigua people live</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These prefixes are not always consistent. For example, while ‘Uzigua’ is a place, the place of the Bondei people is referred to without any prefix as Bonde, which also means ‘valley’.

The words listed below have been mentioned more than once in this thesis; other words are translated as and when they are mentioned.

- **Boi**  Domestic servant
- **Dawa**  Medicine
- **Desturi**  Custom
- **Dhobi**  Laundry work
- **Fingo, (pl. mafingo)**  Charm(s) or amulets, worn on a person for protection against disease or witchcraft
- **Galo**  Bondei version of *jando*
- **Heshima**  Honour, respectability
- **Jando**  Male youth initiation
**Kanzu**
A white or cream coloured ankle or floor length robe worn by men.

**Kesha**
The dancing, ritual, and knowledge exchange that occurred the night before a marital union.

**Kibaruwa, (pl. vibaruwa)**
Day labourer(s).

**Kisibau, (pl. visibau)**
Waitcoat(s).

**Kungwi, (pl. makungwi)**
Initiation leader(s), usually elder(s).

**Mjoli, (pl. wajoli)**
Fellow slave(s).

**Mshenzi (pl. washenzi)**
Uncivilised, primitive, pagan, upcountry person/people.

**Mswahili, (pl. waswahili)**
‘Swahili’ often had an ethnic connotation as it referred to non-Arab people, who were often slaves but elsewhere ‘Swahili’ implied high social status and a departure from slave status or ‘ushenzi’.

**Mtumwa (pl. watumwa)**
Slave(s), servant(s).

**Mwenyeji, (pl. wenyeyeji)**
Local, indigenous person.

**Mwungwana (pl. waungwana)**
Civilised, urban, Muslim(s).

**Mzee (pl. wazee)**
Elder(s).

**Mzungu, (pl. wazungu)**
White person, European(s).

**Ngoma**
Drum, dance.

**Nyika**
Forest; uninhabited, uncultivated land.

**Pepo (pl. mapepo)**
Wind, heaven, spirit, demon(s).

**Shamba**
Plantation, garden.

**Uboi**
The state of being a domestic servant.

**Unyago**
Female youth initiation.

**Ustaarabu**
Culture, civilisation.

**Utumwa**
Slavery.

**Wali, liwali**
A governor. In the late precolonial era they were the Sultan’s representatives. Later, German colonialists appointed liwali to work on the administration at district headquarters.
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about the social, political, and economic interactions that took place in and around the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in two very different regions: north-eastern Tanzania and Zanzibar (see Maps 1 and 2). I consider mission communities and mission sources less as a means of investigating the history of Christianity in Africa and more as a way into a social and cultural history of the continent in the early days of mission history. In particular, I study the role of employment in the pursuit for status and belonging among mainland and coastal peoples, many of whom had recently emerged from a background of slavery. This focus on missions inevitably raises the debate about missions as brokers of cultural change, especially towards modernity.

To date, one of the central questions Africanist scholars and historians of mission have asked is: were missions brokers of modernity? And if so, what did that modernity look like? Generally, it is agreed that professional wage labour and formal institutional education are two key conditions of modernity. The scholarship published to date has acknowledged some economic aspects of the history of mission, such as the connections between economic change and the growth of formal institutional education.¹ However, the literature has rarely focused on the socio-economic circumstances and livelihoods of Africans involved with the mission. This gap in the literature prompts several important questions. What livelihood trajectories did Africans experience in the mission and how did they, in turn, shape them? Was it ever possible to rely completely on the mission for a livelihood? In what ways did the mission offer a springboard for livelihoods outside of the mission? What kinds of livelihoods were valued or considered respectable? What status struggles did Africans face with various sources of income and survival?

Missionaries tried to engineer new Christian communities and, in doing so, had to focus on gaining followers and workers. It was not that missionaries placed emphasis on

the importance of employment, but rather that they struggled with the conundrum that otherworldly deeds required this-worldly economic and social transactions. Meanwhile, many Africans saw the opportunities the mission offered to create new networks and solidarities, which were often sustainable. Therefore, I treat mission stations as nodes in networks of exchange and spaces of economic activity, focusing on the role of the mission as an educator and employer to explore the ways Africans made a living within the mission, as well as how they drew upon knowledge and networks from the mission to make a living elsewhere. I concentrate on the role of UMCA missionaries as employers and patrons, even though it is likely that many Africans who were at the forefront of developing the church employed people too.


Regarding periodisation, this thesis cuts across the divide of ‘precolonial’ and ‘colonial’ and the mission’s history shapes my chronology. I focus on the UMCA mission in
its early stages, before and under German colonialism, prior to more transformative British colonial presence. I begin with the UMCA’s first settlement in Zanzibar in 1864 and end in 1926 when the diocese of Zanzibar was restructured, which increased African priests’ authority and marked a new phase of mission history. I do not cover the early 1930s, a time of great change characterised by the dominance of the plantation industries in north-eastern Tanzania and the global economic depression of the early 1930s, which caused the UMCA to limit expenditure. Even so, I take that period into account as it played an important role in how oral history respondents interpreted the past, as I shall discuss further on in this introductory chapter.

The idea for my thesis began in 2011 when I was at the Bodleian Library in Oxford consulting the archives for the UMCA. One of the first documents I came across revealed a dispute among several missionaries about the labour ethics of building Christ Church Cathedral in Zanzibar between 1872 and 1879. It transpired that the building work was carried out by slaves, in addition to the waged labour of ‘rehabilitated’ ex-slaves from the mission plantation. This was surprising considering the mission had strong anti-slavery credentials. My findings prompted me to write an article about the mission and its labour ethics in Zanzibar. But more importantly, it planted a seed in my mind about how to approach mission history differently. That is to say, I consider missionaries as employers and treat the mission as a place of employment and exchange. In this way, I offer a different approach to understanding how ideas were shared between Africans and missionaries.

With this in mind, I set to work analysing the archival material. I found that, at the mission stations in north-eastern Tanzania and Zanzibar, the focus on employment was indeed essential. Even children in school expected payment and gifts from missionaries. In the late nineteenth-century school children received food, wages, and clothing for attending school. Joining the mission was a form of servitude or employment. Missionaries’ letters provide a lens into their everyday lives, in which – to their dismay – employing people and bartering over the exchange of goods were seemingly never-ending

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activities and obstacles to their intended focus on proselytization.\(^3\) Hiring workers and purchasing goods were everyday occurrences that shaped missionaries’ relationships with the people they lived among. It also tended to lead to trouble; the missionaries were constantly anxious not to be cheated. Africans, no doubt, had the same concern.

When I began my research, I expected employment and education to be clearly defined livelihood strategies but found that they were part of broader livelihood strategies that also included networking and cultivation, for instance. I also expected that working for Europeans, who often paid cash in an increasingly cash-currency economy, would be an obvious benefit. However, the benefits they may have derived from being a mission employee were more limited than one might assume because missionaries expected the mission should be built and operated by voluntary labour. For example, missionaries demanded that churches should be built without paying the builders’ wages, and that teachers’ wages should be paid from church alms that were collected from congregations.\(^4\) The missionaries were unable to impose a culture of unpaid labour but African employees of the mission still had to struggle to secure remuneration for this work.\(^5\) Missionaries also wanted their employees to be humble and encouraged them to live simply. These were expectations that young upwardly mobile wage-earning men were in the habit of ignoring according to missionaries.

In contrast to a body of literature that links converting to Christianity and/or working for a mission society to social mobility, I argue that the valuing of mission education was a later development, which began after the period this thesis covers. Prior

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\(^5\) Bishop Smythies was particularly concerned with the subject of wages for mission employees. In 1893 Smythies argued that teachers’ salaries should not be fixed until they were approved by the principal of Kiungani – teachers received different size salaries depending on their district. Bishop Charles Alan Smythies, ‘The Bishop’s Letter’, Central Africa, June 1892. African teachers started receiving wages before African clergymen. In 1899 Bishop Smythies made a case for introducing an ‘adequate wage’ for African deacons and priests. Wages in general were subject to a delicate negotiation when it came to the time that the employee, teacher, or clergyman, began a family. Missionaries considered wages as a temporary solution. Eventually, African Christians were meant to cover the cost of the teacher’s living but this rarely worked in practice and was the source of great conflict in the Christian community. Bishop Hine, ‘The Conference at Likoma’, Central Africa, December 1899; John Makange, interview by Elias Mutani, Jibandeni, Magila, 21 April 2016.
to that point, the mission was not culturally hegemonic and status struggles were pursued in multiple idioms, drawing from the Islamic cultures of coastal East Africa as much as from the culture of Anglican Christianity. Although the mission might not have provided a route to prosperity, it did offer partial livelihoods through the work that the missions required.

The mission was for much of the period a space in which people could – often inventively – make a living through education, employment, and patronage. Indeed, particularly in the period preceding British colonial rule, most Christians were mission employees (usually teachers) and their families. Being Christian was, in one sense, a livelihood. In this era before the British altered the political economy, education had only limited appeal, while the teaching profession was not highly esteemed by Africans, although it offered some teachers the security and status of a regular income. However, after the First World War and with British colonialism in Tanzania, things changed. Missionaries were no longer major employers, but the mission did rise to prominence as a place of education. From the 1920s, school children, or their families, willingly paid school fees. Conversely, in the nineteenth century school children received gifts for going to school. By the end of the period I cover, Christians were at a social and economic advantage by virtue of their access to formal institutional education. This was a major shift and schooling became an obvious trajectory for future employment and economic mobility. From this point, people carried knowledge and experience away with them from the mission to make a living elsewhere. The pre-1914 period is a relatively understudied phase of mission history because it is obscured by the phase that followed it, in which the mission’s role as a provider of a valuable education was obvious. Reading the entire move towards Christian-educated elites gaining influence and taking a place in the colonial system as a process that culminated at the time of independence is to do history backwards.  

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Converts, many of whom came from marginal social backgrounds, sought to overcome a heritage of exploitative social relations and to redraw the field for the negotiation of dependency to their advantage. But, as I will show, the mission also contributed to new sets of exploitative social relations in a hierarchy of work and education. The mission did not create unified and progressive ‘communities’ as Andreana Prichard suggested in her PhD thesis on the UMCA. Rather, I argue that the UMCA provided resources for status struggles. The definitions of status in these struggles continued to draw on a variety of sources, not all of them English, European, or Christian.

MODERNITY AND THE MISSION

Wage labour, teaching, and schools were relatively new and arguably modern forms of networking that missionaries played a significant role in introducing. While journeys to the coast were the primary means whereby people could broaden their networks in the nineteenth century, schools became an important means of networking in the colonial period. But for most of the period I consider, the mission was not hegemonic and was rather surpassed by what we can effectively refer to as an ‘Arabocentric modernity’ (to borrow Jonathon Glassman’s phrase).

The period I work on was a time in which it was not clear which identity (Christian/European or Muslim/Arabicate) led to a better life. In fact, these two cultural complexes were considered neither separate nor opposite to each other. This struggle to predict the direction of change and what alliances to make amid ongoing political and cultural changes led to people engaging with what, in hindsight, became known as modernity. Thus, ‘Arabocentric modernity’ was not an ‘alternative’ to ‘Western-Christian’ modernity.

Missionaries operated within a status economy in which Arabicate, Islamic coastal culture defined the markers of sophistication. They also depended on diplomatic contact to the Sultan to some extent, and on good relations to other power-brokers who operated

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within this status economy. Moreover, missionaries used the same currencies and measures as the Muslim-dominated trade. At the same time, the meaning of Western/Christian progress was itself ambiguous for the missionaries, as they were so mistrustful of the industrialising, profit-seeking, urban Victorian version of it. Finally, missionaries were not very imposing figures themselves in terms of their material means and habitus. Consequently, they tended to be highly dependent on Africans, as many scholars have already shown.10

The idea of modernity is central to this thesis, but it has been argued that ‘modernity’ is not a useful term. In 2005 Frederick Cooper argued that the term modernity had been over-used, having lost clarity and meaning. He added that modernity, in addition to several other analytic categories, might have an indigenous equivalence. However, Cooper noted that it was important to be cautious when using modernity as both an analytic category and an indigenous one. Thus, he argued, ‘the usefulness of an analytic category doesn’t follow from its salience as an indigenous one: such concepts must perform analytic work, distinguishing phenomena and calling attention to important questions.’11

Arabocentric modernity is best summed up with the Swahili term, ‘uungwana’, which roughly translates as ‘civilisation’ and relates closely – though not straightforwardly – to Swahili coastal cultures.12 Equally, ‘ustaarabu’, from the term ‘Arab’, also means ‘civilization’ and is often translated as meaning something like modernity. In 1873 Steere described the Swahili people as: ‘a mixed race of Arabs and negroes. They hold only the villages or small towns on the sea, and the gardens and plantations adjoining. The Swahili

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are all Mohommedans, chiefly of the Shafi sect.’ 13 Yet we should not take the common use of the term ‘mwungwana’ as evidence of the hegemony of anyone who identified as such. As James de Vere Allen, a scholar of Swahili culture, explained:

[T]he insistence of the waungwana upon certain privileges – upon their right to live in their own, stone-build sector of town, for instance, and upon certain forms of dress and rules of endogamy – should not necessarily be seen as a reflection of their lasting monopoly of real power. Rather it should be interpreted, in some contexts at least, as indicative of the tenuousness of their grasp upon it: by holding on to such relatively trivial points they were able to preserve the facade of their superiority over immigrant traders and others who often in fact controlled much of the wealth.14

Thus, the waungwana had tenuous political hegemony. Less surprisingly, for those looking to achieve uungwana, and escape slavery and/or peasantry, a person had to seek patronage.

Despite all this, they were nevertheless a positive symbol of socio-economic improvement. One respondent, Canon John Mwamazi, explained how terms such as ‘waswahili’, ‘waungwana’, ‘wamrima’, and ‘ustaarabu’ related to each other:

Swahili people [Waswahili] were people of civilization [wastaarabu]; Swahili people were people who pray. And so to be Muslim was to be a gentleman [muungwana], to be a civilized person [mstaarabu], to be a person who was modern [aliyestaarabika]. So many entered and left behind their native cultures and customs to be Muslim.15

In this passage, Mwamazi demonstrates the overlap between being modern and being Muslim. Indeed, prayer and religion were central to the definition of ‘mwungwana’. Thus, becoming mwungwana, mmrima or mswahili meant converting to Islam as well as embracing coastal and urban identity.16
But how did the ideals of ‘uungwana’ manifest themselves in everyday life? Various fashions and a commitment to education reflected the importance of Islamic cultures. Indeed, despite occasional disdain from educated Tanzanian Christians about uneducated Muslims, European influence was not the only drive for formal institutional education. As Anne Bang has observed, the importance of Islamic education was increasingly emphasised c. 1860–1940 in the western Indian Ocean world. Moreover, speaking Swahili well was increasingly a prerequisite for becoming ‘mwungwana’.17


Missionaries utilised the vocabulary of Arabocentric modernity in their efforts to engineer Christian communities. In doing so, missionaries fed into the existing cultural hegemony, rather than supplanting it. That language was Swahili, which the missionaries

17 Anne K. Bang, Islamic Sufi Networks in the Western Indian Ocean (c.1880-1940) (Leiden, 2014), 7, 108–142.
taught, partly in order to facilitate and unify mission education and communities. Another way to ‘speak’ this language was to distribute high status clothing among mission followers. For instance, mission school boarders and teachers (see Illustrations 4 and 5) wore kanzu (a white or cream coloured ankle or floor length robe worn by men), kikoy (a piece of cloth tied around the waist), and kofia (a brimless cylindrical cap with a flat crown, worn by men in East Africa, especially in Swahili-speaking cultures). These items of clothing were luxuries.¹⁹

Engaging with the language of Arabocentric modernity also meant using other vocabulary; namely, the antonym of ‘uungwana’: ‘ushenzi’ (‘uncivilised’, ‘heathen’). ‘Shenzi’ had a broad meaning, though mainly an offensive term that townspeople would use to describe those they disapproved of, it also meant pagans, non-Muslims or converts who were criticised for their perceived lack of orthodoxy.²⁰ Joseph Thomson in 1881, Edward Steere and Henry Bartle Frere in 1874 noted that coastal people used the term ‘washenzi’ to denote something akin to ‘wild folk’.²¹ James Allen noted that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to be ‘muungwana’ was to be ‘civilised’ and ‘urbane’. Meanwhile, to be ‘mshenzi’ was to be ‘uncouth’ and ‘savage’.²² Indeed, coastal people utilised ‘shenzi’ and ‘kafiri’ as terms of rebuke to describe upcountry people from

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¹⁹ Semkuruto exclaimed, ‘It was just a sheet, a kikoi and a jumper that’s it, this was it was drawing them in, it drew people this to go to school. They were strategic about how they attracted people into school [...] they [the students] were really spoilt!’ Vincent William Semkuruto, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Bora Street, Chang’ombe, Dar es Salaam, 30 October 2014, 00:36:00; similar views were presented in the interview of John Makange (pseudonym), interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Jibandeni, Magila, 15 October 2014, 00:17:00, 00:36:00. Frewer explained that once students had invested a significant amount of time into the mission schools, they stood to gain materially. All money that the missionaries gave the male students was spent on clothing. Also, if they went to Kiungani, felt obliged to bring back gifts for their family members. C. C. Frewer, ‘African Boys’, African Tidings, May 1909.

²⁰ Glassman, Feasts and Riot, xvi, 241.


²² Allen, ‘Swahili Culture and the Nature of East Coast Settlement’, 316.
the late nineteenth century onwards. As such, Glassman noted that ‘mshenzi’ was ‘a term of abuse used to refer to upcountry people, including newly imported slaves.’

Illustration 5. Original caption: ‘Lawrence Mmaka (reader) and the Rev. Petro Limo (priest)’. Readers, who were advanced students who taught younger students, wore kofia (cap), kanzu (tunic), and kikoy (wrap), as pictured here. George William Mallender, ‘Missionary life in Central Africa’ (Journal, 1896), A1 (4) B, UMArch.

To get a better sense of how ‘shenzi’ was used as an insult, let us consider this UMCA missionary’s observation from 1925:

[...] a young man from the hills [...] is openly derided as a mshenzi (heathen), which is practically a term of reproach, an insult, a fact which Europeans and especially missionaries should remember. [...] they [the Muslims] refuse him [the youth] to
eat with them. As the African of the wilds is above all things hospitable to the passing stranger, this cuts him to the quick.24

Despite this missionary’s concern about causing offense, the term ‘shenzi’ was used in Swahili church literature that was distributed in the mission to describe practices the missionaries had outlawed.25 The other major chasm between what it was to be ‘mwunwgana’ and ‘mshenzi’ revolved around slave status.26 In much the same way that missionaries distrusted that ex-slaves could be genuine converts, it was reasoned that the advantage of creating networks with wauungwana was that they could be better trusted because they had kin.27 In other words, it was not the missionaries’ intention to enhance the social mobility of the grassroots to build up a Christian community.

In the early stages of my research I expected that my focus on the missionaries’ role as employers would help reveal the role they – even if only unwittingly – played in changing the way Africans sought social mobility. Although this was the case to some extent, I found that the mission’s employment opportunities did not mark a transformation in the way people valued or sought to establish livelihoods and social mobility. Indeed, it was not until British colonialism began to take hold from 1919 onwards that the missions could claim to represent a cultural hegemony. Accordingly, the rise of Christianity, and its association with social mobility through formal institutional education, took place gradually and only really began in the 1920s.

This was a slow process partly because, though the UMCA missionaries generally did take European hegemony and ‘superiority’ as a given, they were ambivalent about the victorious European culture of their day. Much like the evangelicalism that John Peel explored, the UMCA had entirely different foundations to that of the civilising mission.28 Indeed, Peel showed that human sin and eternal salvation were central to evangelical

26 Glassman, Feasts and Riot, xvi, 62.
27 This saying collected by Krapf illustrates this point well: ‘Kua kalima, kua kulla neno, jaken wtuma (hawana kalima) howafanii hivi.’ (‘Free men hold together, assist each other in word and in everything, but slaves do not and cannot, because they are dependent on their master and cannot join others.’) Johann Ludwig Krapf, A Dictionary of the Swahili Language (London: Trübner and Co., 1882), 269.
28 Peel, Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba, 5.
mission, while civilisation and capitalism were misguided conceptions for the this-worldly.²⁹

LABOUR HISTORY AND THE MISSION

This thesis is about the role of missions in changing livelihood patterns and interpretations of social status. Thus, it makes sense that we analyse the literature exploring how missions and labour history intersect. Thomas Beidelman’s 1982 monograph is a good place to start. He demonstrated how missionaries’ position as employers did not necessarily mean that ‘religious’ jobs were of higher social status than ‘secular’ ones. Using much secondary anthropological work as evidence, Beidelman focused on the CMS in Ukaguru, where he conducted his anthropological research in 1957-8. He showed how the variety of employment opportunities increased over time but also how many of their employees were discontented with the conditions of their labour, especially their wages. Some of the first paid-roles were as catechists, evangelists, translators and servants but these wages remained stagnant while salaries for more ‘secular’ employment of teachers, clerks, artisans, and drivers increased. These ‘secular’ employees enjoyed more competitive salaries than African catechists and pastors. They also had a greater need for knowledge of English, which was a key tool for social mobility from the mid-twentieth century onwards.³⁰

It was therefore doubtful that ambitious men in Ukaguru with a mission education in search of material wealth would pursue careers in the church when they could gain a much higher salary as government-subsidised teachers. ³¹ Moreover, missionaries discouraged trading so these workers would not have been able to supplement their wages.³² However, that is not to say that Africans in clergy roles always adhered to this rule. One example was the career of the archdeacon who had his sons front any economic

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²⁹ Peel.
opportunities that the missionaries would disapprove of, which meant he was able to enjoy both economic gain and social prestige. Agricultural pursuits were more favourably looked upon by missionaries. But agriculture was time-consuming, particularly in certain seasons. Pastors, who were the most impoverished employees in the mission, were unable to devote enough time to their duties. Pastor’s wages were as low as those of unskilled labourers and they were not eligible for pension schemes, unlike many government employees. In addition, their salaries could barely cover school tuition fees for their children. Similar problems to do with economic security were present for catechists and evangelists, who were usually paid intermittently.

As for teachers, although they enjoyed a much higher pay and personal prestige as educated individuals, they were nevertheless ‘dependent upon the missionaries for tenure, promotions, and placement’ and therefore had to submit to church standards in personal life. Beidelman therefore concluded that the Kaguru valued ‘education, material possessions, and greater acquaintance with European life’ and it was ‘short-sighted’ of the missionaries to discount ‘the importance of power and prestige.’ Sundkler argued much the same thing, quoting a leading African layman from Sierra Leone who declared, ‘brilliant students do not become pastors. Theology is for those who have failed to get an entrance into the secondary school.’

However, when we compare Beidelman’s account with Barbara Cooper’s in the Muslim Sahel, we see that social prestige was not always mapped onto the ‘secular’ jobs in the mission. Cooper analysed how, amongst uneasy and unequal relationships with missionaries, young men being nurtured for careers in the mission preferred to preach, as

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36 Beidelman, 183–85.
37 Beidelman, 25, 179.
38 Bengt Sundkler, Christian Ministry in Africa, 41.
it was a respectable and revered activity.\textsuperscript{39} At the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), workers were paid wages for domestic labour around the mission, but not for the ‘higher work’ of preaching. In other words, pay would only be given for work that the missionaries were not willing to do themselves.\textsuperscript{40} Thus, clergy work was only paid for in food, which sits uneasily with the tendency for missionaries to offer moral guidance on labour conditions and expound the benefits of wage labour.\textsuperscript{41} From the African perspective this seemed nonsensical, more so because Christians would often find themselves competing with Muslims for paid jobs.\textsuperscript{42} Moreover, the men who decided they could no longer tolerate doing spiritual labour for free turned to Islam and often became prominent members of the Muslim community.\textsuperscript{43}

Cooper also argued that thefts were often the result of preachers’ belief that they were owed payment. She therefore debunked the missionary interpretation that theft in missions happened because Africans were incapable of understanding the meaning of private property.\textsuperscript{44} Missionaries generally expected Africans to serve them with deference and this was, equally, part of their Christian instruction.\textsuperscript{45} Most importantly, Cooper’s argument shows how the pursuit of social status and the pursuit of wealth are often at odds.

Nancy Rose Hunt also considered the labour and social mobility of Christian adherents. In her study of the British Baptist Missionary Society in the Yakusu region of today’s Democratic Republic of the Congo, she explains how well respected ‘boy’ or ‘boi’ work (the employment of male students in the household) was. For some, this was because they were former slaves and therefore ‘honoured to locate new patrons’. However, the prestige of being a ‘house boy’ diminished by the 1950s, partly because the


\textsuperscript{40} Cooper, \textit{Evangelical Christians in the Muslim Sahel}, 2006, 199.

\textsuperscript{41} Cooper, 333. Remunerations for labour vary from mission to mission. Hunt found that African domestic workers in the Congo were often paid intermittently, not always with cash but with fruit, for example.

\textsuperscript{42} Cooper, 183, 201.

\textsuperscript{43} Cooper, 200.

\textsuperscript{44} Cooper, 199.

\textsuperscript{45} H. Maynard Smith, \textit{Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar: Life of Frank Weston, 1871-1924} (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1926), chapter II, part II.
punishments for work-related failures were so severe.\footnote{Hunt, \textit{Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo}, 1999, 136.} Boi work was essential to the domesticating processes in the mission and part of the performance of a ‘tamed, domesticated harmony’.\footnote{Hunt, 119–20, 122.}

Hunt examined how working as a domestic servant was necessary work experience for becoming a (male) nurse in her chapter entitled ‘Dining and Surgery’. Both roles necessitated physical and moral cleanliness to win the missionaries’ trust.\footnote{Hunt, 128, 130.} This approach to medical training came to a head with a colonial regulation in 1954 introducing an upper age limit for students and a longer school day. This irritated one missionary who complained ‘now knowledgeable lads are not even “kitchen-clean” when they come to the wards and operating theatre, and have to be “house-trained” at great cost of time and patience and energy.’\footnote{Hunt, 136.} The career trajectories Hunt describes for young women were quite different. Female domestic labour in the mission was generally work experience for becoming a wife, which would happen once the girl or woman became a ‘Mama-girl’ who worked in the Mademoiselle’s bedroom.\footnote{Hunt, 146.}

Joining the mission community meant gaining a patron, which could be highly valuable for socially ‘marginal’ people, particularly slaves or former slaves. However, being in the mission community did not necessarily secure an improved social or economic position. In fact, some found themselves re-marginalised as social hierarchies in the mission were challenging to negotiate. Moreover, becoming a mission employee, particularly a teacher, could mean a reduction in options as missionaries monopolised the recruitment of this occupation, especially in Tanzania where government schools were relatively fewer. Missionaries often had very little to offer in material terms and so the question is how African Christians and ex-slaves chose to negotiate their position, rather than if the mission was capable of transforming their wealth and status. Ultimately, it was up to the African convert or ex-slave to attempt to do this within the bounds of their
available choices. In some cases, with the pursuit of status and that of wages at odds, it seems that conversion was probably quite often a high-risk life-strategy.

MISSION AND COLONIALISM

The literature has raised several persistent and intertwining questions regarding the relationship between mission and colonialism. To what extent did missionaries broker colonialism? Did Africans resist colonialism or mission, or both? Or did they utilise colonialism and mission opportunistically, for their own ends? How were Africans implicated in the colonial project? Answers to these questions all hinge on calculations and assumptions scholars have made about the historical agency (or lack thereof) of Africans and missionaries.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the scholarship suggested that missionary activity was the cause of a slow and painful death of traditional patterns of African life, through the undermining of Africans’ cultural self-confidence. Reflecting a nationalist perspective of the post-independence era, some accounts sought to criticise missionaries, such as A. J. Temu’s *British Protestant Missions*. Other accounts were less critical, but they all insisted on the profound historical agency of missionaries. For instance, writing in 1973, Geoffrey Moorhouse argued that, ‘[m]uch of Africa as we know it today, to a degree which cannot yet be assessed, is [the missionaries’] legacy’.

From the mid-1970s, scholarship turned to emphasising African agency and demonstrating that Africans shaped Christianity. Correspondingly, the independence of Christian movements was a major research interest at the time. In 1978, Robert W. Strayer illustrated how missionaries were not, intentionally or unintentionally, cultural iconoclasts. Instead, Africans and missionaries contributed to the making of a community with its own ‘mission culture’. Strayer’s crucial contribution to the literature was to

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argue that Christianity was ‘Africanised’, not only in independent churches, but also in mission churches.\textsuperscript{54}

These accounts still emphasised a dramatic culture clash between missionaries and Africans; coloniser and colonised. This condition was called ‘cultural imperialism’, a term that has been rejected in more recent scholarship, namely by Andrew Porter. Part of the reason for its rejection was the realisation that missionaries and colonial agents were often intent on conserving what they considered to be authentic about African cultures.\textsuperscript{55} By the 1990s the term ‘cultural imperialism’ had largely fallen out of use, but the kernel of its message remained relevant. The Comaroffs’ monumental two-volume work on the southern Tswana argued that missionaries’ colonial influences filtered into the practices of Africans, though they admitted the missionaries were relatively marginal and that this was an unintentional consequence of the mission’s connection to colonial hegemony. The Comaroffs argued that Africans converted to Christianity in order to find a place in the capitalist modernity that was encroaching on their lives, and that this in itself was a challenge to colonialism. However, the Comaroffs argued that resistance came mainly in the form of rituals. They focused more on Africans’ actions than on their thoughts to account for the lack of a written record produced by Africans. The Comaroffs also believed that conversion was a Eurocentric concept. Therefore, they concluded that we should rather consider the material forms of colonial modernity than the intellectual reasons behind Africans’ interest in Christianity.\textsuperscript{56}

John Peel, a fierce critic of the Comaroffs, argued that this was a defeatist approach. He also challenged the Comaroffian notion of a ‘colonisation of consciousness’, whereby signs and symbols inculturated Africans into a colonialist-capitalist way of thinking. In contrast to the Comaroffs, Peel emphasised African agency and illustrated

\textsuperscript{54} Strayer, 84.

\textsuperscript{55} Porter convincingly laid out the argument against the use of the term ‘cultural imperialism’ in this article: Andrew Porter, “‘Cultural Imperialism’ and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914”, The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 25, no. 3 (1 September 1997): 367, https://doi.org/10.1080/03086539708583005; Bob W. White, ‘Talk about School: Education and the Colonial Project in French and British Africa, (1860-1960)’, Comparative Education 32, no. 1 (1996): 9–25. White contrasted this approach to French colonialism, which was inclined to mix African cultures with the cultures of the hegemonic power with the view of developing one single ‘civilised’ nationalistic culture.

how Africans made conscious decisions about how they interacted with the mission. Peel revealed in his work on the Yoruba that they were not ‘colonised’ by a Christian doctrine and practice that they were forced to accept without compromise. Rather, Africans selected from what the missionaries offered to enlarge and reimagine their existing world view, responding in particular to its promises to modernise. Guided by an underlying layer of a ‘prior cultural repertory’, the Yoruba sought to become Christian in order to achieve power and prestige without entirely breaking from their existing social memberships. Peel argued that the Yoruba responded intellectually to the claims missionaries made about modernity and saw European knowledge as powerful.

Similarly, in 2004 Derek Peterson emphasised how the Kikuyu eagerly appropriated Christian knowledge in order to adapt to colonialism, which is why Kikuyu parents insisted that their children learn English at school. However, Peterson modified Peel’s argument by seeing conversion as a ‘discursive act’ rather than as a straightforward change in religious identity or strategy of political and social self-aggrandisement. Peterson showed how religious forms were used genuinely but, at the same time, may well have referred to things that neither European observers nor the African actors themselves considered religious. Even when subject to hyper-surveillance, African Christians perceived things differently, manipulated churchmen, and made their own history.

The current consensus, of which Peterson is representative, has moved away from thinking about ‘encounter’ between missionaries and Africans through the dichotomy of compliance and resistance. Instead, scholars are now more likely to consider these

57 Peel, Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba.
60 Peterson, Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival, 12.
relationships as ones of collaboration and accommodation. Although there was friction, and modifications were made to the missionaries’ message, Christianity did spread. This was not the result of an oppressive or forceful colonisation of consciousness. As Peter Pels put it, Africans and missionaries ‘co-produced’ the church. Africans and European agents of colonialism made history together, even if they saw things very differently. The relationship was dialectic and scholars have made good use of terms such as ‘entanglement’ and ‘engagement’ to demonstrate this. Equally, some scholars, such as Anne Marie Stoner-Eby, emphasised how the UMCA missionaries were constantly responding to the initiatives of Africans, rather than the other way around. This resonates with the culturalist turn in anthropology of the 1980s in which many scholars explored how missionaries were no less shaped by their cultures than Africans.

In summary, missionaries played an ambiguous role in socio-cultural change. I reframe the question of missionaries as brokers of capitalism or ‘modern’ global economies. I suggest that scholars consider missions more generally as spaces in which people found a (usually partial) means to make a living. After all, missions were small-scale economies intimately connected to the wider context of African economies. Moreover, the interest in Christianity was intimately connected to socio-economic change and in competition with other forms of knowledge. In exploring the mission’s role in socio-

cultural change, I ask what people did with the mission in order to improve their means of survival and social mobility.

**SCALE AND HISTORICAL CHANGE**

From the late nineteenth century onwards mainland people especially were experiencing a dramatic broadening of geographical scale, and this had a major impact on their means of survival and social mobility. Although the question of the relationship between the global and the local is relatively recent, the issue of the interpenetration, analytical distinction between, and intermingling of different scales is a long standing one in Africanist literature. The early literature, which was mostly anthropology, closely connected the ‘local’ and the ‘rural’ with what was ‘traditional’, and the ‘global’ and the ‘urban’ with what was ‘modern’. With those binaries in mind, early studies (such as Isaac Schapera’s 1934 work on the Khosa) attempted to grapple with the problem of ‘culture contact’ and ask how ‘civilisation’ impacted upon African societies.\(^66\)

Other anthropologists sought to remove the idea of ‘civilization’ from the equation, preferring to see the change in terms of the differences between rural and urban life.\(^67\) For example, in their study of the Nyakyusa on the Tanzania-Malawi border, which was based upon fieldwork carried out between 1934 and 1940, Monica and Godfrey Wilson argued that when individuals lived more in the wider ‘modern’ world, their smaller ‘traditional’ worlds became less relevant.\(^68\) This reflected the scholarship of the 1950s-60s, which was orientated towards understanding large-scale cultural systems, especially ‘modernisation’. These studies were ethnocentric and uni-linear, focusing on ‘social psychology and patterns of social organisation’.\(^69\)

In 1979 John Iliffe referred to the Wilsons’ theories as the ‘enlargement of scale’ and asserted that it described one of the most important aspects of ‘Tanganyika’s modern experience’. He also modified the Wilson’s theories to account for more regional change,\(^65\) Isaac Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1934).

\(^67\) Godfrey Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalisation in Northern Rhodesia* (Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia: Rhodes Livingstone Institute, 1942).


and suggested that the access to these different worlds was part of the story of the tensions that emerged in Tanzania’s political history. Enlargement of scale had implications for religious change, in that ‘[i]ndigenous religions continued to offer remedies for ancient evils but were ill-equipped to explain or control the larger colonial world’. According to Iliffe, this was a time in which ‘tribesmen’, who had almost no contact with the wider world, transformed into ‘peasants’, who were, by definition, in contact both with their local communities and a wider state. This process was ‘comparable in impact to industrialisation’. The world got larger in ‘modern times’, mostly because of improved communications, facilitated especially by literacy. He argued that the larger world, characterised by capitalism, was ‘imposed on Tanganyika from outside’, though he did also emphasise that Africans were exposed to other African cultures.

Meanwhile, Steven Feierman’s study of the decline of the Shambaai Kingdom suggested that the chronology on the enlargement of scale needed to be set back before the introduction of European colonialism. He demonstrated that mid-nineteenth century coastal connections and the firearms they provided became the paradoxical means to pursue security and sustenance. Thus, prior to missionary settlement, let alone colonial rule, the people of Shambaai prioritised engaging with coastal trade (particularly in weapons) and revolted against the existing political power, which claimed to ensure food security. Feierman was closer to exploring the qualitative aspects of network formation, rather than dwelling, as the Wilsons did, on the scale of networks. Jeremy Prestholdt, too, showed that, at the onset of colonialism, East Africa was no stranger to global

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73 Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*, 115; many other studies have demonstrated how rural Africans were drawn into the world economy in the precolonial period. E.g. Palmer and Parsons, *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*; Sunseri, *Vilimani: Labor Migration and Rural Change in Early Colonial Tanzania*; Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana: From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante, 1807-1956*. 
connectivity, thanks to centuries of commercial interaction across the Indian Ocean. To illustrate this, he pointed out that Zanzibaris were among the first to buy telephones immediately after their invention. In terms of formal institutional education, as many authors have noted of Tanzania and other African countries, newly wealthy peasants began sending their children to mission school to prepare them for the new ‘modern’ economy from the 1930s up until the early 1960s.

However, the local and global should not be treated as opposite ends of a spectrum. For instance, James and Blandina Giblin showed how in Njombe, southern Tanzania, the family network offered a refuge from extended civil wars and insecurity. Moreover, it allowed people to ‘acquire knowledge of modernity without having to accept dependence on the state’. Meanwhile, men sought the ‘trap’ of migrant labour to counteract their exclusion from agricultural markets, schooling, and health care. As Felicitas Becker has shown, the expansion of Islam was a local response to transregional influences. With the same token, ‘[f]ew people were unambiguously ‘local’’. Although many did convert to Islam because it symbolised ‘civilisation’, that definition of civilisation was created by villagers, their historical experience, and local interpretations of social relations. Although Becker described a world in which social horizons were constantly expanding, she also, like the Giblins, observed that kinship became more important under colonialism because colonial authorities considered it legitimate, unlike slavery and arms. Thus, local versions of the global emerged.

Another set of questions revolves around how ethnic identity relates to local and global networks. Did ethnic identity become more potent under colonialism? If so, does

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77 Bang, *Islamic Sufi Networks in the Western Indian Ocean (c.1880-1940)*, 18.
80 Becker, 18.
that suggest that broadening networks forced people to look inwards? Or was ethnic identity a way of broadening networks, as Bill Bravman suggested about the Taita in Kenya? While these debates are fascinating, they rarely apply to Tanzania, which is an exception to the general narrative of the intensification of ethnic allegiance in colonial Africa. Thus, scholars more often ask why Tanzania was relatively free of ethnic conflict.

Andreana Prichard’s PhD thesis implied a possible explanation. She argued that the UMCA’s Christianity helped establish a ‘supra-ethnic’, ‘imagined spiritual community and a distinct and enduring form of cultural nationalism’ in Tanzania. Prichard identified two key groups of historical agents who made this possible. The first was the missionaries, who, she argued, intended to unify ethnicities. This goes against the scholarly orthodoxy that suggests missionaries, by defining ‘tribes’ and ethnicities, divided people. The second group of historical agents Prichard identified were Christian women, who were mostly ex-slaves or descendants of ex-slaves. These women established influential and broad networks based on literacy and respectability, creating a ‘spiritual community’ that was ‘emotionally viable’. They were, according to Prichard, supported by the African clergy, although she noted that this support was essentially conservative as it promoted a separation between male and female education.

Contrary to Prichard’s thesis, my findings suggest there were many divisions among Christians, sometimes along ethnic lines. Other times, divisions emerged between Christians who interpreted the mission’s message differently. In north-eastern Tanzania and Zanzibar ‘tribal’ membership played an important role in the way people constructed personal networks, and missionaries often contributed to these divisions. Moreover, I have found little evidence to suggest that missionaries or Africans were particularly committed to the notion that the mission required female evangelists in order to succeed,

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83 For instance, Peel argued that Christianity was incorporated into reconstructed ethnic identities in Nigeria. Peel, Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba.
with the exception of a few marginally influential individuals in the mission. However, this does not undermine Prichard’s thesis, which is more relevant to the late colonial period and independence era.

Although some people experienced a shift from more local and inward-looking to more deracinated and cosmopolitan worldviews, there were no clear-cut paradigm shifts between the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial stages that suggest a change in one direction regarding how networks were formed. Evidently, colonialism alone did not redefine Africa’s relationship to the rest of the world. On this basis, the scholarly consensus is that all that was ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’ never mapped neatly onto what was ‘local’ and ‘global’, and the distinction between local and global was often blurred.

In short, there is neither a clear distinction nor a clear progression between ‘local’ and ‘global’ scales. It follows that the mission was in a similarly ambivalent position with regard to changing scales as with regard to modernity. This thesis provides a contribution to the exploration of this ambivalence. Having explored the cornerstones of the literature that this thesis speaks to, I will now move on to discuss the geographical, political, and cultural background of the regions I analyse.

THE UMCA IN CONTEXT

On 4 December 1857 at Senate House in Cambridge, David Livingstone made a call to arms for university students to help establish a mission in Central Africa. He famously announced: ‘I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work which I have begun? I leave it with you.’ This prompted the forming of the ‘Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa’, which later became the ‘Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Durham Mission to Central Africa’ and in 1865 the name was finally shortened to the ‘Universities’ Mission to Central Africa’. The mission was born

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out of the Anglo-Catholic tradition, which had a distinctive effect on missionary societies because it advocated episcopal autonomy from the home committee.\(^9\) The idea was to allow the clergy to innovate ritual without having to turn to the mission’s organising body.\(^9\) Another effect of this position was to prioritise recruiting African clergy. The result was that the UMCA ordained African priests and deacons at a faster rate than the CMS.\(^9\)

The leaders of the UMCA were notable representatives of the High Church Anglo-Catholics who directed their support to missions that favoured episcopal independence, coupled with a devotion to ritual.\(^9\) In fact, as a high church mission, the UMCA took the opportunity to incorporate into the Swahili Book of Common Prayer Catholic liturgy that would not have been accepted in England.\(^9\) Sacraments drove the UMCA and the mission’s progress was quantified in baptisms and other sacramental rites. Revoking sacraments was, equally, a way for the UMCA’s clergy to discipline adherents. The emphasis on sacraments sets the UMCA apart from the Protestant emphasis on subjectivity and sacred texts.

The UMCA missionaries were unique also for their elite social background. In contrast to missionaries from other missionary societies who were accustomed to manual labour, UMCA missionaries tended to be upper class, financially self-sufficient, with Oxbridge university backgrounds. This is was palpable in their aversion to city life and their inability to function without servants (see Chapter 5). The UMCA missionaries’ typical background also explains their repulsion towards the booming self-assured world of Victorian industrialisation. The UMCA were particularly zealous to seize the opportunity to escape from an industrial urban society because many of them had trained in urban slum parishes in England where they developed a sense that this destiny should be

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available at all costs. The UMCA missionaries would often complain of the nature of migrant labour of two kinds. First was the precolonial agricultural migrant labour and second was the migrant labour to work in colonial industries. Missionaries protested partly because it made conversion more difficult as Christian teaching may have to be deferred and also because they believed it had a harmful effect on family life, inducing states of ‘immorality’. Thus, they did not wish to industrialise Africa but, rather, carefully supplant Christianity without disturbing the economy. Equally, partly because missionaries were embedded in local dynamics of dependence, missionaries did not always have the will or the ability to assist Africans wanting to engage with the world economy.

The missionaries’ mistrust of what they saw as the materialism of both European and coastal cultures meant that they tried to live simply, even if their relative wealth compared to the people around them undermined the missionaries’ efforts. As other historians have already pointed out, ‘worldliness’ (a term missionaries often used) by its very nature contradicted Christian principles, which valued humility and simplicity of life. Compared to other missionary societies, the UMCA were particularly suspicious of what Frank Weston (UMCA bishop 1908-1924) referred to as ‘patent leather shoes and other European sins’. For the UMCA, education and employment were simply a way of spreading Christianity, and they generally had little interest in economic development. Although formal institutional education and wage labour were (especially in the early to mid-twentieth century) some of the best means of escaping poverty and engaging with a capitalist economy, missionaries simultaneously limited access to those means. Despite

96 Andrew N. Porter, Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion 1700-1914 (Manchester University Press, 2004), 330
97 As Elbourne has noted more generally: Elbourne, ‘Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the Work of Jean and John Comaroff’, 438.
98 Andrew Porter, Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Maxwell, Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe, 2, 59; Pels, A Politics of Presence, 4; Peel, Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba, 5.
99 Frank Weston to H. M., St Mark’s Theological College, Zanzibar, 23 March 1900, A1 (17) A, 60, UMArch. Weston took a particularly strong stance. As Andrew Porter has demonstrated, different missionaries had different objections to the colonial project. Porter, Religion Versus Empire?
all this, Africans worked around missionaries’ attitudes and shaped the opportunities for social mobility that the mission provided to pursue their own ideas of modernity.

For many African Christians, the missionaries’ attitudes towards materialism and the changing world did make a difference. But Africans in contact with the mission did not necessarily share missionaries’ views. Just as the Comaroffs suggested, missionaries had an unintentional or indirect impact on worldly lifestyles because they could rarely imagine how Christianity could succeed without material ‘improvement’.\textsuperscript{100} Unlike the Comaroffs, I do not argue that the adoption of certain European habits was a means of preparing Africans for subjection to a global capitalist order. The mission could not control the terms of reference whereby the mission-provided symbols of modernity were interpreted. Indeed, as John Peel argued, missionaries helped sustain colonialism and capitalism through mundane and material practices, rather than having a colonial quality inherent in their religious worldview as the Comaroffs suggest.\textsuperscript{101}

Part of the attraction of missions lay in the fact that, even if unintentionally, missionaries engaged Africans in modernity or, more specifically, the market economy and formal institutional education, and provided a connection to the colonial powers.\textsuperscript{102} Moreover, as Peter Pels suggested, joining the mission school was one way of entering the cash economy, whether the missionaries approved of it or not.\textsuperscript{103} Africans found ways of pursuing social mobility and having a stake in a coastal or European modernity, and were, thus, able and willing to circumvent the missionaries’ attitudes. In short, UMCA missionaries were not able to shelter Africans from worldliness, but the remoteness of some parts of the mission, especially Magila, did some of that work for the missionaries.

The UMCA intended to help Africans develop ‘their own country in the modern world’, and sought to avoid what they saw as the threat of Africans becoming poor

\textsuperscript{100} Comaroff and Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier, 2:58.
\textsuperscript{101} Peel, Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba, 6.
\textsuperscript{103} Pels, A Politics of Presence, chap. 5.
imitations of Europeans.104 As Weston put it in 1905, ‘if it is true that the African is going to wear a frock coat and a top hat some day, it is no part of the Mission’s duty to teach him to do so.’105 For these reasons, financial concern, both African converts and missionaries were constantly urged to live as simply as possible.106 They were generally of the view that African participation in the global economy must take a slow and steady path and that it must be on African terms.

That partly explains why the missionaries had a difficult relationship with colonial authority. In the early twentieth century missionaries were increasingly at pains to criticise the government for their hard and fast changes to the country. Weston’s brush with Lord Milner in 1920 helps to illustrate these tensions. Milner had issued a white paper to make a case for labour policies that would further ‘encourage’ Africans to work for the colonial government. Weston promptly produced a pamphlet to criticise these proposed policies. For Weston, colonial authority had a responsibility to protect the ‘weaker people’ and Milner’s policies were a ‘new form of slavery’. Weston, and many other missionaries before him, were in favour of British colonialism over German colonialism from a very early period, but they increasingly had deep-set misgivings about colonial policies.107

WESTERN UNGUJA, ZANZIBAR
The majority-Muslim archipelago of Zanzibar includes Unguja, Pemba, and some other very small islands. I focus on the west coast of Unguja but I refer to it as Zanzibar, following

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107 WESTON, FRANK. THE BLACK SLAVES OF PRUSSIA: AN OPEN LETTER ADDRESSED TO GENERAL SMUTS. LONDON: UNIVERSITIES MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA, 1920, 4.
the example of the historical record. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Zanzibar was of great economic importance as it dominated trade between Africa, India, and the Middle East. In 1832 the Omani Sultanate began to establish itself in Zanzibar Town. Crucially, Zanzibar was a slave trade hub, from which many slaves were subsequently transported to Oman. The most rapid growth of slave imports to Zanzibar, in the late 1840s, came at a time when increasing restrictions were being placed on the trade. In 1873 the slave trade was made illegal in Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar’s dominions, although it continued clandestinely. In fact, these prohibitions set off new slave trades on the mainland nearer to the coast. Barghash attempted to use his representatives to control the slave trade but he had limited authority over the mainland, which he had only recently begun to colonise, a fact that the missionaries were often slow to recognise.¹⁰⁸

The Sultan controlled Zanzibar’s centralised government, though his power was limited. Meanwhile, slave-owners lacked class unity, as Frederick Cooper has observed. Plantations were major socio-political units in which the slaves themselves were politically important because slave holders could enlist them as followers. Slave owners had to be careful to create desirable ties of dependence with slaves to ensure that they accommodated to their master’s demands. By fostering this kind of dependence, masters gained their slaves’ attachment to the estate, while slaves had more personal control over the rhythm of their daily lives.

In 1890 Zanzibar became a British protectorate.¹⁰⁹ The British retained the Sultanate, though the Sultan lost power and was only able to nominate successors. From 1890 to 1913, the Sultan’s government, which was largely made up of European officers, worked alongside the British Consulate, administered through the British Foreign Office. The maliwali (district governors appointed by the Sultan) also retained much influence and authority.

¹⁰⁹ Horace Waller, Heligoland for Zanzibar, Or, One Island Full of Free Men for Two Full of Slaves (London: Edward Stanford, 26 & 27 Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, S.W., 1893); ‘Annual Colonial Reports: Zanzibar, 1925’, 1926, C2, UMArch.
Throughout the period I cover, the Sultan played an important role, largely in terms of representation, in the Protectorate’s governance. Glassman used the term ‘dual colonialism’ to describe this system, whereby the British ruled over what remained an Arab imperial structure. Currency reflected the dual system as the silver rupee and Maria Theresa Dollar (MTD), which originated from British India, and the copper pice, of the Sultanate, were the primary currencies. In 1919 the British mandated Tanganyika, which caused Zanzibar’s strategic role in the Empire to decline further as British control of the coastline became stronger.

As for the nature of the mission’s presence on the island, Zanzibar was the first permanent UMCA settlement in Africa, dating from 1864, following several earlier failed attempts to settle on the mainland. The missionaries had mixed feelings about Zanzibar. On the one hand, they believed it was essential to keep a presence there as a springboard for establishing themselves on the mainland and so it remained the logistical heart of the mission for the duration of this thesis’ timeframe. On the other hand, missionaries also tended to see it as a place that made people, missionaries and Africans alike, susceptible to all kinds of sin, including arrogance, laziness, extravagance, alcoholism, and carnal sin (see Chapter 3).

In Zanzibar, ex-slaves who came to the mission between 1864 and 1900, after escaping the slave trade, made up most of the converts. Many turned to Islam after living in the mission for a short period of time. In fact, the mission hardly encountered any friction with the Sultan because the missionaries were so unsuccessful converting Muslims.

**Magila, North-Eastern Tanzania**

Some 120km north-west of Zanzibar is the Magila region in north-eastern Tanzania, now more commonly referred to as Tanga. ‘Magila’ was the name of a village which was the

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112 ‘Annual Colonial Reports: Zanzibar, 1925’.
site of the first permanent mainland mission settlement in this region in 1875. However, until the 1920s, the name was historically used to describe the diocese and region as a whole. In this thesis, I use the term ‘Magila’ to describe the diocese, rather than the village. I use the name Msalabani (which translates as ‘at the cross’) to refer to the village, though, confusingly, the sources often refer to Msalabani and Magila interchangeably. Magila diocese encompassed the key villages of Korogwe, Handeni, Muheza, Msalabani, Umba, Mkuzi, and Misozwe (see Map 3). This region was close to the coast, but did not include any actual coastline. The people had long resorted to the coast for work, food, and trade in times of hardship.¹¹⁴


Early accounts suggest that in the nineteenth century Magila was mostly fertile and enjoyed considerable trade, profiting from exports of grain. It was also relatively free of disease despite continual migration. The more populated centre of the Magila region was surrounded by diverse landscapes. To the south-west, crops were relatively unreliable, though cattle and small stock were common. Going east, largely uninhabited, infertile scrubland filled the space between Magila and Tanga, making travel to the coast very difficult until the arrival of the Tanga railway in 1905. Finally, the north was also almost uninhabited, and boasted plentiful game.  

The Magila region was, and remains, home to three major ethnic identities, though the boundaries and meanings of ethnic affiliation have changed: firstly, the Shambaai, who lived in the fertile mountains; secondly, the Zigua, who lived further west around Handeni; and, finally, the Bondei, who lived in the region furthest to the east near Msalabani. The Bondei were the first people in the region to come into contact with the mission and so are mentioned in this thesis more often than other ethnicities. Some people of the region believe that the Bondei were a subset of the Zigua who came to Magila to flee war in the late nineteenth century. Their ethnic identity in the nineteenth century was defined by the fact that they rebelled against the Shambaai Kingdom in the Kiva Rebellion of 1868. As a result, the Bondei’s geographical boundaries also got smaller and were limited to the valley.

The Zigua encountered Christianity later than the Bondei, who were based to the east in Magila. In fact, it is likely that the Zigua were particularly impacted by the fact

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that schooling diminished the pool of child labour.\textsuperscript{119} Indeed, the oral history record suggested going to school posed a threat to the ‘nguu kazi’ (workforce) of the Zigua household, which depended on a pastoral livelihood. While the Bondei had diverse livestock, the Zigua were self-defined as cattle-keeping people and cattle must be watched all day, unlike goats that only require a half-day of grazing. It is for this reason that George Salim, a respondent, declared, ‘the Bondeis are not cattle-keeping people.’\textsuperscript{120} Whether Bondei people did not keep cattle because so many of them were Christian, or whether the Bondei were more easily proselytised because they did not keep cattle is debateable. The fact that Zigua people struggled more with their loss of child household labour, combined with the serious drought the Zigua region faced because of sisal plantations, was used by respondents to explain the relative poverty of Zigua people compared to Bondei people. Thus, typical livelihoods of certain ethnic groups are used to explain the extent to which Christianity was accepted by certain people.

Aided by the trade winds, the Tanzanian coast was an important region in the Indian Ocean commercial world in the nineteenth century, but the interior told a different story of interregional trade and limited contact with the coast.\textsuperscript{121} In Magila, the separation from the coast was made possible by the aforementioned stretch of uncultivated land, which made journeys there treacherous. Even so, as Chapter 1 of this thesis shows, Magila’s connections with the coast were increasingly important from the mid-nineteenth century. The Islamic presence in the Magila region, though obviously less strong than it was in Zanzibar, was nonetheless significant. Islam came to Magila many years before the missionaries. It was particularly strong among the Zigua, who had a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{119} Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 29 October 2014, 00:30:00.
\item \textsuperscript{120} This was said in English. George Salim, Part 1, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, 3 November 2014, 00:47:00–00:49:00; Gerrard Michael Francis Kiongoa Yambi, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Tanga, 25 October 2014, 00:37:00; Samuel Sepeku also suggested that the trend towards sending children to school changed trends in what people made their staple foods. He argued that people stopped growing millet in the Misozwe region because it required child labour to scare away monkeys and other agricultural pests: Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Mbezi, Kimara, Dar es Salaam, 29 October 2014, 00:20:30–00:22:02.
\item \textsuperscript{121} Abdul Sheriff, \textit{Slaves, Spices, & Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire Into the World Economy, 1770-1873} (London: James Currey, 1987).
\end{itemize}
trading history and were at that time (between the 1830s and 1850s) based to the west in Pangani and Saadani.\textsuperscript{122}

The Shambaai civil war of 1868 caused this region much unrest and slaving in the second half of the nineteenth century (see Chapter 1), and famine in the early German period. It was this unsettled context that made mission patronage relevant, political, and challenging for the missionaries to establish. The fact that the region was largely depopulated also helped make it easier for settlers to begin plantations there.\textsuperscript{123}

Mainland Tanganyika was a German colony between 1889 and the First World War. It was not until the turn of the century that German plantations started to become profitable. This delay was due in part to some particularly damaging famines in 1894–96 and 1898–99. In these times of crisis, people travelled to Tanga and further afield for food and work, and it was mostly women and the elderly who went to the mission for help.\textsuperscript{124}

In the 1900s German settlers’ plantations, including their coffee-growing experiments, became more productive and investments increased. New economic opportunities started to develop, partly aided by the newly built railways.\textsuperscript{125} German plantation development brought with it wage labour and monetisation.\textsuperscript{126} Most workers were long-distance migrants. Meanwhile, people in the region generally sought to avoid plantation labour, even when sisal plantations boomed in the twentieth century. The Germans assumed that appropriating African land, combined with population growth, would eventually force Africans to work for European plantations. In the end, many benefited from the European plantations without having to work for them, by selling plantation workers food. In the Usambaras, the workforce on European plantations was smaller, which meant less commercial opportunity for locals to sell food to the workers. Finally, the people of this region also came under more pressure to work on settlers’

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{123} Iliffe, \textit{A Modern History of Tanganyika}, 126, 287.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} Iliffe, 125; Justin Willis, ‘The Nature of a Mission Community: The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa in Bonde’, \textit{Past & Present}, no. 140 (1 August 1993): 151.
  \item \textsuperscript{125} Iliffe, \textit{A Modern History of Tanganyika}, 125, 135.
  \item \textsuperscript{126} Jan-Georg Deutsch, \textit{Emancipation without Abolition in German East Africa, c.1884-1914} (Oxford: James Currey; Ohio University Press, 2006), 218–22.
\end{itemize}
plantations than those in other regions.\textsuperscript{127} For instance, in 1907 the District Officer gave every able-bodied, adult male Shambaai person a card that forced him to work for a European for thirty days every four months or else be conscripted for public labour. Workers could choose their employers, but they worked for very low wages. This system spread to many other regions.\textsuperscript{128}

In the German colonial period, missionaries were expected to help German officials ensure colonial law was followed and respected. This put missionaries in a difficult position. For example, one missionary named Christopher Fixsen working in the Zigua region resented being obliged by the government to urge people to pay taxes for their children going to school. The injustice of it seemed potent to him as he observed that ‘the people don’t want their children to learn.’\textsuperscript{129} Or, at least, parents did not want education for the knowledge it offered, but rather the security they believed it offered. Missionaries generally did not try to correct the assumption that building schools would make villagers impervious to forced labour policies. Fixsen wrote regretfully that, ‘we trade in their desire for schools, though we know its true motives.’\textsuperscript{130} Though some missionaries did try to protect villagers by making a formality of signing children up to come to the mission school in order to make it harder for the government school teachers to interfere, there was very little missionaries could or did do to fight colonial forced labour policies.\textsuperscript{132} The result was disappointing for missionaries, who were associated with the German regime that they considered coercive and despotic. For example, Fixsen recorded in 1914 that:

The people round here have been ordered to have a dance of rejoicing tonight in celebration of the German emperor’s birthday which was a day or two ago. They are beating a drum in a half-hearted way now. This proceeding has a spice of grim humour in it, for the people themselves would rejoice at nothing better than to drive the Germans into the sea and the missionaries after them.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{127} Iliffe, \textit{A Modern History of Tanganyika}, 152.
\textsuperscript{128} Iliffe, 153.
\textsuperscript{129} Rev. J. F. Christopher Fixsen to Mother, Kizara, 1 February 1914, A1 (22), 656, UMArch.
\textsuperscript{131} Rev. J. F. Christopher Fixsen to Mother, Kizara, 23 February 1912, A1 (22), 539, UMArch.
\textsuperscript{132} Francis Eling Pearse to Duncan Travers, Kigongoi, Tanga, German East Africa, 23 January 1909, A1 (21), 123, UMArch.
\textsuperscript{133} Rev. J. F. Christopher Fixsen to Mother, 1 February 1914.
Fixsen’s observations do not appear to be representative of the north-eastern region where colonial authority was met with indifference, but his words are nonetheless striking.

The 1890s and early 1900s was a time in which the geographical, economic, and social boundaries of villagers’ lives were expanding. In 1904 Godfrey Dale wrote a piece for the UMCA periodical, *Central Africa*, detailing the changes he witnessed since his arrival in 1892. Tanga town was bigger and had felt the greatest impact of colonial government. The swathes of nyika land that had dominated the journey between Tanga had receded somewhat as you can see if you compare Maps 3 and 4. People moved to towns and away from villages, partly as a consequence of famine but also as a result of increased security. In addition, people were moving between different rural regions, including the Usambara country. These migrants primarily included the Digo but also Manyema, Nyamwezi, and Masai people (who were as a rule said to be hostile to the mission except for the Nywamwezi). The demographic was younger than it had been, again, largely due to the disastrous effects of famine and disease. Meanwhile, networks within the mission itself had strengthened. ‘Out-schools’ in remote areas were more strictly supervised than the school in Msalabani, which was referred to as the ‘central school’.134

The spread of the Swahili language also reflected the (gendered) broadening of villagers’ networks. Even in the 1890s it was observed that it was only very old people who did not understand Swahili, though many did not speak it fluently and women rarely spoke it at all.135 Speaking Swahili was a sign of one’s gender and cultural advancement, in southern Tanzania as well as in Magila. Though he believed the honour attached to Swahili was inevitable, Dale was nonetheless troubled by the fact that, ‘the teachers are very unwilling to use Bondei and the native clergy prefer to preach in Swahili.’136 In fact, teachers insisted that they were unable to express themselves in anything but Swahili in their teaching.137 Still, the memory of Swahili feeling foreign among elders, especially

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135 J. H. Pearse to Duncan Travers, Magila, 6 March 1891, A1 (6) B, 1638, UMArch.
137 W. E. Deerr, ‘Our Boys at Work’, *Central Africa*, October 1907; later on, Samuel Chiponde would express a preference for using Arabic, rather than Bantu, words in his work as a Swahili interpreter,
women, lives on in the oral history record. Respondents commonly noted that, among their ancestors, if someone spoke good Swahili, he (it was usually a ‘he’) might be dubbed an outsider.  

The First World War disrupted the German forced labour system, and the war’s end marked the beginning of British colonialism in mainland Tanzania. WWI also marked a low ebb for the mission’s status, as the Germans interned European and African clergy and teachers. Finally, in July 1922, the British Mandate was agreed upon. In the 1920s the boundaries of Tanganyika territory criss-crossed over the Magila diocese boundaries (see Map 4). Thus, from the 1920s the Magila diocese encompassed parts of the districts of Tanga, Pangani, and Usambara. Later, the situation changed again. In 1926 Tanga district was redrawn to encompass Usambara and Pangani. During the 1920s, there were estimated to be 22–29,000 followers of the UMCA in the whole of Tanganyika. Over half of these were claimed to be in Masasi, at least from 1926, when the Masasi diocese was formed. With all this macro information in mind, it is important to believing that Bantu was inadequate in his efforts to translate complicated expressions such as ‘Culpable homicide not amounting to murder.’ ‘Report of Education Conference 1925, Together with the Report of the Committee for the Standardisation of the Swahili Language’, Tanganyika Territory (Dar es Salaam: Government printer, 1926), 102.

138 The term many respondents used to describe these Swahili-speakers was ‘mtu wa kuja’. Helena Hoza Mhina, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Mayanga, Magila, 17 October 2014, 00:37:00–00:41:00; Veronica Mbelwa, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Kwa Mkono, 4 October 2014, 00:26:45–00:30:00; Mary Mgongo, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Korogwe, 2 October 2014.


140 Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 247.


remember that Magila was internally very diverse. The uneven change that Magila underwent meant great variation in life chances and trajectories.


**CONNECTING MAGILA AND ZANZIBAR**

I deal with two very different locations: Magila, where a Christian community was established in a religiously plural environment, and Zanzibar, where Islam dominated. From a political perspective, as Glassman argued, Africans distinguished between the different European claims to power that were present on the mainland and coast. Namely, Germans were seen to be less influential than other European nationalities. This was partly because the commodities they traded – which were rarely manufactured in/by Germans – and rarely reached the mainland. Meanwhile, English prestige was derived
from the fact that the British consul at Zanzibar held so much influence over Indian merchants and the Omani throne.\textsuperscript{143}

I decided to take Magila and Zanzibar together in my study because the contrasts between them help us understand the effects of mission and Africans’ experience of mission. Missionary societies were diverse but diversity also existed within each missionary society as each mission station belonged to a different socio-political setting. Moreover, the mission’s connections between mainland and coast were logistically and ideologically significant to the mission, and crucial to understanding network formation. Zanzibar Island, having long been a transnational space as part of the Omani Empire, remained a key stopping point for supplies, labour, and education. Zanzibar and Magila were closely connected by educational networks. Kiungani boys’ school and theological college in Zanzibar was a crucial feature of the UMCA’s operations, because it produced most of the African teachers and clergy that operated on the mainland. Equally, ex-slave teachers in Zanzibar were required to work on the mainland as part of their careers.

Scholars rarely consider the Tanzanian hinterland and coast together. This is understandable as the historical experiences in these regions were so different, which makes comparison difficult. This is particularly the case with processes of Christianisation. Even so, by focusing on both regions, the fact that Magila was, like Zanzibar, a slave-society, becomes much clearer. Society in Magila was also facing a constant flow of ‘aliens’, (\textit{watu wa kigeni}). Some were welcomed, some rejected; but all were suspected of having slave status. People were moving around all the time, partly in order to create life trajectories to take them away from slave status.\textsuperscript{144} In both Zanzibar and Magila the

\textsuperscript{143} Glassman, \textit{Feasts and Riot}, 51.
\textsuperscript{144} Benedetta Rossi, ‘Introduction’, in \textit{Reconfiguring Slavery: West African Trajectories}, ed. Benedetta Rossi (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 1–18. The history of Tanganyika from the Maji Maji rebellion of 1905 (the greatest African rebellion against early European rule) to the last years of German administration. It examines a colonial situation in depth, ranging from the processes of change in African societies to the decisions of policy-makers in Berlin. In the aftermath of rebellion an imaginative Governor, Freiherr von rechenberg, initiated a programme of African cash-crop agriculture. This programme was reversed by a settler community which successfully manipulated the German political system. Meanwhile, after their defeat in armed rebellion, Africans sought power through educational and economic advancement. Tanganyika in 1912 was poised for that struggle for control between European settler and educated African which has been a fundamental theme of the modern history of East and Central Africa. Dr Illiffe’s book is one of the few available studies of German colonial administration. He has drawn on a wide range of sources, both in East Africa and Germany. Written in the light of current reappraisal of African history, the book gives valuable insight into African initiatives during the early years of European
mission was deeply tied into its dependants’ struggles for status and livelihood, and the mission could not control the ways in which it was relevant to these struggles. The fact that the markers of status varied between Magila and Zanzibar, but also overlapped to some extent, highlights how these connections emerged.

**SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY**

**WRITTEN RECORD**

While writing this thesis, I mostly consulted mission-produced sources. However, I have consulted some non-missionary official records, and there is a wealth of secondary literature that draws upon colonial sources and helps clarify the changing political and economic context of the period.\(^{145}\) The focus on mission sources is due partly to the fact that I deal largely with the German colonial period and I am unable to read the German sources, which are, in any case, limited. The other reason is that, owing to funding and time constraints, I could only have explored the Tanzania National Archives (TNA) in Dar es Salaam, where most of the relevant sources are kept, if I had significantly limited my oral history research. Given the limitations of the oral history record that are discussed below, further research to substantiate this thesis would be directed at the TNA records, especially the Magila and Umba logbooks that Justin Willis has already analysed.\(^{146}\)

However, like any historical evidence, the UMCA sources pose challenges. For instance, the missionaries rarely named any Africans whom they did not consider to be of high status, even if they had converted to Christianity. Thus, as Peel argued, the problem is not simply that missionary sources represent deep prejudices (though they often do), it is that missionaries had selective interests, and their records carry a host of assumptions, not only about Africans but also about Christianity, colonialism, and themselves. Another problem is that when missionaries reported discussions with local people, African voices did not always appear coherent, as missionaries failed to fully understand them, or instrumentalised them in pursuit of their own agendas.\(^{147}\) Yet the fact that so much got

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\(^{145}\) Particularly work by James Giblin, Justin Willis, and John Iliffe.

\(^{146}\) See Willis, ‘The Nature of a Mission Community’.

lost in translation is essential to the narrative I put forward (see Chapter 2). In this way, my work is unlike Peterson’s, in that I examine mission dependants, who have left hardly any written testimony and whose intellectual engagement with Christianity is largely untraceable.148

Moreover, there are risks involved with overly relying on mission sources that have found their way back to the metropole. Namely, sources damaging to the mission’s reputation or sources that were simply deemed irrelevant to missionaries, could have been destroyed in the process of bringing the collection together in the UK. Not all the letters in the UMCA archive were sent from Africa to the metropole but unsurprisingly many of the letters sent in the other direction or between mission stations would have been lost due to practical constraints. Because one is often left reading one side of the conversation, it is often necessarily to make educated guesses about the subject matter.

In any case, the UMCA archive is extremely rich, holding diverse source material including correspondence, paintings, photographs, architectural plans, maps, leaflets, pamphlets, and newspapers. The published periodicals are also vast and often very revealing. Though missionaries produced most these documents, many of them realised the importance of learning about the African cultures and languages they encountered, and so these sources evidence the lengths some missionaries went to try and understand and adapt to life in Africa. Some missionaries were anthropological pioneers, such as Herbert W. Woodward and Edward Steere and others offered fragmentary observations that can be usefully pieced together.149

ORAL HISTORY

In a very general sense, conducting oral history research is an invaluable way of connecting with the field of study. It still holds true that, as John Lonsdale showed, oral historians’ ‘intimacy’ with their raw material allows them to exercise ‘critical self-reflection’ more easily than for exclusively documentary colleagues, because they are more aware of the importance of respecting their respondents’ views.150 Many have

148 Peterson, Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya.
149 Peel, Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba, 12.
turned to oral history as the obvious primary method to highlight African perspectives and the impact of their agency. However, since what has been described as the golden age of African historiography of the 1960s, the optimism about the irrefutable value of oral tradition as a historical source has faded.\textsuperscript{151} Part of the problem is that finding an objective truth in oral history has proved difficult, despite the tireless efforts of Jan Vansina to systematise the methodology.\textsuperscript{152}

In an influential edited volume published in 2001, this idea of an authentic or objective truth oral history research was thrown open by several authors.\textsuperscript{153} Undoubtedly, interviewees shape their accounts. Often, they lie, fall silent, misunderstand – or pretend to misunderstand – questions.\textsuperscript{154} These deviations from the original research questions are in themselves valuable because they shed light on the narratives and now they are constructed.\textsuperscript{155} An example of the latter is Terence Ranger’s oral history project in Bulawayo, which explored and untangled myths and legends, and found that they were ‘keys to the significant realities of black urban social history’. Rather than being entirely false, these urban myths were in fact dramatised or heightened, and therefore reflect to some extent ‘what really mattered’.\textsuperscript{156} David Maxwell also demonstrated this superbly by confronting the ‘myths’ that engendered many of his respondents’ accounts.\textsuperscript{157} In short, oral history material can be useful even if it is not accurate.

Likewise, in the case of my research, the oral history record often challenged the written record. Whenever this happened, I was alerted to useful points for study that might not otherwise be visible when focusing on either oral history or written sources. Sometimes the disjuncture between the oral history record and the written record

\textsuperscript{155} I.e. Terri Barned vs. Louise White, \textit{Life as historiography, interviewer}. Most historians use both, e.g. Freund, \textit{Insiders and Outsiders}, 1995, xi.
\textsuperscript{157} Maxwell, \textit{Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe}, 1, 20–25, 231.
demonstrated the difference of opinion between Africans and missionaries. Other times the difference in these accounts simply suggested how things had changed. Written sources are more likely to reflect a snapshot of time than oral history, which is always more layered with a lifetime of memories and later historical events.158

The oral history respondents were extremely cordial during the fieldwork process. In Zanzibar I encountered some difficulties because some of them expected payment. In contrast, in the Magila region, there was only one respondent who demanded payment: John Makange,159 who was also the only respondent who requested a pseudonym. Makange is a well-to-do widower who remarried in 2016. He has several children and a large house. He is well educated, speaks some English, and had been a mayor for a time. He was extremely kind when I met with him in person.160 However, when my research assistant, Elias Mutani, went to see him for a follow-up interview by himself a year and a half later, Makange was hostile. Clearly, discontent had brewed in the time that elapsed between my interview with him and Elias’ interview. His principal complaint was that I had asked him detailed questions about his parents and grandparents. Makange said that he had been to Europe before, and that this was not normal or respectable behaviour. Makange was angry about my apparent lack of respect for the distinction between private and public life that was, he felt, characteristic of European culture. In other words, he felt I did not treat him with the same respect as I might a European elder.

Makange’s expressions of discontent turned out to be revealing. In his meeting with Elias, he also said that I shared negative characteristics of wazungu (white people, Europeans), such as greed. According to Makange, I resembled the early missionaries,

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159 This is a pseudonym.
160 Elias Mutani, who listened to the interview recording, believes Makange was being passive aggressive, not hospitable, towards me.
who did not believe African priests needed to be paid. This is why he exclaimed, much to Elias’ initial confusion, ‘she thinks everybody is an Anglican priest!’\textsuperscript{161} Meanwhile, he scolded his sons, who were present, for failing to show interest in their family history.

Other respondents did not express the same views, even during Elias’ solo interviews, though they probably trusted him more and were much more willing to share precious texts and photographs with Elias than with me. Is it possible that Makange was simply an untrustworthy source with ‘an axe to grind’?\textsuperscript{162} As a man of status, who has been to Europe, he may have been more sensitive about what he conceived to be European standards. On balance, this might be the case, but it is nevertheless likely that Makange, as a forthright and formidable individual, candidly expressed things that others thought but did not dare put into words, most likely out of politeness. While it is unfortunate to dwell on the very rare conflict that arose out of my fieldwork, it is important to establish how discontent towards \textit{wazungu} can still be acute, yet simultaneously very difficult to ‘hear’.

There are a few elements of the oral history research process that are worth describing. The oral history record was collected in 2014. Together with my research assistants, we conducted interviews with eight respondents from Magila and Zanzibar living in Dar es Salaam; 52 living in Magila; and 18 living in Zanzibar. Irene Mashasi was my research assistant in Zanzibar and for some of the work in Dar es Salaam. Zuhura Mohammed was my research assistant in Magila, while also conducting some of the Dar es Salaam interviews. In early 2016, Elias Mutani, my third research assistant, conducted crucial follow-up interviews with 21 of the Magila respondents living in Magila and Dar es Salaam. I have the recordings for every interview along with notes and/or transcripts stored digitally. They are available on request.

In terms of our selection of interviewees, we owe our Christian hosts for their willingness to not only list names but accompany us as we found the interviewees in question. We often spent a day or two driving to each residence to conduct a screening

\textsuperscript{161} A useful point of comparison regarding the effect of low wages for Anglican priests: Catrine Christiansen, ‘Development by Churches, Development of Churches: Institutional Trajectories in Rural Uganda’ (Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Copenhagen, 2010), 132–40.\textsuperscript{162} Koponen, \textit{People and Production in Late Precolonial Tanzania}, 31.
interview to confirm they had ancestors who were involved with the mission and were willing and able to talk about their lives. That is to say, I did not set out to find ‘eye witnesses’ to events in the period. Instead, I was hoping to find information passed on between kin.

Interviews were conducted in Swahili or in a mixture of Swahili and English, as many of the respondents were keen to speak English. The only interviews that were conducted completely by myself in English were with Bishop John Ramadhani and William Kamna. Each research assistant is mentioned in the footnotes and bibliography so it is clear who the interviewer was in each interview. Many interviews took place with several observers (usually friends and family) who happened to be in the room at the time, some of whom contributed.

In Zanzibar we stayed at the Cathedral hostel in Mkunazini. Magila was a far larger region, so we had to stay in several locations: Handeni, Msalabani and Korogwe. We also had to take some long day trips to get to more remote areas, such as Maramba. Dar es Salaam was perhaps the most difficult area to work in as respondents were based sparsely over the city. Because Magila was the largest area, most densely populated by Christians, I have collected much more material from there than any other region. The individuals we interviewed were often part of well-established Christian families. To get a sense of how some respondents were connected, please refer to Appendix 1.

Most of the respondents were committed Anglicans, even if parts of their family split off into Islam or other forms of Christianity. Today, the Anglican church is less popular with the youth and small in comparison with Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Pentecostalism, which contributed to the strong sense of nostalgia that ran through the interviews. The interviews began by outlining the genealogy of the respondent and drawing a family tree. This provided a useful reference point for shaping the questions that followed, but also showed how respondents connected to the past into which we were probing. It was also useful to take note of names; often it took some time to establish what any one person’s name was, especially if they had converted to Christianity during adulthood and thus, changed their names. Names indicate a person’s identity but are also demonstrative of how people network; depending on where the name comes from and
who has given it, they indicate allegiances and group affiliation. I took all this into consideration in my analysis.

The respondents, who were mostly the decedants of the Christians I study, had little recollection of Africans making a living in the mission or from the missionaries. Respondents, whose memory was strongly influenced by the experiences of the British colonial period, considered teaching in mission schools almost as voluntary work. I quickly discovered that priests’ donations and teachers’ wages were never enough to financially support them and their families fully. Often, missionary employees supplemented their income with agriculture or, occasionally, commercial ventures and used their association with the mission as leverage for other livelihood trajectories. Indeed, these views are corroborated by the written record, missionaries did not try to compete with other employers’ wages, insisting that becoming a teacher should be a vocational choice demanding self-sacrifice.

The importance of British colonialism came across very strongly in the oral history record. For example, a respondent named Mwamazi claimed that David Livingstone and Bishop Steere, ‘brought European civilisation, to speak English, to dress like the English. We learnt to separate hair and to make waves. They brought us into this civilisation, we studied at the mission school, we were brought up like the English.’ Mwamazi added, ‘the British are the ones who brought in civilization [...] they gave us the light; education’.

As a result, those with more exposure to the British (in his example, these were the children who studied in school) had a certain kind of ustaarabu (culture, civilisation).

The situation Mwamazi illustrated was not true of the 1864-1926 period I work on.

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165 ‘Wakaleta ustaarabu wa kizungu, kusema kiingereza, kuvaa kama Mwingereza. Tulikuwa tunajifunza kuchana nywele na kuweka wave, walichaua ustaarabu huo kwa sisi tuliosoma shule za miheni tulikuwa miheni za Anglikana tulikuwa tumelelewa kama waingereza.’ Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 29 October 2014, 00:27:00.

166 Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 01:42:00.

All that being said, the respondent’s testimonies have limited utility, given the small number of people now alive with memories of the period covered by this thesis. As it turned out, the oral history record I collected was much more formulaic than I had anticipated. But in order to realise this, I first had to get my Swahili up to speed and spend a lot of time going through the sources. By the time I knew my oral sources were not as useful as hoped, I had run out of time to consult alternative sources. Even so, the oral sources did make a significant contribution to my thesis. Moreover, the disconnect between the oral and the written sources was not a problem but rather an important finding in itself. The sanitization and standardization in the oral sources indicates the importance of the later rise of Anglicanism in the mid-to late colonial period in shaping memories.

THESIS OUTLINE
The first two chapters deal with the authority and status of the agents of mission. Chapter 1 is about the UMCA’s founding work in Magila from 1867 to 1887 as I explore the mission’s varied effects on social status via employment and education. This chapter establishes that the association between mission education and social status in the twentieth century was far from being a foregone conclusion. At this stage, education and employment were highly politicised and had very little to do with respectability and social mobility. If anything, the mission presented a serious obstacle to people’s livelihoods as the missionaries’ activities threatened the provision of sustenance by burning lime in the forests. Rather, the mission provided – albeit limited – opportunities for political advancement and security. Indeed, this chapter reveals how the mission competed with other local power-brokers for labour resources, natural resources, and political authority.

Like the first chapter, Chapter 2 provides an essential foundation for the rest of the thesis as it also illustrates the relationships of power in and around the mission. In contrast to the precolonial period, in which there were very few conversions, Chapter 2 moves on to a later period, 1886-1926, in which the Christian population of Magila was on the increase. The chapter unpacks what it meant to be a Christian and to be associated with the mission. Mission identity and Christian identity, in addition to the duties and privileges that came with those identities were transitional. I pay close attention to the
pedagogic nature of ritual and its political overtones. This is partly a story of how authority could be lost and found in ritual, but also about how African Christians reasoned in various ways and along different lines to missionaries. This is one way in which I show that the modernity the mission represented was more specific, marginal, and ambivalent in the context of early colonial Magila. While some life-cycle practices were indirectly curtailed through Christian marriage and school attendance (students lacked the time to learn elaborate dances and songs), most continued unabated.

Chapter 3 turns our attention to the mission in Zanzibar and examines the value of the mission to those attempting to manage their slave status. I argue that the education and work the mission offered, in Zanzibar, to ex-slaves, and descendants of slaves, was of little value to all but a small, mission-educated elite. It was to this small group that mission education and work had the capacity to provide a degree of emancipation. Yet even for those who resisted Christianity, the personal networks they made among African Christians were highly valuable but not sufficient by themselves as networking with Muslims and being part of the coastal modernity was so essential. The mission had only a limited utility to those seeking to make the most of a Swahili coastal modernity.

While Chapter 3 focuses on the story of males carrying slave status or association, Chapter 4 turns to the counterpart female experience. Because genders were so starkly separated in the Zanzibar mission, it is essential to consider the history of the girls and women separately, too. Moreover, I analyse the situations of male and female students separately because the mission intensified the already gendered trajectories for moving on from slave status. Mbweni girls were unique among women associated with the mission for their high level of education, but this did not necessarily ease their troubles when finding marriage suitors or work. Although the mission did not necessarily help women find livelihoods, the mission did serve as a crucial safety net and networking environment.

Chapter 5 sets out the history of domestic service, from its beginnings as a constituent of the mission school curriculum to its emergence in the twentieth century as a respectable form of employment, largely because it was skilled. The relationship between domestic service and the mission reveals just how closely education and work
were intertwined. In this chapter I also show how domestic service had roots in the cultures of slaves seeking to emerge as waungwana. Thus, I detangle the associations between domestic service, European domesticity, and the status contests of coastal cultures.

Finally, I draw the findings from all the chapters together in the conclusion, explaining the key ways in which my ideas have developed, the limitations of my research, the significance of the thesis, and my ideas for future research. Most importantly, I tell the story of how the mission was a space to make a living and engage in status struggles. Throughout, I endeavour to answer the central question: in what ways did Africans utilise the mission and create networks in the mission in their pursuit of livelihood and social status?
In May 1881 a petty headman and slave-dealer named Segao claimed the ancestors had visited him in the night with a message about the UMCA missionaries. Segao, who was hostile to the mission, was based in Mkuzi village in the Magila region (see Map 3) near the nyika (uncultivated land, forest) where the missionaries had been burning lime in order to produce the mortar to build a stone church and other stone buildings at their main site in Msalabani a few miles away. Segao’s vision suggested that this lime-burning disturbed and angered the ancestors, so much so that they were rendering healers’ medicine ineffective against the attacks of raiders and slave-traders, who were identified as Digo. This incident was part of a longer story of conflict. Between 1880 and 1881 a range of people, from the grassroots up to one of the greatest power-brokers of the region, known as Kibanga, were all embroiled in a conflict with the mission. Indeed, the conflict over lime-burning was the culmination, and a particularly striking example, of ongoing varied and complex tensions that developed from the UMCA’s first visit to Magila in 1867. I use the lime-burning conflict as a lens to characterise the multiple and ambivalent relations of missions with local people, at a time when missionaries were most vulnerable.

At this time, the UMCA was a client of the Muslim Sultan Barghash bin Said, which put the mission in an ambiguous but privileged position because UMCA missionaries were also connected to the Sultan’s English patrons. It was also a time in which opportunistic big men, missionaries included, were constantly seeking out new avenues for influence. Partly as a consequence of this political atmosphere, missionaries adopted a top-down conversion strategy in which they focused their proselytising on the people they identified to hold power, and their dependants, who were often slaves.

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1 J. P. Farler, ‘Other Troubles at Magila’.
Whether African power-brokers were convinced by missionaries’ self-fashioning of themselves as big men is unclear. For example, in 1877 some of Magila’s dignitaries twice approached John Prediger Farler, the missionary whose letters take centre stage in this chapter, asking him to become ‘King of the Wabondei’. While Farler saw these requests as recognition of the power of the *wazungu* (white people, Europeans) and his own leadership potential, I argue it was an attempt by power-brokers to rein in Farler’s power and use it to further their own ends. Farler politely declined the offer to rule on both occasions, and I will consider the possible consequences for this further on in the chapter.

This chapter explores the nature of the English missionaries’ authority at this time, and how the changing political landscape shaped it. The role of precolonial missionaries as reluctant politicians is quite well-known and this chapter is an illustrative case study that upholds this observation. However, I also highlight an aspect of this dynamic that is not always recognised. Namely, that mission communities should not necessarily be seen as Christian communities, especially in the precolonial period. Equally, the people of the mission should be considered as followers rather than converts. Displaced children, often the orphans of deceased chiefs, and power-brokers, who were anxious to secure missionary alliances, were a primary category of mission followers.

In these early years, the status of missionaries as educators and employers was low because most people considered them isolated and dangerous outsiders. Wage labour at the mission and mission education were usually last resorts. When the mission enlisted students and hired workers, they were dividing the loyalties and commitment of other power-brokers’ followers. This had political consequences in this time of ‘wealth in people’ in which power-brokers required followers to secure wealth and status.

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In one sense, missionaries were treated the same way as other power-brokers of the time: cautiously and opportunistically. The perceived value of having missionaries as patrons or allies was constantly in flux. Some people valued them as potential brokers of weapons and gunpowder. Others viewed them as rainmakers. What remained constant is that the missionaries were easy to fool, due to their often very poor language skills and lack of local knowledge. Communication was extremely difficult in these early days. Often, an appointed African Christian would speak for the missionary and, as a result, missionaries frequently suspected they were not privy to the whole picture. Understandably, they became extremely frustrated when they found themselves excluded from negotiations that concerned them.

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5 Much as other authors have noted. E.g.: Willis, ‘The Nature of a Mission Community’; Stoner-Eby, ‘African Leaders Engage Mission Christianity: Anglicans in Tanzania, 1876-1926’, xiv.

Map 5. Magila region. Note Umba and Mfunte are in the middle, bordering the nyika. Mfunte was the closest to the lime-burning area and, therefore, the people of Mfunte were some of the most vocal against it. Mkuzi village, which Segao ruled, is marked as Kwa Makumba on this map. I refer to ‘Magila’ as Msalabani (a name that was later ascribed to it) to avoid confusion between Magila the village and Magila the region. Drawn by author, based on Keith Johnston, ‘Notes of a Trip from Zanzibar to Usambara, in February and March, 1879’, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 1, no. 9 (1 September 1879): 545–58.

This put power-brokers hoping to maintain their alliance with the mission in a difficult position. Unsurprisingly, those who were less concerned about making alliances spoke more candidly. For instance, a slave-trader, who admitted he had captured a woman the UMCA were attempting to protect, stated that, ‘the English are also thieves, the only difference being that while I steal on land, they steal on sea’. Communication was difficult in another way: many misunderstandings and conflicts arose from the exchange of gifts, as we shall see from the third part of this chapter. All these challenges considered, the longevity and eventual success of the mission in Magila is better explained by what happened after 1888. Just as Anne Marie Stoner-Eby showed in south-east

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7 H. W. Woodward.
Tanzania, missionaries were no longer totally dependent on local alliances for their survival once colonial control was consolidated.\(^8\)

The fact that the UMCA attempted to convert chiefs in order convert swathes of people in the precolonial period is of interest considering the UMCA’s position in a stateless region. John Iliffe depicted the history of Bondei political disunity as the key to why Bonde was the site of ‘the most positive response’ to Christianity. That is to say, it was a society in which the old order had collapsed, leaving no adequate substitute. Iliffe explained:

The Bondei had destroyed Kilindi control but relapsed into statelessness. Semboja [a Kilindi chief] was trying to reconquer the area. Slave hunters were active. So too was Islam. Many Bondei therefore saw the missionaries as valuable allies, willing to seek guns for them and exert diplomatic influence on their behalf.\(^9\)

In short, Iliffe argued that political instability facilitated mission work.\(^10\) Indeed, missionaries were looked upon as brokers of firearms and agents in local diplomacy. By this logic, Christianity was certain to fare better in areas where there was no existing religiously-constituted power holder, and it is evident that the missionaries became participants in diplomatic negotiations. However, Iliffe’s argument carried some assumptions that are worth unpacking. The first assumption is that the Bondei felt an absence as a result of the ending of Kilindi rule that required filling. Indeed, his use of the term ‘relapse’ distracts from the fact that the various Bondei factions preferred clan-based, decentralised leadership, which is why they revolted against the Kilindi.\(^11\) The second assumption Iliffe made was that stateless societies were more willing to take on new religions or seek out missionary allies.

Finally, Iliffe implied that political alliances with missionaries to secure firearms might accelerate the spreading of Christianity. Even if chiefs converted to Christianity as a result of these alliances, what effect would it have had on people who were subject to such minimal political authority? Moreover, conversion with such a worldly rationale would not have equalled the missionaries’ idea of ‘genuine’ conversion. Clearly, the

\(^9\) Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 86.
\(^10\) Iliffe, 87.
\(^11\) Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania, 117.
missionaries’ top-down conversion strategy grated against the political situation in complex ways. It is not the business of this chapter to gauge the success of missionaries in converting souls, but Iliffe’s reasoning points to a productive trajectory for analysis.

In terms of the mission’s success in gaining followers, Justin Willis argued that some of the UMCA’s followers may have considered church attendance as ‘a way of making a claim upon the church as a patron’, much like participation in fika (the making of sacrifices to the dead).\(^\text{12}\) He has also demonstrated how the combination of the missionaries’ insistence on singular social memberships and the political instability of the precolonial period was a deterrent. Mission allegiance came at a great cost for commoners. Missionaries condemned Christians who had plural social memberships, yet survival depended upon the ability to make claims upon multiple different communities for indemnity, as Willis has shown.\(^\text{13}\) Put another way, independence was sought by establishing multiple relationships of dependence.

Meanwhile, Anne Marie Stoner-Eby, working on Masasi in southern Tanzania, suggested that the UMCA only began to succeed once they responded positively to the chiefs and made alliances with them.\(^\text{14}\) My findings in Magila are different because in the UMCA stations of Magila missionaries only began securing a steady flow of converts once they had abandoned their top-down conversion strategy under German colonialism. Masasi’s development was held up by a failed experiment to import ex-slaves from Zanzibar, which was abandoned in 1882. In contrast, only a few dozen ex-slaves were sent to Magila when missionaries were attempting to address labour shortages. Therefore, unlike Masasi, the Magila mission was immediately interested in establishing alliances with chiefs, rather than focusing on ex-slaves. However, again apparently unlike Masasi, allying with chiefs in Magila brought few advantages. The fact that chiefs sent their dependants (often slaves or orphans of deceased chiefs) to the mission school may have
done more to attach slave status to the mission than bolster its legitimacy, as these dependants were usually displaced children.\textsuperscript{15}

**CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter first sets out the political context of the Bondei and Usambara regions, particularly the period of war, famine, and instability that followed the 1868 Kiva rebellion. In this context, it was impossible for the UMCA to operate only as a peaceful, paternal, non-judicial, authority. Moreover, the missionaries’ top-down conversion strategy to facilitate mutually beneficial alliances with those in power in order to convert the masses was flawed because the power of the chiefs was so limited. Moreover, missionaries were in favour of bolstering established centralised authority, yet they did not hesitate to chastise chiefs allied to them who strayed from the mission’s moral codes, which harmed chiefs’ reputations. This is the point at which I introduce John Farler, a missionary who envisioned a future of Bondei Christian hegemony.

The second part unpacks the question of how valuable the missionaries were as allies. Opportunistic big men, chiefs, and headmen, were indeed likely to consider the missionaries as valuable allies. This was mainly because they were perceived to facilitate coastal connections and access to gunpowder. Missionaries were also respectful towards chiefs, compared with some coastal dignitaries, who referred to these chiefs as *washenzi* (‘primitive people’) and *wakafiri* (‘unbelievers’). However, these alliances, which usually necessitated Christian conversion, came at a price. Converting to Christianity could very easily undermine a chief’s authority if he fell out of favour with the missionaries. Indeed, for many power-brokers, particularly those who already had coastal connections and access to gunpowder, the missionaries were troublesome allies.

In the third section, I focus on the conflict that arose over the mission’s right to burn and transport lime. The conflict demonstrates tensions over resource control and dealings with coastal authorities. The existing power-brokers and the missionaries exploited each other in different ways. Power-brokers claimed Bondei identity and unity

to gain the missionaries’ respect and trust. As for the missionaries, they tried to use their influence on coastal authorities to ensure obedience, marking missionaries out as volatile allies.\(^\text{16}\)

**THE POLITICAL CONTEXT**

Kimweri ya Nyumbai, the King of the Kilindi clan, ruled the Shambaai kingdom from Vuga from 1815 to 1862. The zenith of his power, which was based on his rain medicine, came in the 1850s.\(^\text{17}\) Steven Feierman’s oral history record suggests people in Shambaai remembered this being a peaceful and prosperous time. However, Kimweri’s ‘golden age’ faced significant resistance as the Bondei, a very loosely defined group made of multiple clans had long-standing grievances, saw very limited benefits in being part of the Kilindi state, especially considering the violent enforcement of tribute payments.\(^\text{18}\) Crucially, Kimweri failed to recognise the necessity of firearms in order to secure power.\(^\text{19}\) All levels of people, including petty local headmen, were able to buy firearms with slaves and multiply the number of slaves they owned by using the firearms to procure more slaves. This economic free-for-all rendered the Shambaai kingdom vulnerable.\(^\text{20}\)

Kimweri’s death in 1862 compounded the Shambaai Kingdom’s vulnerability, which in turn prompted the kingdom’s split. Semboja, one of Kimweri’s younger sons, swiftly seized the throne.\(^\text{21}\) The Bondei did not tolerate the authority of Semboja, partly because he was Kilindi, and thus represented the Bondei’s oppressors. Semboja also lacked the central quality of a Kilindi chief in that he did not possess rain magic, but he

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\(^{16}\) Willis only briefly mentions the political and violent set of reactions and entanglements that lime-burning prompted. Willis, ‘The Makings of a Tribe: Bondei Identities and Histories’, 200.


\(^{19}\) Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 65–66; Feierman put less emphasis on the demanding nature of Shambaai rule. He suggested that conflict over tribute labour was fairly minimal as it was not very demanding. Though, he did add that conflict over livestock tribute was far more contentious. Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*, 52.


made up for that in his trading power. This led to the Kiva rebellion of 1868 in which the Bondei expelled the Kilindi governors from Bonde, which caused the breakup of the Shambaai state. This did not put a complete stop to Semboja’s authority, which was revolutionary because it marked a point at which the political power that claimed to ensure security and sustenance of the peasantry was less important than it once had been. Even so, Kibanga, who was one of Kimweri’s sons, based at Handei, was the most powerful individual in the Bondei region. Unlike Semboja, Kibanga ingratiated the Bondei.

By the time the missionaries became established in the Magila region, Kilindi rule was already in decline. In 1867, Charles Argentine Alington tried (and failed) to plant a UMCA mission station in the Kilindi royal capital of Vuga. From 1868 onwards, there had been a sustained period of unrest, creating the many but weak power-brokers Farler encountered. This was a period known locally as ‘pato’ (‘rapacity’). The Magila region was highly unstable, and there were frequent small-scale grassroots attacks in the north-east against slave-traders and exploitative chiefs. The disorder persisted into the 1880s.

In May 1881, the UMCA missionary John Farler reported that ‘The whole Usambara and Bondei country is in a state of anarchy. There is no head chief, and all are jealous one of another, while the Wadigo in the north and the Wakilindi in the south-west are constantly making raids upon them.’ Eventually, as part of a wider trend in coastal regions, each chiefdom became almost independent and narrowly attached to villages.

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23 According to Farler the Bondei were assisted by Maliko, Wali of Fort Tongwe (a slave of Seyyid Majid, the late Sultan of Zanzibar), and called themselves Wakiva. Farler, ‘The Usambara Country in East Africa’, 85.
26 Similarly, in 1876, Farler tried to establish a mission station at a town called Pambili, which had a history of being a dominant political centre Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa 1859-1896*.
rather than whole regions. Despite the fact that the glory of Vuga was a thing of the past, UMCA missionaries stubbornly clung to the idea that the Shambaai kingdom was where the power rightfully lay for quite some time. As late as 1886, a missionary proclaimed that Vuga was ‘the real capital of this country’.

At this time of crisis, the missionaries were able to offer limited protection to insecure commoners. For instance, they seem to have made trading less dangerous. The market near Msalabani in Magila, named Mambo Sasa, had previously been a site of violence, triggered by the frequent raids organised by the headman and slave-trader, Maliko of Tongwe demanded tributes from the people using his status as wali. Moreover, slave-captives and famine victims would turn to the mission to seek protection and nourishment. Missionaries offered food aid in return for labour, small pox vaccines, and legal protection to slave-captives or slaves looking to challenge their masters.

In the very early days of mission, the missionaries were – at least in theory – also to provide Christian villages. It was not up to the missionary to challenge that authority, but to modify it by teaching chiefs how to govern on Christian principles and teaching their

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31 ‘Our African Postbag’, Central Africa, May 1885; Charles Yorke, Pambili, Tanga, c 1881, A1 (6) A, 248, UMArch; Bishop Edward Steere to Robins, Zanzibar, October 1879, A1 (3) B, 501, UMArch; An example of the missionaries’ limited capacity to protect mission people from danger is this invasion from 1884, in which Wallis’ ‘cook and right-hand man’ named Nguruwe (nicknamed by the missionaries, ‘Piggy’) was killed with a poisoned arrow. Other examples revolve around slave raidors capturing Christians, which will be explored later in this chapter. Mr Wallis, ‘The Boondei and Digo War: Fighting at Mkuzi’, Central Africa, April 1884.


subjects to obey. Shortly after MacKenzie (UMCA bishop, 1861-1862) outlined these ideas at a meeting in Manchester in 1860, the first group of UMCA missionaries were at war with the Ajawa in Magomero. Not without controversy, Mackenzie was said to have walked with his pastoral staff in one hand, and his rifle in the other. 35

From at least the early 1870s, UMCA missionaries agreed that the strategy of setting up Christian villages, made up largely of displaced peoples, should be abandoned. They frequently cited the failed exslave settlements at Magomero, Masasi, and Zanzibar to illustrate this point. According to missionaries, there was a danger they would attract dependants to the mission who were socially marginal or rejected. In addition, establishing Christian villages in Africa meant establishing polities headed by missionary-chefs, who would have to compromise on their morals to maintain power. 36 The missionaries concluded that this strategy was troublesome and likely to result in disingenuous conversion. The missionaries’ dilemma was that they did not wish to rule, but, because the fact that they still wanted to advise made it impossible to avoid politics.

Edward Steere, a UMCA bishop (1873-1882), played an important role in the mission’s revaluation of missionary policies. Steere was particularly committed to the UMCA’s non-interventionist doctrine towards political power, violence, war, law, and order. As he succinctly put it, ‘A king must tolerate many things which a bishop is bound to denounce.’ 37 For instance, in 1882 Steere advised that: ‘Politically, we have no rights at all, and can only live in the country by the permission or sufferance of the people we find there. There can therefore be no formal administration of justice, or claim to independence, or anything like making war.’ 38 A grey area emerged when it came to the

question of how much authority a missionary should have over his congregation because Steere believed a missionary should have absolute authority over his African congregation when it came to their religious discipline. Thus, Steere offered this advice to a missionary:

> Of course you will do your best to defend yourself and them against criminals of all kinds, and will try to keep the peace, and preserve order and propriety among your own people. [...] your power is practically unlimited, only it must be exercised with great coolness and discretion, and kept as clear as possible in your religious work.  

Missionaries were also not meant to execute corporal punishment according to Steere. The most extreme discipline a missionary could give was, Steere argued, expulsion from the church. In the event that a person in the mission committed a crime for which expulsion would seem too light a penalty, he advised that the offender should be ‘handed over to the local chiefs to deal with according to their customs.’ In short, the missionaries’ power was meant to be ‘paternal and not judicial’. However, the challenge of distinguishing between ‘paternal’ and ‘judicial’ authority was, as this chapter shows, too great for the missionaries of the precolonial years.

The idea of the top-down strategy was that converting chiefs would help ‘root’ missionaries into society and convince people it was safe and worthwhile to send children to school. Thus, Christian influence would trickle from the top to the bottom of society, converting whole communities. In practice, this meant mission school students were mostly child pawns in mutual exchanges between missionaries and chiefs, which reflects how children generally engendered and mediated trust and trade. In return for students, chiefs expected to be given gifts. Farler initially obliged but Herbert W. Woodward, who was very junior in the precolonial period, took a sterner stance when he gained influence in the 1890s, arguing that being in the mission should be considered a gift in itself.

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39 Steere.
40 Steere.
41 Steere.
The children who were passed from the chiefs to the missionaries were not the chiefs’ children, but rather their child dependants.\textsuperscript{44} Often, their fathers had died and they and their mothers had been appropriated by chiefs as followers and/or slaves. Other times, they were orphans. Samuel Sehoza and Petro Limo (see Illustration 7), the founding priests of the UMCA church in Magila, were wards of Semnkai, a chief who will be discussed in detail below.\textsuperscript{45} Willis convincingly argued that the fact that Limo and Sehoza were so marginal outside of the mission as children spurred them on to embrace the

\textsuperscript{44} Sundkler and Steed suggested that Kibanga sent 16 of his children to the mission school. It is likely that they were not Kibanga’s biological children. Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, \textit{A History of the Church in Africa} (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 545.

\textsuperscript{45} Hugh Peter Kayamba encountered the mission in a very similar way but did not become a mission priest and instead worked in the colonial administration. In 1914 he left the employ of the mission in Zanzibar (as a teacher) to become a trader in Magila, reasoning in his memoir that ‘I thought I needed some more money to better my prospects.’ Martin Kayamba, ‘The Story of Martin Kayamba Mdumi, MBE, of the Bondei Tribe’, in \textit{Ten Africans}, ed. Margery Perham, 2nd edn. (London: Faber, 1963), 184.
mission culture fully and find their own social status as they progressed through the mission hierarchy. In other words, their personhood was shaped by the mission more dramatically than for any other mission dependant or Christian.

The habit of pawning children to have them join mission school was a product of the mission culture for which Farler was largely responsible. Farler enmeshed himself in politics and left behind a generous paper-trail to prove it. Considering much of this chapter relies on Farler’s correspondence, it is imperative I outline his position vis-à-vis the UMCA policy and practice of other missionaries. While Willis suggests that Farler was representative of an aggressive missionary policy, I suggest that Farler was an outlier who interpreted UMCA policy according to his own interests and beliefs. In other words, I emphasise that Farler was unrepresentative of UMCA ideals. Farler went beyond UMCA policy as he suggested the mission should respect the existing political hegemony but also endeavour to modify it, which entangled him in the temporal affairs to which the mission was so averse. Part of Farler’s approach was to support power-brokers who either identified themselves as ‘Bondei’ or who were Kilindi but claimed they could unite the Bondei. Farler took saw Bonde as a separate and distinct nation, albeit a weak one, oppressed and preyed upon by its neighbours. In any case, his opinions and preconceptions shed light on wider interaction, without being my main concern in this chapter.

Farler believed that missionaries’ influence could be undermined if they allowed themselves to be financially exploited. He wrote many letters about the weaknesses of other missionaries. For example, George Herbert Wilson, a fellow missionary, was said to have paid for things very readily, especially with regards to building projects. But Wilson was also guilty, in Farler’s eyes, of ransoming slaves with little hesitation. Farler wrote plainly to Wilson that, ‘it will never do for these people to think that we are mere money bags, and that they can squeeze us with impunity whenever they like’. In short, Wilson

46 Willis, ‘The Nature of a Mission Community’, 149.
49 J. P. Farler to George Herbert Wilson, Magila, Tanga, 18 November 1881, A1 (6) A, 702, UMArch.
and Farler were both missionary politicians, but Wilson’s approach was more representative of UMCA policy.

Farler was also a valued member of the mission, and was believed to have a knack for the work. He himself claimed legend-like status among the Bondei. This was not completely fabricated. Steere observed that Farler had attracted a huge amount of support, claiming that when Farler returned after a short trip, ‘the whole country was very glad to see him’. A fellow missionary vouched for this, remarking in 1878 that the people of Umba treated him like a Sultan, (a fact that will appear ironic by the third part of this chapter). Moreover, Geldart noted that Farler’s name was used to invoke truthfulness, for example: ‘By the truth of Mr Farler I’m going to Masa (Mass)’. An African adherent put it this way: “The truth of Mr Farler” means perfect, honest, straightforward truth, because Mr Farler never told us a lie.’ Even though respondents’ memory of precolonial times was limited, one respondent said that Farler had a nickname, ‘a nice face which is good for me’.

Bishop Steere even briefly considered Farler as a suitable successor, though he concluded that, ‘Farler would be by far the best [option] if it were not for his want of judgment and his overbearing self-importance.’ As Steere’s opinion suggests, Farler was oftentimes afflicted with delusions of grandeur. Farler referred to the Bondei as ‘my people’, and Magila as ‘the heart of Bondei’ and he was even so bold to claim that by 1877 there existed the ‘Church of Bondei’ even though no conversions had taken place, according to the records. He believed the mission was the centre of the country and that other people viewed it that way too. Farler also suffered, like other missionaries, from continual stress, loneliness, vulnerability, overwork, and discontent, which tied into

50 Steere to Robins, October 1879.
51 Woodward to Farler, Magila, 1878, A1 (4) A, 228, UMArch.
53 The Bondei phrase is, ‘Cheni chedi chanifala.’ Woodward also had a nickname, but Makange struggled to remember what it was. Theresia Mhina Makange, interview by Elias Mutani, Masoroko, Magila, 21 April 2016.
55 Willis makes the same observations from his reading of Farler’s letters. Willis, ‘The Makings of a Tribe: Bondei Identities and Histories’; J. P. Farler to Rev. Cecil Deecles, 20 February 1877.
56 J. P. Farler, ‘A Letter from Archdeacon Farler’.
excessive drinking habits. In April 1877 Farler suffered his first mental break-down but he did not take extended leave until things were at an all-time low in 1881.

However, the political significance of Farler was not made possible through his temperament alone. More importantly, Farler adapted to the political context and Muslim hegemony and seized the opportunities it brought. For instance, he reported in one letter that: ‘[A] man who has heard that I am going away to Ulaya has begged me not to go, and says ‘we shall have no one to come to shauri.’ My room every morning is a kind of durbar, where I advise. Help. Teach. And speak a kind word to all who come.’ Farler self-fashioned himself as a ruler. He held feasts, arranged marriages, counselled power-brokers, positioned himself as a broker of coastal influence, took dependants from headmen, and doled out punishments to regulate behaviour. Farler was very bold, too, in his reproachfulness.

It is possible that chiefs were only humouring the missionaries in their seemingly humble requests for shauri (advice). In the end, very few influential chiefs converted. Farler’s legendary status was more ephemeral than he would have anticipated and his local prominence did not lead to much conversion. Farler was seen as a power-broker among power-brokers more than a religious innovator. Thus, Iliffe’s claim that proselytising was likely to be more successful in stateless societies does not apply to the Magila case, in which African power-brokers attempted to take advantage of missionaries to further their own ends. UMCA policy was difficult to abide by in practice, especially under the region’s political conditions. This was not just because Farler was an outlier, but

59 Europe.
60 Advice.
61 A Persian word for a ruler’s noble court.
62 J. P. Farler to Chauncy Maples, 27 April 1877.
63 J. P. Farler to Chauncy Maples.
65 According to Farler, Makange (who was very powerful and one of Kibanga’s brothers) urged Farler to alert him whenever he believed he had acted incorrectly, just as Farler had done in 1886 when he wrote reproachfully to Makange, whose soldiers were pillaging Bonde. J. P. Farler to Rev. W. H. Penney, Magila, Zanzibar, 14 October 1886, A1 (6) A, 499, UMArch.
because missionary ideals were inconsistent and difficult to apply in such a tumultuous political context.

**MISSIONARIES AS ALLIES**

Opportunistic and aspiring leaders sought to benefit from missionary alliances to gain access to gunpowder and coastal connections. Coastal trading connections were essential to power-brokers because firearms were essential, as the fall of the Vuga kingdom exemplified. The explorer Keith Johnston lived up to this expectation as he took 20lb of gunpowder to give as gifts on his travels in 1879. On Kibanga’s first meeting with Steere in 1875 it was made very clear that the mission would not help him gain access to gunpowder, but Farler was more flexible. This is well illustrated by the relayed words of a man called Chombo, whose uncle was ‘a great man in the country’. Chombo acted as a guide for Farler, who summarised Chombo’s advice as follows:

> Chombo recommends that our freed men should have some guns so that they may take their part in the defence of the town if the *Wadigo* should attack it, and he says the fact of their having guns would give such confidence that great numbers would ask for permission to settle there and the knowledge that the *Wazungu* were living there with many guns would be the surest prevention against any attack from the *Wadigo*.

It is noteworthy that Chombo’s advice reflects his impression that missionaries had access to arms and a desire for political authority, security, and followers. Farler endeavoured to follow Chombo’s recommendations and utilise his coastal connections. He made two requests (neither of which were granted) to Steere for firearms and powder and to Steere to ask John Kirk to ask Sultan Barghash bin Said to write a letter to Digo leaders to instruct them not to interfere with the mission. Thus, though missionaries rarely fulfilled expectations to provide gunpowder and arms, aspiring big men persisted to see an opportunity in them.

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67 Edward Steere to Polly, Marongo, July 1875, A1 (3) A, 226, UMArch.
68 J. P. Farler to Bishop Edward Steere, Magila, Tanga, 10 October 1876, A1 (6) A, 387, UMArch.
69 J. P. Farler to Bishop Edward Steere, 30 September 1876.
70 J. P. Farler to Bishop Edward Steere.
Anglican missionaries and British travellers were increasingly perceived as valuable allies as the century went on and British political influence in Zanzibar became clearer. For example, in the early 1880s rumours spread that the Sultan had a fear of white men. This rumour was partly a product of events in 1884, when a missionary named John Key used his connection to Sir John Kirk to free some ‘Bondei’ people being held captive in a Pangani prison by the wali (a representative of the Sultan). The missionary record connects this narrative to another one that conveys intense conflict between the coast and hinterland. In early 1884, Mbaraku, a ‘rebel chief’ according to the Zanzibar sultanate, with the support of many neighbouring chieftains, fortified himself in the Magila mountains. The Sultan instructed the wali of Pangani to attack Mbaraku, using ‘Bondei’ forces. The wali demanded these forces fight without pay, which the Bondei refused. Consequently, the wali labelled the Bondei rebels, along with Mbaraku.

Though the missionaries usefully connect these two narratives, we cannot be sure that the Bondei travellers were captured in the town as revenge for the Bondei refusing to fight for the Sultan without pay. The power of the wali to capture this group of Bondei travellers was facilitated by Barghash’s proclamation of 18 April 1876. This proclamation gave wali the power to capture and imprison people who were believed to be bringing slaves to the coast. It is even possible that part of this group of travelling Bondei were slaves, intended to be sold at the coast. It is probable that the group were captured by the wali because they were suspected of being slave-traders and were later admonished for representing the Bondei who refused to obey the Sultan’s orders to attack Mbaraku without pay. It is not known if the wali eventually decided to pay these Bondei forces, or what happened to Mbaraku, who is not mentioned elsewhere.

In any case, it was incidents like this that showed it was a dangerous time for Bondei people to venture to the coast, within reach of the wali’s authority. However, it was also a time of famine, and food had to be sourced from the coast. For example, in

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74 J. P. Farler, ‘Other Troubles at Magila’, Central Africa, September 1884.
1884 the mission sent a group to Pangani to buy rice and several groups of other Bondei people, who were not connected with the mission, accompanied them. On arrival at the mission house in Tanga, coastal authorities captured them and put them in prison in very poor conditions. The wali refused to release them and only after a UMCA missionary came would they compromise and set free the people who were working for the missionaries. The others, some of whom were Christians, remained imprisoned in such terrible conditions that one of them died. Kirk finally wrote to the Sultan demanding their freedom and for the wali to be punished. In turn, the Sultan eventually wrote several letters ordering the release of the Bondei and that the wali should report to the Sultan in Zanzibar. 76

Following that, the wali denied the claims made against him. Instead, he maintained that the few ‘kafir’ he had imprisoned were found in the nyika, not the mission house in town, which probably means the wali was trying to make a case that they were slave dealers hiding in the forest rather than mission agents looking for food. Farler brought five witnesses, and when the wali received their evidence, replied that he would not accept the evidence of ‘kafir’. 77

The wali was sent to the fort in irons and the Sultan paid 200 rupees in compensation, ‘to replace the money, clothes, and other things that the soldiers had taken from them, also to compensate the family of the man who died in prison.’ In the mission magazine that detailed these events, Farler was careful to note that the Sultan acted very honourably, despite his delayed intervention. Farler added that the Bondei were ‘greatly impressed with the might and influence of England.’ 78

However, the missionaries’ connections with and influence over coastal authority often made African power-brokers and commoners wary. Indeed, many were suspicious of coastal cultures and authority. For instance, one local headman was reported to have looked upon the new lime buildings of Magila mission disapprovingly, muttering, ‘This is not Magila, it is Zanzibar’. 79 He may also have been referring to the use of Swahili and the

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76 J. P. Farler, ‘Other Troubles at Magila’.
77 J. P. Farler.
78 J. P. Farler.
coastal dress styles of mission people. Coastal influence threatened to undermine the cultural hegemony of the mainland and settling disputes through the governor at Pangani or Tanga. Meanwhile, missionaries were prepared to exercise their coastal influence, even when it risked undermining the authority of dignitaries, including local power-brokers and less local wali. This all shows that missionaries could get the Sultan to act against his own representatives and missionaries had to be ‘coastal’ to be able to act as Christians and Europeans.

As we have seen from the wall’s actions in identifying the Bondei as rebels in 1884, Bondei identity had currency and political valence at the time. Willis argued that Bondei identity existed prior to the missionaries’ arrival but was elaborated in the 1880s due to a desire to claim support from outsiders (i.e. missionaries). Moreover, members of the Kilindi faction presented themselves as the rightful rulers of Shambaai and used the idea of the Bondei as a way of defining the local constituency to which they laid claim. In this way, as an audience for these elaborations and potential patrons, missionaries played a role in the shaping of Bondei identity. This was a twist on Iliffe’s claim that, ‘[t]he British wrongly believed that Tanganyikans belonged to tribes; Tanganyikans created tribes to function within the colonial framework.’ Although Willis asserted that various ethnic identities existed prior to colonial rule, he was in line with Iliffe’s observations that Africans emphasised the clarity of ‘tribal’ identity in order to manipulate outsiders. Farler and the other missionaries had set themselves up as patrons of the Bondei. In turn, the Bondei elaborated their identity. Willis showed that the Bondei were not a unified cultural body noting that even today, the multitude of clans with distinct identities that make up the Bondei is well-remembered and valued as part of Bondei identity.

Kibanga, probably the most powerful man in Bonde, was a mixture of Shambaai and Kilindi. However, Farler was never clear if Kibanga was Kilindi or Bondei. The fact that Kibanga attacked some Kilindi in 1884 suggested to Farler that Kibanga was not Kilindi. This suggests that Farler associated Semboja with the Kilindi more than he associated

80 J. P. Farler to Rev. W. H. Penney, 30 May 1881.
82 Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 218.
Kibanga with the Kilindi. Farler did not seem to consider Kibanga Bondei either, even if Kibanga had significant authority over Bonde. Thus, it does appear that Farler understood that Kibanga was a non-Bondei ruler over Bonde. Farler wanted Kibanga on his side. Farler believed that if he paid Kibanga enough respect and showed him enough generosity, he would eventually convert. For example, Farler even allowed Kibanga to exhaust the mission stores during the 1877 famine. Farler wrote:

I bought up all the grain I could, sending far and wide; and I think we should have got through fairly well if Kibanga the king of Usambara had not chosen just that time to pay us a visit with numerous wives, slaves and soldiers; he stayed a week, and having to find food for such a mass cleared us completely out.  

The fact that Farler did not appear to consider turning Kibanga away, given the prevailing food-shortages, is all the more striking, seeing as Kibanga showed such minimal interest in converting.  

But what might Farler’s generosity towards Kibanga have meant to onlookers? Kibanga’s power derived from his rain-making talents, which provided food. Normally, commoners came to him during famines to be fed. Now, missionaries were providing the most powerful man for miles around with sustenance. It must have been clear to most people in and around the mission that Farler did not procure grain through rain magic. He procured grain through his connections to the coast, much as he and other missionaries were able to procure arms from the coast or seek judicial settlements from the coast.

The meaning of the event is ambiguous. Kibanga made himself dependent on mission supplies, but he also considered himself fully entitled. Kibanga’s show of entitlement may have been a smokescreen for his dependence. Or it may have been more simple than that. Kibanga had, after all, offered Farler military protection. Farler probably knew that Kibanga was not Bondei but Farler also believed that Kibanga had the potential

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84 Farler to Heanley, 13 October 1877.
85 It was not for want of trying that the missionaries failed to convert Kibanga. In 1881, Farler requested that the UMCA recruit a missionary for the sole purpose of converting this ruler. J. P. Farler, Magila, Tanga, September 1877, A1 (6) A, 707, UMArch.
86 This seems a similar situation to the one Kinyashi, the heir to Kimweri’s throne, faced. In the last years of the nineteenth century, Kinyashi was begging German Bethel missionaries for food. Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania, 127.
to unite Bondei people. This is all very suggestive of the fact that Farler and Kibanga’s political visions in some way converged.

Kibanga had little to gain politically from allying with the mission. It was the big men looking to gain from the fall of the Shambaai kingdom by forming anti-Kilindi factions, notably the Bondei, who saw the value in a missionary alliance. With these factions gravitating towards the mission, the Kilindi rulers also saw the value of a missionary alliance. In order to secure alliances with the missionaries, chiefs, aspiring political leaders, and petty local headmen presented themselves as ‘true’ Bondei. They were more likely to do so if they ruled over vulnerable areas. For established powers such as Kibanga, the alliance with the missionaries was less about gunpowder than it was about controlling the Bondei faction that had allied with the missionaries. This explains why Kibanga, like other members of the Kilindi faction, emphasised his role as protector of the Bondei in his frequent dealings with the mission. This also explains why Semboja, a Kilindi chief, was unconcerned about securing a missionary alliance. Firstly, gunpowder and trade was his strength prior to the missionaries’ arrival. Secondly, he attracted followers through fear and was not very interested in gaining Bondei followers.

Indeed, missionaries struggled to secure high status conversions.

There are only five recorded cases of power-brokers converting, or beginning to convert, during this period. These power-brokers were: Mtali, Sekehufya, Austini Sipindu, Michael Kifungiwe, and Henry Semnkai. This shortage of prominent converts probably reflects the fact that missionaries did not hesitate to withdraw their patronage and attack the reputation of adherents who had broken the rules, without regard for their social standing, in order to make an example of them. The principle of leading by example underlay the missionaries’ approach. In other words, the mission made it almost impossible to be both Christian and politically influential or socially mobile, as I shall show in a number of conversion stories below.

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88 Mr Wallis, ‘The Boondei and Digo War: Fighting at Mkuzi’.
90 Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 65–66; Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania, 89.
91 Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania, 69.
The case of Sekehufya, an Umba chief and ritual expert, is a good example of a high status convert for whom mission patronage ultimately did not pay off. Sekehufya was, by Farler’s account, the wealthiest man in the area and infamous for his violence towards his slaves. He was made a catechumen, but in 1887 he showed up on the missionary disciplinary radar when he ordered the killing of an albino child, born by one of his slaves. Farler made it known he considered Sekehufya a murderer and attempted to convince the other chiefs to punish Sekehufya but realised they had no interest or power to do so. The chiefs claimed they were too afraid. Farler then threatened to denounce Sekehufya everywhere and, consequently, Sekehufya was reported to have thrown himself ‘on his knees’ and ‘begged for mercy’. Eventually, Sekehufya went to Msalabani Sunday service to, ‘confess his guilt openly, and beg forgiveness from God and His people.’ 92 According to Farler, Sekehufya’s public shame meant his slaves were no longer afraid of his violence. 93 The people reportedly announced, ‘Now we are not afraid’.

Farler also claimed that this incident reduced Sekehufya to poverty: ‘Sekehufya is now going about clothed in rags, meaner in his apparel than the meanest of his slaves.’ 94 There is no independent confirmation of these claims and it is likely that Farler exaggerated the effects of his actions on Sekehufya’s status or that there were other reasons for his lost status. It is also possible that Farler stipulated Sekehufya should wear simple clothing as punishment, though Farler does imply the Sekehufya had somehow lost his wealth as a consequence of the mission’s punishment. Even so, the account of Sekehufya is revealing. If missionary displeasure meant Sekehufya lost his slaves, then it follows that a big man might have better control over his slaves if he abided by the missionaries’ prohibitions, which sits uneasily with the UMCA’s antislavery credentials.

Missionaries, whose influence was limited, did not press Christian chiefs, who seem to have all had slaves, to relinquish them, but they did insist that they abandoned polygamy. Quite often, missionaries would discover that Christian chiefs kept their polygamy secret from them. For example, Michael Kifungiwe, who was also a ritual expert,

93 J. P. Farler.
94 J. P. Farler.
converted to Christianity but he had never left his wives. Some people, including one of Kifungiwe’s wives, who was Christian, came to Kifungiwe’s defence and explained to the missionaries that giving up wives meant giving up power. Kifungiwe’s town was growing and he had been enjoying more power than usual through Kibanga, his half-brother.

Both Kibanga and Kifungiwe were sons of Kimweri, which made them Kilindi and, thus, they were both on shaky ground after the Kiva rebellion of 1868. It was said that Kifungiwe had been allowed to stay in the region, ‘on account of his kindly disposition […] but he was reduced to a private station.’

Kifungiwe defended his continued polygamy by claiming that he risked offending Kibanga if he abandoned his wives. This prompted Bishop Smythies to visit Kibanga to resolve the issue. In the bishop’s meeting with him, Kibanga was said to have, ‘acknowledged that if his brother was a Christian he ought to keep the Christian law’. Kibanga also implored the missionaries not to leave Kifungiwe. Kibanga agreed with Smythies that Kifungiwe should give up his wives. Why was Kibanga so accepting of Smythies demands? The missionary record suggests Kibanga supported the missionaries’ disciplining of Kifungiwe because Kibanga wanted to protect Kifungiwe and help maintain his missionary alliance.

This might have been accurate but there are other possibilities. For example, Kibanga and Kifungiwe may have been attempting to placate the missionaries together. However, it is more likely that Kibanga stood to benefit from encouraging the missionaries to discipline Kifungiwe. Firstly, encouraged Smythies to discipline Kifungiwe helped Kibanga maintain his amicable relationship with the mission. Secondly, it put a check on Kifungiwe’s power. Thirdly, it secured Kibanga’s access to Kifungiwe’s medicine, which was said to derive partly from the mission. This third point is particularly interesting because it suggests that power-brokers could benefit from alliances with Christian power-brokers, and thus avoid conversion themselves. Indeed, Kibanga, who did not convert to Christianity, appeared to delegate accessing missionary medicine to Kifungiwe, his half-

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96 ‘The Bishop Writes’.
97 Farler, ‘The Usambara Country in East Africa’.
98 ‘The Bishop Writes’.
brother. This underlines the fact that secure big men like Kibanga found conversion to Christianity unnecessary and risky. From Kifungiwe’s perspective, he was facing a double threat to his alliances. The missionaries would reject him if he did not give up polygamy meanwhile, his half-brother Kibanga might also reject him for losing his missionary alliances. In other words, a missionary alliance was part of a web of political alliances. Kifungiwe is above all an illustration of the dilemmas the less secure big men faced, and the fact that the missionaries were as likely to add to them as well as to help resolve them.

In the end, Kifungiwe had to live in Zanzibar with his Christian wife for two years, ‘so as to prevent them returning to his house’. However, an oral history respondent who remembered the name Kifungiwe suggested that the reason for fleeing to Zanzibar had more to do with a fear that he would be bewitched by his kin. Five years after his exile, Kifungiwe had returned. The troubles centred upon his status as healer, which had not been forgotten. In 1890 Woodward reported that:

[Kifungiwe] has been practically ostracised from the clan unless he will make medicine and distribute it amongst them. They will not see him, not even look on his village, lest they should die, and make long circuits to avoid it. Michael now has to choose between Christ and heathen superstitions, only unfortunately it appears he has already made the medicine privately for his own use. The heathen relatives are the more determined because they say David Jangwa died through associating with him.

Michael Kifungiwe’s story suggests how essential his alliance with the missionaries must have been to have faced such strife. It also shows how conversion to Christianity could cut off the personal networks that were so essential to power-brokers. Adherents were put in very difficult positions as their attempts to maintain their membership in their other communities were treated as moral crimes.

Semnkai, aged over seventy years old and half-blind, was another power-broker who converted to Christianity. He was from Umba village (see Map 3 above) and was said

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100 ‘The Bishop Writes’.
102 Unidentified person, but he was clearly a Christian, which suggests it might not have been Jangwa’s relationship with Kifungiwe alone that put him at risk; perhaps his religious allegiance was an additional challenge that the missionary record did not acknowledge.
to be converted through the efforts of H. A. B. Wilson, who appeared to have some appeal in Umba, in 1881, though was not confirmed until 1884.\(^\text{105}\) He took the name Henry in 1882 (soon after Wilson’s death).\(^\text{106}\) Henry Semnkai was the most prominent Christian chief in the 1880s and the missionaries were initially impressed by his apparently firm stance against ‘heathenism’. Geldart hailed him, ‘the truest Christian in the country’.\(^\text{107}\) However, in 1885 he would be excommunicated for allowing Christians to perform *galo* (male youth initiations), overseeing the making of body markings on young men, and practicing polygamy.\(^\text{108}\) Semnkai’s disobedience angered Bishop Smythies so much that he refused to see him when he was on a visit to Umba.\(^\text{109}\)

Semnkai was under fairly ineffective missionary surveillance. When it came to his slave-trading activities, missionaries were rarely able to catch him, or other Christianising chiefs. Rather, the slaves of Semnkai saw an opportunity to appeal to the missionaries. There is an incident dating from 1884 that helps illustrate this, in which a woman named Mrashi came to the missionary Herbert Willoughby Woodward to appeal for protection. Mrashi claimed the British consul had proclaimed her legally free, but she had been captured again in Pemba and brought to Umba, her letter of freedom destroyed. Semnkai, the Umba chief, went to the mission about this woman because he was being accused of assisting her flee to the mission. However, Woodward strongly suspected that Semnkai bribed the supposed thief, named Kombo, to hide the fact from the mission that Semnkai was involved in slave-trading. The events around Semnkai show how suspicious missionaries could be and how difficult it was to be a Christian big man, though big men no doubt faced challenges no matter their religious allegiance.\(^\text{110}\) Despite the fact that Semnkai converted, missionaries complained that Umba was a particularly troubled place.

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107 Rev. H. Geldart, ‘Umba’.
to work in, highlighting, again, how converting chiefs did not automatically lead to the conversion of commoners.\textsuperscript{111}

Farler described Austini Sipindu, a chief with many followers, as ‘the earliest and staunchest of the Christians’ at Umba. George Wilson, the aforementioned missionary, played an important role in Sipindu’s conversion and, under strange circumstances, the two men died within the same month. However, when he died in 1883 his followers rejected the missionaries. In fact, some of the healers boasted that they bewitched and killed Wilson and Sipindu. Within a matter of months, Christianity gained a bad reputation around Umba.\textsuperscript{112} Umba itself, which was particularly vulnerable to slave-raiding, did not welcome the mission. Farler complained about how difficult it was to maintain the mission at Umba because it was so heavily influenced by Islam and the coast. Thus, he recommended that the UMCA post ‘a man of great power’ there.\textsuperscript{113} These power-brokers wishing to maintain their claims on several communities had more to lose than the commoners and displaced peoples who came to the mission, who often only held membership in this one community.\textsuperscript{114}

Precisely how African power-brokers weighed up whether to continue their commitment to the mission in the face of being criticised or ostracised is impossible to determine, but there are some conclusions we can draw. For the more secure power-brokers, missionaries were more trouble than they were worth. It was not necessary for somebody as influential through other means as Kibanga, who managed to keep the missionaries on his side and benefit from them without having to convert. Moreover, for those power-brokers who already had coastal connections and access to firearms, the missionaries’ role as a broker between the coast and the hinterland was threatening and interfering, as the third and final part of this chapter helps to illustrate. That the relatively minor Bondei big men aligned themselves with the mission was due precisely to their relatively insecure status. In turn, Bondei power-brokers’ interest in the mission prompted Kilindi rulers to look to the mission.

\textsuperscript{111} J. P. Farler, ‘Our Work in the Usambara Country’.
\textsuperscript{112} J. P. Farler; ‘The Bishop Writes’.
\textsuperscript{113} J. P. Farler, ‘Our Work in the Usambara Country’.
\textsuperscript{114} Willis, ‘The Nature of a Mission Community’, 149.
Although missionaries were valuable allies, they were not of equal value to all people. Moreover, allying with missionaries tended to compromise other alliances and relationships. Missionaries were brokers of a Muslim authority, namely, the Sultanate, which they viewed very critically but were nevertheless subordinate to and dependent upon. The missionaries’ connection with the coast, facilitated by the UMCA’s establishment in Zanzibar and relationship with Sir John Kirk, (Consul General, 1873–1887), was not always advantageous to power-brokers in Magila. Moreover, converting to Christianity posed risks. Understandably, missionaries were not treated as confidants, as Farler appears to have seen it, but as dangerous men.

However, as I have already alluded, missionaries were unpredictable and inconsistent in their allegiance. When power-holders acted against the missionaries’ ideals, they were chastised. Meanwhile, when it came to conversion and spreading the word of God, power-holders were awarded with an enormous amount of attention and respect that contrasted against the quite exclusionary attitudes towards upcountry power-brokers that coastal big men and traders held. Farler strived to honour chiefs. For instance, he was anxious to ensure that notables did not have to sit on the floor along with commoners. At Magila church there was even a ‘chief’s pew’ designed to make them look dignified. Farler was apparently onto something as one chief claimed he would have attended services sooner if it were not for the fact that on the one occasion he tried to do so the church was so full, ‘that he had to sit with boys and men of no position, which was contrary to the customs of the country’.

Responding to the expectations of his African interlocutors regarding leadership, Farler insisted that missionaries should be waungwana (civilised people, gentlemen). In 1886, Farler wrote, ‘It is wonderful how quickly and accurately the native reckons them up, how respectful they are to a gentleman, and how insolent and insulting they can be to a made-man wanting in the tact which education and refinement only can give.’ Accordingly, Farler, with his hyper-awareness for status struggles, demanded the mission should recruit men ‘of some position’ and criticised missionaries he did not deem civilised

115 Becker, Becoming Muslim in Mainland Tanzania 1890-2000, 83.
enough. In particular, Farler believed Africans did not take well to missionaries who were rough in their manner or overly humble.\textsuperscript{119} He claimed that one chief had apparently instructed him as follows: ‘Tell your chiefs we want a gentleman, not an uncultivated man’. Farler was pleasantly surprised by how perceptive they were, adding patronisingly, ‘Where they had learnt the word, or how they knew the difference, is more than I can tell’.\textsuperscript{120} If we assume the term used to canote ‘gentleman’ was ‘mwungana’, we can suppose that it was rare to hear the term in this time and place. Moreover, the anecdote suggests that the advantage of associating with the mission was still contested as far as struggling or aspiring big men were concerned. Thus, power-brokers may have interacted with the missionaries to be paid respect, but the reputation of missionaries was measured against the values and styles associated with Muslim coastal hegemony.

**THE LIME-BURNING TROUBLES, 1880-1881**

The lime-burning incident, which is well documented in the archives but has never been discussed in published secondary literature, is a very useful case study for exploring early political alliances. Before narrating the events that took place between 1880 and 1881, it is imperative that I outline the categories of people who were mentioned in the missionary record discussing the lime-burning. The first are those Farler referred to as the ‘Magila chiefs’.\textsuperscript{121} Farler did not name any of these ‘chiefs’ that were local to Msalabani. These ‘Magila chiefs’ were playing a diplomatic game. On the one hand, they claimed the ‘Umba people’ were ‘wakorofi’ (‘troublemakers’) who lacked a convincing case against the missionaries’ lime-burning. ‘Magila chiefs’ argued that giving in to them would mark the beginning of a slippery slope of submitting to their bold demands. On the other hand, the ‘Magila chiefs’ warned Farler they would have to withdraw their support if he refused to pay, because they depended on securing their support as followers and fellow leaders. The way they framed it was that they had no choice but to accept the resistance of the ‘wakorofi’ because their own authority could be at stake, which was probably true. In


\textsuperscript{120} J. P. Farler, ‘Our Work in the Usambara Country’.

\textsuperscript{121} For a list of the actors involved in the lime-burning conflict please consult to Appendix 4.
other words, their alliance with Farler was not the highest priority.\textsuperscript{122} Even though the ‘Magila chiefs’ were clearly hedging their bets, Farler put a lot of trust in them.

The second category that Farler referred to were the ‘Umba chiefs’, which included Segao, Henry Semnkai (the Umba chief), and Austini Sipindu (an \textit{akida}), whose conversion stories have already been discussed above. In terms of their role in the lime-burning conflict, Farler did not blame either Semnkai or Sipindu for how it escalated. In particular, Farler noted Semnkai’s political fragility. Even so, it is possible Semnkai was performing political weakness in order to secure Farler’s alliance but it does seem on balance that Semnkai’s authority was highly contested. Indeed, Farler reported that all the people of the Umba area ‘utterly condemned the authority of Semnkai in the matter’.\textsuperscript{123}

The third and final group Farler referred to interchangeably as the ‘\textit{Wakumba}’, ‘Umba people’ who came from several different villages, including Mkuzi, Mfunte, Vumba, Mdili, Kwa Makumba, and Umba itself. Umba was the name of this general cluster of villages as well as the biggest village among them. For the sake of readability, I use the generic term ‘Umba people’ to refer to the admittedly fractious, disparate and complex group of people working against the mission. Most of the time it seems that they were referred to generically, along with the people of Mfunte and Vumba as the ‘Umba people’ (again, see Map 3), who Dale defined as one of the clans of the Bondei, which illustrates how fluid ethnic identities remained.\textsuperscript{124}

The ‘Umba people’ appear to have encompassed a very heterogeneous group that included the leading headmen, aspiring leaders, and commoners. Segao, who showed little interest in Christianity and was hostile to the mission, played a prominent role as he was the one who had the vision that lime-burning was disturbing the ancestors. With Segao’s apparently influential vision in mind, it is noteworthy that, upon meeting Segao in October 1881, Farler was surprised to find him ‘very pleasant’. Segao claimed people were spreading rumours about him disliking the missionaries and declared, ‘Am I not a

\textsuperscript{122} Farler to Steere, 23 November 1881.
\textsuperscript{123} J. P. Farler to Bishop Edward Steere, Magila, Tanga, 19 November 1881, A1 (6) A, 354, UMArch.
\textsuperscript{124} Dale, ‘An Account of the Principal Customs and Habits of the Natives Inhabiting the Bondei Country, Compiled Mainly for the Use of European Missionaries in the Country’, 181.
Bondei, and were not the Bondeis friends of the Wazungu? were not all the Bondeis glad to have the Wazungu, and why should he be different from his companions? Clearly, Segao was trying to keep the missionaries on side without wanting to adopt Christianity. But Segao’s declaration also confirms that ‘the Bondei’ did not act as a corporate group and neither did they straightforwardly ally with the missionaries. Rather, the Bondei consisted of shifting alliances of people who used this label according to context, as Willis has shown. The ‘Umba people’ were the most obvious group opposing the lime-burning and are crucial to the narrative because they demonstrate the influence of popular action and the role of local people escaping chiefly control.

All things considered, although commoners and power-brokers may have had different kinds of grievances, they were overwhelmingly working against Farler. The difference was in the way they organised their attacks. The Magila chiefs maintained cordial relations with the missionaries because their alliance was valued for security, coastal connections, medicinal knowledge, and firearms. Commoners had less to lose from organising open resistance. Power-brokers were more vulnerably positioned between the people they hoped to secure as followers and the missionaries they valued as allies.

So lime-burning was a politically complicated business, partly because it demanded a huge amount of labour and natural resources. First, stones needed to be quarried. Then, it was necessary to cut down trees for timber. When the weather was dry, the wood would be burnt to break down the stone. The lime-burning and tree-cutting was carried out in a nyika, half a day’s journey from the mission station. Nyika land was defined as uninhabited, uncultivated, and, by Farler’s reckoning, ‘no-man’s-land’ (see Map 3). The missionaries did not appreciate that so-called unoccupied land might still be

125 White people, Europeans.
128 Much like in the case of the erosion control scheme crisis of the 1950s that Feierman explored. Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania, 23.
important for future shifting cultivation or as grazing, hunting, or perhaps as refuge in wartime.\textsuperscript{130}

Though the lime-burning drama reached its height in November 1881, tensions had surfaced four years earlier when Farler began his plans for building. Farler started the lime-burning before consulting anyone and he maintained throughout the conflict that even in cultivated country under a chief, it would not be necessary to ask his permission. \textsuperscript{131} After a short time, Farler encountered resistance, but successfully secured permission from some of his Bondei allies who were not resident in Umba who he referred to as Magila chiefs. The Umba people demanded an exorbitant amount of silver to help burn and carry the stone. Consequently, in 1877 Farler met with a trader he did not get along with to negotiate for vibarua (day labourers) to carry lime ‘at a reasonable rate’.\textsuperscript{132} Farler did not succeed and thus faced having to buy donkeys and hire ‘drivers’ from Pangani, which would have been more expensive, risky, and time-consuming. \textsuperscript{133} With all these difficulties combined with a shortage of funds, Farler put the project on hold until 1880.

Thus, it was only in May 1880 that Farler finally began quarrying stone in earnest and he did not begin the lime-burning until the rains stopped. At this time Farler was on good terms with the power-brokers in Umba.\textsuperscript{134} After some weeks spent in Zanzibar, Farler returned to Magila in late September. On his return, a meeting of ‘all the chiefs and notables of the country’ (about 40 people all together) was held to pay their respects to Farler. The proceedings were summarised as follows:

One made a speech saying how glad they were to see me back, and that they were thankful my health had been restored. I replied and also said how glad I should be if they would accept my message of salvation. We then served coffee, biscuits and some native dainties, and amused them with the musical lot and other things.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{130} Kimambo, ‘Environmental Control and Hunger: In the Mountains and Plains of Nineteenth-Century Northeastern Tanzania’.

\textsuperscript{131} Farler to Steere, 23 November 1881.

\textsuperscript{132} J. P. Farler to Chauncy Maples, 27 April 1877; Anderson-Morshead, \textit{The History of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa 1859-1896}, 223.

\textsuperscript{133} J. P. Farler to Chauncy Maples, 27 April 1877; J. P. Farler to My dear Prof, Magila, Zanzibar, 30 May 1880, A1 (6) A, 335, UMArch.

\textsuperscript{134} Farler to Steere, 23 November 1881; J. P. Farler to Bishop Edward Steere, Magila, Tanga, 7 October 1881, A1 (6) A, 371, UMArch; Farler to My dear Prof, 30 May 1880.

\textsuperscript{135} Farler to Penney, 4 October 1881.
However, in December 1880 the lime-burning provoked a ‘hostile demonstration’ in Mkuzi for which there is sparse evidence. Semnkai and Sipindu helped suppress the dispute and supported the mission.137

Meanwhile, also in December 1880, a different confrontation took place between Farler and Kibanga, which was only partially related to the resistance to lime-burning. Farler had fallen out with both Barghash and Kibanga, as the latter had refused to support him in a confrontation with the former. Kibanga’s grievance against Farler was that Farler had tarnished Kibanga’s name to Sultan Barghash. On 22nd January 1881, 300 of Kibanga’s armed men marched to Magila to stop him from building and communicating with the coast. According to Steere, these included ‘some of the Bondei themselves, who are no friends of the Magila people’, which shows that the Bondei were divided regarding their alliance with the mission.139 Steere was mortified and condemned Farler’s behaviour as ‘an act of almost incredible folly’.140 In spite of his disagreements with Farler a month earlier, Barghash put a stop to Kibanga’s attack and instructed that Farler’s work should be allowed to continue and that mission goods should be allowed to circulate again.141 Farler remarked to Steere that by this point there were, ‘a hundred chiefs burning to avenge [Kibanga]’.142 Whether these chiefs were primarily seeking to avenge Kibanga, whose reputation Farler had sullied in the eyes of the Sultan, or whether they were also protesting Farler’s lime-burning, is very unclear. Farler’s lack of diplomatic skill in dealing with coastal rulers may have made him a nuisance to Kibanga by this time, though Kibanga had supported Farler against his half-brother Kifungiwe in the matter of the latter’s marriages. In sum, while the reasons behind Kibanga’s attack were apparently independent of Farler’s lime-burning business, the attack itself must have contributed to the tensions. Kibanga’s attack may have also given fuel to further attacks in April and November 1881, when the people of Mfunte (see Map 3) attacked Farler’s workers.143

137 Farler to Wilson, 18 November 1881.
139 Perhaps they were actually Kilindi, not ‘Bondei’? Edward Steere to Festing.
141 Edward Steere to Rev. W. H. Penney, 8 January 1881.
143 Farler to Wilson, 18 November 1881; Farler to Steere, 19 November 1881; Farler to Steere, 23 November 1881.
After the April attacks against Farler’s workers, Woodward had a conflict of interests in May 1881 with Semnkai, the Umba chief who relayed the Umba peoples’s dissatisfaction with the lime-burning. It began with a female slave belonging to a Digo trader who a Yao slave-trader captured, after killing her Digo father and uncle. Apparently with Semnkai’s support, one of the Bondei Muslim masons at the Mkuzi mission bought the enslaved woman and kept her in his living quarters at the mission compound, which did not go unnoticed. Indeed, strangers were not allowed to sleep in the compound unless they reported to the missionaries. Woodward gathered that the woman was stolen from Digo slave-traders, and saw this as an opportunity for peace-keeping between the Bondei and the Digo, seeing as the woman had been captured by a Yao slave-trader.\textsuperscript{144}

Woodward announced at the meeting of chiefs that he intended to send the woman back to the Digo ‘with messages of peace and friendship’. The chiefs agreed with Woodward’s plan but the feeling shifted when, a few days later, some Digo raiders illegally captured five Umba people, two of them Christians.\textsuperscript{145} The case did not come to a satisfactory conclusion for Woodward and he never divulged what became of the slave woman. After several meetings with different groups of chiefs, Woodward announced that he would refer the affair to the Governor at Pangani, on the grounds that neither the Yao slave-trader and Muslim mason were Christians and, first and foremost, subjects of the Sultan. Semnkai, who feared for his dignity in the face of coastal interference, tried to stop Woodward.\textsuperscript{146} In other words, Woodward tried to decide the fate of this slave in consultation with the Sultan, over the head of Semnkai.

The last meeting Woodward called on this subject broke up in a frenzy and the captive woman disappeared from sight. Woodward immediately wrote to the Pangani wali and on the same day they arranged a night attack on the Msalabani mission station to find the woman, but they were unsuccessful. Woodward sent the Muslim mason as a prisoner to Pangani, blaming him wholly for the debacle. The Yao man was not interfered with and the mason paid him the remaining sum of what the woman was estimated to be worth. The fact that the mason suffered more than other actors in the story shows how

\textsuperscript{144} J. P. Farler to Rev. W. H. Penney, 30 May 1881.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
missionaries assumed authority not only over their converts, but their employees as well.\textsuperscript{147} This case may have contributed to tensions between the mission and the Umba people, especially if the UMCA were already suspected of being either slave-dealers, or considered to be overly interfering. Thus, whether these tensions may have fed into the lime-burning conflict.

In May 1881 Farler had a peculiar visit to a village called Ndume, to visit a petty chief named Sehiza, who was an ‘Umba chief’ in this location.\textsuperscript{148} Farler was on good terms with Sehiza, ‘the principal local chief’.\textsuperscript{149} However, when Farler arrived at the town, Sehiza was not there:

The people were very cold, and for a long time we sat out in the middle of the town, no one coming to welcome us. My boys made me some tea, and at length an old woman brought us some native food, \textit{ugali}\textsuperscript{150} and \textit{kitoweo},\textsuperscript{151} for we had taken nothing ourselves thinking it would be better to prove ourselves upon this hospitality of the natives.

When Sehiza finally returned he was very hospitable, and apparently aggrieved that his people had treated Farler so badly. In the morning the atmosphere changed. The people flocked around Farler to hear him speak. He reprimanded them for their ‘bad manners’, reminding them of how helpful the mission had been over the last six years, particularly during the famine of 1877. Crucially, he added that they should not believe the rumours the ‘beach Mohammedans’ (‘who steal their children, rob and insult them’) were telling them. This suggests that, at the time, coastal people (who were probably slave purchasers) and missionaries were competing for the loyalties of these people. According to Steere, this remark made them go on the defensive and, ‘they tried to put the blame

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{148} In 1886 he was described as the ‘Ndume chief’, indicative of his increased power after the death of Segao from a fatal bite from a slave. Bishop Charles Alan Smythies, ‘The Mountain Towns of the Bondei Country’, \textit{Central Africa}, June 1886; ‘Our Post Bag’, February 1886; J. P. Farler to Rev. W. H. Penney, Kiungani, Zanzibar, (October 26, 1885), A1 (6) A, 463, UMArch; Chambai remembered Sehiza being an old man, whose death sparked off the Kiva Rebellion. More research is need to understand what role he may have played in the period of racpacity that followed Kiva. George Chambai, interview by Elias Mutani, Mambo Msiige, Mkuzi, April 22, 2016.
\textsuperscript{149} Farler to Penney, 4 October 1881.
\textsuperscript{150} Stiff porridge made by boiling maize or sorghum or millet meal flour in water.
\textsuperscript{151} Relish. Can also mean spice and seasoning.
upon other people and admitted that it was bad’. This is when Farler first heard about Segao, a headman who held a strong influence over Sehiza.  

In the same month (May) Segao announced that at night an ancestral spirit had visited him, communicating that the people were more vulnerable than ever to being caught by slavers because the lime-burning had rendered their charms and medicine ineffectual. It was said that the mission was burning lime in the nyika and ‘spoiled’ their mafingo and dawa, which explained the Digo raiders’ killing spree against the people of Umba. In other words, the people believed missionaries were capable of angering the spirits and consequently compromising the medicinal power that healers held. The ‘Umba people’ claimed that they required goats to sacrifice to the pepo (spirits) because their charms had stopped working as a result of Farler’s activities there.

Despite all this, the missionaries seem to have been on good terms with chiefs, including Semnkai, Segao, Sehiza, and Sipindu, who paid visits to Farler in September and October 1881, when he returned from Zanzibar. The dispute peaked in November, partly because gunpowder had suddenly become more easily available. The Zanzibar government had apparently granted the gunpowder to ‘the Bondei’ in order to defeat Digo raiders. By a great turn of irony, it was this gunpowder that was made use of by the ‘Umba people’ against Farler’s labourers. Stronger chiefs and headmen already had access to gunpowder, but now it had become more widely available. It is striking that they were willing to spare this gunpowder for the cause against Farler when they were said to have really needed it to protect themselves against Digo raiders.

In the same month (November) the two Christians, Semnkai and Sipindu, who had supported Farler during the confrontation in December 1880 demanded on behalf of the Umba commoners that Farler pay 50 Maria Theresa Dollars (MTD) and cease to burn lime. As Farler understood it, the commoners claimed to need this sum for buying goats to

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152 J. P. Farler to Rev. W. H. Penney, 30 May 1881; Farler to Penney, 4 October 1881.
153 Farler wrote ‘bananga’d’; an anglicised version of kubanga, ‘to destroy.
154 Charms.
155 Medicine.
156 The interjections of Swahili words are Farler’s. Farler pointed out that the Wadigo had been killing their people long before the lime-burning began. J. P. Farler to George Herbert Wilson, Magila, Tanga, 12 November 1881, A1 (6) A, 705, UMArch.
157 Farler to Penney, 4 October 1881; Farler to Steere, 16 October 1881.
158 Farler to Steere, 19 November 1881.
sacrifice to the ancestors, whom Farler had disturbed, according to Segao’s dream. It is unclear whether or not Semnkai and Sipindu had changed sides but Farler was convinced that these chiefs disagreed with the concerns of the commoners. However, because Semnkai and Sipindu depended on their followers, they felt there was no other way but to help the commoners make their demand.

It is likely that the commoners made a financial demand, rather than simply demanding the livestock that they claimed to require for sacrifice, because the missionaries’ wealth was in cash, not livestock. Farler found the narrative partially convincing because people like Sipindu and Semnkai did not bring up the subject of ancestral spirits with the missionaries if they could help it. However, Farler interpreted the financial demand itself as corruption and exploitation and refused to pay it. He labelled this ‘blackmail’ and the very antithesis of ‘haki’ (justice). As for the claims about the customs surrounding the nyika, Farler dismissed them as ‘utter rot and upuzi’ (foolish talk).

Farler’s colleague Wilson, who was actually based at Umba, was less certain. In any case, he argued that it was important to promote good feeling among the ‘Umba people’, ‘for they are determined to enforce what they term their right’. Conversely, Farler believed Wilson was ‘very ignorant about the people, and green in these things, and his usual plan seems to be to pay all round, make everything smooth with money, promote good feeling with feasts and pay fully every demand’. More than anything, Farler feared that his reputation and position as a power holder was at stake. Farler threatened to call on the Sultan to punish the Umba people. In turn, the people threatened to leave the land, though the ‘Magila chiefs’ called this ‘maumo matupo’ (‘empty threats’).

159 I imagine their reasons for requesting Maria Theresa dollars instead of goats was two-fold. Firstly, missionaries did not collect goats for trade, only for use. Secondly, money-currency had great value, so they could buy more goats than the actual value of the coins. J. P. Farler, Magila, (copy for publication), 1 December 1881, A1 (6) A, 343, UMArch.
160 J. P. Farler to Herbert A. B. Wilson, 12 November 1881.
161 J. P. Farler to George Herbert Wilson, 12 November 1881.
162 Farler to Steere, 23 November 1881.
163 Farler to Wilson, 18 November 1881; Farler to Steere, 23 November 1881.
165 This is Farler’s translation, which is accurate. Farler to Steere, 23 November 1881.
Farler was anxious to refute any notion that the missionaries were simply rich men without political or legal support. For the sake of security, but also for the sake of his own vision of himself as a big man, it was important to at least give the illusion that actions against the mission would have serious consequences. Farler believed it was necessary to punish the ‘rebels’ of Umba villages Sipindu and Semnkai claimed to represent and ‘give them a good frightening’ by sending them to prison in Zanzibar.\textsuperscript{166} They were, in Farler’s eyes, unashamed criminals. He wrote to Steere that:

There never could be a better opportunity of winning the respect of all these people for our power and sense of justice for the whole country is with us on these questions and these thieves are already putting their tails between their legs to bolt or get the whipping they know they deserve.\textsuperscript{167}

This, Farler contended, would increase the respect for law and ‘common honesty’ that was present among the majority of ‘well-disposed and respectable Wabondeis’.\textsuperscript{168}

Farler believed that the ‘truth’ of whether he had indeed defiled custom was irrelevant and that his actions would determine the nature of the mission’s reputation for miles around:

They say the whole country is now looking to see whether the Wazungu have any power or not. Whether we are but a few rich men who can be plundered with impunity, or whether we have the authority and force of any law at our back, as the people have always believed that we have.\textsuperscript{169}

Thus, Farler pleaded to Steere that force should be used as the mission’s ‘prestige’ was at stake.\textsuperscript{170} Indeed, the ‘Magila chiefs’ suggested to Farler that, while the demand was for money, its subtexts were about power and reputation:

They say these people are simply thieves that their demand is an act of robbery, and if we yield to it we cannot remain long in the country, for as there is no central authority, every \textit{mkorofi}\textsuperscript{171} in the country will be looking out for an excuse to make some other demand, and that even the quiet people in other parts will say ‘the country does not belong to these Umba people, if the \textit{Wazungu} have paid them

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item \textsuperscript{166} J. P. Farler to George Herbert Wilson, 12 November 1881; Farler to Steere, 19 November 1881.
\item \textsuperscript{167} Farler to Steere, 23 November 1881.
\item \textsuperscript{168} Farler to Steere.
\item \textsuperscript{169} Farler to Steere.
\item \textsuperscript{170} Farler to Steere, 19 November 1881.
\item \textsuperscript{171} Troublemaker.
\end{thebibliography}
$50 he must pay us something too’. They say we should soon find it impossible
to meet the demands of black-mail and we should have to go. Steere was unsympathetic to Farler’s requests, and so the Sultan’s forces were never requested. Steere warned against appealing to the Sultan and that, equally, ‘an Arab governor might give you infinitely greater troubles than these.’ Instead, Steere recommended that Farler stop building and negotiate a financial settlement.

According to Farler’s letters, by January 1882 harmony was restored. The Umba people accepted Farler’s offer of 30 MTD and agreed to grant him, ‘the perpetual right to carry lime through their country.’ Farler cheerfully reported that he planned to give them a further present of 20 MTD, ‘to show them that it was not money I contended for, but justice’. However, this peace did not last. In 1885 Segao threatened to burn down a mission church. Later that year, in October, he was bitten by a man whom he was trying to capture as a slave and died a few days later from infection. As with the deaths of many prominent men, people talked of how Segao’s death was ‘a judgment upon him’, according to Farler. While this is probably not the whole story, slave dealers like Segao no doubt divided opinion. The different big men’s actions and stratagems illustrate what a complex political force-field the mission had to operate in. Bondei identity, in this context, was another stratagem to tap into patronage networks.

Despite his bravado, it appears that Farler’s reputation had suffered greatly, just as he had feared. Indeed, there is a total absence of his talk of meeting with dignitaries, which was so typical of his earlier letter-writing, between 1882 and 1886. Admittedly, for much of this time he was either in Zanzibar or in England. In early 1883 Farler, went to England for ‘a rest’, returning to Magila the next year for a visit with Bishop Smithies. By 1886 Farler seemed to have renewed his characteristic vigour, declaring, ‘the mission here is ripe for completely taking possession of the country; everywhere we are honoured guests’. However, this optimism did not last long. Following an extended period of

172 MTD
173 Farler to Steere, 23 November 1881.
174 Farler, 1 December 1881.
175 Farler to Steere, 19 November 1881.
177 ‘Our Post Bag’, February 1886; Farler to Penney, 26 October 1885.
unhappiness, Farler resigned from missionary work in early 1889 and then became Slavery Commissioner in Pemba from 1891 until 1905.\(^\text{179}\)

Having unpacked the key historical actors and the timeline, let us now consider the leading grievances against Farler. First of all, it should be noted that the perceived problem was probably a combination of the process of actually preparing the lime and the plans the missionaries had to erect buildings, which was a way of simultaneously claiming territory and creating a new holy site.\(^\text{180}\) The grievance against building was important as a spatial demonstration of their permanent presence. The published works of the UMCA were bound to emphasise the notion that people were challenging the building itself. Indeed, the UMCA official history of 1897 framed the dispute quite specifically. According to this text, Kibanga used armed soldiers to stop the mission from building the church because they mistakenly believed they were building a fort.\(^\text{181}\) This was a rather prudent way of depicting the conflict as a simple misunderstanding between missionaries and an individual with great power. It was in the missionaries’ interest to depict the conflict as resistance against the building of the church rather than resistance against lime-burning, local beliefs surrounding the *nyika*, and friction with power-brokers.

The lime-burning activities need to be seen in the context of a range of Farler’s political and social affronts. It is likely that all kinds of people were challenging both the production of the building materials and the building itself. Farler saw the whole debacle as a straightforward test of the mission’s strength. In contrast, Steere’s theory was that Semnkai had sparked off much of the conflict in response to the fact that Farler did not request permission or offer a gift in return for using the land. It is likely that Farler failed to properly calculate the equivalences of the exchanges of gifts and respect. In fact, Farler did rebuff Semnkai’s request for a gift. In a socio-economic context in which big men were


enormously tied up in exchange, this was significant. Steere would later regretfully conclude that this debacle could probably have been avoided if Farler had agreed to give Semnkai a gift and consulted more local chiefs.  

Both Steere and, more strongly, Farler refused to entertain the notion that that the lime-burning was interfering with the Umba people’s medicine. However, this was the only grievance the people actually communicated to the mission. In many ways, it is convincing. The Umba people were probably not concerned about the mission directly making their healing practices ineffectual or their rituals meaningless, it was that they were angering the ancestors, which, in turn, led to other terrible consequences. This was not the first nor the last time that Africans would claim that wazungu were capable of interfering with the spirit world. For instance, in 1886 Farler met Mtoga, a chief, and Farler asked to see a spring he had heard about. They were reluctant because they worried that if a white man drank from the spring it would ‘destroy all their charms’. This should come as no surprise as missionaries frequently desecrated rituals. They even encouraged schoolboys to destroy ‘spirit trees’. Most memorably, they made a point of climbing the ‘spirit mountain’, Mlinga, in order to disprove the belief that whoever mounted it would die. Some of their perceived supernatural power derived from their ability to retrieve captive slaves. The missionaries were actors also in the spirit world that the

African factions in the region negotiated, but they were not willing to countenance this aspect of their relationship with African groups or leaders.

On the other hand, Farler may well have been right to be suspicious of the claim that the lime-burning was making charms ineffective. First of all, the people did not claim that the decline in effectivity of the medicine had caused drought or disease. They claimed that it made their charms ineffective against attacks by the Digo; a matter that Farler was deeply concerned with. This was the only reason that the Umba people directly put forward to Farler. There were frequent Digo slave raiding attacks, but was this the primary concern? Or was the claim about the lack of security an attempt to appeal to Farler’s concerns? They must have been aware that Farler was near obsessed with managing the threat of the Digo slave-raiders, which is why he appealed to the Sultan for arms. Moreover, the Umba people used the term ‘desturi’ (custom), which Africans commonly utilised to plead with the mission to loosen their prohibitions, because they must have noticed missionaries were sympathetic to what they saw as ‘custom’. Indeed, the very idea of tricking people with false stories of magic was actually a trope in local folktales, which suggests it happened in real life, too.187 Could Segao’s dreams have been trickery? Or at least, could the story of the magical damage that lime-burning caused have been representative of other grievances? If so, what other grievances could have been at play?

There are four key grievances I extrapolate. Firstly, there is no doubt that Farler was harming the nyika, which was more important than Farler gave it credit. It was essential for agriculturalists to have access to the nyika in order to manage it and keep it at bay.188 Furthermore, people hunted there and the mission was no doubt making that work harder.189 Secondly, it is very likely that people were objecting to the imported labour from Zanzibar. The result of Kibanga’s attack in January 1881 was that the labourers from Magila refused to continue their work for Farler.190 Unable to procure local workers, Farler brought the labour over from Zanzibar in two batches. The first group did

188 Sunseri, Vilimani: Labor Migration and Rural Change in Early Colonial Tanzania, 15.
189 Kimambo, ‘Environmental Control and Hunger: In the Mountains and Plains of Nineteenth-Century Northeastern Tanzania’.
not stay for long and insisted that they would only do the work if they were given weapons and gunpowder to protect themselves against marauding Digo raiders.\textsuperscript{191} Many of these outsourced labourers were ex-slaves from the ex-slave settlement in Mbweni. It is possible that Digo slave raiding attacks were increasing because they saw the mission ex-slave labour force, isolated and unprotected in the \textit{nyika}, as easy targets. Equally, it is possible that these attacks were a springboard for further attacks on Umba settlements.\textsuperscript{192}

All of this also indicates that the people were angered by the influx of strangers, namely, the ex-slaves. This is something that comes across in the oral history record. Antoni Mabundo, who was one of the most knowledgeable respondents about the deeper past, remembered that the people were not welcoming towards the missionaries or the ex-slaves they brought from Zanzibar.\textsuperscript{193} Perhaps the Umba people were also angered that Farler excluded them from the wage labour he had the capacity to offer. However, this seems unlikely seeing as people local to the \textit{nyika} refused to be enlisted, probably because they were concerned about being present in case they needed to fend off an attack. All things considered, the fact that Farler outsourced labour probably contributed to tensions, but could not have been the whole story as tensions existed before he started hiring ex-slaves from Zanzibar.

The third grievance I identify revolves around financial gain. Considering that the 50 MTD demand was made over a year after opposition to lime-burning began, it was likely to have been part of longer-term grievances, rather than an end in itself. Yet commercial gain, or rather, resistance against commercial loss, must have been part of the story. Missionaries did not take well to financial exploitation and they were conspicuously exploitable.\textsuperscript{194} Just a few months before, the people of Mfunte took advantage of the newly arrived missionary, Wallis, who was building a mud church. People

\textsuperscript{191} J. P. Farler to Rev. W. H. Penney.
\textsuperscript{192} Farler to Steere, 19 November 1881; J. P. Farler to Bishop Edward Steere, Magila, Tanga, 9 November 1881, A1 (6) A, 357, UMArch.
\textsuperscript{193} Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 10 August 2014.
joked that Woodward paid a pice per stick to build a small church at Mfunte that was totally unusable.\textsuperscript{195} Indeed, Farler might have had a point with regards to his concerns about missionaries’ reputation of being easily exploitable.

The 50 MTD demand was substantial. Farler pointed out that a large piece of land was granted to Wallis at Mkuzi for only 5 MTD.\textsuperscript{196} On the other hand, 50 MTD would have amounted to a fraction of Farler’s building costs. The lime preparation was a visibly expensive process. Once the lime had been burnt, they were bringing about 50 bags of it a day to Magila, each bag costing 20 pice.\textsuperscript{197} 50 MTD only equalled about half of the expense of wages Farler was spending in a month of building. He reported that for the month of October he spent 53 MTD on wages in addition to 44 MTD on pagazi (porters) to carry the lime from the nyika all the way to Msalabani.\textsuperscript{198} The Umba people may have been protesting against a bizarre way of spending so much money. The logic may have been that if the missionaries were willing to pay for this, they might as well let the people near the nyika see some monetary benefit from it. The production of lime was a clear – if unintentional – demonstration of wealth as bags of lime each worth 20 pice traversed the landscape. The 50 MTD may also have been a way of putting a price on what the Umba people lost out of the destruction of the nyika. This makes the 50 MTD demand understandable, while equally showing this was not a clear-cut case of financial exploitation.

Another way of looking at it is that the Umba people were having to face the consequences of the lime-burning, without being able to benefit from the buildings themselves. They generally did not get as good provision from the mission as the Magila people.\textsuperscript{199} Indeed, Farler advised Wallis to build his station just outside of Mkuzi to ensure that the Umba people did not become jealous. He foresaw that with this approach, Wallis, ‘will be looked upon by all the Umba people as equally theirs, [...] all will feel that they have a right to the church’.\textsuperscript{200} Farler was probably not exaggerating these jealousies as Woodward corroborated Farler’s claim, reporting that there existed ‘deep-seated

\begin{itemize}
\item Wilson to Steere, 15 July 1881.
\item Farler to Steere, 23 November 1881.
\item Farler to Steere, 9 November 1881.
\item Farler to Steere.
\item Godfrey Wilfred Fumbwe, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Mikwamba, Magila, 20 October 2014.
\item Farler to Penney, 2 November 1881; Farler to Steere, 16 October 1881.
\end{itemize}
jealousies’ among the Umba people, who, ‘compare themselves with Magila people, saying they are not treated as well’.

The fourth explanation I identify is linked to all the other explanations, and is the most fundamental: the missionaries were viewed as a threat because they were living on the land without any investment into it or responsibility for it. Feierman describes the foundational organising principle of political philosophy in the region’s African communities at the time as follows: ‘dangerous forms of power bring life and fertility rather than death and famine only when the powerful person is given the land as his own.’

Perhaps it all comes back to the request made in 1877 for Farler to become ‘king of the Bondei’. He had refused it, which must have had diplomatic consequences. Farler’s refusal was potentially interpreted as a dangerous rejection of all the responsibilities that came with rule. Lime-burning was one way in which Farler over-stretched the generosity of the land and the people. Equally, his refusal may have indicated how anomalous the missionaries were, which probably led both power-brokers and followers to consider missionaries differently, not against the political principles they expected African power-brokers to follow.

All things considered, it is likely that all these explanations played some role in the tensions between the Umba people and the mission. Moreover, by considering what it might have been that caused these tensions, we get a picture of how uncertain the missionaries’ position was, partly because they were considered a threat to survival.

CONCLUSION

Farler believed the source of conflict was the ‘rebellious subjects’ of local chiefs, as he saw them, who were hoping to financially exploit the mission. However, the ‘Magila chiefs’ who on the surface supported the mission, were also working against him. This demonstrates that it was possible to maintain a missionary alliance, while simultaneously undermining the missionaries’ power. Even so, from the perspective of African power-

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201 Woodward to Farler, 1878.
202 Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals: Anthopology and History in Tanzania, 48.
203 The story Feierman details about Kighuunde people giving a ewe to the German missionaries when their king had been killed, in order to ensure the missionaries understood their duty to the people, is analogous. Feierman, 48–49.
brokers, missionary alliances, which were usually marked by conversion, were politically risky. Conversion to Christianity could undermine a person’s social networks, wealth, and authority for both commoners and elites. Missionaries also invoked coastal authorities. Though coastal authority was well-established at this time, the way the missionaries used it was a departure from the norm that could undermine a power holder’s authority. Equally, the mission was not a safeguard against slave-raiding as Christians were, at certain points, prime targets for slave capture, partly because they were isolated from kin who may have otherwise been able to protect them. It was also partly because those who had converted lost their kinship protection anyway.

Because this chapter is based mostly on written sources, and rarely backed up or challenged by the oral history record, there are several moments in which we are forced to conjecture. Even though clear conclusions cannot be confidently drawn on all issues, we do get some important impressions of the time. Crucially, as Feierman has already shown, commoners were neither helpless nor reactionary and their ideas were constantly developing. In fact, when we consider the lime-burning conflict, the only people who could boldly express their concerns were the commoners, who did not rely on missionary alliances.

Overall, missionaries had limited wealth in people. Those who were in alliance with the mission were generally duplicitous. Even if missionaries met frequently with chiefs, the quality of these relationships appears to have been low. Cordial face to face relationships with missionaries were not necessarily indicative of a committed missionary allegiance. Missionaries were not trusted because they were isolated kinless outsiders. They were perceived as troublesome, interfering, and dangerous. Missionaries were not that different, at this time, from some of the stranger-leaders that occurred in local political thought, such as Mbegha, a ‘ritually dangerous person’ who came to rule the Shambaai kingdom. The major difference between these kinds of rulers who had the power to heal and harm the land and missionaries (who may have been perceived to have the same powers) is that missionaries made exorbitant demands on followers to show

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204 Feierman, 4.
205 For the qualitative nature of wealth in people, see: Guyer, ‘Wealth in People and Self-Realization in Equatorial Africa’.
206 Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania, 48.
exclusive allegiance. In other words, missionaries’ authority was perceived through the lens of long-standing local-political terms. They were not yet anywhere near defining these terms and gaining hegemony. Thus, while this chapter addresses missionaries trying to influence elite actors’ ritual and life-way choices, the next chapter deals with their attempts to influence ordinary people converting to Christianity.
CHAPTER 2
LIFE-CYCLE PRACTICES, NORTH-EASTERN TANZANIA, 1888-c.1930

On 2 November 1924, just a few days after he had instructed his cook to cut open a carbuncle on his back, Bishop Frank Weston died. The carbuncle had been mistaken for what might have been a less life-threatening boil and the cause of death was septic poisoning.¹ Weston’s death is intriguing, not because of its gruesomeness, but because of the way some African Christians and non-Christians made a connection between Weston’s death and some of his last days spent at a village called Kwa Mlingote² near Msalabani between the 25 and 28 October of the same year.³ It was there that he preached in his characteristically vigorous fashion to forty Christians who had ‘lapsed’ by conducting female youth initiations, known as unyago.⁴

Weston was uncompromising when it came to the UMCA’s code of conduct. On principle, the mission prohibited initiations and other life-cycle practices for two reasons. Firstly, they carried Islamic inflections and sometimes involved what the missionaries called ‘ancestor worship’. Secondly, they openly discussed, explored, and performed sexuality, which the celibate, unmarried English missionaries believed could only lead to ‘moral degradation’.⁵

This connection between Weston’s death and his condemnation of non-Christian rites of passage is only delicately implied in the written record, suggesting that literate Christians were likely to defend Weston’s actions. For instance, Rev. Samwil

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¹ Dr E. S. Palmer to Duncan Travers, Hegongo, Mheza, Tanga, Tanganika Territory, 7 December 1924, A1 (22), 130, UMArch.
² This was five miles north of Hegongo. In Johnston’s Atlas it is noted down as ‘Ha Mlingoti’. The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa Atlas (London: Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, 1903).
⁵ There were some exceptions to the rule of celibacy. Both Edward Steere and Godfrey Dale were married, for example.
Mwinyipembe, who was local to Msalabani, only alluded to rising local tension against Weston in a *Central Africa* article discussing the circumstances around Weston’s death.\(^6\) What Mwinyipembe hinted at becomes more vivid in the oral history record, especially in an interview with one of the oldest respondents, Catherina Msiba Mlangwa, who would have been an early adolescent at the time (about 13 years old). In her candid account of the circumstances surrounding Weston’s death, this physically feeble 103-year-old woman, wrapped up in a blanket, spoke of ‘strange things about Frank Weston’.\(^7\) It emerged that other respondents had similar impressions. Thus, the oral history record suggests that some Christians interpreted Weston’s death as God’s punishment for interfering with initiation practices. Christians were divided about whether it was God himself who inflicted this punishment, or if a local ritual expert had caused a ‘muujiza’ (‘supernatural act’).\(^8\) The central paradox in Mlangwa’s account is that God killed a missionary for interfering with a non-Christian ritual. This strongly suggests that at the time of the events and for a long time thereafter, missionaries lacked straightforward hegemony over the moral realm, and that Christians were divided about the meaning and sources of good and evil. Both worldviews and claims to personal rights and entitlements were at stake.

Furthermore, initiations persisted in the face of missionary opprobrium, which highlights an area of tension between African Christians and missionaries, which challenges the impression that there existed culturally colonised, relatively homogeneous ‘mission communities’. Life outside the mission was extremely important, even for Christian converts.

Most life-cycle practices had not died out among Christians by 1926, but their eventual decline shaped the oral history testimony. In other words, most of the Christian elders related to the respondents did practice some form of initiation ceremony that the church prohibited. Meanwhile, the overwhelming majority of Christians in the respondents’ generation did not practice any type of initiation ceremonies against church

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\(^7\) ‘*Mambo ya hovyo sasa Frank Weston*’. Catherina Msiba Mlangwa, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Mkuzi, Tanga, 18 October 2014. To See Samwil Mwinyipembe’s place in the Mhina family tree, see appendix.

\(^8\) Catherina Msiba Mlangwa.
regulations.⁹ Evidently, despite resistance, Christian participation in non-Christian life-cycle practices, particularly youth initiations, did decline in the British colonial period. There was, moreover, no attempt to adapt the initiations to align them with Anglican moral codes. Unlike the Masasi case, in Magila African priests and teachers¹⁰ did not wish to change the rituals involved in life-cycle practices. Rather, they let them quietly continue.

In fact, in 1937 Bondei leaders rejected a proposal to invent a Christian youth initiation on the African model.¹¹ This apparently puts Magila in stark contrast to the UMCA mission in Masasi, where youth initiations were adapted in the early twentieth century, and still practiced to this day. The contrast between Magila and Masasi is even more striking given that these two mission hubs were, at least in theory, subject to identical policies as they were part of the same diocese until 1926. The Masasi case has been thoroughly researched, as the following paragraphs will show.

In 1972 Terence Ranger observed that the African clergy played an important role in the adaptation of initiation rites. His case study was the UMCA mission in Masasi, in southeast Tanzania. He attached much of the historical agency to Bishop Vincent Lucas and concluded that this ‘adaptation’ of initiation rites lacked longevity.¹² In her PhD and, later, her 2008 article, Anne Marie Stoner-Eby convincingly modified Ranger’s evaluation by maintaining that the adaptation was in the hands of Masasi’s African clergy and that the adapted initiations survived much better than Ranger suggested.¹³

Their different conclusions come down to different interpretations of the chronology. Ranger dated the beginning of the adaptation initiatives to 1910, reasoning that the African clergy sought to adapt initiations in order to manage their compromised

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⁹ Mabundo was an exception to this rule.
¹⁰ It is important to consider African teachers and clergy together because their roles overlapped so much. It is also important to consider how the wives of teachers and clerics also had a lot of influence, though their impact is rarely mentioned in the written record.
authority in the face of increased English control through the loss of the mission’s ‘home rule’ in 1910.\textsuperscript{14} In contrast, Stoner-Eby dated the initiatives several years earlier, before missionaries attempted to curtail the authority of the African clergy. Thus, she challenged Ranger’s view that the African clergy were reactionary.\textsuperscript{15} Moreover, she pointed out that *jando* (the male initiation into adolescence) and *unyago* (the female initiation into adolescence) started being adapted long before adaptation became the mission’s primary strategy in the 1920s.\textsuperscript{16} Crucially, Stoner-Eby shifted the focus of the contests over ritual authority from those between Africans and missionaries to those between the African clergy and local chiefs.

This chapter also explores dynamics between missionaries and African teachers, priests, and chiefs and emphasises how ‘adaptation’ could happen very informally. My analysis diverges from Stoner-Eby’s in another way. Underlying both Ranger and Stoner-Eby’s analysis is an assumption that Christianity was most successful when it was more ‘African’. In fact, Ranger claimed that the willingness of the UMCA to adapt African cultures to Christianity meant that there were no strong independent churches in the area.\textsuperscript{17} Stoner-Eby and Ranger are not alone in making such claims about the positive impact of adaptation or enculturation.\textsuperscript{18} Especially in the 1970s, historians of Christianity in Africa tended to make a case that pre-existing cultures survived within Christianity to make it a more desirable religion.\textsuperscript{19}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[14] Previously, major decisions had to be passed by the UMCA’s ‘home office’ in London.
\item[19] M. L. Daneel argued that Christian churches that were more willing to Christianise African rituals and the practice of polygamy, bride wealth, and veneration of ancestors were more likely to be successful. Thus, Daneel concluded that the Roman Catholic missions lost far fewer members to the independent churches than the Dutch Reformed Church because they were more flexible towards African cultures. M. L. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches: Church Growth-Causative Factors and Recruitment Techniques* (Mouton De Gruyter, 1974), 244–65; Smythe also suggested that Christianity spread most effectively when it was built on existing conceptions of morality. Kathleen R. Smythe, ‘The Creation of a Catholic Fipa Society: Conversion in Nkonsi District, Ufipa’, in *East African Expressions of Christianity*, ed. Isaria N. Kimambo and T. Spear (Athens: James Currey, 1999). Similarly, in 1978 Strayer showed that CMS missionaries in Kenya were generally inclined to compromise. Strayer, *Making of Mission Communities in East Africa: Anglicans and Africans in Colonial Kenya, 1875-1935*, 1978, 136–42.
\end{footnotes}
Prior to research published in the late 1990s, the literature on religious change implied that Africans were more likely to accept Christianity if it was draped in familiar ritual garb, and that the primary draw of independent churches was that they were some way between Christianity and local religious practices. However, this does not apply to the Magila case because independent churches were almost unheard of in this region at this time, despite the fact that youth initiations were not adapted there. Another reason to challenge this interpretation is that it is what Joel Robbins, working on Papua New Guinea, has referred to as ‘continuity thinking’: the tendency to assume that new religious forms grow out of and accommodate the old. Nowadays scholars are more likely to argue that most adherents neither attempted nor were inclined to modify Christianity to suit familiar cosmologies and ways of life.

The changing scholarship reflects a broader and much longer change in how scholars have thought about culture. In earlier years, culture and ritual were thought of as things that brought people together. Instead, authors now tend to highlight how conversion divided people and challenged commonalities. The success of Christianity in Africa should not simply be understood as a result of the domestication of missionary Christianity. As Derek Peterson argued in 2012, contemporary African Christianity did not and does not necessarily grow out of older cultural forms. Instead, Peterson urged scholars to consider non-conformism rather than to look ‘for evidence of the continuities linking converts with their pre-Christian past’. In a similar vein, Karen Fields showed how conversion could be a form of non-conformism to resist political hierarchy. Indeed, the novelty of Christianity was often precisely what drew Africans into missions.

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20 Sometimes it even so happened that ‘failed’ Christians would move away and begin their own schools, without the consultation of the missionaries. For instance, in one case from 1900, Herbert Woodward dismissed a carpenter he considered to be lazy and a few months later heard that he had started a school in Kwa Gale with 90 children. Woodward visited him, delighted, and brought school supplies to help support him. However, this man’s status in the community was not unchallenged. The carpenter had claimed when he set up the school that he had been sent by the missionaries. However, some of the most powerful men in the area did not believe him, and it turned out they were right not to. ‘Educational Prospects Archdeacon Woodward’s Experiences’, Central Africa, September 1900.


24 Peterson, 12.

In her 1999 book, Meyer showed the German Pietists thought the spirits of the ‘indigenous’ cosmology were satanic, and the converts not only accepted this, but made this the centre of the Christianity they followed. Moreover, she argued that, rather than consider how ‘syncretistic’ certain forms of Christianity might be, we should study the process by which Christianity emerges. Another good example of this trajectory in the scholarship is David Maxwell’s 2006 book, *African Gifts of the Spirit*, in which he suggested that Christianity was adopted differently by different generations. He noticed that the first generation of converts swallowed Christianity whole in an uncompromising fashion. The children of Pentecostal leaders, on the other hand, demystified their parents’ religion.

All that being said, this literature is on Pentecostal and Evangelist Christianity, which is quite a contrast to the UMCA’s emphasis on salvation through the sacraments. For UMCA missionaries, it was essential that an ordained member of clergy administer the sacraments and ordination itself was a key sacrament. This explains why ordination to Holy Orders was such a key activity of the UMCA in contrast to the CMS. Yet even if the UMCA placed less emphasis on conversion and rupture compared to evangelical churches, sacraments opened up new relationships.

In the Magila case, African Christians negotiated among themselves and in their own minds with very few making the clean break from non-Christian life. People dealt with matters of mission policy differently but these differences were not only personal; they were patterned over time and between different social groups. There was a tension between the personal liberty that people had in making their compromises, and the way they felt constrained by social obligation or personal commitment. For instance, initiations that the missionaries criticised were central to the upkeep of biological reproduction and environmental wellbeing. In times of trouble, such as drought, negligence towards established ritual was interpreted as a life-threatening transgression.

27 Meyer, 231, n.18.
This chapter engages with debates about ritual, which are central to the history of mission. It also contributes to the core of the thesis argument because it sets out the hierarchies in the mission, the impact of the missionaries on daily life and the ways in which Christians brokered different communities. This is all essential to understanding the nature of cultural hegemony and will suggest that multiple idioms shaped status struggles. Moreover, changes to life-cycle practices are a lens into how Africans involved in the mission managed their social obligations. This goes to the very heart of what it meant to be Christian. In addition, changes to life-cycle practices also demonstrate changing approaches to livelihoods. For example, teachings in the forest became less important over time as livelihoods were increasingly centred in the towns and villages. In another way, UMCA African priests and teachers walked a fine line between the missionaries, who provided their wages, and their followers who provided their livelihood. For instance, shunning your followers might mean shunning your casual labour as and it was needed.

This chapter puts forward three arguments. Firstly, ritual practice was difficult to police and this shaped the changes to life-cycle practices. Many people kept up non-Christian practices covertly. Others kept up their beliefs and practices by formulating ideas of what religious pluralism entailed that were at variance with the missionaries, as my analysis of the oral history record indicates. Secondly, changes in ritual practice happened independently of the mission, though they were indirectly shaped by missionary channels, especially schools.

Thirdly, the term ‘adaptation’ needs to be considered more broadly, and not only considered as a missionary strategy. Even if there was no official adaptation policy, life-cycle practices were constantly adapting. Even among the relatively small constituency of Africans who had committed themselves to complying with mission demands for change to their life-ways, there was a good deal of diversity and disagreement in practice. Equally, African Christians were to some extent dependent on their new religious identities and quite invested in them, especially if they relied on the mission for a salary. Before I unpack these arguments, it is essential I outline the social history of the Magila mission.
African Christians mapped their own boundaries between social and religious pluralism to maintain ties with non-Christians who believed those who did not take part in initiations and other prohibited practices threatened social cohesion and the health of the land and the people. Africans took both multiple social membership and the flexible combination of different ritual practices as routine. In contrast, missionaries tolerated multiple social memberships in principle but assumed that people could sustain these memberships while sticking to one particular ritual order. In fact, this would have been difficult, and made little sense to their converts who did not consider the non-Christian practices evil.

All respondents, except for a few hardliners, believed in the toleration of divergent cultural practices between Christians and non-Christians and that maintaining life-cycle practices was essential to this. On this basis, Mabundo believed the missionaries had no right to interfere with any non-Christian African practices (save female circumcision and infanticide). Although the respondents obeyed the church regulations and did not practice initiation rituals in the same way that their elders might have, they nonetheless held a lot of respect for these rituals. They generally believed that the core teachings were good, but did not approve of the ibada (prayer) associated with them. Some people kept their beliefs, while remaining very committed Christians. Some respondents emphasised the disjuncture between personhood and religious allegiance.

For example, as Mbulinyingi put it, the early generations of converts, ‘thought the new religion was good but they just wanted to maintain their old ways from their own personal reasons. That’s how human beings are’. Mabundo put it another way, ‘[t]o be a Christian was not enough to satisfy one’s spirituality; the perfect faith is the one that

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30 E. g. Barnabas Mkomwa, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Kampene, Kideleko, 11 October 2014.
32 Agnes Gumbo Mshoa, interview by Elias Mutani, Mkonje, Kideleko, 28 April 2016.
can be tailored to each individual.’  

34 These declarations of individuality curiously underline the missionaries’ view of Christianity, which was also individualistic. Similarly, Canon John Mwamazi noted that not much had changed, some Christians still ‘live two lives; one in the church and one in the old traditions’.  

35 However, Canon Samuel Sepeku added that you had to be unusually bold to be a Christian and openly practise these ceremonies, or other rites, that the church would have identified as ‘heathen’.  

36 Simon Mhando believed that people at this stage in the church’s history were weighing up the relative draws of *dini ya jadi* (traditional religion) and Christianity in his parents’ generation. This was not about adapting or adopting one or the other, but attempting to maintain hold over multiple religions and affiliations, unsure of which one would turn out to be most beneficial:

> These people played both sides because they were yet to be fully convinced by either of them. They reasoned between what they heard from their religious leaders or ritual masters; considering it more as game of chance. To them, both priest and ritual expert were doing guesswork. They weren’t sure where exactly the truth was. They sat on the fence.  

37 Mbulinyingi said something very similar: ‘I don’t want to say that the people used to hide their old ways. They just lived their normal lives while the missionaries kept on giving religious education for those who were willing to accept it’.  

38 Evidently, the ideological exclusivity the church demanded tormented many people:

> Many Christians carried on with offering sacrifices to their spirits. They were not certain with the new faith. But with teaching, many left the practices, but their

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34 ‘Maana kuamini tu kuwa mimi ni mkristu sio ukamilifu wa roho yake; wala sio ukamilifu wa imani yake. Imani kamilifu iko kwa mtu mmoja mmoja.’ Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview by Elias Mutani, Kwambwembwele, near Handeni, 27 April 2016.


36 Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview by Elias Mutani, 8 April 2016.


hearts were still there. They found that they were missing something. [...] Sometimes they found the church was not enough. 39

Most people wanted to keep up things that the missionaries did not agree with. This was particularly true when it came to healing practices, which centred upon mafingo. 40

Most interviewees took secretive behaviour for granted as part of the conversion process. Indeed, it made no sense that a person who had sinned should not be allowed communion, if it was communion that cleansed one’s sins. By prohibiting a sinner from communion, the missionaries risked pushing the sinner into a permanent state of sin. 41

However, some occasional interviews were enormously disparaging about the notion that anyone should keep secrets from the church. For example, Mbuji was very disapproving of people who held onto Christian and non-Christian beliefs simultaneously: ‘They carried on practising those traditions in secrecy because they were Christians. That was a big sin. It was wrong to serve God and Satan simultaneously. They believed a little in Jesus and a little in Satan. We have those kinds of people until this day’. 42 Like many others, she suggested that social pluralism was good, though religious pluralism was bad. 43 Similarly, Mayble Mzimba, who was over 100 years old, said: ‘Why should they keep secrets? Keeping secrets isn’t good. Anything that was done in hiding was sinful. [...] The local people left their old ways and followed God’s laws. [...] People held the religion firmly’. 44

Yet when people converted to Christianity they did not stop believing that other religions and practices were powerful. Respondents’ discussion of this concept revolved around heart and blood imagery. For instance, Mbulinyingi said that, ‘Anything which is flowing in the blood is hard to leave. There are people who quickly changed their faith

39 ‘Matambiko yalikuwa yanafanywa na watu waliendelea kuyafanya... Wamebatizwa, wanakwenda kanisani na wanapita kushiriki [...] walielezwa wakaelewa lakini yao bado ila likuwa kule.’ Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 8 April 2016, 00:26:58.

40 Canon Matthia Edward Mbulinyingi, interview, 27 April 2016.


43 Judith Mbuji, interview, 22 April 2016.

[and joined Christianity].\textsuperscript{45} Mbuji put it in her own words: ‘A person’s heart is like a bag. The bag is a kind of division that needs to be punctured to become something new. Despite heavy preaching they left but came back again’.\textsuperscript{46}

Mzimba was probably the most critical respondent when it came to non-Christian practices. She dismissed it all as devil worship. However, she said this: ‘The sheikhs went up there [Mlinga] with their books and they could make it rain. They do it even in recent years because they can also stop the rain’.\textsuperscript{47} This is all the more intriguing because in the precolonial period Kimweri and other gifted healers who were rarely Muslim held this power. Had sheikhs assumed an ability to heal and harm the land in the twentieth century? Or is Mzimba mistaken? Even if she was, her assumption that sheikhs were capable of environmental healing is suggestive of the Muslim hegemony. In any case, Mzimba’s comment is in line with the other evidence that suggests that although respondents hinted that there were many Christians who were pluralist in their religious beliefs and who went against the mission’s rules, many saw conversion to Christianity as all or nothing. Most respondents conveyed a belief that avoiding religious pluralism was a necessary sacrifice that their elders struggled with.

Africans came across the mission in many different ways and were subject to varying degrees of dependence and obligation. As Justin Willis has already observed, those who were most dependent on missionaries were those who sat at the highest points of the mission hierarchy. Those on the fringes were the Africans who came to the mission to listen and observe, sometimes asking questions. These included ‘hearers’ who sat at the back of the church and received special instruction. Those who had been hearers for a prolonged period of time were gradually encouraged to take the next step and become catechumens.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{45} Canon Matthia Edward Mbulinyingi, interview, 27 April 2016.
\textsuperscript{46} ‘Moyo wa mtu ni mfuko. Mfuko ni mpaka uutoboe ndipo uweke kitu kipya ndani. Kwa sababu mnahubiriwa acheni hiki lakini baadae wanakwenda.’ Judith Mbuji, interview, 22 April 2016, 00:21:58.
\textsuperscript{47} ‘Mashehe ndio waliokwenda kule juu na vitabu vyao kuleta mvua. Wanafanya hivyo hata siku hizi kwa sababu ndio hao hao wanaozuia mvua kunyesha.’ Maybe Alice Mzimba, interview Mlinga was the mountain from which sacrifices to promote rainmaking were made by the Bondei.
\textsuperscript{48} Willis, ‘The Nature of a Mission Community’, 144–45.
Catechumens were given special instruction and gifted a small cross to wear to distinguish themselves and their newly acquired status. After 1884, baptised and catechumen adherents had to sit separately in church and the latter had to leave during the celebration of the Eucharist. Boys who joined the mission as students effectively sidestepped that ‘hearer’ stage and automatically became catechumens. Boarders also had a special kind of status, identified though their given kikoy, kanzu, and visibau (see Illustration 4). These boys were eventually prepared for baptism and able to be present during Communion. Once confirmed, they would finally be allowed to take Communion at Mass. At the top of the hierarchy (aside from the European missionaries) were the African clergy and teachers. The African clergy and teachers’ status was made obvious by their clothing as the clergy wore robes and teachers wore mission coats.49

The UMCA church was the only one in Magila until the 1930s and the initial small wave of Africans in Magila who encountered the mission were characterised by their social marginality. They included displaced children, orphans, slaves, refugees, dispossessed aristocrats, and ritual experts. Not all of them converted. Some had relatives who were chiefs recognised by colonial agents, which meant that, for those who maintained their connection with the mission in the twentieth century, their lineage became very important.50 Famine and increased numbers of mission followers went hand in hand to some extent. For example, in the 1895 famine the number of children in the Magila mission schools doubled. Though missionaries were cautious about taking people’s children in return for sustenance because they were concerned it may look like they were ‘buying’ children, they nonetheless offered starving parents sustenance if they agreed to send their children to school.51 While some authors have suggested that the marginality of converts to Christianity inhibited a mission’s growth, most power-holders were in the habit of collecting marginal followers who collectively and qualitatively had the potential to create strong networks.52

49 Willis.
50 Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika; Willis, ‘The Makings of a Tribe: Bondei Identities and Histories’.
52 Waller, ‘They Do the Dictating and We Must Submit: The Africa Inland Mission in Maasailand’, 87.
Until the 1890s when German colonialism settled into place, missionaries generally only found success converting people who had very few options. The pawning arrangements in which the missionaries had engaged in during the precolonial period set some precedents for the remainder of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{53} Children and their elders worried that when children accepted gifts and were praised by teachers in school they were in the process of becoming hostages. People were so concerned that missionaries were stealing children that they would not even believe the mission-trained African teachers and priests. In a letter from 1897, John Baptist Mdoe (who originated from the area he worked in Magila) wrote:

I have been living here five years to teach the people the Gospel, but from among the wazee\textsuperscript{54} not one has yet come to hear the news of the Gospel. They are afraid! Do you know why? They [...] say: ‘we are afraid lest he should buy us and our children and send us to Europe.’ Even when they see us, their black companions, they will not believe. They say: ‘these people are deceiving us; they are as a bait that our suspicions may be lulled, and presently they will tell their Europeans, and they will embark us for Europe.’\textsuperscript{55}

Indeed, some of my respondents even remembered that the only pupils who came to the mission in the early days were diseased and marginal children.\textsuperscript{56}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Boarders</th>
<th>Scholars baptised</th>
<th>Day scholars</th>
<th>Total no of scholars \textsuperscript{57}</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M  F</td>
<td>M  F</td>
<td></td>
<td>M  F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37 2</td>
<td>23 13</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>196 144</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>41 16</td>
<td></td>
<td>352 322</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>111 2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>351 266</td>
<td>469 292</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>118 2</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>351 266</td>
<td>469 292</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Table 1.} Students in Magila schools, 1890-1898. As this table shows, mission students were not necessarily Christians. However, the missionaries gradually introduced a policy that made conversion compulsory for students to gain full access to the curriculum. Sources: \textit{Central Africa} (1891, 1892, 1893, 1899).

\textsuperscript{53} The political expediency of sending children to mission schools as a gesture of missionary allegiance is covered in Chapter 1 of this thesis and Justin Willis’ 1993 article. Willis, ‘The Nature of a Mission Community’.

\textsuperscript{54} Elders.

\textsuperscript{55} ‘Post Bag’, \textit{Central Africa}, October 1897.

\textsuperscript{56} Godfrey Wilfred Fumbwe, interview.

\textsuperscript{57} ‘Scholars’ were not necessarily baptised or boarders. At Umba and Msalaka the students were neither baptised nor boarders. In most places, aside from Zanzibar, very few were baptised or boarders.
People were afraid of missionaries. Though this fear subsided relatively quickly for boys, girls and women were still extremely cautious well into the twentieth century. Accordingly, female access to mission education developed slowly. Another major reason for this slow development is that formal institutional education for women was a low priority as far as the missionaries were concerned. Though missionaries believed girls’ schools would be helpful in terms of training up Christian wives for their young majority-male unmarried converts, it took a long time for female education to be strongly pursued. Complaints about the lack of missionary engagement with females began to gather a little more speed in the late 1890s but really only began in earnest in 1907.

By the 1890s, parents felt less of a need to protect their children from missionaries, who had proved themselves, more or less, not to be slave dealers, though many feared that missionaries bewitched students. The most common converts to Christianity were young men and boys who, often against their parents’ wishes, attended the mission school. By this point, the success of the mission schools depended on maintaining the enthusiasm of children. Most children lost interest quickly and attended school irregularly. Boarding school, before it connoted high social status, was also unpopular for what must have been seen as arbitrary disciplinary standards. Pearse estimated in 1891 that only one out of every ten stayed in the Magila boarding school mission for any

63 The fact that male adolescents were the most likely converts is well established in the literature but Iliffe showed that adolescence was the most common time to accept new beliefs in indigenous religions, too. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 225.
64 Farler to My dear Prof, 30 May 1880; Rowley, Twenty Years in Central Africa, 203; This never really ceased to be a problem as this article suggests: S., ‘395 African Teachers’, Central Africa, February 1912.
significant period. As Rev. Percy L. Jones-Bateman put it, ‘The marvel is, not that many lads do not come to our schools, but that any should be found to come at all.’ It was said that a student would need to run away two or three times before he could finally return to be a ‘useful boy’. Often, the threat of force was employed to ensure obedience.

There were material benefits to joining the mission. Whether the missionaries liked it or not, entering school life was largely characterised by entry into a new material world. Missionaries made use of the material wonders, especially clothing, they had access to in order to entice children. In fact, children were known to loiter around missionaries’ rubbish areas to find interesting items to bring back and show their families. Overall, missionaries accepted that young boys were drawn to the mission for materialist reasons, but hoped they would stay for religious reasons. Needless to say, instrumentalist reasons to interact with the mission would not have explained conversion and long term adherence to Christianity.

A striking feature of this period is that children decided to go to school of their own accord, often against the wishes of their kin even though missionaries made parental permission mandatory. Many of the students who joined Magila had ‘run away’ from home and were afraid to return during the holidays. The descendants of these early

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69 Rev. J. K. Key, ‘Work at Msaraka’.
71 This is the only example before 1890 I could find of a missionary asking for parental permission. J. P. Farler, ‘Our Work in the Usambara Country’. John Mtoi remembered that his father had run away from his father, a healer, and was afraid to return home because in leaving home, he left his father to carry on his work of salt trading alone. Mtoi’s father was talented in working with numbers, so his loss was felt very deeply in the business. John Mtoi, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Maktaba, Tanga, 24 October 2014,
converts remember them nostalgically and are eager to highlight their link to their genealogies.\textsuperscript{72} These boys were, as stories go, self-determined, mischievous children.\textsuperscript{73} The fact that Christianity rose to prominence later on legitimised their rebelliousness and further bolstered the idea that this was a golden age for Magila’s Christianity. The way some of these children ended up stuck between school, where they felt uncomfortable, and home, where they felt scared, clearly illustrates the need adherents had to find accommodations between the different ritual orders.

The children who did follow through with missionary schooling in the 1890s were the first generation of African Anglicans in the region. Being related to these people would later be of tremendous value to their decedents who could declare that ‘Mzee Geldart’, ‘Mzee Manfred’, or ‘Mzee Petro’ were their forefathers.\textsuperscript{74} The honour of their memory lies partly in their intrepid and intuitive valuing of education. John Mhina, the author of a history of the Anglican church in the region,\textsuperscript{75} explained that, ‘in those days, parents didn’t teach their children the importance of education. Children took a liking to it of their own accord.’\textsuperscript{76} This generation remains distinct in Mhina’s imagination from later swathes of

\textsuperscript{72}This is very similar to Maxwell’s findings. Maxwell, \textit{Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe}, 25.

\textsuperscript{73}Mhina’s uncle Samwel, Agnes’ brother, was a good example of this, which shows that the idea that children who went to school in those days were mischievous survives in living memory. John Geldart Mhina, interview, 15 October 2014, 00:20:00–00:26:00.

\textsuperscript{74}John Geldart Mhina, interview, 15 October 2014; Andrew Mhina, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Magila, Masoroko, ‘The Vatican’, 23 October 2014; Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 10 August 2014; Al Haji Ahmed Limo, interview by Irene Mashashi, Kisiwandui, Zanzibar, 3 March 1895, A1 (6) B, 1695, UMArch. This is very similar to Maxwell’s findings. Maxwell, \textit{Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe}, 25; Farler to My dear Prof, 30 May 1880.

\textsuperscript{75}John Mhina, \textit{Historia ya Magila Msalabani 1848-2012: Mlango wa Kuingia Kanisa la Anglikana Tanzania Bara}. John kindly gave me a copy of this book, which I am happy to share with anyone who would like to read it.

\textsuperscript{76}‘Siku zile wazazi hawakuwafundisha watoto wao umuhimu wa elimu watoto wenye we walipenda elimu.’ John Geldart Mhina, interview, 15 October 2014; a similar opinion is expressed by Canon Matthia Edward Mbulinyingi, interview, 5 October 2014, 00:07:50–00:19:15; John Geldart Mhina, interview; a similar opinion is expressed by Canon Matthia Edward Mbulinyingi, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Sawe Hotel, Chanika, Handeni, 5 October 2014, 00:07:50–00:19:15.
people who were desperate for mission education in the British colonial period.\textsuperscript{77} Families encouraged children to pursue education as its value had become apparent. Today, there is a mild status struggle between the earlier generation of converts and the later one. The descendants of the first converts look down upon those who converted later when the material benefits of conversion to Christianity and mission education had become obvious.\textsuperscript{78}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Adherents \\
\hline
1890 & 2160 \\
1892 & 3186 \\
1894 & 4100 \\
1899 & 7218 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Adult adherents at all UMCA mission stations, 1890-1899. This includes Zanzibar, Magila, Southern Tanzania, and Nyasaland. If we consider Tables 2 and 3 together we can see that the Magila diocese went from claiming 35% of the UMCA’s converts in 1890 to only 16% in 1899. This explicates that the mission grew exponentially outside of Magila in this period. \textit{Sources: Central Africa} (1891, 1892, 1895, 1900).}
\end{table}

\textbf{Illustration 8}. Some of the earlier all-male converts in Msalabani. Original caption: ‘Group of converts at Magila’. \textit{Source: African Tidings, 1890.}

\textsuperscript{77} John Geldart Mhina, interview, 15 October 2014, 00:21:00.John Geldart Mhina, interview, 00:21:00.
\textsuperscript{78} Much as Bill Bravman found with the Christianised Taita people in Kenya, there was fierce tension between certain generational groups, but not between all generations. \textit{Bravman, Making Ethnic Ways, 254.}
When it came to shaping the mission, Africans did the heavy lifting, the persuading, and the building. They also understood what they were doing differently to the missionaries. Africans’ adherence to Christianity and role in spreading Christianity were bound up with many other values, concerns, and interests. African Christians maintained multiple and conflicting social memberships and they associated Christianity with many different things, such as rainmaking. Sometimes Africans appropriated Christian idioms for non-religious expression, and at other times they sought moral and material ends by practising Christianity. This all meant African Christians had to comply with multiple value systems and obligations, which in turn involved making accommodations and mastering different types of reasoning, in addition to keeping some of their personal information and practices obscured in some contexts. Scholars have already made similar arguments but I advance the literature by showing how material concerns played out in the mission stations in particularly unsettled and fluid environments that contrast with the relatively centralised political contexts in both Peel’s study of Nigeria and Paul Landau’s work on Southern Africa.

There existed a mutual, but unequal dependency between Africans and missionaries. The accommodations, negotiations, compromises, and struggles were not limited to the exchanges between missionaries and Africans, in that they often occurred among Africans. A multiplicity of historical actors were involved aside from African priests and teachers, including wives of mission employees, domestic servants, and students. Indeed, children made a significant contribution to the history of the mission. As Aikande Kwayu and Amy Stambach have argued, children can and have played crucial roles in breaking and making relationships of trust and exchange between people divided

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80 Pels had similar findings in Luguru. Pels, A Politics of Presence, 5, 258.

81 Landau, The Realm of the Word; Peel, Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba.

by gender, age, religious affiliation, ethnicity, and so on. In addition, I argue that the historical agency of African priests, which has been emphasised in the literature, must be set within the context of a web of interactions with all kinds of people, Christian or not, who passed through the mission. Missions were spaces in which valuable personal networks could be forged, and these networks were not only among Christians. Other important players in the history of employment and education in and around the mission, who were not (necessarily) brokers of Christianity, included: chiefs, Muslim notables, mission employees, and German and British colonial employers.

As we begin to unravel the origins of mission dependants, it is essential to keep in mind that the mission was a male-centred environment. Most women converted through marriage and very few were educated or employed by the mission. This is largely to do with a central tenet of the UMCA: to keep the sexes apart. One of the only mission stations that did provide female education was Mbweni in Zanzibar, which was unique in that it was the only one dominated by female missionaries (see Chapter 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Hearers</th>
<th>Catechumens</th>
<th>Baptised</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Adult adherents in the Magila region, 1890-1899. As we can see, the number of female adherents was usually lower than the number of male adherents. Sources: Central Africa (1891, 1892, 1895, 1900).

84 This is in keeping with the Comaroffs’ contention that the impact of the mission must be set within the society the missions were operating. Comaroff and Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa.
85 Rev. J. F. Christopher Fixsen to Mother, Kizara, 17 November 1912, A1 (22), 508, UMArch.
86 Here, my findings differ from Prichard’s account, which insisted that African church leaders placed a lot of emphasis on women’s role in evangelising. However, I think our different findings simply reflect the different periodizations we cover. Prichard, ‘African Christian Women and the Emergence of Nationalist Subjectivities in Tanzania, 1860–1960s’, my account more closely resembles Pels’ findings, in which converts were men and women actively resisted the mission. Pels, A Politics of Presence, chap. 4.
87 Including communicants.
Table 4. Gendered proportions of adherents (%). Based on Table 3. Interestingly, the disparity between male and female communicants seems to have grown larger over time, though women appear more numerous than men when it comes to the ‘hearer’ category.

**EDUCATION AND RITUAL AUTHORITY**

There existed many different life-cycle practices to mark specific junctures in one’s life. Here, I focus on adolescence through *jando* and *unyago*, in addition to marriage rites performed in *kesha*. The reason why I focus on these particular stages is that they marked crucial moments when Africans were interacting with the mission as youths. Life-cycle practices were educational in that they taught values and ideas about gender roles and practical information about being an adult man or woman. They were also a way of regulating communities through ritual authority. ‘Ritual authority’, or ‘ritual power’ (as Steven Feierman terms it), is a term that is rarely used in recent literature. 88 When I use it, I refer to the power and influence an authority figure gains or maintains from conducting rituals that promote their position of power and social control. Indeed, the explicit content of these rituals often is not about authority, but rather about health, reproduction and a lot else.

The problem with the old-fashioned understanding of ‘ritual authority’, represented by the work of Claude Meillassoux and Martin Chanock, is the way it assumes that such power can be claimed and imposed in a top-down manner. 89 The Comaroffs built on this assumption with their observations about the potentially subversive implications of ritual change. In their study of the Tswana, they suggested that during colonialism the contestations that had always been played out in ritual practice

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crystallised, whereas before they had been implicit and almost unnoticed in everyday life. The result was, eventually, that, ‘Tswana increasingly invoked ‘traditional’ ritual itself as a symbol of a lost world of order and control’. The Comaroffs’ treatment of the missionaries’ attacks on initiations suggests that, although missionaries were trying to challenge the chiefs’ religious and ritual authority – not their political authority, the missionaries inadvertently posed a serious challenge to chiefs’ political authority.

In a similar way to the Comaroffs, Peter Pels argued that female youth initiations in Luguru, East Central Tanzania, were an arena for ‘feminist’ intent to develop. In fact, they became more urgent as they managed the unfavourable conditions of colonialism and Christian marriage that particularly affected African women. Pels explained that female initiation played an essential role in alleviating some of the pressure women faced as a result of the colonial economy. Catholic marriage also put pressure on women. It individualised both spouses, but the man had the advantage. He was ‘more independent from the claims of his lineage to his earnings’. Women kept initiations to ‘counter the threat’. Women had more of a say in lineage politics than colonial politics. They had a greater share in life decisions than they did when they followed the Catholic cultures that the missionaries introduced. Crucially, this was not an explicit challenge to Christianity. Thus, Pels showed that sometimes ritual can support the authority of ostensibly marginal groups even without explicitly challenging those who have power according to official ideology.

This also means that ritual authority can be very context-bound; ‘authority over ritual’ may not always confer much authority beyond it. But even if ritual authority was not simply a tool for those in power, it was and is closely intertwined with authority, control and power. Hence, it is imperative to look very carefully case by case at the way authority shifts. Politics aside, the ritual and pedagogy of initiations carried the practical purpose of negotiating social and biological reproduction. This reflects how education,
ritual, and ritual authority cannot be thematically detached though they commonly are treated as such in the literature. Indeed, anthropologists in the latter half of the twentieth century, such as the Comaroffs, perpetuated the consideration of ‘education’ and ‘ritual’ as binary opposites. By contrast, I aim to consider ritual and education as combined, rather than separated. Let us consider some specific life-cycle practices to put this idea into practice.

To take the example of *jando,* the male youth initiation practices that marked adolescence, boys spent around forty days (or the time it took for the boys’ circumcision wounds to heal) in the forest where they were assigned a *kungwi,* an initiated youth (in this case, male), to guide and test him. *Jando* was a form of sex education. Boys were taught about the appropriate times to have sex once married to improve the likelihood of conceiving, and maintaining the health of the child. They were also taught the importance of satisfying their future wife’s sexual needs, of keeping only one sexual partner, and about herbs that increased sexual drive. ‘Dirty singing’ (‘*wimbo chafu’*) accompanied and facilitated this teaching.

Many oral history respondents emphasised that boys were also taught about honour, how to manage family conflict, and the value of making a living through hard work. The changing means by which people made a living were reflected in changing practices in *jando.* For instance, one respondent remembered that there was a coconut oil mill in Pangani where boys were taken during *jando* to learn how to make copra, since it was the main trade in Mkuzi. An earlier equivalent of making copra was hunting. Once *jando* was finished, their heads were shaved and the boys were received in one of the boys’ parents’ home where they prepared three-legged stools for the boys to sit on.

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96 Referred to as ‘*galo*’ in Bondei.
98 Simon Bakari Mhando, interview; Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 27 April 2016.
99 It is difficult to date this anecdote as copra was traded in Pangani from the nineteenth century onwards. George Chambai, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Mambo Msiige, Mkuzi, 18 October 2014.
100 George Chambai, interview, 22 April 2016.
When the boys were seated on those stools they received presents, usually new clothes, from their parents. Then all the people gathered to celebrate with feasting and dance. These final celebrations were referred to as *kiza* (lit. darkness or shadow) or more specifically, *'kuondo a kiza’* (‘to remove the darkness’).

Respondents remembered the older style of initiations as dangerous, repressive, and menacing. One respondent, Judith Mbuji, said that boys would use the initiations and seclusion in the forest to rape each other. According to Canon Samuel Sepeku, precolonial chiefs would constantly challenge their community’s young men when they thought they were not working hard enough. Initiations were part of this, but it was also said they even provoked other villages to instigate war and thus groom the young men to become soldiers. Initiates were indeed treated like hostages and if a boy died in the forest his death would be blamed on his parents’ misdemeanours.

_Jando_ marked the point at which young men could access some of the privileges of men, usually from the age of fifteen. This was called *‘kiva’*, which was also the name for the council meetings in the villages. The ambivalence of the chiefs’ ritual authority is reflected early on in Godfrey Dale’s 1896 account that stated, ‘any one of the elders (or *wazee*) seems capable of instituting a *galo’*. Instead, initiation was mostly shaped by young men who had recently been initiated. As I suggested earlier, ritual authority was often spread among too many people to make social control an individual act. It is likely that if chiefs had once been able to utilise _jando_ as a form of social control, their power to do so was contested.

According to missionaries, the practice of _jando_ among Christians declined very quickly by 1900, only four years after the missionaries officially took a stand against it.

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101 George Chambai.
102 John Makange (pseudonym) and Zuhura Mohammed, Kwedundu, Magila, 23 October 2014.
103 Judith Mbuji, interview, 22 April 2016.
105 John Makange, interview.
107 Dale, ‘An Account of the Principal Customs and Habits of the Natives Inhabiting the Bonden Country, Compiled Mainly for the Use of European Missionaries in the Country’, 188.
108 Dale.
109 Woodward also believed that *galo* was less resilient than *kiwanga* because boys’ circumcision was done when they were babies and involved no ritual. Ward, *Father Woodward of UMCA: A Memoir*, 19; interviews corroborate this, most explicitly in that of Simon Bakari Mhando, interview.
However, this was likely a result of the decreasing importance of war. Male initiation was, for pre-colonial chiefs, a means to recruit fighters. This would have been one reason why it became less important as violence substantially declined from the 1890s.


Circumcision of boys (rather than babies) remained crucial to jando long after the period I cover. The UMCA accepted male circumcision on principle as long as it took place under medical supervision.\textsuperscript{110} Ernest Chambo said that the missionaries even initiated a practice which people referred to as ‘jando clinic’. They used to select a day and send the doctors to a certain village to perform circumcision on that day for everyone who was of the right age, which satisfied the desire to practice jando in the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{111} Missionaries conceded to the circumcision of boys, rather than babies, in order to try and protect them from the dangers that circumcision posed without sterilised implements. Increasingly, babies were born in hospital and circumcised while they were there in order to avoid this, which necessarily took away the central event of jando.

In line with the written record, respondents suggested jando, unlike circumcision itself, declined relatively quickly. Christian boys were usually circumcised in hospital and rarely practiced jando but they did undergo some informal instruction by elders for a few days.\textsuperscript{112} Even if circumcision was performed in hospital, it was still celebrated and marked in informal ways. Ceremonies were no longer held but parents tended to have a small feast and slaughter a chicken. Some would go to church for thanksgiving, with a meal and new clothes for boys healing from circumcision.\textsuperscript{113} This was an opportunity for elders to gather around the healing youth and dispense knowledge through conversation.\textsuperscript{114} Thus, the performance and ceremonies appear to have curtailed but the circumcision of boys and the transmission of knowledge from elders to young boys continued long after the period I consider. In short, missionaries were not responsible for changing initiation practices, which can be better explained by wider social changes and Africans’ initiatives.


\textsuperscript{111} Ernest Chambo, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Mbaramu-Ubwazi, Muheza, 19 October 2014.

\textsuperscript{112} Andrew Mhina, Interview by Elias Mutani, Magila, Masoroko, ‘The Vatican’, 21 April 2016.

\textsuperscript{113} Mary Nyange (Dudu), interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Magila, 22 October 2014.

\textsuperscript{114} Canon Samuel Sepoku, interview, 8 April 2016.
Male circumcision lost its political significance along with the big men themselves, largely due to the lack of demand for fighters and the increasing importance of wage-earning and formal institutional education.

In contrast to jando, respondents were very evasive when discussing unyago, the female initiation practice.\(^{115}\) It was only the Zigua respondents who could give any detail on it, even though a Bondei version of unyago, called kiwanga, did exist. This suggests that unyago was more of a Muslim practice than jando, considering Islam was stronger in the Zigua region than among the Shambaai or Bondei. Thus, my account of unyago is based on oral history testimony from two key Zigua respondents: Judith Mbuji and Anthony Mabundo, who gave the most detail. Unyago was similar to jando in that it was largely about sex education and took place at the beginning of puberty. It began with mwaliko, a dance which taught girls about menstruation. Other teachings revolved around the features which distinguished women from men, why they should have sex and when they should have sex.\(^{116}\) The girls were introduced to what Mbuji referred to as tabia bovu (foul language or behaviour), especially body language, which was the centrepiece of unyago.\(^{117}\) Mbuji claimed that unyago also involved female circumcision and general abuse to girls, who were shown different sex positions.\(^{118}\) Conversely, according to Mabundo, unyago instruction was designed to make them good marriage partners and prevent them from engaging in transactional sex.

Much as with jando, the sex education of unyago was delivered in a piecemeal and informal way among Christians. Christian girls were still taught about menstruation and sex by their grandmothers even if oral history respondents did not label this ‘unyago’. For

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\(^{115}\) Often, they claimed they had absolutely no knowledge about it, but through the course of the interview their understanding of unyago would inadvertently emerge. The respondent who was most judgmental about female initiations was Harriet Anania Michael, who had a Lutheran background. Harriet Anania Michael, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Korogwe, 14 October 2014.

\(^{116}\) Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 27 April 2016; Mungayao’s account corroborates this latter point as she remembered that women elders taught initiates not to ‘play’ with men, so as not to get pregnant as a child. She is Christian and Bondei, so I expect that her knowledge about unyago was acquired because she lived with a Muslim family throughout her childhood. Josephine Thomas Mungayao, interview by Elias Mutani, Mkuzi, Tanga, 22 April 2016.

\(^{117}\) Judith Mbuji, interview, 22 April 2016.

\(^{118}\) Judith Mbuji; other respondents who mentioned female circumcision include: Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 27 April 2016; Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 11 April 2016; Agnes Gumbo Mshoa, interview, 28 April 2016. Mshoa said that female circumcision was a relatively new practice in these parts, so was readily given up.
example, Mbuji, who was born Christian, explained that she received a sex education from her Christian grandmother without the rituals associated with female initiation. She paraphrased her grandmother’s words:

Now you have matured. You must not be fooled by girlish desires such as sleeping with men or looking down at others. If you don’t follow the guidance you break the law of the church and the traditions. If you are not careful you will be barren or you will give birth to abnormal children.  

It is worth noting Mbuji’s turn of phrase regarding the importance of upholding ‘the law of the church and the traditions’ (my emphasis) because it suggests that her grandmother considered them both important and not necessarily contradictory.

When it came to female initiation practices, the mission’s impact was almost zero partly because most women converted to Christianity through marriage, which was after they had been through adolescent initiation rites. In fact, most families made a point to not allow their female children to become Christian until they had been through these rites. Moreover, missionaries had little interest in educating girls and women. Missionaries believed it was unnecessary. For example, Gertrude Ward, a UMCA missionary, argued that in England women were historically illiterate ‘yet were capable of being excellent citizens, faithful wives and mothers, pious and devout Christians.’ Indeed, missionaries believed that educating girls and young women might result in them becoming over-qualified and desirous of professional employment. The lack of female Christians’ involvement in professional employment in the mission is also part of the reason why UMCA prohibitions rarely impacted Christian women.

122 There was a push in 1908 from female missionaries and African clergy to improve female education. However, the UMCA’s attitude towards female education hardly changed. For instance, in 1925 one missionary who was advocating a speedy development of female education added, ‘[T]he Africans as a nation will not advance in civilization if the girls are left too far behind’ (not my emphasis). D. C. A., ‘Girls’ Schools: Magila District’; Rev. Cecil Sherard Pollard, ‘Glimpses of Mission Life’, Central Africa, October 1925.
Unyago was of less importance than *kesha*\(^\text{123}\), which referred to the night that marital unions were made. It lasted the whole night and one of the literal meanings of the term is, ‘to stay awake overnight’.\(^\text{124}\) Some days before *kesha* itself took place, an elder would check if the bride’s hymen was intact.\(^\text{125}\) Esther Chabai described it as a degrading experience in which the young woman would be unceremoniously taken behind a fence and forced to lie down for the elder’s examination.\(^\text{126}\) Proof of virginity was essential to securing marriage. In the instance that the bride-to-be was found not to be a virgin the celebrations and dancing might be cancelled. However, it was the groom-to-be’s decision whether or not the wedding should go ahead. According to Mbuji, if the bride was found not to be a virgin, they would endeavour to find the man who had seduced her and punish him.\(^\text{127}\)

Informants claimed that the confirmation of virginity that was part of *kesha* only stopped very recently. Though the missionaries condemned the practice, virginity was in keeping with the Christian moral codes they championed. Whether the centrality of the virginity test predated the arrival of the missionaries is unknown. It was not mentioned in any of the written sources, but considering missionaries disliked discussing subjects such as this and their limited knowledge of initiations, the absence of any archival information about virginity checks is inconclusive.

Like all life-cycle practices, *kesha* was educational. Dance was the primary medium through which knowledge and advice were dispensed. Some dances were highly sexualised and others carried messages about work and love, containing many *vihendo* (symbolic gestures).\(^\text{128}\) George Chambai offered two examples of *vihendo*. One was that they would dance with milled maize in a sieve and the bride would call a woman elder who tried to sweep to symbolise cleanliness. In a more complex *kihendo*, in the midst of drumming they would place two stools for two women elders to sit on, one from the...
groom’s side and another from the bride’s side. These women danced on the wooden stools while bringing their faces closer together. Finally, the women would kiss and this symbolised eternal love. Kesha provided a space in which conflicts were performed and, often, resolved. For instance, many respondents mentioned that disagreements between girls over courting desirable boarding school boys would be fought out in the arena of kesha, an example of how Christian cultures intermingled with practices that the mission prohibited.

Meanwhile, according to one respondent, on the same night or a few days beforehand, the groom performed a parallel set of (less elaborate) practices, referred to as nkamatiti. The nkamatiti centred upon disciplining the groom-to-be if he was rebellious against his elders and testing his erectile function. If the groom-to-be failed the test, ‘uganga’ (‘witchcraft’ or ‘healing’) was performed, according to Mbuji.

The oral history record overwhelmingly suggests that one of the hardest practices to give up as a Christian was kesha. Christians in Magila did not stop practising kesha, and it usually occurred in conjunction with a Christian wedding. Kesha is still observed according to one respondent, though she claimed they removed any non-Christian religious inflections. Vincent William Semkuruto and Mwamazi, who has already been mentioned, said that to some extent a variant set of practices were developed in relation to marriage whereby a best man or groomsman, who was supposed to be a close relative and somewhat older than the groom, would be responsible for delivering the groom’s sex education. Part of this cross between kesha and Christian marriage entailed cooking jungu (the food cooked during kesha). Indeed, Christians tried to reconcile their Christianity and their sociability by adjusting their involvement in the rituals. For instance, a Christian (or, rather, their parents) might object to scattering maize on the ground as a

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129 George Chambai, interview, 18 October 2014.
130 Mayble Alice Mzimba, interview.
131 Judith Mbuji, interview, 22 April 2016. Nkamatiti involved eating a chicken head or various herbs. This was all very important because impotence on the wedding night could result in great shame to the groom’s family. If the various medicines did not improve the situation, the young man would not marry his intended and might even have to travel to another village where knowledge of his erectile dysfunction had not reached. Missionaries do not appear to have been aware of any of this.
132 Theresia Mhina Makange, interview.
133 Vincent William Semkuruto, interview by Elias Mutani, Bora Street, Chang’ombe, Dar es Salaam, 9 April 2016.
sacrifice, or to certain dances. Thus, as with many life-cycle practices, *kesha* underwent a form of adaptation that missionaries were unaware of and, thus, is absent from the written record.

The UMCA’s opposition, led by both African and English missionaries, had a limited and patchy impact upon the decline in Christians practising initiations. Most respondents did not give any weight to the idea that African or English missionaries had anything to do with this decline because missionaries were largely ignorant about them and African priests and teachers were unwilling to interfere. The tendency of African priests and teachers to turn a blind eye to initiation practices, and of African Christians to slip these practices out of sight, explains the slow and relatively peaceful decline. In fact, with such high levels of tolerance, we must look beyond the African and English missionaries to identify the cause for the decline. Considering it took so long for missionaries to understand what the rites of passage involved, let alone control them, African Christians had a chance to adapt without the missionaries’ awareness.

There was consensus that *jando* and *unyago* became irrelevant to a youth who had less time to give to them as they were increasingly occupied with school. The oral history record explains the decline in youth initiations and dances as a reflection of how the young had more demanding schedules because of scholarly commitments, especially if they attended boarding school. Indeed, even non-Christians shortened *jando*, *unyago*, and *kesha* considerably, making them far less elaborate over time. Ultimately, this explanation is the most convincing: School-going youths (who were not necessarily Christian) had less time and less interest to devote to learning dances and skills from their elders, Christian or otherwise. The initiations were labour intensive as they involved learning long and complicated dances and songs.

Perhaps most significantly, young men and women increasingly found their spouses while at school. Though the permission of elders was still critical, the village

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135 Agnes Mbwana, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Kwa Chaga–Mkolo, nr. Handeni, 10 December 2014.
137 John Geldart Mhina, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Masoroko, Magila, 17 October 2014, 00:18:00-00:20:00.
138 Ernest Chambo and Francis Kabelwa noted that having an education that took you away from your village broadened your options for finding a spouse as you generally improved your networks. Francis
was not the primary space in which courtship occurred. As far as the decision to go to school was concerned, in its turn, Francis Kabelwa argued that when it came to this, the influence of one’s siblings was greater than that of one’s parents. Mabundo made a very similar point, that male students struggled to maintain close relationships with their parents, particularly with their fathers, because they detached themselves from the family discipline. Indeed, when children went to boarding school they ended up spending more time with their siblings and peers than their elders. Students had less access to their elders even at the times when they otherwise would have interacted, i.e. meals, nights, mornings. Canon Samuel Sepeku made the case that Christians’ personal networks were growing:

The coming of missionaries and introduction of Christianity [...] abolished tendencies of parents to choose spouses for their children. That was it. The missionaries didn’t tell people to stop this tradition; rather it was the people themselves who changed their outlook. It was a small world and it was easy to know all that surrounded them in their small circle. But social interactions brought systematic changes in the processes of building a family.

So, the practice of elders arranging marriages declined, not because of the missionaries’ protests against it, but because social networks were changing and broadening that were a consequence of the coming of missionaries and the birth of Christianity.

Changes in ritual practice happened independently of the mission, though they were indirectly shaped by missionary influences, especially schools. Of course, the changing time commitments of youths was just as much a factor in Christian Masasi. However, the fact that the boys’ adapted initiations were shortened to fourteen days, the girls’ to ten days suggests that they, too, were adapting to the same set of circumstances. Thus, it was young people’s autonomous interests and disinterests that

Kabelwa, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Gombelo, Mkonje (Kideleko), 10 October 2014; Ernest Chambo, interview.
139 Francis Kabelwa, interview.
140 Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 27 April 2016.
142 Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 8 April 2016.
doomed initiation. This was a slow process that occurred as the value of going to school gradually became clear to all generations.

MISSION SURVEILLANCE OF LIFE-CYCLE PRACTICES

I have already suggested that the missionaries’ attack on initiations cannot wholly explain their decline. However, the way in which their attacks were made does shed light on mission identity and the dynamic between adherents and missionaries. It was only from the 1890s that initiations were prohibited for Christian converts, largely because it took a long time for the missionaries to fully understand what these initiations involved and for African Christians to become more candid with missionaries. Missionaries also became aware that the life-cycle practices were essential to a person’s transition from childhood to adulthood. As one missionary observed in 1893, a mission education could be harmful to a young man’s marriage prospects because failing to partake in initiations meant he would remain in a child-like state. Parallel to this, young men who refused to take part in initiations would also have been mission students who were less able to acquire everyday practical knowledge, for instance about cultivation, if they spent all their efforts on mission schooling.

In fact, initiations were only officially condemned in 1896 at a conference of African Christians at Msalabani, chaired by Samuel Sehoza and Petro Limo with no Europeans present. The fact that these African priests took a lead on this condemnation could be mistaken for evidence of what the Comaroffs describe as ‘colonisation of consciousness’. However, Sehoza and Limo were unique converts because they were taken to the mission as displaced children and had invested their lives wholly into the

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144 Ward, Father Woodward of UMCA: A Memoir, 19, 37.
147 Comaroff and Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa.
mission. Sehoza and Limo were sympathetic to the missionaries' message because they were estranged from their kin and exposed to missionary culture.

We get an insight into the authoritarian approaches used to uphold mission codes of conduct in the short-lived newspaper of Magila mission, *Habari za Mwezi*. In October 1896, the readers, referred to in the text as ‘wamasiyira’ (‘messianic followers’) in line with the missionaries' emphasis on Jesus and the stations of the cross in the liturgy, were reminded of their promise to ‘give up’ (‘kuacha’) certain practices. There is no author attached to this proclamation in the newspaper, but it is probably a summary of Petro Limo’s words at the aforementioned conference that took place in September 1896 to confirm the mission’s policies:

1. Every messianic follower is forbidden from being treated with unnecessary medication.
2. Every messianic follower is forbidden from initiating marriage procedures through the usual heathen customs.\(^{148}\)
3. Every messianic follower is forbidden from having charms at home, or even in the farm because doing this is to depend on charms and not God.
4. It is not prohibited to circumcise boys; but to ‘remove the darkness’\(^{149}\) is forbidden.
5. It is not prohibited to feast when a child is born, and to send the child to their uncle’s, but to put *machungu*\(^{150}\) on children is forbidden except if it’s due to the weakness of a child.
6. Funeral traditions are permitted but the goat sacrifice of *mkiluso* is forbidden.\(^{151}\)
7. *Guna*\(^{151}\) is totally condemned.

These are all that the messianic followers have agreed to abandon.\(^{152}\)

It is worth noting that the original Swahili version of this source used the term ‘*shenzi*’ (‘heathen’), a term that is strongly connected to the status economy of late nineteenth

\(^{148}\) This probably refers to *kesha*.

\(^{149}\) This refers to the male initiation that ends in feasting and gift-giving.

\(^{150}\) Respondents were not sure what this was.

\(^{151}\) This is said to be a Shambaai tradition to mark the birth of a child. It is still practiced and typically involves elaborate dances. Mizimba claimed that the dances were so highly valued and exclusive that onlookers had to pay an entrance fee to see them. John Makange, interview; Mayble Alice Mzimba, interview; Helena Hoza Mhina, interview by Elias Mutani, Maiyanga, Magila, 22 April 2016.

century coastal Swahili society. *Ushenzi* could also imply ignorance and a lack of ‘culture’ but the missionaries employed the term to imply a strong connection between *ushenzi* and evil.\textsuperscript{153} The use of this term is particularly striking considering the likelihood that the above regulations were probably written by Limo. Respondents were under the impression that African priests and teachers refused to use the term ‘*shenzi*’, so Limo’s early generation was likely to have been an exception.

In any case, it was usually the English missionaries who insisted on strong language such as ‘*ushenzi*’, ‘*uovu*’, and ‘*ujinga*’ to criticise the non-Christian practices they targeted.\textsuperscript{154} The way Woodward put it to his followers was: ‘sin is rebellion and its wage is death.’\textsuperscript{155} African Christians today bitterly remember this threatening talk and consider the labelling of African practices as ‘*ushenzi*’ as racist contempt for their attempts to keep themselves healthy, reproduce, and maintain socialisation.

It was difficult to explain customs to missionaries and negotiate with them, which caused much frustration.\textsuperscript{156} Respondents talked about the missionaries exceedingly positively, but their tone changed when they thought of missionaries who labelled non-Christian practices ‘*ushenzi*’. Other offensive terms to describe customs that went against church teachings were ‘*mambo ya kipumbavu pumbavu*’ (‘foolish things’) or ‘*mila ya kikorofi*’, (‘troublesome or evil customs’).\textsuperscript{157} Africans took these missionaries’ free use of the term ‘*shenzi*’ as further evidence of missionary ignorance. For instance, Mwamazi, an Anglican priest, said:

The missionaries called all traditional dances ‘*ngoma za kishenzi*’, a disgraceful term that was annoying. They grouped together all traditional dances in the genre


\textsuperscript{155} ‘*Thambi ni kuasi na mshahara wake ni kufa.*’ Woodward, Dale, and Salfey, ‘Mashauri na Maelezo ya mambo ya dini kwa wamasihiya wa Bonde’.

\textsuperscript{156} Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 8 April 2016, many of the interviews reflected this, but it was articulated most clearly by Sepeku and Mabundo.; Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 27 April 2016.

\textsuperscript{157} Simon Bakari Mhando, interview; Mayble Alice Mzimba, interview.
of warding off evil spirits. They underrated all dances. But there were such beautiful dances from Uzigua like Mselego, Selo, Mbugi, etc.\(^{158}\)

**Illustration 11.** John Mhando-Nyungu, 2014.

The fact that missionaries labelled traditions as ‘shenzi’ saddened and angered people, according to John Mhando-Nyungu: ‘Since the missionaries were seen to be wise and educated the people didn’t confront them but ended up complaining among themselves. People didn’t like that term at all. But they couldn’t do anything about it.’\(^{159}\)

African priests and teachers took a more cautious approach in their efforts to convince African Christians to cease practising life-cycle rituals. Mbuji argued that African priests and teachers attempted to provide an example by stopping life-cycle practices and acquiring Anglicised manners. For example, she suggested they put on a European accent and altered their deportment, and their students followed suit. They represented a

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\(^{158}\) ‘Ni ngoma walizokuwa wakiziita za kishenzi; sasa neon hili lilikuwa likiwaudhi watu lakini waliziita hivyo kwa sababu walichanganya na ngoma za kupunga pepo. Walijumuisha tu. Lakini kuna ngima halali watu walicheza. Ngoma ya Wazigua waliziita Mselego, Selo, Mbugi, nk.’ Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 11 April 2016. Dancers defended their right to ritual practices and traditional entertainment, partly by distancing themselves from what missionaries identified as ‘demon worship,’ which was what they so strongly opposed.

rejection of life-cycle practices, but more importantly, an embrace of British culture in their own making of a mission-educated culture.\textsuperscript{160}

The respondents were angry about the use of the term ‘\textit{shenzi}’. They believed that the memory of their ancestors ought to be respected, even if the respondents themselves had never shared those beliefs.\textsuperscript{161} However, these attitudes would doubtless have been shaped by discourses on nationalism and post-colonialism.\textsuperscript{162} In other words, the oral history accounts cannot by themselves substantiate the claim that the term ‘\textit{shenzi}’ was offensive in the period this thesis addresses. The respondents’ revulsion towards the missionaries’ use of the term ‘\textit{shenzi}’ may at least contextualise the memory of Weston’s death and what Mlangwa described as a bitter struggle over initiations, as I mentioned in the opening anecdote to this chapter. Weston was remembered as a leading proponent of this shaming approach.\textsuperscript{163} Mlangwa recounted that Weston had heard of some people who took Christian children for initiation and the traditional \textit{kiwanga} dance at Kwa Mlingote. She implied that Weston stumbled in at a certain point and saw things the elders and the Christians did not wish him to see, although she did not specify what that may have been. According to another respondent, Weston had called the people involved in the initiations ‘\textit{washenzi}’.\textsuperscript{164} She exclaimed that ‘they were very angry!’ (‘\textit{Oooh wamekasirika!}’) at Weston’s intervention.\textsuperscript{165} Theresia Mhina Makange’s explanation of Weston was that he was said to be, ‘fierce at one moment then in the next moment he was calm and filled with love’.\textsuperscript{166}

Weston was highly confrontational. He took pleasure visiting places which were dominated by the most popular ritual experts (who were sometimes also chiefs and/or Muslims), and proselytised there against their wishes. As Mabundo explained, Weston angered some people so much that they warned him that his punishment would come.

\begin{itemize}
\item Judith Mbuji, interview, 22 April 2016.
\item Josephine Thomas Mungayao, interview, 22 April 2016.
\item Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 11 April 2016; Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 8 April 2016; Vincent William Semkuruto, interview, 9 April 2016.
\item Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 27 April 2016.
\item Catherina Msiba Mlangwa, interview.
\item ‘\textit{Aliweza} kukasirika sana lakini hakuchukua muda kuonesha upole ulioja upendo’. Makange tried not to speak of his death, but eventually admitted that it was surrounded with controversy. Theresia Mhina Makange, interview.
\end{itemize}
When Weston died some people boasted they had been right all along and that they were responsible for his death.\textsuperscript{167} Crucially, Mabundo revealed that ritual experts were claiming their supernatural powers had killed Weston. They did not necessarily have anything directly to do with the female initiations Weston had stumbled into, which suggests there was a kind of alliance formed against missionaries to protect practices labelled ‘uzhenzi’.

John Makange suggested another set of meanings that might be drawn from respondents’ interpretations of Weston’s death. Namely, he believed that Weston could not possibly have died from witchcraft on the basis that it only affects those who believe in it.\textsuperscript{168} And Weston categorically rejected witchcraft, which simultaneously demonstrated his power and his capacity for causing offence. Mbulinyingi echoed what many respondents suggested, that the missionaries didn’t fear anything or anybody.\textsuperscript{169} Agnes Gumbo Mshoa said that, ‘I heard that he could walk in rain and never get wet’.\textsuperscript{170} Thus, although the missionaries might have been perceived as ignorant and offensive, their powers were a source of fear. As far as African Christians were concerned, they toed a fine line between bravery and foolishness. So missionaries were not well-equipped to keep African Christians under surveillance, but the fact that missionaries were feared encouraged many Christians to avoid confrontation.

In summary, the bitterness about missionaries’ judgmental attitude suggests Africans in this case found missionary opprobrium irritating and the rites remained socially or educationally important. However, because they cared about their engagement with the mission for separate reasons, adherents ended up weaving between different behaviours in different social contexts. This was neither straightforward ‘breaking with the past’, as Birgit Meyer calls it, nor an example of ‘adaptation’ in the way that Terrence Ranger posited.

\textsuperscript{167} His exact words were, ‘Basi anayeweza kuzungumza kwamba nimenfanyia hivi, watu walikuwa wanaaminini maana walikuwa wanajulikana, “Nimefanya kazi yangu maana alikuja hapa kutangaza maneno yake lakini nilimwambia ataona.”’ Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 27 April 2016, 01:36:30.

\textsuperscript{168} John Makange, interview.

\textsuperscript{169} ‘Kwa kuwa walikuwa na nia thabiti ya kueneza injili chochote kilichokuja njiani hakikuwa tishio kwao.’ Canon Matthia Edward Mbulinyingi, interview, 27 April 2016, 00:14:53.

\textsuperscript{170} ‘Nilisikia kuwa askofu kama hivi akitembea kwenyi mvuvi, anakembea pakavu, mvua haimyeshe.’ Agnes Gumbo Mshoa, interview, 28 April 2016, 00:31:07.
African priests and teachers did little to support the missionaries’ attempt to curb life-cycle practices. This was not because they lacked power and influence in the villages. Teachers, priests, and their wives held much responsibility and respect. They were often more highly qualified than government agents and magistrates, and they were sought after to mediate and settle disputes. Teachers and priests were well networked, visible, and memorable individuals in the community, partly because they appropriated a kind of mission civility. Thus, they were meant to set a good example. Mwamazi explained that in his father’s day, it was about being a kioo cha jamii (literally, ‘mirror of the community’) and gate-keepers to the world outside the village:

A teacher did not just teach, but set an example for good conduct in life, too [...] to set an example was to be a mirror of the community. [...] they watched the wife of the teacher as an example in the village in terms of how to dress, for instance. She set an example. Even her cooking was something people would follow. When people go to eat with the teacher, they go to drink water with the teacher, his clean glasses, they had everything. This is the example they set. They are civilized compared to the village, which is ‘very local’. That kind of person is quite civilized because he wears nice clothes and he does these things in the mirror of the community.

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171 Occasionally, respondents suggested that priests and teachers could abuse their power. E.g. Canon Matthia Edward Mbulinyingi, interview, 5 October 2014, 00:19:45–00:26:00.
172 S., ‘395 African Teachers’; H. Simmons, ‘Out Districts of Msalabani Parish’, Central Africa, June 1918; Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 29 October 2014, 01:38:00–01:39:00; Mhina made similar points, adding that teachers were sometimes to be feared. John Geldart Mhina, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Magila, 15 October 2014, 00:18:00–00:20:00, 00:26:00.
173 As this excerpt of the obituary of Robert Ngoma suggests: ‘In this village the teacher’s house and school faced the high road, and many people passed it on their way to Kigongoi, and Robert always gave them a welcome, for he was a very hospitable man, and he found favour in the eyes of both friends and strangers.’ Samwil Sehoza, ‘Robert Ngoma, an African Teacher’, African Tidings, May 1910.
175 This phrase ‘kioo ya jamii’ is frequently used in contemporary politics. I have no evidence of it being used in this early period. Nonetheless, it does reflect precisely what the archival record suggests about the role of teachers as examples for the community to follow.
176 Domesticity and hospitality were important qualities for these kinds of teachers. A good example of this was their frequent invitations to come to missionary ‘tea parties,’ and to bring their wives. See for example: A. B. Hellier, ‘About Korogwe’, Central Africa, May 1910.
177 This phrase ‘very local’ was said in English.
178 ‘Si mwalamu wa kufundisha, maadili pia ya maisha jinsi ya kuishi ni mfano. [...] ni kiongozi kioo cha jamii. [...] waiteitamia mke wa mwalamu ni mfano katika kijiji, kuwaa, ni mfano hata upishi wake anavyopika ni mfano. Watu wakienda kula kwa mwalamu, wanakwenda kunywa moji kwa mwalamu, glass zake safi, watakuta kilu kilu. Huu ni mfano hawa. Hawa ni wastaarabu kwa sababu unapelekwa kwenyewe kijiji ambacho ni very local sasa. Yule ni mstaarabu kidogo ambaye anavaa vizuri anafanya hivi yeye ni kioo cha jamii.’ Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 29 October 2014, 01:38:00–01:39:00; Mhina made
That these high-status men who were closely allied with the mission nevertheless tolerated or even participated in rituals the missionaries prohibited shows vividly just how much pull both the mission and the village exerted.


similar points, adding that teachers were sometimes to be feared. John Geldart Mhina, interview, 15 October 2014, 00:18:00–00:20:00, 00:26:00.
Semkuruto put the respectability of teaching, and any other types of wage-employment, down to ‘exposure’ (a term many informants utilised). He explained that, ‘At that time employment had more respect than other ways of making a living because being employed you get to be known, you are being exposed to the community [...] now the farmer is at his home, is at his farm, there is no exposure.’ Similarly, Sepeku’s father, a teacher, had a very small salary but made a point of being extremely generous to Christian strangers and distant relatives who needed a place to stay, especially those on their way to Zanzibar for clove harvesting. In this, Sepeku’s father taught him the importance of treating people living out of the mission like his relatives, and to help or cooperate with them as best he could. Manfred Mabundo (c.1888-1926) was another example of a teacher who was generous with money. He helped those suffering from rising taxes and famines at various points of the German colonial era to such an extent that he unwittingly shamed missionaries, who admitted they had done less than him in those instances.

As I have begun to suggest, part of a teacher’s big-manship was his privileged access to cash through wages, which was still scarce in the 1920s. It was impossible to live off salaries alone but it was also difficult to live off the land and nothing else. Of course, wages could also be cleverly invested. Unsurprisingly, missionaries were concerned that priests’ morality could be compromised by commercial enterprise. For example, in 1908 Weston noted:

My greatest anxiety is the commercial tendency of our native priests. They are nearly all making a lot of money. One by teaching, others in commerce. Bishop Hine allowed the one, I was as ignorant of the other as we all were. Sehoza and Limo have shares in a commercial undertaking, and make each a hundred rupees a month! They are awfully good about it. They will give it all up. and after all they rightly say that they have only invested money as do many priests at home! But

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179 Semkuruto said this in English. Vincent William Semkuruto, interview, 30 October 2014, 00:54:00.
180 Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 29 October 2014, 01:11:00-01:15:15.
181 Mabundo, An African David and Jonathan. The Autobiography of Padre Manfred Mabundo, 6, 26 Mabundo also gallantly refused to leave a sick mnyamwezi man behind to die during his time as a German war captive.
182 John Raymond Ngovi, interview, 00:32:50–00:34:25; For instance, John Mwamazi’s father, a teacher, farmed and also had a shop. Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 29 October 2014, 00:50:00 0054:00-00:55:00, 01:37:00.
they admit the bad examples etc. and the low ideal. I am going to insist on all this teaching and trading stopped.  

If you were fortunate to receive wages you could invest them into livestock, which conferred both economic advantages and prestige, especially among the Zigua. Mwamazi explained:

if someone wanted to sell a chicken; they will say, ‘take it to the teacher.’ Likewise, if someone wanted to sell a goat; they will say, ‘take it to the teacher because he gets a salary.’ He was treated as someone who had made progress and become wealthy, and he was viewed as educated and civilised.  

Again, John Mwamazi explained:

The kind of person who has a salary every month and earnings every month, which make him conspicuous, hasn’t got to contend with any limits, if he has a cow he can sell it or benefit from its milk. He is respected, he has coin [...]

Here, Mwamazi does not talk of ‘uhuru’ but makes the point that these individuals were in the advantageous position of not being very dependent upon others.

Semkuruto cited the story of his maternal grandmother’s brother, Edward Kingodi, which adds to Mwamazi’s account. Kingodi was a teacher and school inspector but he also had a very large coconut grove (about 500 trees). As school inspector, he could order the teachers to instruct the children to help plant coconut seedlings. Semkuruto explained:

To have wealth and ‘property,’ as you [wazungu] call it – we would not call it property – for a person to have this wealth was to be respected by those around him. He couldn’t beg for help from another. Others came to ask for help from him. So he had ‘command’. Now, those teachers are people who were paid wages, their respectability was enormous. They got it from their students and parents of students. Okay, so [for example] Edward [Kingodi] [...] he was able of capitalising on his rank when he superintended the schools and instructed the teachers [...]  

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183 Frank Weston to Duncan Travers, Zanzibar, 5 December 1908, A1 (17) A, 431, UMArch.
184 ‘Ahaa aliyefanya kazi kazi kwa mfano kama aliyesoma na kuwa mwalimu kwenyi kijiji alionekana yeve ndiye anayelipwa mshahara kwa hiyo kama kuna mtu anauza kuku wake basi anasema, “mpelekeni kwa mwalimu”, kama anataka kuusa mbuzi wake basi anasema, “mpelekeni kwa mwalimu”, kwa sababu yeve analipwa mshahara yeve alionekana mtu mto saarabu mtu muungwana mwenye hela kwa hiyo ni mtu aliyeelimika kiustaarabu.’ Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 29 October 2014, 01:38:00-01:39:00.
185 Huyu ana mshahara wa kila mwezi ana kipato cha kila mwezi ambacho kinaonekana na huyu hana mpaka auze au kama ana ng’ombe mpaka akamue anauza maziwa kwa hiyo na yeye anaheshimika ana senti inaingia kila wakati kwa hiyo ana.
186 kuwa na mali na utajiri, tuseme – tusingeita ni utajiri, kuwa na mali hilo alizokuwa nazo huyo zilimfanya kuwa aheshimike na mtu yoyote hawezi kusema kuwa, hawezi kuomba msaada kwa mtu mwingine. Watu wengine ndio wanakuja kuomba msaada kwake. Kwa hiyo alikuwa ana command hio,
Thus, teachers had the opportunity to gain followers and could even ask these followers to assist them in manual labour to engage in cash-cropping. Thus, wealth in people and in money were closely connected for teachers. Surprisingly, the wealth derived from salaries was not necessarily the major draw. Thus, if teachers were ‘big men’ in this time, they were different from precolonial big men. They could offer patronage, even if modest, and thus tie others to themselves by gratitude and obligation. However, African priests and teachers rarely gained political influence under German colonial rule.\textsuperscript{187}

Regardless of the obligations Christians might have had towards African priests and teachers, many teachers and clergy allowed Christians to partake in life-cycle practices outside the church and some even participated.\textsuperscript{188} Some oral history accounts suggest that the African priests could be hypocritical. However, this kind of controversy was much more likely to surround healing practices. For example, congregations often suspected that priests wore \textit{mafingo} (charms), considering \textit{mafingo} were easily hidden from view it was a difficult thing to prove. People also noted that priests sometimes went to traditional healers. According to respondents, this tension between what an African priests and teachers ordered people to do and what they did themselves undermined their insistence on ceasing to take part in life-cycle practices.\textsuperscript{189}

There were differences between the attitudes taken by African clergy in Magila and Masasi. Weston noted that the Masasi African clergy held strong grievances against the Magila African clergy for exposing ‘spiritual offenders’ to the Germans for punishment. Still, only a select few African priests and teachers took a hard line, such as Cecil Majaliwa, Sehoza, and Limo, all of whom were displaced from their kinship groups.\textsuperscript{190}

Finally, some historical agency for the opposition to life-cycle practices must also be given
to children. In fact, children might have been stronger brokers of prohibition than African priests and teachers because they acted as spies on their elders, relaying messages that identified Christians who were breaking church regulations.¹⁹¹

Missionaries were disappointed to find that most teachers were ‘hardly evangelists’ and failed to meet missionaries’ expectations.¹⁹² One of these expectations was that teachers should help ensure that Christians were not practising initiations. However, teachers frequently made the case that overly zealous opprobrium would break their trust with potential converts.¹⁹³ African priests and teachers who were posted to areas that they did not originate from were less likely to have this concern.¹⁹⁴ African mission employees were also afraid to ask questions about the missionaries’ codes of conduct because they feared losing their jobs.¹⁹⁵ Missionaries’ expectations were also increasingly high. Not only did Christian men have to avoid their own initiations, they had to ensure that their wives or fiancés were not initiated either.¹⁹⁶ They were, as was often the case for African Christians, put in an impossible position.

Prohibitions to initiations caused conflict but there was also a significant degree of confusion regarding what initiations and practices were actually prohibited. Part of the confusion was to do with the fact that missionaries were divided over whether to violently oppose non-Christian practices. For example, Woodward, the longest serving missionary in Magila, disagreed with the forceful and uncompromising approach epitomised by missionaries like Weston because it only resulted in Africans hiding their practices. In the same way that almost all the respondents did, Woodward noted that these rites contained good and bad elements.¹⁹⁷

On the one hand, life-cycle practices were collective, conspicuous events and they were less easily hidden than ancestral worship, which could be assimilated unnoticed.

¹⁹¹ John Makange, interview.
¹⁹² Rev. J. F. Christopher Fixsen to Mother, 6 October 1912.
¹⁹⁴ Simon Bakari Mhando, interview; Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 8 April 2016; missionaries made exactly the same observation. E.g. A. G. de la P., ‘Young Teachers and Their Temptations’, African Tidings, October 1908.
¹⁹⁵ Agnes Gumbo Mshoa, interview, 28 April 2016.
¹⁹⁶ F. E. F., ‘Korogwe Girls’.
However, sorting the permissible from the forbidden, and policing life-cycle practices was near impossible for missionaries who were few, and had rarely mastered the relevant languages, or gained the complete trust of the people.\textsuperscript{198} Similarly, Prichard argued that Africans kept things quiet to avoid the church interference.\textsuperscript{199} This was part of the story in Magila. Though life-cycle practices involved many people, they happened well away from the mission station, in spaces where the practical teachings of sex education could be concealed. Female initiations were usually indoors, and male initiations took place in the forest, distant from the missionaries’ view. \textit{Kesha} was a more public celebration and thus more easily detected. Yet, as I have already shown, it was probably the most persistent of all life-cycle practices that the church sought to prohibit.\textsuperscript{200}

This was made possible by the ambiguity of the mission’s prohibitions. Indeed, the missionaries, English and African, did not necessarily agree among themselves about what constituted religious or social pluralism. I use the term ‘pluralism’ to allude to the way people switch between ritual regimes and allegiances. It was perfectly acceptable (from missionary and non-missionary points of view) to have diverse social affiliations, but that regarding religion, exclusivity became established as an ideal in the inter-war period at the latest, even if it was considered hard to attain. Though most respondents remembered that the church prohibited polygamy outright, many believed the missionaries were ambivalent about other practices. Others believed missionaries disliked life-cycle practices, but did not prohibit them unless they were thought to contain religious ideas. Thus, John Mhando-Nyungu claimed that the missionaries were in favour of herbs that increased sex-drive but just did not like the dancing that conjured the spirits of the ancestors.\textsuperscript{201} Mabundo noted that the missionaries allowed \textit{nkatamitia} (the male

\textsuperscript{198} All respondents suggested this was the case, save for Agnes Mshoa, who said that although the missionaries did not know about life-cycle rituals in much detail, they were good at finding out if Christians practiced them. Agnes Gumbo Mshoa, interview, 28 April 2016. Many studies of missions have already noted how poor communication played a central role in the exchanges between missionaries and African Christians. For example, Peterson showed how Africans made moral accusations strategically to attempt to manipulate missionaries: Peterson, ‘Morality Plays’.


\textsuperscript{200} Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 11 April 2016.

\textsuperscript{201} John Mhando-Nyungu, interview, 28 April 2016.
activities in preparation for marriage) to take place but doubted the missionaries knew the details.\textsuperscript{202}

Christians sometimes felt that they needed to placate the missionaries by following their rules, even when they did not think that what the missionaries were doing made sense. In particular, Christians struggled to see the discord between Christian and non-Christian practices. For instance, the distinction between ‘spirits’, ‘ghosts’, and ‘ancestors’ seemed flawed, as Canon Mwamazi explained:

The traditionalists asked, ‘the missionaries criticise us for our spirits but they have saints in their religion, aren’t those ghosts too?’ People asked themselves, ‘St. Peter and St. Paul; aren’t they spirits too?’ They couldn’t ask this directly to the missionaries due to the communication barrier. They wondered whether the mass for the dead was different to the Muslims’ event to remember the dead which was called \textit{malimati} and was observed monthly.\textsuperscript{203}

Part of the confusion also lay in the fact that African priests and teachers very rarely disciplined Christians for partaking in life-cycle practices.\textsuperscript{204} This is partly because Christians were careful not to make their practices obvious to other Christians.\textsuperscript{205}

Most penances revolved around polygamy and adultery. Sometimes this could be extremely emotive, and even threatening. One priest was remembered for scattering dirt on polygamists to symbolise being buried alive. Another punishment was to stop saying masses for the dead. Converts were much more likely to face punishments for committing polygamy than for practicing initiations. Most of the time, converts were so afraid of becoming isolated that they deferred to the African and English missionaries. Other times, the fear of wronging one’s ancestors was greater than the fear of being isolated from fellow Christians.\textsuperscript{206}

\textsuperscript{202} Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 27 April 2016. Part of the confusion lay in the fact that no one had tried to explain the meaning of certain practices to the missionaries, as Kabelwa carefully explained: Francis Kabelwa, interview.


\textsuperscript{205} Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 27 April 2016.

\textsuperscript{206} Vincent William Semkuruto, interview, 9 April 2016.
OFFICIALLY ADAPTING LIFE-CYCLE PRACTICES

From the 1890s to 1910s the written record suggests that the UMCA believed African cultures were the enemy of Christianity. Though the UMCA aimed to establish an independent church, missionaries were inherently suspicious about the adaptation of African ritual practice. For instance, Bishop John Edward Hine was up in arms in 1907 when he heard that the CMS in Uganda was replacing communion wine with banana juice. When it came to initiation practices, adaptation was given little thought. Even Woodward, who was uniquely sympathetic to African cultures, wrote in 1893 that *galo* and *kiwanga* were, ‘so bad that there is scarcely any hope of purifying them – there would be hardly anything left if we did’.

Post-WWI there was a shift in missionary thinking, aligned with the rise of indirect rule, that African cultures should be adapted in order to preserve them, especially when it came to communalism, a quality of African culture that missionaries highly valued. In the 1920s the UMCA’s Frank Weston and Vincent Lucas became known for their efforts to better understand African customs and symbols. The oral history record suggests that the differences in approach between Bishop Weston in Magila, who rejected attempts to mix African and Christian ritual, and Bishop Lucas in Masasi, who sought to increase his number of adherents by doing so, led to the split between the dioceses of Masasi and Zanzibar. The written record, though, suggests a quite different story. Firstly, Weston was in favour of Masasi’s adaptation of initiation rites and he was an advocate of preserving what he envisioned to be African communality. Secondly, the dioceses of Masasi and Zanzibar were split because they were becoming unmanageable to be administered together, and Weston suggested the split himself. Most likely, all of these

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209 Bishop Smythies was uncompromising on any form of initiation practice according to his speech to the Church Congress in London in 1890. Bishop Smythies, ‘The Church Congress’.
factors played a role. Most importantly, though the Magila diocese was well-established and past its pioneer phase, the missionaries did not believe Magila Christians could be trusted to follow their guidelines for adapted rites.215

However, Stoner-Eby has argued cogently that in Masasi, ritual adaptation was led by African priests and teachers in the early twentieth century, and many adaptations occurred before missionaries became interested in Africanising Christianity in the 1920s.216 There was a widely-felt need to teach the young about reproduction, which sat uneasily with the conservative culture of the UMCA’s Anglicanism. Adaptation was not the only solution to this dilemma and, in any case, there was little desire for it. African priests and teachers in both Magila and Masasi tended to be sceptical about officially adapting initiations.217 This scepticism towards adaptation carried through to later generations, as respondents in both Zanzibar and Magila were dismissive of Masasi’s initiation scheme. Respondents believed that initiation meant very little if it was stripped of sex education and physical discipline. As Judith Mbuji put it, ‘

\[ \text{‘unyago teaches little girls how to lie in bed with men; how are you going to turn that into a form of worship?’} \]

Respondents saw adaptation as artificial, or even used the offensive term ‘kishenzi’ to describe these hybrid life-cycle practices. This term was used because the respondents believed these life-cycle practices left initiands ignorant, not because they believed that initiations were bad in themselves.218

Respondents also argued that Lucas and other missionaries did not understand the point of initiation and conceived of it as a custom that they should try and decorously


\[ \text{216 Stoner-Eby, ‘African Clergy, Bishop Lucas and the Christianizing of Local Initiation Rites: Revisiting “The Masasi Case”’.} \]

\[ \text{217 Indeed, even the Masasi case, African priests and teachers were not unanimous in their support of unyago, as Stoner-Eby showed. For example, Vincent Lucas noted in 1913 that mission teachers in Masasi advised Bishop Weston to ban them all because women showed no hope of following the regulations for a Christian-style unyago. ‘Masasi Mission Diary’ 18 April 1913, 81–82, East Africana Library, University of Dar es Salaam, 149.} \]

\[ \text{218 ‘Kwenye unyago wanafundishwa mambo ya kulala na wanaume: unawezaje kufanya ibada kwa mambo kama hayo?’ Judith Mbuji, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Kideleko, 9 October 2014.} \]

\[ \text{219 Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 29 October 2014, 01:16:00-01:17:00; William Kamna, interview by Michelle Liebst, Kisarawe, Pwani, Dar es Salaam, 23 September 2014; Sylvester Tayari, interview by Irene Mashasi, Kwa Alinato, Ng’ambo, Zanzibar, 16 September 2014; John Selemani, interview by Irene Mashasi, Kwa Alinato, Zanzibar, 14 September 2014.} \]
conserve. Indeed, some respondents took Vincent Lucas’ desire to adapt the initiation rites as a reflection of his ignorance of what they actually included. Sepeku explained:

Bishop Lucas learnt about those things because he was an anthropologist. But there are things he never knew since they were top secret, especially to do with how they cut the foreskin [laughs]. A boy could just jump over something and the foreskin is gone. No cutting! [Laughs] They used dark powers. If the missionaries knew about this, they wouldn’t allow church service beforehand. It was the family life education that attracted them, not the details that they didn’t know.220

Similarly, John Mhando said that in Masasi jando and unyago were mistaken for African traditions by the missionaries, when they were in fact Muslim traditions.221 In other words, the joke was on the missionaries who sanctioned Muslim traditions as Christian practices. For the Magila respondents, the Masasi initiations were not so much adapted, but rather, they were packaged in a way that made them acceptable to missionaries. In other words, as far as Magila Christians were concerned, it was just a performance in which the missionaries’ authority was subtly subverted.222

Having laid out how African Christians viewed adaptation negatively, let us now consider the possibility that they may also have lost the commitment to life-cycle practices required to preserve them. The reasoning both the missionaries and the respondents gave for why jando and unyago were adapted in Masasi was that the life-cycle practices were too resilient and the church had no option but to relent.223 It was Weston’s impression that the Masasi people defended their cultural practices, something he paradoxically admired.224 There was, again, a good deal of variation in how adequate respondents found missionaries’ substitutes for initiation. Some suggested that converts accepted that they had to forgo sex education for their offspring and that Christianity

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221 John Mhando-Nyungu, interview, 28 April 2016.
222 Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 8 April 2016; Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 27 April 2016.
224 Weston to H. M., 23 March 1900.
provided a different type of sex education if you read between the lines. For example, Sepeku argued that Christians could look to the church for this information, though he suggested it was only implicit in the teachings, especially those of confirmation that coincide with adolescence:

In understanding what Christianity is, the meaning of love and how I should nurture my relations with others; why I need to marry, what the purpose of marriage is, why I need a wife, how to live with her. The Christian teachings – if followed thoroughly – they give answers to these questions.225

Moreover, the respondents I interviewed were part of a generation that were not subject to social alienation for not taking part in initiations. As Ester Musa put it, ‘It did not hurt us much because we already knew the benefit of not passing through this and we didn’t feel different at all’.226

Even so, other respondents suggested they regretted not having a part in initiations. For instance, Semkuruto said he felt he missed out by not attending jando. He added, ‘I received instruction about marriage from my grandfather, though I didn’t get enough time’.227 Makange freely admitted, ‘I felt I missed a lot. I acknowledge that I lacked something. These fellow boys received more instruction than us. But also, when they returned, their parents received them with gifts of shoes, etc. And songs!’228 Indeed, Makange also suggested it was the experience itself, with other boys, that he yearned for.

As for girls who lived in boarding school beginning menstruation, Mlangwa said that, ‘You just had to tell the sister that you had seen something. That sister will instruct you how to handle it, ‘tie it like this, and tie it like that’.229 Similarly, Mzimba said that girls were not taught anything about sex and family life until they were set to be married, by which time, ‘there was a missionary sister who was specially appointed to teach the

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225 Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 8 April 2016.
226 ‘Hayakutumumiza sana kwa sababu tulikwishajua faida ya kutokupitia hii na tulikuwa hatuoni tofauti yoyote.’ Esther Musa, interview.
229 ‘Unamwambia sista mbona nimeona kitu fulani sista anakuonyesha “funga hivi funga hivi.”’ Catherina Msiba Mlangwa, interview, 00:53:00.
brides about family life’. Mshoa laughed when she said that the church forbade *unyago* but also did not teach the girls about puberty. She found this quite preposterous. Meanwhile, neither male nor female respondents regretted the decline of female circumcision.232

Even if the African priests and teachers had wanted to adapt initiations, they probably would not have been able to do so. The leading explanation in the oral history record for why they did not attempt to usurp ritual expertise by taking control of initiations and adapting them is that they did not enjoy as much autonomy from the English missionaries as the Masasi African priests and teachers. Respondents explained that (in Magila) African priests and teachers feared the European missionaries would take away their jobs if they questioned the mission’s policies on *jando* and *unyago*, so they obeyed. Other respondents added that Bishop Weston was immensely powerful and respected; people would kneel when they passed him so he could give them a blessing. Yet the notion that African priests and teachers in Magila did not adapt initiations because the feared missionaries sits uneasily with the respondents’ general rejection of the notion that missionaries successfully ended what they identified as ‘heathen’ practices.235

Certainly, the written record corroborates the notion that missionaries, particularly Weston, were very controlling. Weston was paternalistic. For instance, in his obituary, Raymond Adam, an African Christian, endeavoured to uphold Weston’s reputation as a ‘*mtu mkubwa*’ (‘big person’) and ‘*mlezi wa watoto*’ (‘nurturer of children’). Yet the written record also suggests that at times Weston aggressively...

230 Mayble Alice Mzimba, interview.
231 Agnes Gumbo Mshoa, interview, 28 April 2016.
232 Tereza Makange, interview; Teresa Daniel Mhando, interview; Mary Diwi, interview; Mary Grace John Gongwe, interview; Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 29 October 2014; Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 11 April 2016; Catherina Msiba Mlangwa, interview.
236 *Nadhani hakuna Mzungu aliejipanga upande wa watu weusi kwa mengi na kwatakaia kwenda mbele kuliko yeye. Nani aileipata kuongea na Bwana Askofu wa Zanzibar asiedhubutisha kuwa haya nisemayo ni kweli tupu?* Raymond Adam, ‘Msiba wa Zanzibar na mrima’, *Mambo Leo*, December 1924; This is strongly
supported Africans, especially when it came to confrontations with other Europeans. Adam also wrote that: ‘I don’t think there is a white man who put himself on the side of black people concerning so many issues, wanting them to move, forward more than him. Is there anyone who met the Lord Bishop of Zanzibar that cannot affirm what I say is pure truth?’ But even if Weston was ambitious to promote what he saw as the acceptable or valuable side of African culture, he did so in a way that gave Africans very little room to take their own initiative. In fact, Weston was considered more evangelist than other UMCA missionaries and, connected to that, was extremely cautious when it came to ordaining new African priests. This set the precedent for much of the UMCA’s twentieth-century history as African priests were not independent from the missionaries until Tanzania’s Independence came in 1961.

Could it be that missionaries were more paternalist in Magila than in Masasi? To answer that question is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it does seem that African priests and teachers of Masasi and Zanzibar had more autonomy from the Europeans. Magila was close to Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam, while Masasi was more remote, and perhaps outside of the parameters of missionary control to some extent. However, the

affirmed in an interview with the son of John Sepeku, the first African diocesan bishop in Tanzania. Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 8 April 2016. Adam also reported that both Christians and non-Christians joined Weston’s burial procession, such was the people’s devotion to Weston. Moreover, he added that the missionaries failed to stop Christian women from wailing to vocalise their grief, a practice that the missionaries identified as highly un-Christian and could plausibly have been a form of rebellion. Efforts were continuously made by missionaries to stop the practice of wailing at funerals on account of it appearing disingenuous. ‘The Last Days of Bishop Weston’; Zakaria Kanju, ‘An African Teacher’s Letter about Bishop Weston’, African Tidings, January 1925.

238 ‘Nadhani hakuna Mzungu aliejipanga upande wa watu weusi kwa mengi na kwatakia kwenda mbele kuliko ye. Nani aliepata kuongeo na Bwana Askofu wa Zanzibar asiedhubutisha kuwa haya nisemayo ni kweli tupu?’ Adam, ‘Msiba wa Zanzibar na mrima’; This is strongly affirmed in an interview with the son of John Sepeku, the first African diocesan bishop in Tanzania. Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 8 April 2016. Adam also reported that both Christians and non-Christians joined Weston’s burial procession, such was the people’s devotion to Weston. Moreover, he added that the missionaries failed to stop Christian women from wailing to vocalise their grief, a practice that the missionaries identified as highly un-Christian and could plausibly have been a form of rebellion. Efforts were continuously made by missionaries to stop the practice of wailing at funerals on account of it appearing disingenuous. ‘The Last Days of Bishop Weston’; Kanju, ‘An African Teacher’s Letter about Bishop Weston’.

239 For example, in 1902 the African clergy in Zanzibar made formal complaints against the white missionaries and Weston’s response was to berate them for speaking out of line while, in the meantime, he berated his fellow white missionaries for being ‘English’ about the colour of the Africans’ skin. Frank Weston to H. M., Kiungani, Zanzibar, 13 September 1906, A1 (17) A, 222, UMArch.


notion that proximity to Zanzibar equalled greater missionary control does not add up as African priests and clergy, headed by Cecil Majaliwa, were more likely to challenge the missionaries in Zanzibar than they were in Magila.\textsuperscript{242} Indeed, relations between those training to be priests at Kiungani and the missionaries were extremely fraught, especially during Weston’s first few years as principal there, as the African ministry and students demanded that the missionaries pay them \textit{heshima} (honour, respectability) and higher wages.\textsuperscript{243}

Examples of African teachers and priests arguing with missionaries are hard to come by in Magila.\textsuperscript{244} Missionaries often complained that Magila priests refused to speak their minds to them. For instance, Weston offered some of his early opinions about African character:

\begin{quote}
The African will do anything rather than make a real row. His stomach is his one weak point. Touch that, and he will roar. But he won’t take independent action, if it involves a trouble afterward. [...] They think me mildly insane because I ask their opinion. They have never been treated like that. [They say] ‘\textit{kazi yako,}’ ‘it is your business’.\textsuperscript{245}
\end{quote}

Weston had little faith in Africans, believing they had a weakness for lies and deception, especially when it came to their dealings with white men.\textsuperscript{246} He calculated that the Masasi African clergy were more likely to eventually be trusted with independence, even if they were not necessarily obedient: ‘The Yaos are naturally proud and independent, they have a power of outward conformity [...] I think they may prove really useful members of the church.’\textsuperscript{247} Part of the reason was that the missionaries alliances with Matola and Nakaam in Masasi were much more fruitful than any chiefly alliances in Magila. Consequently, the missionaries wrote more ambitiously about Masasi than Magila in \textit{Central Africa} and

\textsuperscript{242} J. Zanzibar to Duncan Travers, Mkunazini, Zanzibar, 18 November 1903, A1 (13), 172, UMArch.
\textsuperscript{243} Weston to H. M., 23 March 1900; Frank Weston to H. M., St Mark’s College, Zanzibar, 24 May 1900, A1 (17) A, 66, UMArch; Frank Weston to H. M., St Mark’s College, Zanzibar, 15 June 1900, A1 (17) A, 73, UMArch; J. Zanzibar to Duncan Travers, Korogwe, Tanga (private), 1 February 1902, A1 (13), 36, UMArch.
\textsuperscript{244} Woodward to Duncan Travers, The Porte Neuve, 8 January 1893, A1 (6) B, 1700, UMArch; J. P. Farler to Duncan Travers, Mkunazini, Zanzibar, 4 July 1895, A1 (6) A, 614, UMArch; Rev. J. F. Christopher Fixsen to Mother, Kizara, 21 June 1914, A1 (22), 697, UMArch; Francis Eling Pearse, \textit{Africa on the Hilltops}, 49.
\textsuperscript{245} Frank Weston to H. M., St Mark’s Theological College, Zanzibar, 9 December 1899, A1 (17) A, 53, UMArch.
\textsuperscript{246} Weston to H. M., 23 March 1900.
\textsuperscript{247} Weston to H. M., 24 May 1900.
African Tidings, suggesting that missionaries believed the southern region was more likely to build an independent church.

The discussion above conflicts with the fact that, as I have already shown, African Christians largely ignored mission prohibitions regarding initiations. If they could ignore them, then surely missionaries’ authority was not the only factor that can explain why African priests and teachers missionaries were not able to officially adapt initiations. Indeed, if the missionaries were holding African priests and teachers back, so were elders. So, let us consider the possibility that African priests and teachers were unable to adapt initiations because elders did not allow them the opportunity to do so. If this was the case, it would be at variance with the Masasi case that Stoner-Eby explored.

Stoner-Eby pointed out that Masasi chiefs’ authority declined in the 1890s partly because many chiefs had died during that decade, just as in Magila. The difference was that in Masasi, the ritual authority that chiefs held was transferred to teachers who had followers, material wealth, and were often related to Christian chiefs, particularly Nakaam and Matola. The process took some years, coming to fruition in the 1900s. The result was that African clergy played an essential role in jando and unyago in certain villages in Masasi as early as 1909, which Stoner-Eby took to be an indication of ‘thorough Christianisation’. Stoner-Eby depicted all this as a crisis of generational tension as the relatively young African teachers and clergy undermined the authority of elders.

This transition did not take place to the same extent in Magila, although inland strongmen were certainly undermined as the Germans attacked coastal authority figures during the Bushiri rebellion (1888-1889). There are several reasons that help explain the relative absence of generational tension in Magila, in contrast to Masasi. Firstly, the UMCA had less success in Magila than it did in Masasi converting power holders. Thus, Magila Christians who were related to chiefs were few and far between. Moreover, they

252 Stoner-Eby, 402.
253 Glassman, Feasts and Riot.
were not necessarily related but rather, they were part of pawning arrangements between chiefs and missionaries.\textsuperscript{254} In other words, the status of a Magila mission student being ‘related’ to a chief was more ambivalent and their influence concomitantly more limited. The result was that Magila’s African priests and teachers maintained peaceful relations with elders rather than confronting them.\textsuperscript{255}

This is not to say that all elders held on to life-cycle practices. From the late 1890s onwards, chiefs appear to have been easily convinced to promise not to allow initiations to take place.\textsuperscript{256} The mission found the ‘grandmothers’ far less reasonable. Indeed, the declining power of chiefs only tells part of the story because chiefs were not the only, nor the principal, overseers of initiation rites. English missionaries saw African women as stubborn gate-keepers of tradition, who were capable of successfully challenging Christian ideologies. The CMS Bishop of Uganda, John Willis, was said to have remarked that the grandmothers of Africa were ‘the last fortress of Satan’, a sentiment that many UMCA missionaries shared. Gertrude Ward held much the same opinion, claiming that, ‘I often used to say that if only we could banish all the grandmothers to a desert island we should make greater progress’.\textsuperscript{257}

The missionaries depicted African Christians as helpless in the face of the elderly grandmother’s stubborn manipulation.\textsuperscript{258} Indeed, Josephine Mungayao similarly noted that African priests and teachers were afraid of the elders in charge of these initiations, as well as the Europeans.\textsuperscript{259} Thus, if chiefs were by this point not very powerful, and their role as patrons of initiation ceremonies had faded, and African priests and teachers were unable or unwilling to confront the ritual expertise and authority of those now in charge of initiations, it is likely that it was the elder women who were the greatest obstacles. I do not conclude that this is all evidence of African priests and teachers’ lack of ingenuity.

\textsuperscript{254}Willis, ‘The Nature of a Mission Community’.
\textsuperscript{255}Canon John Raphael Mwamazi, interview, 11 April 2016.
\textsuperscript{257}Ward, Father Woodward of UMCA: A Memoir, 19.
\textsuperscript{259}Josephine Thomas Mungayao, interview, 22 April 2016.
compared to the bold initiatives of the Masasi missionaries. Rather, it is strong evidence for the way that non-Christian elders retained ritual authority despite African priests and teachers and their newly found influence.

Even if African priests, teachers, and school inspectors were unable or unwilling to claim ritual authority through youth initiations, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that they looked and acted like big men. They were well established and respected, had salaries, and many could afford luxuries at a time in which the power of chiefs had severely waned. Some of them were even remembered for their hunting skills with their access to firearms that the missionaries sometimes facilitated. Their prestige declined over the twentieth century, yet their capacity to question missionaries increased. 260 Their influence was heightened by the fact that the political hold of colonialism was so patchy. People did not know who represented the government. To paraphrase Jane Zaa, there was a Lutheran Church and the Church of England, and there were some other colonial agents who sought recognition and influence, but were barely known.261

To summarise, there is no evidence that African priests and teachers even attempted to usurp the responsibility of the ritual experts in charge of initiations. Even if African priests and teachers had wanted to modify or stop initiations altogether, it would have been a question of challenging the rights elders held to educate the youth, but African priests and teachers had little power to modify life-cycle practices to suit Christianity for two reasons. Firstly, they were stifled by missionaries. Secondly, although chiefs lost their claims to ritual authority through youth initiations, the ritual authority of chiefs was not transferred to African priests and teachers.

CONCLUSION

Just as the initiation practices varied greatly according to gender and region, their respective narratives of decline among Christians varied, too. Crucially, these practices were subject to a degree of informal adaptation. Respondents claimed that Christians stopped taking part in initiations but a lot of the same knowledge was still passed from

261 Jane Catherine Zaa, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Magila, 21 October 2014.
elders to children, adolescents, and young people about to marry. Christians took diverse approaches, from abandoning all non-Christian practices, to pursuing many different types of practices without missionaries or African priests and teachers finding out.

The life-cycle practices outside of the church became shorter, less elaborate, and more secretive. They continued to be practiced, even if their political significance and the terms used to describe them fell out of use. This was a form of adaptation, the question is whether it also constituted religious pluralism, which the church prohibited, in addition to social pluralism, which the church tolerated. Of course, the distinction between religious pluralism and social pluralism was almost impossible to delineate. Whether people continued with practices the mission did not condone out of social pressure or because they invested religious meaning into them is also unclear. According to the oral history record, most Christians did not challenge the missionaries, and at times they went to great lengths to comply. But they still did things that the missionaries deemed incompatible, which suggests that being Christian was a contextual and partial identity. In other words, even committed followers of the mission prevaricated on its attempts to replace all local ritual with a mixture of schooling and church-based ritual. Whether we can say that this was true of the period as a whole is difficult to say, but the oral history record does at least appear to shed some light on the experience of being Christian in the 1920s.

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262 Missionaries were more likely to emphasise social pressures. See for example: Gertrude Ward, ‘Mission Life in Africa’, 31.
CHAPTER 3

SLAVE STATUS AND THE MISSION IN
ZANZIBAR, 1864-c.1930

In 1901 in Kiungani Boys’ School, Zanzibar, at nine o’clock on Christmas Eve, the missionary Frank Weston\(^1\) had a memorable interview with one of his ex-slave students, whose spiritual preparations he was supervising. This student had been under Weston’s guidance for eighteen months, reputedly progressing and flourishing in his teacher-training, which would, if all went well, lead to priesthood. Weston was, therefore, horrified to hear his student admit that he had ‘fallen again’ to ‘the sin of Sodom’. He immediately coordinated a man-hunt for the other guilty party. Weston narrated the events of the evening as follows:

> There was I until 11.30pm trying to get this second boy to confess, and then both to repent. […] [T]he repentance of the first boy was beautiful. He told me all I asked without a lie, accepted a flogging which hurt him very much, and prayed with me afterwards for a long time. The tears that he shed when we spoke and prayed were more than he shed over his own whipping, which was severe. That was a compensation.\(^2\)

Weston despaired for his students, lamenting the need to monitor their sexual conduct so closely. The significance of this anecdote to this chapter is not in the existence of homosexuality in mission schools, but in the way Weston explains its existence. He, along with other missionaries, strongly believed that this behaviour was the result of the combined influences of city-life and slavery. Weston claimed that: ‘It is not a mainland sin, it belongs to this sink of sin – Zanzibar. And my particular boys are nearly all the city type.’\(^3\)

This incident reflects a broader history of conflict between missionaries and Africans

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\(^1\) Weston would become the Bishop of the UMCA in 1908.

\(^2\) Frank Weston to H. M., St Mark’s College, Zanzibar, 20 January 1901, A1 (17) A, 90, UMArch.

\(^3\) Weston to H. M.
regarding Kiungani students’ ties to the city. Indeed, Weston’s words sit uneasily with Andreana Prichard’s depiction of Zanzibar as the ‘spiritual homeland’ for African Anglicans, which brought people, including ex-slaves and children of ex-slaves, together. Missionaries diagnosed ex-slaves with a moral problem catalysed by proximity to, and a yearning for, the ‘city’. For example, missionaries blamed the influence of the city for the conduct of Rev. Cecil Majaliwa, an ex-slave, and, Rev. Samuel Chiponde, who was freeborn, both of whom had been ‘living in sin’ (with sexual partners they were not married to) for several years, who were purportedly under the impression that the missionaries were turning a blind eye.

The missionaries saw the mixing of ethnicities in urban environments as part of the problem they faced. For example, another missionary, Cyril C. Frewer, argued Zanzibar presented Christians with ‘numberless sin-traps’ because it contained ‘the dregs of all nations’. Missionaries considered ex-slaves particularly poorly-equipped to deal with the ‘temptations’ of city life because of the lack of the kind of community self-regulation that kinship and ‘tribal’ belonging afforded to others. The missionaries’ opprobrium often originated from their personal experiences missionizing in urban slums in England. Meanwhile, missionaries associated the mainland’s countryside with ‘unspoilt’, virtuous, and free Africans, regulated by unquestioned forms of authority. For example, Weston reasoned that, ‘tribal custom inspires a fine for fornication and for adultery […] in Zanzibar such customs are not observed much. Tribes are nowhere’. Missionaries treated ‘immoral’ activity very differently in Zanzibar to Magila. In Magila, ‘immoral’ activity was

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9 Weston to H. M., 9 December 1899; a similar opinion can be found here: Smith, Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar: Life of Frank Weston, 1871-1924, 1926, chap. 10.
considered almost excusable because of the missionaries’ unspoken assumption that mainland Africans ‘sinned’ because, as savages, they could not be expected to control their ‘natural instincts’. Conversely, in Zanzibar, ‘immoral’ activity was treated as a deeply-rooted and personal weakness to sin. For this reason, missionaries preferred mainland students, and so they side-lined and gradually drove out most of the ex-slave students, or ‘industrial students’ as the euphemism went, from the boys’ school. Even so, missionaries were convinced that the presence of even a handful of ex-slaves, combined with the school’s proximity to the town, resulted in moral contagion. Weston provided two spatial binary oppositions to explain how the temptation to sin had a certain geography: island and mainland; urban and rural. Slave status was inextricably woven into this moral spatial mapping. The purpose of this chapter is to consider this situation from the perspective of the people at the receiving end of the kind of prejudice: the ex-slaves.

This chapter explores the role the mission played in the way ex-slaves negotiated their slave status. What kind of dependency did the mission offer? What kinds of opportunities did the mission offer for eventual independence? To what extent did the mission further entrench the stigma surrounding slave status? To address these questions, it is necessary to consider the enormous variation in life trajectories of those who encountered the mission in Zanzibar. Thus, I focus on three categories of mission ex-slaves. Before I go into them in detail I begin by setting out the way the mission was spatially organised in the first part of the chapter.

The chapter’s second part assesses the ex-slaves in the Mbweni shamba (plantation) of the mission, who followed so many different trajectories making them difficult to categorise. They gained, at best, a very basic education and formed part of the mission’s project to render ex-slaves into African Christian ‘yeomen’ with settled family lives. The mission was a site for many kinds of livelihood strategies for these individuals, but it was the ex-slaves themselves who creatively made their own opportunities and shaped the ones the missionaries offered. Tellingly, these ex-slaves referred to each other

10 This resembles the use of the term ‘Swahili’ as a euphemism for someone with slave status, which came relatively late in the 1920s and 1930s. Laura Fair, Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945, Eastern African Studies, 2001, 35–6.
as ‘wajoli’, meaning ‘fellow slaves’. Out of all the potential converts the missionaries encountered in Zanzibar, these ex-slaves were of the least interest to the missionaries. Equally, the mission was usually of little interest to these ex-slaves, who only stayed on the shamba as a last resort.

The third and final section of the chapter is about the male mission-educated ex-slaves, nicknamed ‘wenyeji’ (literally, ‘natives’) at Kiungani school. ‘Wenyeji’ was not in itself a derogatory term. Indeed, on the mainland it had quite positive connotations, in line with first-comer-status. However, in this case, ‘wenyeji’ was not used in a positive manner as it distinguished between those who were ex-slaves and those who were born free on the mainland and came to Zanzibar to study, thus, not natives of Zanzibar. These ex-slave students were under extremely close surveillance and received possibly the greatest amount of attention from the Zanzibar-based missionaries. Here, I show that male ex-slaves were not guaranteed elite positions in the mission as teachers or priests; many left the mission, and with it, the historical record.

SLAVE STATUS IN A POST-ABOLITION WORLD

Slave labour was significantly in decline after the antislavery decrees of 1897, which abolished slavery, and 1907, which made all slaves legally free so slaves no longer had to claim their own freedom. Concomitantly, slave status was increasingly difficult to identify through social cues and clothing, though slave status was at odds with any vision of a desirable social identity. In 1907 Cyril Frewer noted that, ‘the words “people” (i.e. the people, of so-and-so) and “slaves” are quite interchangeable these days’. Despite the decline in slave labour and the mission’s antislavery ideologies, ex-slave status was

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13 See Tables 11-12 for the quantitative data and some clues as to what the ex-slave students went on to do.
persistent and reinforced in the mission. Thus, the mission simultaneously created a refuge for ex-slaves and perpetuated their slave status. Both missionaries and Africans saw slave status negatively, and the social mechanisms that made them despise slaves were surprisingly similar. Even so, missionaries and Africans expressed their prejudice towards ex-slaves differently and had different ideas about what ‘honour’ entailed.¹⁶

Crucially, Elizabeth McMahon has argued that from the late 1890s, in Pemba, respectability, or rather, heshima, was a way of overcoming slave status. Heshima, which came to mean ‘respectability’ more than it did ‘honour’, meant being a good, stable member of the community, and had very little to do with what degree of ‘Arab’ ancestry you could claim, or where precisely you came from on the mainland. Heshima was also conferred in a non-hierarchical way. The only way to get a better life was to integrate yourself into the local community. Thus, your place and the honour you received in a community was essential to the way you negotiated slave status.¹⁷ This appears to have been very similar to the Zanzibar case as Laura Fair emphasised how one’s duty to the community, epitomised by ujirani,¹⁸ was essential to the building of social status and daily survival in the protectorate period in urban Zanzibar town, which was exemplified by Siti Binti Saad's songs on the subject of being a good neighbour.¹⁹

The missionaries’ idea of respectability was not so different as they, too, emphasised the importance of community obedience. However, the missionaries also underlined the importance of being a hard worker, sexually disciplined, and humble. Missionaries were concerned that the most successful and ‘intelligent’ ex-slaves who received a mission education had a tendency towards ‘immorality’. In missionaries’ eyes, these ex-slaves had taken the greatest leap in social status, which, missionaries believed, damaged their sense of morality, a sentiment that was underpinned by the missionaries’

¹⁸ Neighbourliness.
Africans and missionaries also had different ideas about possible ways to shed the stigma of slave status. This was largely because the missionaries’ geography of respectability conflicted with the Swahili geography of ‘civilization’. As to any slave in Zanzibar, so to mission ex-slaves, the commercial centre of Zanzibar town, and the coastal cultures it was associated with, offered the clearest way out of slave status, while the mainland was the site of ‘ushenzi’ (‘primitivism’), and associated with slavery. Meanwhile, as I have already established, missionaries believed urban life tainted moral character, and thought more highly of the morals of mainland Africans.

Ex-slaves in the mission, though legally free, were subject to the authority and discipline of missionaries. As ex-slaves were usually short of options, they had to live with these constraints and tried to benefit from relationships of dependence as far as they could. There is a rich scholarship on this. Notably, Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff convincingly argued that, at times, slaves in Africa saw total autonomy as impractical and instead desired social belonging in their new societies, even if this involved a degree of continuing servility. In 1873 a British observer in Zanzibar made quite the same point that remaining a slave could potentially reap greater rewards due to the security afforded by the patron-client dynamic.

In a similar vein, Jonathon Glassman has argued that people with slave status did not indiscriminately accept forms of belonging or dependency. Rather, they would define, or negotiate, the terms of their belonging. Different types of dependence or ‘bonds’ could be sought to redefine the relationship between master and slave. This is not to say that dependence was necessarily the ideal. If slaves did not claim full autonomy, it was not because they wanted or enjoyed being in a state of dependence, or lacked a notion of

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20 C. C. Frewer, ‘The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba’.
24 Glassman, Feasts and Riot, 113.
personal autonomy. As Benedetta Rossi put it, ‘[i]t is because the institutional and cultural landscape in which they live has in-built barriers to their emancipation.’

While conventional notions of freedom were not achievable for ex-slaves, a degree of personal autonomy, albeit through patronage, was achievable. Missionaries were not blind to the fact that patronage and dependence were the necessary means to negotiate for a degree of personal autonomy. As Frewer put it in 1907:

The social position of those who remain slaves [in the households of their masters] of their own choice is now practically the same as that of many of the released slaves. [...] [B]eing under the protection of the Arab houses, they have privileges and opportunities which they use for better or worse much in the same way as those living on plantations under the more immediate protection and supervision of the government or a mission.

Missionaries understood that ex-slaves needed patrons, but they were rarely willing to take up that role. As Jeremy Prestholdt has pointed out, the UMCA missionaries (in addition to British officials, such as John Kirk) perpetuated paternalistic attitudes and dependence in a way that was less advantageous to individuals with slave status than some forms of continued dependency on former slave owners. As he put it, the mission provided very limited scope for ex-slaves’ desire to ‘define their own place in the social order, to represent their own political and social interests’. The problem was not that missionaries created new relationships of dependency, but rather that they created an undesirable form of dependency by not offering avenues to escape slave status. While Muslim slave owners referred to their slaves as children, brothers, or sisters, missionaries used terms like ‘mtumwa’ (‘slave’), ‘mfanyakazi’ (‘worker’), and ‘kibarua’ (‘day labourer’). Thus, some markers of slave or servile status remained more obvious within the mission environment than outside of it. To get a better sense of how the mission stations related to each other and their surrounding communities, the next section contextualises the mission’s geography.

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26 C. C. Frewer, ‘The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba’.
28 Prestholdt, 134–35.
THE GEOGRAPHY OF SLAVE STATUS IN THE MISSION

The UMCA’s presence in Zanzibar was made up of multiple mission stations that each had very different experiences, partly shaped by their proximity to the town. Approximately four and a half miles from the town lay the Mbweni mission station, which consisted of a *shamba* and a girls’ school. The Mbweni *shamba* was established in 1874 as an ex-slave settlement.\(^{29}\) It was neither the first nor the last ex-slave settlement run by the UMCA. Other ex-slave settlements were based in Masasi,\(^{30}\) Pambili (near Magila),\(^{31}\) Dar es Salaam (also known as the ‘Zaramo mission’),\(^{32}\) and Pemba.\(^{33}\) The Mbweni *shamba* was also not the only ex-slave settlement in Zanzibar. As the abolition of slavery made headway, increasing numbers of ex-slaves joined the settlements established by the British government and Indian traders. As I suggested, many also sought to move to the town or at least work in the town but this tendency was less common in the 1870s, as Table 5 suggests.

The Mbweni *shamba* was spread over approximately 130 acres with a fluctuating population of 100-500.\(^ {34}\) Ex-slaves were expected to work for the mission in return for daily wages. They were also expected to attend church services, be self-sufficient and self-supporting in return for their use of the land.\(^ {35}\) This level of labour organisation was rarely reached in practice and the mission had little control over the life trajectories of the ex-

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\(^{31}\) This was extremely short-lived and barely documented, which is why I am unable to use it as a point of comparison. J. P. Farler to Bishop Edward Steere, 10 October 1876; at the 22nd anniversary meeting of the UMCA in London, Farler pitched the idea to set up a ‘Liberia’ on an uninhabited stretch of land on the mainland. The objective was to allow the ex-slaves to become independent and no longer be a cost to the mission. Farler’s idea was not totally rejected, as the missionaries strongly encouraged ex-slaves to make their own way back to the mainland. ‘Twenty-Second Anniversary of the Mission’, *Central Africa*, August 1883, 117.


\(^{33}\) The Pemba ex-slave settlement was established in late 1897. By April 1899 it had 18-20 houses owned by the mission, which were leased out to the ex-slaves. Emily Key, ‘Pemba’, *Central Africa*, April 1899; ‘Our Thirty-Eighth Anniversary’, *Central Africa*, July 1899; in 1902 it was estimated that there were 200 inhabitants in the settlement. Emily Key, ‘Pemba Notes’, *Central Africa*, October 1902; C. C. Frewer, “extension” movement in Pemba’, *Central Africa*, May 1904.

\(^{34}\) ‘UMCA Zanzibar Diary’, 1888 1864, CB1, NT; John Wogan Festing, ‘Slavery at Zanzibar’, c 1873, C2, 140, UMArch; Edward Steere to John Wogan Festing, Zanzibar, June 1875, A1 (3) A, 198, UMArch.

slaves on this settlement. The level of conversion was fairly high; the majority of ex-slaves at the *shamba* were classed as ‘adherents’, as Table 6 shows. Considering that church attendance was compulsory for those wanting to remain on the *shamba*, these high numbers should not come as a surprise. In fact, the aforementioned UMCA missionary Cyril Frewer described the majority of these ex-slaves as ‘heathen Africans who have no religion except one of devil and spirit-worship’. This contradicts the missionaries’ impression of the Mbweni *shamba* as a site of utter chaos, because these religious practices that involved spirit possession must have necessitated collective action, shared beliefs, and cooperation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remaining on the Mbweni <em>shamba</em></th>
<th>171</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sent to the Masasi ex-slave settlement</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent to Magila mission station</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent to Kiungani</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Found a home or employment elsewhere</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Died</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.** Adult ex-slave trajectories, Mbweni, 1874-1877. In these early years, very few (9%) left the Mbweni *shamba* to live and/or work outside of the mission, which shows the move to the town may not have been desirable, practical, or safe at this time. Based on figures from ‘UMCA Zanzibar Diary’, 1864-1888, CB1, *Nyaraka za Taifa*, Zanzibar.

The church local to the mission *shamba* also attracted ex-slaves from non-mission ex-slave settlements in the twentieth century, which shows that there was an attraction to the mission for some, even if they did not rely upon it for sustenance. Though relatively far from the town, the Mbweni *shamba* was not protected from ‘temptations’ of urban life, as alcohol and transactional sex could be sought. To put a stop to these practices, missionaries enforced discipline and made use of a purpose-built ‘parish prison’ when it was considered necessary (see Illustration 13).

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37 Central Africa (1886, 1891, 1892, 1895, 1900).
39 Another source suggests this figure was actually 14. Perhaps eight of them were children. J. P. Farler to H. W. Woodward, Magila, Tanga, 14 September 1877, A1 (6) A, 403, UMArch.
40 Probably as domestic servants rather than as students.
41 C. C. Frewer, ‘Mbweni Village Life as It Is’.
43 Farler to Penney; The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa Atlas; School children in both the boys’ and girls’ schools were also subject to imprisonment or ‘solitary confinement’ at various points. Frank Weston to H. M., Kiungani, Zanzibar, 16 November, A1 (17) A, 190, UMArch.
Table 6. Adult converts, Mbweni shamba, 1885-1899. Most inhabitants were adherents because conversion was compulsory. This table also shows that more women than men stayed on the shamba and converted. Moreover, fewer male converts were residing on the shamba. Conversely, there is a general increase in female converts – with a notable fluctuation in 1894 – living on the shamba. This probably suggests that many female students settled on the shamba once they reached adulthood. The total number of adherents encompasses hearers, catechumens, those who were baptised, and communicants. Sources: Central Africa (1886, 1891, 1892, 1895, 1900).

By the turn of the century most ex-slaves who stayed at Mbweni shamba were elderly, unwell, or disabled. In other words, they stayed with the mission because they had no other options. Dependence on the mission was a way to survive, but not to thrive. The only really valuable opportunities the shamba offered for a livelihood existed for mission-educated retirees who were able to claim the patronage of the missionaries by virtue of their careers as teachers or priests. The rest remained at the shamba in order to survive, but were unable to move on from their slave status or pursue more stable livelihoods on the shamba.

The missionaries continuously stigmatised the Mbweni shamba ex-slaves and later, in the 1920s, and according to the missionaries the ex-slaves also came to have a reputation as bad workers and bad citizens among Zanzibar’s local employers and patrons. In fact, the Europeans of the town were said to have forbidden their servants from visiting the shamba for fear they, too, would be morally contaminated. Thus, people on the mission shamba lacked the kind of privileged access to employment opportunities that one might expect them to have enjoyed by virtue of their connection to the missionaries.

44 Including communicants.
45 Ingrams blamed their poor reputation on the fact that by the 1920s many Zanzibar Christians seem to have been Wanywamwezi (but most were ‘Waswahili’). William Harold Ingrams, Zanzibar: Its History and Its People, 1931, 223; C. C. Frewer, ‘Mbweni Village Life as It Is’.
46 Mkunazini, July 1884, TC C1, 1, UMArch; May Allen to Miss Randolph, Zanzibar, 11 August 1884, A1 (4) A, 680, UMArch.
Illustration 13. Mbweni floorplan. Notice that the Industrial Wing was built as a separate part of the school, with the dhobi (laundry) connected to it. Source: The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa Atlas (London: Universities Mission to Central Africa, 1903).

The synod of 1884 made two rulings that show that the missionaries’ disillusionment with ex-slaves came early on. The first was, ‘That all able-bodied freed slaves who are not required for the work of the Mission, should be induced to seek work for themselves independently of the Mission.’ The second was, ‘That no released slave settlement be founded again on the mainland.’ Despite the synod of 1884’s resolutions, the shamba only came to an end, for financial reasons, when the mission sold the land (in

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several stages) in the 1920s, gradually disengaging from approximately 200 elderly and infirm ‘stragglers’ who remained.\footnote{Dale believed the sale of Mbweni should be a gradual process, and it certainly was. Godfrey Dale to Duncan Travers, Mkwanzini, Zanzibar, 4 July 1909, A1 (21), 193, UMArch; A. D. Swainson, ‘Work in Zanzibar I’, \textit{Central Africa}, September 1920; ‘Annual Report, a Review of the Work of the Mission in 1922: II. Diocese of Zanzibar’, \textit{Central Africa}, May 1923; ‘Central African Mission Diary 1922-1932’ 29 December 1924, CB1-9, NT.} This poses the question: why did the missionaries not close it down sooner? The answer has a lot to do with compassion for the people living there and fear that abandoning the Mbweni \textit{shamba} would damage the mission’s reputation. In addition, there were two key personalities who kept the dream of ex-slave rehabilitation alive: Cyril Frewer, who I have already mentioned, and Caroline Thackeray, who is discussed in the following chapter. Ex-slaves on the \textit{shamba} had to attend church services to remain on mission property, but they did not have to become Christian to find work there. This suggests that becoming Christian did offer these ex-slaves something aside from shelter and work. In summary, the mission had enough influence over these ex-slaves to induce them to become Christian, but at the same time missionaries despaired of their inability to influence the ways they conducted their lives. The boys’ school, meanwhile, presented very different problems.

Established in 1866, Kiungani school was the UMCA boys’ school with the greatest longevity in Zanzibar. John Iliffe treated it convincingly as an exceptional and unrepresentative example of mission schooling, given its relatively small numbers and high academic calibre.\footnote{Iliffe, \textit{Tanganyika Under German Rule 1905-1912}, 176.} Kiungani school was situated about two miles from the town and, in fact, ‘Kiungani’ meant ‘in the suburbs’. In theory, the school’s proximity to the town was a way for students to ‘learn how to overcome the struggles and temptations of town life.’\footnote{G. W. Broomfield, ‘St Paul’s High School, Kiungani’.} However, as the introduction of this chapter shows, the missionaries’ challenge was, as they saw it, to manage the moral codes and scope of outside influences. The school was intended, from Bishop Steere’s episcopate (1872-1883) onwards, to be a filled with ‘free’ or ‘voluntary’ children from mainland stations.\footnote{William George Tozer (UMCA Bishop 1863-1872) initiated the system of adopting and training ex-slaves that was kept in place until Smythies’ episcopate (1884-1894). Edward Steere to John Wogan Festing, Zanzibar, 7 August 1872, A1 (3) A, 81, UMArch; Edward Steere to John Wogan Festing, Zanzibar, 24 February 1873, A1 (3) A, 85, UMArch; Edward Steere to John Wogan Festing, Zanzibar, 15 December 1872, A1 (3) A, 74, UMArch; Bishop Edward Steere to John Wogan Festing, 5 March 1878, A1 (3) B, 461, UMArch; Steere, \textit{Central African Mission, Its Present State and Prospects}, 16–17; Bishop Charles Alan Smythies, ‘A
'voluntary' students from the mainland who had something (i.e. familial relations) to sacrifice. In contrast, it was the missionaries' belief that the ex-slaves had nothing to lose and, equally, no better option than to stay in the mission. On this basis, the missionaries believed the overall quality of ex-slaves’ academic work was bound to be low.

North of Kiungani, the Mkunazini mission station was at the edge of the town of Zanzibar and the site of a number of different projects over the period. It contained a boarding house for apprentices, a hospital, the Zanzibar cathedral and St. Katherine’s 'home' for women who were widows, divorcees, and ex-prostitutes (the missionaries referred to them as 'fallen' women). It also contained a compact residential area containing a small Christian population, which missionaries referred to as a quarter, or, rather whimsically, ‘Cathedral Close’. Mkunazini was where many of the mission’s Christians were housed because the missionaries understood they needed to be in town to make a living, as I discuss later in this chapter.

Mkunazini was not quite as peaceful and well-ordered as the missionary magazines and floorplans (see Illustration 14) suggested. Even so, as a rule, the Christian inhabitants tended to be skilled workers, such as boat builders, ‘door-boys’, cooks and printers, who were often married to ‘Mbweni girls’. Some of the mission-employment was inherited. For example, if the storekeeper for the cathedral died, his son might well inherit his position. The Mkunazini complex was the closest the missionaries got to establishing the stable Christian community that they had in mind. However, there

Letter from the Bishop', Central Africa, September 1885; 'The Ordination to the Priesthood of the Rev P. Limo', Central Africa, May 1894; W. King and Frank Weston, 'St. Andrew’s College, Kiungani', Central Africa, December 1899; Frank Weston, 'Our Zanzibar Burden', Central Africa, November 1906; Justin Willis revealed how the missionaries’ assumption that all mainland children were ‘free’ was deeply flawed as most, at least initially, entered the mission through pawnship. Willis, 'The Nature of a Mission Community'.

52 J. D., 'Schoolboys in Zanzibar'.
53 Edward Steere to G. A. Robins, Zanzibar, 27 July 1878, A1 (3) B, 476, UMArch; Farler to Penney, Zanzibar, 12 September 1884, TC C1, UMArch.
were not many Christians living there and they could not have survived solely through
dependence on the mission, which provided a limited number of jobs and patronage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Boarders</th>
<th>Scholars baptised</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1864-c.1879</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>60-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Students at Kiungani school, 1864-1901. The number of students at Kiungani was always kept relatively low. The great majority of students were Christian boarders. In the 1870s and 1880s most of the students were orphaned ex-slaves, which is why they boarded. From the 1890s there were increasing numbers of ‘voluntary’ students from the mainland who were also inevitably boarders. In addition to this, there was a culture of boarding in Kiungani that missionaries sought to maintain so that students could be easily policed. Sources: *Central Africa* 1891, 1893, 1894; Frank Weston to H. M., St Mark’s College, Zanzibar, (20 January 1901), A1 (17) A, 90, UMArch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Hearers</th>
<th>Catechumens</th>
<th>Baptised (including communicants)</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Total adherents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Kiungani adults, 1890-1899. Some adults resided at Kiungani, as this table shows. These must have been the African male teachers, priests, and domestic servants. It is not explained who the women were but they may have been domestic servants of the mission employees. Sources: *Central Africa* (1886, 1891, 1892, 1895, 1900).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Hearers</th>
<th>Catechumens</th>
<th>Baptised</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Total adherents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


57 Scholars are not necessarily baptised nor boarders. Zanzibar schools were unlike other UMCA schools in that most were both baptised and boarders.
58 Including communicants.

Across from Mkunazini lay Ng’ambo. The literal meaning of ‘ng’ambo’ is ‘the other side’, because it was on the other side of the tidal inlet that separated it from the prosperous coral-stone town (see Map 6). While Arabs, Europeans, Goans, and Indians populated the main town, it was the ‘Waswahili’ who lived in Ng’ambo. One missionary described Ng’ambo as a melting pot in which its inhabitants forgot their mother-tongues, though, he added that, ‘their faces light up when one talks about the mainland where many of them were born’. Ex-slaves from the mission who were living in Ng’ambo did

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not lose their slave status by virtue of their connection with the mission. In fact, the townspeople referred to them as *mateka* (‘captives’).\(^{60}\)

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\(^{60}\) C. C. Frewer, ‘The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba’.


\(^{63}\) ‘How are you?’ Literally, ‘What’s your condition?’ C. C. Frewer, ‘The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba’.

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Though Ng’ambo was not the centre of town, it was, ‘just as crowded and just as puzzling’, as one missionary put it. Missionaries attempted, but continually failed, to establish a mission station in this area.\(^{61}\) Ng’ambo was a place in which Christian converts were ‘lost’ from mission control.\(^{62}\) From the 1880s onwards Ng’ambo had a gravitational pull for various socially marginal people, including slaves who had left their owners’ plantations and the mission ex-slaves. missionaries were not blind to the fact that the town provided opportunities for social and economic mobility.\(^{63}\)

Missionaries and colonial agents shared an interest in keeping certain categories of Africans out of town, though they followed a different rationale in doing so. While
missionaries worried about sin, colonial officials packaged the policies to restrict access into the town as efforts to reduce disease, though their outlook was undoubtedly shaped also by social and racial prejudice. Ng’ambo, with its enormous population but lack of stone buildings, was legally defined against ‘town’ as a ‘native location’. So while missionaries sought to limit the urban influences on their converts, British colonial agents were simultaneously endeavouring to minimise Africans’ access to the town proper, which was visually, and, later, legally, defined by its stone buildings. In the 1920s colonial law prohibited ‘huts’ being built in the ‘town’, apparently as part of the effort to reduce the spread of disease. There were ‘native huts’ erected in Mkunazini and elsewhere, but they were increasingly fewer in number.  

Colonial quarantine policies, bolstered by building regulations, made it nearly impossible for Africans to live in the ‘town,’ as William Bissell and Laura Fair have shown, regardless of whether you were Christian or Muslim. In a way this became less significant over time as Ng’ambo became, by 1930, part of the social life of the town, partly as a result of its greater population. Ng’ambo came to be known in the first decades of the twentieth century as a quickly growing ‘working class quarter’. By 1931 it held around 22,000 people, which was a quarter of the whole island’s population.  

In sum, both missionaries and colonial administrators shared the concern that ‘contagion’ should be limited, yet they defined it differently and had differing opinions about the source of it and how best to manage it.

From 1897, as a result of the growing influence of the town on mission life, many of the ex-slaves in Zanzibar mission stations were stationed to the ‘dumping ground’, as Frewer put it, of the mission stations near Weti, on the exceptionally rural island of Pemba.

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The ex-slaves selected for this exodus were the ones the missionaries identified as being most troublesome: the adult ex-slaves of the Mbweni *shamba*, the apprentices from Mkunazini, and the industrial students (from both the Mbweni and Kiungani schools). This is not to say that the industrial students at Mbweni were categorically considered ‘troublesome’, but rather that they were considered essential counterparts to the male members of the mission moving to Pemba. In theory, but certainly not in practice, only the academic ex-slave students remained in Zanzibar. The idea was to isolate these students sent to Pemba from their own families and fellow ex-slaves who remained living on the Mbweni *shamba* in Zanzibar. This underlines how the missionaries’ primary strategy was to keep the mixing of people to a minimum to manage the influence of urban life.

Frewer was in charge of the Pemba project. His unique contribution as a missionary priest was to the role of agriculture as the future basis for successful economic activities for Christians, particularly those of ex-slave ‘stock’. As Frewer saw it, the boom in the clove industry in Pemba in the early twentieth century offered an opportunity for African Christians. He believed that they should take the initiative to convince plantation owners that they did not need to hire so many indentured labourers; they could hire the UMCA’s Christians to make up the continuing labour shortfall instead. So Frewer was trying to set up non-educated mission ex-slaves, in addition to other ex-slaves in Pemba, for an agricultural livelihood. Ex-slaves were rarely enthusiastic about this because agriculture was a low-status and precarious livelihood, and had been the occupation of slaves. As with many ex-slave projects the missionaries began, Frewer’s did not go to plan. Morgan Robinson has published on this topic, noting that the tensions rose so high that Frewer was even stabbed by one of his students.

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67 Margaret Sudi’s grandparents were among these ex-slaves who went to Pemba, but they eventually returned to Zanzibar as many seem to have done. Margaret Victoria Juma Sudi, interview; Emily Key, ‘Pemba’; Emily Key, ‘From Pemba to Zanzibar’, *Central Africa*, September 1898; W. E., ‘Hospital Sketches’, *Central Africa*, June 1907; Morgan Robinson, ‘Cutting Pice and Running Away: Discipline, Education and Choice at the UMCA Boys’ Industrial House, Zanzibar, 1901-1905’, *Southern African Review of Education with Education with Production* 19, no. 2 (2013): 9–24.
68 Robinson, ‘Cutting Pice and Running Away’.
69 Robinson.

In sum, there was a great diversity in mission sites across a very small geographic area. One thing was common throughout: the disconnect between missionaries’ emphasis on rural livelihoods and ex-slaves’ options and ambitions. Now that the geographical context has been laid out, the detail about the ex-slaves’ experience in the mission will be explicated in the remainder of this chapter, beginning with the story of the ex-slaves who did not receive a full education from the mission.
WAJOLI

In 1907 Frewer observed that it was common for non-educated ex-slaves on the Mbweni shamba to refer to other ex-slaves as ‘wajoli’ meaning ‘fellow slaves’. How widely this term was used is unclear, but like most slaves in Zanzibar, the Mbweni shamba ex-slaves looked to the town to improve their lots. This affected the demography of the shamba. From the 1890s, aside from the small number of mission teachers, priests and their families, the Mbweni shamba’s population consisted of elderly, unwanted, kinless, and maimed ex-slaves who had run out of options. Mbweni shamba’s growing population of elderly individuals had failed to make the move to the town when they were younger, and found themselves with very little option but to remain on the shamba. Many failed to secure wage labour in the town due to the competition from indentured labourers and so they returned to Mbweni to settle and marry. In other words, for all ex-slaves, there was a narrow window of opportunity to leave the Mbweni shamba. Females from the shamba were less likely to move to the town.

Yet Mbweni ex-slaves were inventive in finding new livelihood strategies. Godfrey Dale, a UMCA missionary, once remarked that there existed what today might be referred to as ‘livelihood diversification’: ‘there were more than 30 ways in which pice could be earned, and therefore a living made, by those living on our Christian plantation there’. Moreover, many supplemented their labour on the Mbweni shamba with occasional work in the town as gardeners or messengers for Europeans. Indeed, one did not have to live in the town to work in the town.

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70 C. C. Frewer, ‘The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba’.
73 The proportion of slaves who first came to Mbweni shamba as ex-slaves was roughly equal with regards to gender, but more women remained there than men. Arthur Cornwallis Madan to Rev. W. H. Penney, Zanzibar, 12 August 1883, A1 (6) A, 931, UMArch; Godfrey Dale to Duncan Travers, Kiungani, Zanzibar, August 1896, A1 (8), 487, UMArch; to Duncan Travers, ‘Letter’, Kigongoi, Tanga, German East Africa, 6 January 1909, A1 (21), 133, UMArch.
74 C. C. Frewer, ‘The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba’.
75 C. C. Frewer, ‘Mbweni Village Life as It Is’.
Illustration 15. Quarrying stone, which was either sold or used to build, was a major source of wages and usually paid 7 MTD per day in the mission. Original caption: ‘Women at work at Mbweni.’ A watercolour by the UMCA missionary, May Allen. Dated 16 April 1883. I was unable to find the original. Printed in: Yoland Brown, Zanzibar: May Allen and the East African Slave Trade (Eleventowns, 2005).

Crucially, missionaries promoted agricultural livelihoods. In fact, living on the Mbweni shamba meant being an agricultural labourer. Frewer tried to convince these ex-slaves they could make a good living outside of the town and that agriculture was respectable work:

[T]he young African in these parts cordially dislikes taking hold of a hoe. It is to the mind of the rising generation the tool of the slave, the quite ignorant, and the aged and this is just as much the case with the heathen boys who live anywhere near a town, as with our Christian boys from Zanzibar schools who can read and write.  

Frewer was a man of action and in 1905 he set out to harvest coconuts from the 2,180 coconut trees on the shamba. The head overseer, a Muslim named Ibrahimu, managed the project and the African priest did the book-keeping. The workforce consisted of three men to climb the trees and twenty women to collect the coconuts. It was a substantial agricultural endeavour, making £200 in profit in 1907, purely from the selling of coconuts. The profits were used to pay wages for thirty to forty ex-slave widows to do odd jobs on

76 C. C. Frewer, ‘Industrial Work in Zanzibar and Pemba’.
the plantation, the wages of African clergy, overseers, and all the repairs and renewals to
the many and various houses and buildings on the plantation. However, the more
coconut trees there were, the more alcohol people brewed, which shows that the times
of relative prosperity were also times of lively ‘immorality’ as the missionaries termed it.

Frewer preferred Pemban ex-slaves to Mbweni ex-slaves. While he characterised
Pembans as contented and independent in spirit, he believed Mbweni people were overly
dependent and deferential towards the missionaries. Frewer attributed this problem to
contact with the urban cultures of Zanzibar. Frewer’s project to make ‘yeomen’ of the
Zanzibar ex-slaves was more successful in Pemba than it was in Zanzibar. In moving the
ex-slaves across to Pemba and making new ex-slaves followers in Pemba itself, he hoped
to see ‘the development of the Christian villages or colonies, on land owned by natives
themselves’. At Mbweni the ex-slaves did not own any land, but in Pemba there were
greater opportunities, which Frewer encouraged, for ex-slaves from the mission to
purchase their own land and start their own plantations. Access to land was less restricted
in Pemba, which had fewer large landholdings and a greater variety of smaller owners
who held a variety of ethnic identities.

There are two key examples of ex-slave ‘Christian Yeomen’ in Pemba that Frewer
cited. The first is Edward Abdallah, who became the owner of a plantation and settlement
at Kiloweka, Pemba. By 1907 there were ‘much larger and commodious houses’ on the
plot of land, and Abdallah’s own house had two stories and a galvanised roof, which was,
Frewer claimed, the envy of ‘Arabs’.

Fundi Basil provides the second example of a Christian agricultural entrepreneur
at his Mbweni shamba in Msizima (1.5 miles north of Kizimbani, Pemba). In 1904 this
plantation began with three men and by 1907 six property owning Christians, and about

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77 C. C. Frewer, ‘Cocoanuts’.
78 Durham Kaleza (Selemani), interview by Irene Mashasi, Kwa Alinato, Ng’ambo, Zanzibar, 9 October
2014.
79 Mr; lord; master.
81 Elisabeth McMahon, Slavery and Emancipation in Islamic East Africa: From Honor to Respectability,
82 McMahon.
83 C. C. Frewer, ‘A Flying Visit to Pemba’. 
fourteen non-property-owning Christians, lived there. Frewer declared that, ‘it has become nothing less than a Christian village’. Eight of these people were from Mbweni, three of which were only there for long visits to help their friends and relations during the clove harvest. Frewer attributed the success of these plantations to the ‘natural’ way they came about, i.e. not through European agency. All things considered, I am reluctant to attach too much weight to Frewer’s optimistic accounts. Their positivity does not square with the lack of evidence that life for a mission ex-slave was any better in Pemba. Indeed, McMahon has showed that ex-slaves faced severe struggles in Pemba.

There were opportunities for developing one’s social standing at Pemba and Mbweni. Many ex-slaves living around the Mbweni area were attracted to the religious teaching that took place in the Mbweni shamba. Frewer believed ex-slaves were attracted to the shamba because ‘they wish[ed] to get attached to a community of persons’. This suggests that, even if Mbweni was not an ideal location in terms of economic opportunity, slaves and ex-slaves could have been far worse off as the mission did offer ex-slaves a valuable opportunity for socialisation. It was possible to accumulate followers, adopt children, and have one’s own children who might come to be educated at Kiungani. In the nineteenth century some ex-slaves acquired slaves of their own (who had also been ‘liberated’ from the British navy), sometimes selling them in the town or making use of their services in the Mbweni shamba.

Throughout the period, Zanzibar’s wealth lay in the town in trades and services; not in the country with agriculture and manual labour. This observation from 1876 from a British physician illustrates this point: ‘The town negroes look down upon their country cousins with a good deal of contempt, and consider themselves a superior class.’

Keeping in mind that the dominant societies in coastal Tanzania tended to view manual

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84 C. C. Frewer.
85 McMahon, *Slavery and Emancipation in Islamic East Africa: From Honor to Respectability*.
86 C. C. F., ‘Mbweni Shamba’.
87 Durham Kaleza (Selemani), interview; Durham Kaleza (Selemani).
88 C. C. Frewer, ‘The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba’.
labour as a sign of slave-status, the fact that missionaries placed such an emphasis on work ethic was counterproductive in terms of boosting ex-slaves’ social status.\textsuperscript{90}

Shamba people, like other ex-slaves associated with the mission, struggled with their reputation. Part of the problem was that staying on the Mbweni shamba did not help one’s chances of learning Swahili. Swahili was the long-established language of waungwana (gentlemen, free people), with a tradition of poetry and religious instruction that proved very resilient during the rise of Arabic-speaking Omanis in nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{91} Speaking Swahili poorly, as many of the ex-slaves on the Mbweni shamba did, was a great obstacle to social mobility.\textsuperscript{92} In other words, the mission did not prepare the ex-slaves adequately for cultural assimilation and they struggled for respect in the Muslim town.\textsuperscript{93} The ex-slaves from the mission suffered on account of their affiliation with the mission, partly because they were ‘fresher’ slaves than those living in the town, who claimed more respect by virtue of establishing roots on the island.\textsuperscript{94}

Missionaries offered the Mbweni shamba ex-slaves little more than a livelihood, or, ‘njia ya kuishi’, literally meaning ‘way of living’.\textsuperscript{95} Andreana Prichard argued that missionaries were very happy to play the role of patron to these people, implying that this was the source of the problem.\textsuperscript{96} While this is not untrue, it was the quality of that patronage that was the real problem. The dependence the missionaries offered was shallow and of limited value. The missionaries offered ex-slaves day labour, known as

\textsuperscript{90} Speke argued that, slavery was ‘one great cause of laziness, for the masters become too proud to work, lest they should be thought slaves themselves.’ John Hanning Speke, \textit{Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile}, Second Edition (Edinburgh; London: W. Blackwood and sons, 1864), xxiv. Steere similarly noted that, ‘[t]he very first idea is that if anything is to be done you must buy a slave to do it’. See: Steere, \textit{Some Account of the Town of Zanzibar}, 13. Weston argued Christians were better agricultural labourers than Muslims or pagans in Frank Weston, ‘Africa: And the Blight of Commercialism’, \textit{The Nineteenth Century and After}, June 1920.

\textsuperscript{91} Prestholdt, \textit{Domesticating the World}, 100.

\textsuperscript{92} Glassman, \textit{Feasts and Riot}, 62; Glassman, \textit{War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar}, 35. Conversely, Woodward identified Swahili as a slave language, on the basis that most ex-slaves in Zanzibar spoke it. Instead, he suggested Arabic was the language of the freeborn. Woodward to Child, Kiungani, Zanzibar, 3 November 1891, A1 (8), 345, UMArch.

\textsuperscript{93} C. C. Frewer, ‘Industrial Work in Zanzibar and Pemba’.


\textsuperscript{95} John Geldart Mhina, interview, 17 October 2014, 01:22; Durham Kaleza (Selemani), interview.

This paid fair wages but was lower-status employment than some slave conditions because it lacked an ongoing commitment between labourer and hirer. In contrast, being a slave implied the existence of mutual obligations to employees regarding social entitlements. After emancipation, slave-owner bonds became patronage bonds that were usually stronger than what the mission offered, which largely only involved agricultural work. Thus, the dependence that missionaries offered at the Mbweni shamba was broadly rejected in favour of dependence on patrons in the town.

In the nineteenth and very early twentieth century there was much movement of shamba ex-slaves between Mbweni, Zanzibar town, Kichwele (on the mainland), and Wete in Pemba. Much of this movement, especially the journeys to the mainland, were owed to the opportunities for commercial porterage. Just as mainland students found it beneficial to visit Zanzibar, there was also a significant amount of interest among ex-slaves to venture to the mainland, joining caravans as porters or working on ships, which reflects that travel was a survival strategy that could also offer opportunities to gain respectability in new places, partly through being anonymous and transient. Importantly, porters operated in crews, as Stephen Rockel has noted, which meant that valuable social connections could be made alongside benefiting from cash wages. Indeed, many coastal-based porters referred to themselves as ‘waungwana’, which Rockel explained was being, ‘at the cutting edge of African engagement with international capitalism’. Unsurprisingly, porterage work even attracted some of the mission-educated ex-slaves.

Those who chose to hire themselves out as porters refused to work for non-Europeans because, as one missionary put it, ‘A man of ours loses caste if he serves under anyone else’. Possibly, this is simply what workers told the missionaries in order to flatter them, but there is some weight to the claim that Europeans, and missionaries specifically, were considered good employers for porterage work. Another missionary

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98 C. C. F., ‘Mbweni Shamba’.
100 Edward Steere to G. A. Robins, 27 July 1878.
claimed that their porters accepted a wage of four MTD per month instead of the usual five, because the missionaries were known to treat their employees well and offer regular pay. Thus, European employers offered better working conditions and probably also the opportunity to carry additional items to sell on the journey for additional profit. Most importantly, this shows that association with Europeans could enhance one’s social status, though this was not always the case.

Working and travelling to the mainland could also be dangerous. For instance, Peter Sudi from Mbweni *shamba* and his wife Mary volunteered to join a mainland mission station. However, on the way they got lost at sea and were captured as slaves. They slept in a village near where they landed and Sudi’s captors threatened to kill them. He was then sold to an ‘Arab’ and taken to Pemba, having to leave Mary with their original captors. The source that details this story does not explain how Sudi finally came back to the mission and freed himself. The missionaries did not favour porterage because they believed it pulled wives and husbands apart and left wives unsupported by their husbands. This is illustrated by another of Sudi’s life experiences. Sudi was often away for long periods of time, during which his wife resorted to prostitution. She defended herself when the missionaries found out by claiming it was ‘*desturi*’, (‘custom’) probably because missionaries reacted more kindly to the aim to maintain customs than to attempts to make livelihoods against the regulations of the *shamba*. She was nevertheless expelled from the Mbweni *shamba*. Overall, mission dependents’ travel between island and mainland, then, was another object of contention, with missionaries seeing moral dangers and their charges a tense mixture of danger and opportunity.

**WENYEJI**

It was recorded that the small category of male ex-slaves who received an academic or, more often, ‘industrial’ education at Kiungani were referred to as ‘*wenyeji*’ or *watumwa waliyokombolewa* (‘released slaves’) as opposed to *waungwana* (gentlemen or

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104 Farler to Penney, 31 August 1885.
Social status was unevenly conferred among the students at Kiungani, largely because missionaries favoured mainland students for high-status life trajectories. Indeed, fewer and fewer ex-slaves engaged in academic studies. Instead, they were taught ‘industrial’ skills that revolved around trades, including printing.

Kiungani is a prism that offers insight into the difficulty of creating a community from such disparate elements and in the face of multiple layers of prejudice. Missionaries increasingly deepened the division between ‘freeborn’ mainlanders and ex-slaves, frequently complaining that the latter were bad ‘material’. For instance, the missionary Herbert Geldart argued that the schoolboys on the mainland were much better mannered than ‘Kiungani boys’ because ‘they have never been demoralised as slaves.’ By ‘demoralised’, he meant that slaves were taken from their homelands, where they had moral duties to their communities, to other places where they did not, a view that was pervasive among missionaries, as I suggested in the introduction to this chapter.

It was near impossible to convince local Zanzibaris to bring their children to Kiungani. Moreover, unlike the girls’ school, the children of ex-slaves were much less likely over time to send their male children to Kiungani because it had more stringent admissions policies designed to exclude children with slave status for the aforementioned reasons. Moreover, missionaries worried that the school risked containing students from too many different backgrounds. Nevertheless, before Kiungani became a school primarily aiming to educate mainland students, it was a great mix of students, including apprentices, ‘the young men about town sort’, ‘boys fresh from slave dhow’, boys from Mbweni shamba, and finally, boys and young men from mainland schools. I will return to the resulting tensions in the following part of this chapter.

Missionaries expected very little from ex-slave Kiungani graduates when the initial optimism (during Tozer’s time as bishop, 1863-1873) about rehabilitating ex-slaves had

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107 Mr. Geldart, ‘Boys at Umba’, *African Tidings*, October 1885.
108 Godfrey Dale to Duncan Travers, Mkuzi, 1894, A1 (8), 445-6, UMArch.
subsided. By the twentieth century, it was considered ‘remarkable’ for an ex-slave to become a Kiungani teacher. Yet all the African clergy were ex-slaves until 1893, when Peter Limo, of mainland origin, became a priest. Thus, the ordination of Petro Limo was exceptionally significant because he was ‘the first free boy who has gone from a mainland station to Kiungani and from there has come back to teach his own people’. Missionaries were not alone in their preference for mainland priests and teachers. Godfrey Dale received a letter from one of his Kiungani mainland students (who was presumably not an ex-slave) in which he emphasised the importance of Limo’s assonance: ‘I feel sure that it will be the greatest possible benefit to us all to have one of our tribe amongst us to tell us of the things of God. I feel sure that the cause of God will be successful in the country now that we have one of our race to teach us’.

In fact, missionaries worried that sending their best students to Zanzibar risked exposing them to moral contagion, not only from the town, but also from ex-slave fellow students. Dale insisted that, ‘it is my deliberate conviction that boys sent to Kiungani more often than not come back morally deteriorated’ and ‘utterly degenerated’. Mainlanders shared these concerns. Even though Rev. John Swedi, an ex-slave, sent two of his sons to Kiungani, he maintained that it was still a place of immoral influences in 1894.

Even so, according to a mainland student who had gone to Kiungani, the school had gone downhill around this time. Dale relayed the boys’ words: ‘Boys mock at religion altogether and the whole place is insolent [...] all round the place hover women of doubtful character and drink is got at by the boys at the shamba.’ Indeed, the Mbweni shamba was a place where Kiungani boys could escape the strict surveillance of the school. Moreover, it was a safer place to visit than the town, which did not always welcome Christians and had its own system of surveillance as communities were strongly self-regulating. In fact, it was not uncommon for the mission’s educated pupils to run

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111 This was probably a translation. ‘The Thirty-Second Anniversary’.
112 Dale to Travers, 1894.
113 Dale to Travers.
114 Dale to Travers.
away from a day visit to the town on account of being taunted for being ‘infidels’ (‘kafiri’) by townspeople.\textsuperscript{115}

In 1894, Newala students (from mission stations in southern Tanzania) similarly claimed that, ‘When we left home, we loved our Lord Jesus Christ but now we are always being tempted to do wrong’.\textsuperscript{116} Another mainland student at Kiungani was overheard saying to his peers, ‘why do the wazungu waste their time in Zanzibar trying to convert the people there, why do we not all pack up our things and go back to the mainland, and teach our brethren who are so miserably losing themselves?’\textsuperscript{117} These nameless students had closely associated themselves with the missionaries, and even Dale suspected that they were exaggerating how bad things had become in Kiungani, though he reasoned that missionaries had given similar reports. Still, the fact that Dale suspected the students were exaggerating implies that they were conscious of the missionaries’ concerns and saw an advantage in buying into them. Nevertheless, the fact that these impressions about Kiungani going downhill were second-hand, translated, and paraphrased, suggests we should be wary of taking them at face value. On the other hand, the impressions themselves are significant.

The oral history record shows from a different angle why Kiungani was a difficult place for mainland students. For example, Ernest Chambo recalled the stories that it was mapepo (spirits) that made life difficult for a Kiungani student in Zanzibar. For example, it was said that the students would go to bed in the night and in the morning one could find himself at the beach without knowing who had carried him there. Tales were also told of an enormous hand coming through the window in the middle of the night. The hand would disappear when the students made a noise. It was said that the demons even reached Tanga, at Chumbageni, in the form of cats and if you saw a cat on the road and threw a stone at it, the cat would ask you questions. It was believed that the mapepo were working against Christianity and sought to disturb the mission students.\textsuperscript{118} Examining these stories, it is impossible to separate prejudice instilled by the mission, and mainlanders’

\textsuperscript{115} ‘Native Lads Preparing for Ordination’, \textit{African Tidings}, 1888.  
\textsuperscript{116} Dale to Travers, 1894.  
\textsuperscript{117} ‘Child Life in the Mission’, \textit{Central Africa}, March 1883.  
\textsuperscript{118} Ernest Chambo, interview.
mistrust against the islands, or that existed regardless of the mission. Fear of witchcraft is a form of fear of being a stranger, and of the moral, but also physical dangers in an unfamiliar place. Africans on the mainland do seem to have been prejudiced against and fearful of the coastal areas and the mission was not the only factor at play.  

Mainlanders nevertheless valued coastal and urban connections, and Zanzibar was clearly influential. But they had to be the right kind of coastal and urban connections. The mainland students were probably best placed to benefit from a brief sojourn in Zanzibar and return to their homes with tales, gifts, and mannerisms they had picked up in Zanzibar. Indeed, the mainland boys took an interest in learning some of the ‘town ways’ in Zanzibar. This included Zanzibari ways of parsing social status, new greetings, clothing, food preferences, and sexual practices. Indeed, missionaries complained that mainland students who had been educated in Kiungani returned with bigger egos and were ‘stuck up’. Weston believed that these educated youths were guilty of ‘swagger’ and the cure was ‘epoch-making smackings’. Put less dramatically, in 1915 Woodward complained that the Magila boys who had been educated in Kiungani ‘assumed a worldly superiority, objected to manual work or to dish up their own food etc.’ on their return to Magila. Respondents relayed quite the same message. Their peers and even elders would marvel at them, while others found their arrogance exasperating.

To some extent, the ex-slave students shared the missionaries’ and mainlanders’ moral concern about the town’s immoral influence. The accounts Arthur Madan collected from the ex-slave students at Kiungani demonstrate that they, too, believed that Zanzibar lacked the communalism of their mainland origins. For instance, a Zaramo ‘boy’, observed

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120 Henry Nasibu, ‘News from Miosoze by a Native Evangelist’.
123 Herbert Willoughby Woodward to Duncan Travers, Masasi, 9 September 1914, A1 (21), 223, UMArch.
124 For instance, George Chambai said that if you lived in a village where someone thinks he is very smart, you let him think so while you know he is not the proverb goes, ‘mpumbavu au mjinga ni ya kwako’. George Chambai, interview, 18 October 2014, 00:11:00; Mshoa stated that the students returning from the boarding schools such as Kiungani or Minaki came back with an arrogant attitude that was visible even in the way walked. She was not aware whether or not the missionaries complained about it but their deportment annoyed the youth who did not go to school because all the girls were attracted to those boarding school boys. Agnes Gumbo Mshoa, interview, 28 April 2016.
that people in Zanzibar were much less ready to help their neighbours if they found them to be in difficulty.  

A Nyasa ‘boy’ said he was eager to return to his homeland because the people there ‘are not hard-hearted, like the people of Zanzibar, who resemble Pharaoh’.  

Likewise, a ‘Makua Boy’, noted that in his own mainland village, ‘there is a great tree, and by it a place for holding meetings. Each family goes out and takes its meals together.’ In contrast, he added that in Zanzibar people ate separately at their individual homes. This is factually untrue, which suggests the ‘Makua boy’ was feeding off the information the missionaries gave him about Zanzibari eating habits rather than first-hand information about living in Zanzibar. This highlights how sheltered ex-slave students were from everyday life. Clearly, mission educated Christian ex-slaves felt it was difficult to fit into the town, but it is also possible that they were critical of Islam and the Muslim modernity that prevailed. Equally, ex-slaves had a complicated relationship with the mainland and rarely permanently settled or ‘returned’ there.

With all the prejudice missions had against Zanzibar’s cultures in mind, it is no wonder that they had trouble developing meaningful relationships with ex-slave male students. To illustrate this, one of the printing apprentices wrote to his patron in England that, ‘We are trying to obey Mr Mallender as [well as] we can to obey him [with] God[’s] help and he himself is trying very hard to show us he cares.’

125 A. C. Madan, ed., *Kiungani, Or, Story and History from Central Africa* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1887), 63.
126 ‘Child Life in the Mission’.
127 Madan, *Kiungani, Or, Story and History from Central Africa*, 55.
128 This letter from Owen Makanyassa, a printer, was written in English on 27 January 1891 to Mallender’s mother and sister. George William Mallender, ‘Missionary life in Central Africa’. In 1879 Makanyassa was the head of the printing office. For more on Makanyassa, see: Steere, *Central African Mission, Its Present State and Prospects*, 17; Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere: Third Missionary Bishop in Central Africa*, 248.
The ex-slave pupils struggled to come to terms with their lack of kin and belonging, in contrast to the students who had come from the mainland. In 1895 Dale observed that, ‘[t]hese lads here seem to realise bitterly how isolated they are in the world how the family tie exists for all but them, how all the other boys have a home and country and position of their own but they nothing of the kind.’ Indeed, missionaries observed that Kiungani at this time was very ‘cliquey’ as groups separated according to ethnic group and ex-slave or free status. Students with ex-slave kin were rarely in the top class, which

129 Godfrey Dale to Duncan Travers, Kiungani, Zanzibar, 15 November 1895, A1 (8), 241-2, UMArch.
130 Godfrey Dale to Duncan Travers, Kiungani, Zanzibar, August 1895, A1 (8), 481, UMArch.
meant that they were usually under the leadership of mainland boys who had become prefects and were known for abusing their power. Prefects were responsible for disciplining their peers, and were even allowed to use the cane at their own discretion, although they were expected to keep a record of the punishments they dispensed in a book. Missionaries also facilitated the creation of cliques, even building separate areas for Nyasa and Bondei students at Kiungani (see Illustration 16). All this threatened the peace at Kiungani as fights broke out between students of different ethnic identities.

However, to some extent the hostility between Kiungani students dissipated as slave status faded somewhat over time, and mainlanders’ personal networks became vastly broader. The broader impact of this fading of slave status is explored in the work of Elizabeth McMahon and Laura Fair, who also both note its continuing importance. The UMCA’s official perspective was more positive because they could not admit that they held such limited sway in improving the social struggles of slaves and ex-slaves. The 1921 UMCA annual report charted this significant historical shift:

> Formerly the different tribes there [at Kiungani] did not agree at all well, and there are stories of fights with knives. Those days are now past, and while many things may have contributed to the change, we may believe the main cause of the change is the Faith.

The suggestion of this neat resolve to tensions is doubtless over-simplified. Even if students no longer resorted to violence, the stigma of slave status in the school remained and was vividly remembered. For example, John Mhina, part of a large and established family of mainland Christians, many of whom were priests and teachers for the mission, contended that the ex-slaves and their descendants were not considered to be truly ‘free’. His father had told him that at Kiungani, mainland students enjoyed greater respect than those born in Zanzibar. Indeed, this all indicates that slavery casted a long shadow.

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131 The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa Atlas.
132 Dale to Travers, August 1895.
The moral stigma surrounding Zanzibar Christians and their supposed lack of ‘roots’ remains today. For example, a respondent in Magila (who wished to keep some of his comments anonymous) criticised the retired Bishop John Ramadhani, a descendant of ex-slaves, for being out of touch with his mainland roots and over-dependence on Europeans. In a similar vein, Canon Samuel Sepeku said that the Magila Central School was a space in which all children were treated equally, even those who were descendants of slaves from Kiungani. Even Sepeku’s comment, though intended to be positive evidence of inclusivity, echoed the Christians’ prejudice towards ex-slaves.

The standing of Kiungani-educated ex-slave men among ex-slaves was a different story. In particular, they were able to take up prominent positions in the Mbweni shamba or other ‘experimental’ mission stations on the island. For instance, Kiungani-educated Sheldon Mabruki (c. 1858-1909) was said to have, ‘won the respect of all the people on the Mbweni shamba’ by 1908. He was one of the ‘primitive Christians’ of Bishop Tozer’s first baptism. He married an Mbweni girl called Gladys and did independent missionary

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136 Anonymous, Magila, n.d.
137 Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 29 October 2014, 01:32:00-01:33:30.
work in Ng’ambo and Mtoni, encumbered but not impeded by elephantiasis. 139 Similarly, John Swedi returned to the Mbweni shamba around the late 1890s. As a deacon he ran the Mbweni ex-slave village. 140 Perhaps the most obvious example, however, was Cecil Majaliwa, who bought land and hired workers from the Mbweni shamba. 141 These men were notable examples of how Kiungani students could and did achieve social mobility despite the struggles for respect in the school.

The city was a space in which one could overcome slave status, but this was not an easy process. Finding new patrons in the town and becoming incorporated into kinship groups, while a preferable scenario for many, was likely to have involved a great amount of conflict. 142 Moreover, those who chose to adhere to Christianity after moving into the town ran the risk of losing employment. Though Muslims employed Christians, they did not employ workers who were recent converts, perhaps partly because until the early twentieth century recent converts were likely to be recently captured by British Navy, and this recent association with the mainland and slave status made them undesirable cohorts. 143 Missionaries tried to broker this process of finding local patrons with their ex-slave apprenticing scheme. Through it, the mission sponsored some selected ex-slave young men – who would cease their academic education – to become apprentices in the town, on the condition that they slept at the mission at Mbweni and lived under its rules and regulations. 144 The missionaries eventually deemed this scheme a failure, because the apprentice-masters apparently had no interest in training them and saw them as cheap labour borrowed from the mission.

Even though missionaries believed the town was the source of materialistic evils, they nevertheless believed it was the best place to gain professional training. Possibly, another reason why the apprenticeship scheme failed is that it was not clearly superior to other existing opportunities to move on from slavery. For one, the apprentices were

141 Weston understood it that he stole money from the mission in order to do this. J. Zanzibar to Travers, 2 March 1904.
supposed to save part of their small wages to be able to complete their apprenticeship, in a manner that reinforced the idea of their slave-like status. Frewer explained that:

The lad gets only a small wage at first. This is gradually increased during his engagement of 3-4 years. At the end of that time he is ‘redeemed’ by himself or his parent or guardian on payment of a premium of 30 rupees (£2), which he is supposed to have saved from his earnings.145

Frewer accepted that the apprentice-master would expect the apprentice to act as his servant in order to learn all facets of the trade, but he checked up on them to ensure the young men were not being exploited. Once, to Frewer’s horror, he found one of the apprentices looking after his master’s children. 146 With the limited amount of skills actually taught through this scheme, ex-apprentices were unable to compete with the artisans of the town and might as well have entered the labour market without the missionaries’ help.147 In effect, the scheme became another way in which the missionaries unwittingly highlighted and reinforced ex-slaves’ lack of status even as they tried to help them move on.

In a way, apprenticeships were not necessary because, students at Kiungani were quite independent and capable of earning a living in the town even without a special skill. In 1873 Bishop Steere, who had an unusual tendency among missionaries to highlight ex-slave agency, asserted that: ‘[l]t must be remembered that the boys are better able to teach us agriculture than we to teach them, they could any of them get a living at that at once, don’t imagine that any of them are as helpless as English boys of eighteen or so without a trade.’148 Yet rather than simply becoming country folk, ex-slave students bought into Zanzibari urban identity and asserted that they were civilised in the same way ex-slaves who were not connected to the mission.149 Moreover, whether or not ex-slaves were talented agriculturalists, they avoided agricultural livelihoods. One way in which they distanced themselves from the mission and agriculture was to dress extravagantly once they left the school, in which the dress code was intentionally simple. Missionaries

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146 C. C. Frewer.
147 Allen to Randolph, 11 August 1884.
148 Edward Steere to Festing, 24 February 1873.
were amused to observe the civility of the students. For instance, in 1893 a missionary noted that one ‘dignified young man’ wore, in addition to his cassock, ‘a most wonderful knitted cap of marvellous colours’. 

Indeed, the term for Kiungani ex-slave students, ‘wenyeji’, had a bitter irony because they did not enjoy the benefits one might expect to reap from being a ‘native’. They were isolated from the town, a problem that concerned both missionaries and ex-slaves, and which Weston expressed in 1916:

Zanzibar Christians are a very small, isolated body. They are shut off from the town population by the Cross, from fellow Christians – European and Goanese – by colour, and from us by social customs and education, or the want of it. They depended on masters and early missionaries; and they do not easily acquire the independence that our present methods and growth require of them. Many of them accepted Baptism because they lived with us and owed us their daily bread.

Unsurprisingly, missionaries worried that these isolated Christians would be ‘lost’ to the town. Shutting their converts off from the opportunities the town offered was problematic because they believed that ‘genuine’ conversion was impossible for individuals who simply had no other choice but to be mission dependents.

According to Percy L. Jones-Bateman’s 1890 census (see Tables 10–11), 140 out of 272 (51%) students who had by then passed through Kiungani had left the school and continued to live as Christians. Only thirty-one (11%) gave up Christianity. Other evidence suggests Jones-Bateman’s survey may have been overly optimistic. Indeed, in 1899 Sir Arthur Henry Hardinge (Colonial Head for the British East Africa Protectorate) claimed that after leaving the mission school, the only ex-slaves who remained Christians were those who had positions in government service and administration, which would have been an extremely low number.

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151 Smith, Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar: Life of Frank Weston, 1871-1924, 1926, chapter x, part II.
152 ‘Our Thirty-Eighth Anniversary’.
Table 10. Original table of Kiungani student life trajectories. This excluded the small number of mainland male students who had come to Kiungani by 1890. Source: “What Becomes of Your Mission Boys When They Leave You?” Central Africa (1890).

| How employed at the present time                        | Varieties of religious profession
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<td>Professing Christians</td>
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<td>Readers and other Missionary Teachers</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>Master Craftsmen ...</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>Interpreters ...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Servants or Porters ...</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traders or Salesmen ...</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporarily unemployed people ...</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers or Cultivators ...</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentices ...</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In slavery ...</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaccounted for</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals (as regards religious profession)</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11. Kiungani student life trajectories, by percentage (based on Table 10).
The most striking figure in the census is the first one regarding the death rate. The threat of disease, violence, and vulnerability to famine and malnutrition meant that 29% of Kiungani students died soon after moving to the town.\textsuperscript{153} This is a striking indication of the struggle ex-slaves faced, which so often proved fatal. Even if some of these individuals had been admitted to the school at the age of fifteen on the school’s establishment in 1864, they would have been forty-one at the time this survey was conducted. Hence, they were not dying of old age.

Jones-Bateman’s survey was based on second-hand information collected from what African Christians still living at mission stations could glean from individuals who no longer lived with them, usually having moved to Ng’ambo. It is telling that the African Christians helping Jones-Bateman create this survey could track the lives of so many who had left the mission. Often, the mission’s Christians attempted to maintain ties with those who had left the mission, though the desire to maintain contact probably went both ways between those who stayed at the mission, and those who left. Even the ‘backsliders’, who moved to Ng’ambo and cut off their ties to the missionaries, tellingly, retained some place in African Christians’ social networks. Thus, while striving to conform to the standards of coastal culture and rejecting the missionaries, they were likely to form and maintain personal networks with other mission ex-slaves. Indeed, ex-slaves from the mission tended to try and settle together in the town and maintain networks with Zanzibar Christians, even if they themselves had converted to Islam.\textsuperscript{154} Christians were isolated from settled Muslims but they were at least able to draw upon contacts made at the mission beyond the time when they lived there.\textsuperscript{155}

To remain a Christian in town was difficult as Christian practices could make people undesirably conspicuous, particularly on Sundays when Christians were not supposed to drink, dance or work.\textsuperscript{156} Missionaries endeavoured to have their Christian presence felt in

\textsuperscript{153} It is likely that many of these deaths took place in the cholera epidemic of 1871-1872. Christie, \textit{Cholera Epidemics in East Africa, from 1821 till 1872}.
\textsuperscript{154} C. C. Frewer, ‘The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba’.
\textsuperscript{155} Percy L. Jones-Bateman, ‘What Becomes of Your Mission Boys When They Leave You?’, \textit{Central Africa}, 1890; ‘Our Thirty-Eighth Anniversary’.
\textsuperscript{156} Failing to partake in drinking would have suggested a lack of generosity on mainland Tanzania. This is represented in the Swahili word for ‘to pay tribute’ – ‘kushikana’ – which literally means ‘to hold each other’. Derek R. Peterson, \textit{Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent, C.1935-1972}
the town by orchestrating processions and public reading groups, in the style of the Muslims who read the Koran in public. This never really caught on, probably due to the reluctance of ex-slaves to reveal their association with the mission. Thus, on one hand, outward demonstration of their faith signalled their slave status. On the other hand, Muslims criticised Christianity for being a ‘prayerless religion’, on account of prayers being conducted relatively privately and quietly, and less frequently. Whether or not Christians chose to accept or believe Muslim slurs, they found themselves in a precarious social situation. Muslims refused to eat with them, and women refused to marry them.

Missionaries interpreted this as religious persecution and political vulnerability. For instance, Dale argued that, prior to Zanzibar becoming a British protectorate, the Sultan threatened the mission by saying that any Christian converts would lose the Sultan’s protection. This line of thinking was convenient for the UMCA because it placed blame on the prejudice of Muslims. However, while Zanzibar was a British protectorate, Christians were at least legally protected from persecution and Christian affiliation was much less socially harmful than the fact that ex-slave and Christian identity were impossible to separate.

Even so, ex-slaves from the mission underwent great struggle in their attempts to integrate into town life that may have exceeded the struggles ex-slaves faced on the mission shamba. Mission ex-slaves were first and foremost like other ex-slaves: they were people who had to struggle to move on. This was a generation of ex-slaves that were between the moment of emancipation and the relatively assertive plebeian urban community that Laura Fair has described.

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159 ‘Our Thirty-Eighth Anniversary’.


CONCLUSION

This chapter has confirmed many of the findings of existing studies of post-slavery societies, and of the role of Christian missionaries in the ending of slavery and brokering of new respectability in East Africa. Firstly, as William Bissell and Laura Fair showed, town and urban life were undoubtedly potential arenas in which slave status could be modified.\textsuperscript{162} Secondly, as Glassman and Rossi have shown and theorised, there was a multitude of trajectories and possibilities open to ex-slaves. They were unpredictable, often undesirable, but ex-slaves made their own choices, with their own values and worldviews in mind. Zanzibar Christians and others who were affiliated with the mission took a number of trajectories, none of which were exclusively to self-differentiate or conform. Some distanced themselves from the townspeople and attached themselves to the missionaries, who they believed to be their benevolent patrons. Another trajectory was to move to the town and conform to Muslim, non-Christian norms. Thirdly, missionaries were not necessarily helpful to ex-slaves in search of a better life.\textsuperscript{163} Very often, they simply modified the already existing social stratification previously based on slave status.

Missionaries increasingly tried to wash their hands of the \textit{shamba} ex-slaves because they did not think of them as good converts, but were bound by a moral responsibility to continue mission work on the \textit{shamba}. The missionaries were in a difficult position because they believed converts who relied on the mission for survival were disingenuous. Ex-slaves who were out of options and wanted to stay at Mbweni for security were forced to show an interest in Christianity and eventually become Christians to avoid eviction from Mbweni. Meanwhile, ex-slaves who were relatively independent did not wish to convert to Christianity and disappeared into the town instead.

The influence of the missionaries on religious practice and cultural self-expression was therefore ephemeral for the majority of male ex-slaves. By contrast, the mission sites


had diverse uses for the pursuit of livelihoods and for diverse forms of socialisation. For the most-part, ex-slaves used mission spaces, but did not cultivate mission identities to be used outside them. This is reflected in the way Zanzibar Christians diffused and disappeared into urban life. Through its terminology and its insistence on keeping its dependants separate from the town, the mission simultaneously undermined and perpetuated slave status; insisted that its dependants were ‘freed’ while keeping them marginal. Considering the pull of the Muslim-dominated town, it is remarkable that there remain Anglicans in Zanzibar, even if they are only a small group. This group, descended from educated ex-slaves, was, and to some extent still is, an unhappy one struggling to belong.

Crucially, it was often the mission site, rather than the missionaries, that provided valuable tools for networking and socialisation for both Christian and non-Christian ex-slaves. The fact that they retained ties to fellow mission ex-slaves, regardless of their religious affiliation and sometimes even in preference to sustaining their allegiance to missionaries, is very striking. This point illustrates how the mission was a site in which valuable personal networks could be fostered, even if many avoided the missionaries themselves.

The educated ex-slave Christians faced different advantages and challenges from those of the ex-mission non-Christian dependants who disappeared into town. On the one hand, they benefitted from their early investment in Western schooling. On the other hand, they faced the stigma attached to them by missionaries and mainland African Christians. They were marked out as more susceptible to sin, because of their estrangement from their ‘roots’. Yet they also had to modify their behaviour in the setting of the Muslim town, which was an important site in their lives.

Amid the multiple forms of dependency and varying attitudes to heshima, slave status and its implications in post-abolition Zanzibar, the missionaries’ first impulse was to categorise and morally judge ex-slaves. Consequently, the missionaries struggled, usually in vain, to direct particular categories of ex-slaves into particular livelihood trajectories that missionaries deemed fit for them. Ex-slaves, in turn, did what they could to survive or prosper, without deferring much to the missionaries’ preferences. In
conclusion, the mission certainly offered opportunities for social mobility, but it did so very selectively, and the options provided were not nearly as advantageous as one might expect from an antislavery society.
CHAPTER 4

‘MBWENI GIRLS’ AND SLAVE STATUS IN ZANZIBAR, 1864-c.1930

This chapter concentrates on the trajectories of the educated female ex-slaves, referred to as ‘Mbweni girls’ or, in Swahili, ‘geli za Mbweni’. The female students were just as closely monitored as the Kiungani students, but unlike at Kiungani, the ex-slave character of the Mbweni school was celebrated and valued. This was unusual in the wider context of slave status in Zanzibar as slave antecedents were socially shamed. Indeed, Mbweni girls were unique among women associated with the mission for their high level of education, but this did not necessarily ease their troubles when finding marriage suitors or work.

Female education in Mbweni began in 1865 but the Mbweni Girls’ School (also known as St Mary’s) was only established in 1871. It was a relatively small school, never exceeding more than 110 boarding pupils, and usually with an additional 10-50 day-girls (see Table 12 below). Initially, it housed and educated female children and adolescent ex-slaves, and, increasingly, the children of these ex-slaves. Almost all the pupils were ex-slaves, usually sourced from British navy ships that had captured slaving dhows. Only a handful of local parents not already associated with the mission were willing to send their children to this school, partly because people feared the missionaries would steal or harm their children. Pupils were only loosely categorised by age. The oldest students were in their late teens (i.e. ‘old enough to be married’). In the event that a woman completed her studies at the school and lacked a spouse, they would often remain on the Mbweni

1 Respondents usually used the English version of the phrase, so I follow that convention.
mission land, offering their domestic and agricultural services to the mission. They would have maintained contact with the school and probably still spent much time there, but they were not considered as Mbweni students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Boarders</th>
<th>Scholars baptised</th>
<th>Day scholars</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The school was adjacent to the Mbweni shamba, but it was almost entirely separate from it. The relationship between Mbweni school and Mbweni shamba was complex. On the one hand, ex-slave girls who had recently been recaptured by the British would usually be sent to adoptive mothers on the Mbweni shamba, to be inducted into mission life before they joined the mission school. Thus, they must have fostered some kin-like networks in the Mbweni shamba. On the other hand, Mbweni girls saw the ex-slaves on the Mbweni shamba as inferiors, referring to them as ‘slaves’. Indeed, this is partly a story of status struggles among ex-slaves.

Female missionaries oversaw the female ex-slave students and domestic servants. Helen Tozer, Bishop Tozer’s sister, was one of the missionaries who established the school in the 1860s. Her approach was later criticised for its worldly emphasis on ‘manners’. Indeed, her students were, ‘distinguished by their peculiarly sweet accent and pretty manners’. In fact, in the first mission building in which they housed ex-slave girls – only twenty-three in number by this point – they had a ‘governess’ and taught English. On the whole, female students had closer ties with missionaries than the male Kiungani.

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5 Scholars were not necessarily baptised nor boarders. However, Zanzibar UMCA mission schools were unlike other UMCA schools in that the great majority were both baptised and boarders.
6 It was said that these educated ex-slaves to procure a slave once they married. Rev. W. F. Capel to Edward Steere, Mbweni, Zanzibar, (January 1877), A1 (4) A, 60, UMArch.
7 M. A. Cameron, ‘Round about the Cathedral’; Lincoln, ‘A Primitive Christian’, Central Africa, December 1906; Foxley noted that it was important in Helen Tozer’s time to prove that African women could reach ‘a high degree of Christian virtue and good manners.’ Alice Foxley, ‘The Higher Education of Women’, Central Africa, June 1909.
8 Nugent West to Seale, English Mission, Zanzibar, July 1873, A1 (4) A, 1a, UMArch.
students.\(^9\) This had a lot to do with Caroline Thackeray, who arrived in 1877 and remained at Mbweni until her death almost 50 years later (1877-1926). For most of the period, ‘Mbweni girls’ benefited from the benevolent rule of Thackeray, who was a woman with substantial private financial means and became the UMCA’s longest-serving missionary.\(^{10}\) William Johnson, a missionary who arrived in the same year as Thackeray, applauded her efforts because she took, ‘a loving and enthusiastic delight in our work with the girls’, and because she provided ‘a wholesome link with the world of reality, with method, discipline, and English life’.\(^{11}\) That Johnson considered this a ‘reality’ suggests deeply set Eurocentricism.

Yet, equally, other male missionaries despaired at Thackeray’s ‘extravagance’ and the way she promoted European-style activities, such as tea parties and picnics, in addition to ‘extravagant’ clothes that followed European fashions. Nevertheless, even colleagues critical of her work valued Thackeray’s devotion.\(^{12}\) Thackeray, who self-identified as ‘mother’ and ‘grandmother’, frequently referred to her Mbweni network as ‘my large family’.\(^{13}\) While some male missionaries complained that the girls were ‘haughty’, Thackeray doted on the girls unapologetically.\(^{14}\) She held tense relationships with male and female missionary colleagues, what is more surprising is how uncontroversial she was among African converts. Thackeray’s efforts contributed to the school’s longevity as an institution, though its dependence on her also explains why Mbweni School closed down when Thackeray retired in 1914. From 1917 most female students were taught in St. Monica’s, situated in the Mkunazini quarter of Zanzibar Town.

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\(^{10}\) Thackeray donated liberally to the mission and even declined offers for the mission to pay for visits back home, to Steere’s delight, as he was anxious to save costs. Edward Steere to Rev. W. H. Penney, Zanzibar, September 1881, A1 (3) A, 384, UMArch; She also purchased much of the expensive land around the Slave Market Church. William Bishop to Viner, Mkunazini, Zanzibar, 26 March, A1 (6) B, 1620, UMArch.


\(^{12}\) We get a sense of the materialism she encouraged from her letters describing the great pleasure her students got from opening presents from her friend in England, Mrs Leeke, who was a very generous patron. Caroline D. M. Thackeray to Mrs Leeke, Mbweni, Zanzibar, 26 September 1887, A1 (6) A, 775, UMArch; Caroline D. M. Thackeray to Mrs Leeke, Mbweni, Zanzibar, 29 September 1897, A1 (6) A, 812, UMArch.


(see below), and the hubs of UMCA women’s education moved to the Mkuzi and Hegongo mission stations on the mainland.\(^\text{15}\)

Mbweni girls suffered from their association with slave status less than their male counterparts in the mission. They were also likely to be better off than any other kind of female ex-slave because at the mission they lost much of their sexual vulnerability. This was all largely thanks to the environment that Caroline Thackeray helped create. For example, she fostered a positive outlook towards Mbweni girls among mainland Christians and missionaries.\(^\text{16}\) For example, Weston’s assessment of Thackeray in 1899, when they first met -trained Mbweni women desirable brides, the ones who had done less well in their studies had poor prospects.

The highest-achieving ‘Mbweni girls’ were introduced to African clergymen.\(^\text{17}\) Because of the lack of success in converting mainland women, missionaries had to supply Christian brides for African clergymen. In other words, at Mbweni ‘The girls [...] are absolutely necessary as providing wives for the boys’.\(^\text{18}\) Despite what Thackeray’s critics said, mission-educated male ex-slaves sought ‘Mbweni girls’ as wives. Thus, Steere wrote in 1874: ‘I have been greatly amused at the utter contempt of the elder boys for any girls not brought up by us; they treat the idea of looking for a wife anywhere else as utterly preposterous.’\(^\text{19}\) Equally, there was a demand for educated wives, on the mainland as well as in Zanzibar.\(^\text{20}\) The wives of the elite Christian teachers and clergymen were ideally expected to act much like middle-class women in Europe. Thus, missionaries tried to

\(^{15}\) Rev. J. F. Christopher Fixsen to Mother, Kizara, 15 March 1914, A1 (22), 671, UMArch.
\(^{16}\) Thackeray reported that she got on quite well with Capel (the ex-slaves’ greatest critic), though she admitted, ‘he does at time provoke me horribly by things he says about the children and people and I don’t agree at all with his very despairing tone about them’. Caroline D. M. Thackeray to Penney, 19 January 1885.
\(^{17}\) Farler to Steere, 9 November 1881; Willis, ‘The Nature of a Mission Community’, 141. Willis notes that the practice of patrons finding wives for their dependents was common in the Tanga region among Africans.
\(^{18}\) Nugent West to Seale, July 1873; W. Forbes Capel to The Lord Bishop of London and the committee of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, 1884, TC C1, UMArch; A. C. Madan, The Rectory, Dunsley, 14 August 1884, TC C1, 5, UMArch.
generate interest in needlework and other domestic occupations that they deemed respectable.

Missionaries made themselves responsible for making matches between Mbweni girls and Christian professionals, such as soldiers, masons, printers, cooks, or teachers. As the Mbweni girls tended to outnumber educated African Christian suitors, whose families accepted the prospect of a union being made in Zanzibar, they were often better educated than their husbands. Sometimes these women made careers for themselves, regardless of their husbands’ career trajectories. For instance, Kate Mabruki had a long career as a teacher even though her husband, Francis, was forbidden from preaching in 1879 and he was never restored (the reason is unknown). Mainland African Christians, too, tended to value educated women as potential brides from very early in the mission’s history. Overall, African missionaries in Magila were more likely to marry Christian women local to them, but marrying someone taught at Mbweni had its advantages. Most importantly, they were educated and likely to share teaching responsibilities. The other side of the coin was that they were unlikely to take to agricultural work and they had ex-slave status.

From the Mbweni girls’ perspective, marriage was approached with some trepidation. A strange feature of Mbweni girl weddings was that brides would spend much of the day weeping. This may have been a way of expressing their gratitude to the missionaries. When married to either Christians or non-Christians, Mbweni brides were likely to have been more subordinate to their husbands than other brides because they lacked families who could intervene if the relationship went sour. Their tears may have indicated their fear. For the married woman, the mission did not act as defender and patron in quite the same way a family would have done. The most the mission could do was to provide a place for a woman escaping a marriage that had gone wrong, at either

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22 Bishop Charles Alan Smythies, ‘A Letter from the Bishop’.
Mkunazini or Mbweni. In other words, Mbweni brides faced a life of powerlessness especially if they were marrying someone from the mainland which was not only associated with ‘shenzi’ but, perhaps more importantly, represented the unknown. It is possible these emotions were heightened by missionaries’ representations of marriage. The female missionaries in charge of Mbweni, who were single, may have had reservations about married life that they inflected in their teachings.

However, even if Mbweni girls lacked the security kinship afforded, Thackeray was true to her self-identified role as matriarch as she was known to provide a safety net for her pupils who wished to leave their husbands, even those who had engaged in mainland marriages. For example, after Kate Mabruki’s marriage fell apart, she worked in Mbweni as a teacher and oversaw sewing classes. Thackeray even made a point of visiting her former students in their mainland homes and insisted they keep in epistolary contact. However, even if Thackeray had wanted to, it would have been impossible for her to protect all the Mbweni girls from unhappy marriages. Support for future brides or young women who had just reached puberty could also come from African Christian women, who often stood in for absent (Christian) mothers by appointment of the church. These women would ensure the young women remained chaste in her engagement period and also ensured she was properly educated for married life. It is likely that these pre-marriage mentors continued to offer their support after a bride’s wedding.

Mbweni girls stood out, but the slave status that they carried with them, by virtue of their connection to the mission, was less likely to undermine marriage prospects than it was for men. In addition to being well-educated, Mbweni girls gained a reputation for being well-fed and well-dressed. Mbweni women’s fashion was diverse and they had privileged access to European fashions and a voracious appetite for fabric from a donor in Hereford. Some favoured Arab-style dress.

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For instance, Kate Mabruki wore ‘Arab dress, tight trousers to the ankles and a tunic of figured cotton material’, (see Illustration 19) which shocked Christians in Msalabani on the mainland because they had never seen clothes like it before.\(^\text{32}\) In an

\(^{32}\)‘Mama Kate: An African Saint’; Kate’s dress sounds very similar to the description of Arab women’s dress in this source: Ethel Younghusband, Glimpses of East Africa and Zanzibar (London: J. Long, 1910), 35.
article comparing the Zanzibar mission in 1909 to that of 1921, Dora Mills noticed there was a change in fashion. While women previously had ‘their heads dressed up mountain high’ they now ‘modestly draw their sheeties over them like a veil’. Mills was pleased about this and took it for evidence of ‘far greater reverence and intelligence’. Whether this change in fashion meant the Mbweni girls were fitting into the town is unclear, but it does indicate that they were exposed to and interacted with the world outside the mission.

The Mbweni girls managed to construct an identity for themselves out of Thackeray’s devotion and cultural influence. According to Thackeray, a good Mbweni girl had to be obedient, neat, educationally ambitious, and hard-working. A Christian wife, so the syllabus taught at Mbweni, had a number of duties to society and to her husband. Hilda Siyenu, a young teacher at Mbweni wrote out for one of her assignments the chief duties of a Christian wife of a teacher or priest:

1. To know well herself the things of God, that she may help her husband to know those things. To care for the sick in her villages.
2. To show a good example in keeping her house in order.
3. To be like a mother and gentle to all.
4. To care for children who are orphans.
5. To care for widows.
6. To get people to come to church.
7. To wash the church-linen, to light the lamps, to keep the church in order, to do needlework for the church.
8. To cook for her husband (this she was reminded of – possibly she thought no. 2 included this).
9. To teach those who are not yet baptized.
10. Not to regard their bodily state so as to despise them, nor their clothes.
11. It would be a good thing to collect on a fixed day the grown-up women to teach them to sew.

The kind of woman Siyenu was describing could easily have been an English woman interested in church, charity, and community affairs. This was one way in which missionary observers claimed that Thackeray ‘spoilt’ her female students, who were, it was claimed, too likely to be circumspect about the kind of manual labour they engaged

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34 Caroline D. M. Thackeray, ‘Letter from Miss Thackeray about the Girls’ School at Mbweni’.
35 Thackeray probably translated this into English. It is unlikely it was originally written in English. C. D. M. Thackeray, ‘Work amongst the Mbweni Girls’.
In his hypercritical review of the Mbweni shamba in 1884, a missionary called Forbes Capel complained that, ‘Compared with their fellow country women the girls are being brought up as ladies’ (his emphasis). In a similar vein, Capel protested that ‘the girls were suffering from want of more active employment’. Similarly, in 1884 May Allen despaired that, ‘[t]he state of the insubordination of the girls here is something dreadful’. Farler also complained that the Mbweni girls were ‘so pampered’ and consequently impertinent, disobedient, as well as being indifferent to Christianity.

Similarly, Smythies believed they were far too educated for their own good, arguing that, ‘as yet the country is not prepared for the higher education of women, all they need is a good elementary education’. He believed Mbweni girls were, ‘apt to be conceited and not to give their husbands that obedience which is the custom here to exact from them.’ Finally, Hine was also extremely negative about the Mbweni girls’ school, complaining that, ‘no sane person would send mission girls from upcountry to be brought up at Mbweni’. There are constant tensions in the missionaries’ reports regarding the balance between ‘work’ and ‘education’, which reflects the gender conflict among the missionaries and the different African perspectives with which the missionaries sympathised.

The male missionaries who criticised Thackeray and the Mbweni girls pointed out that the ex-slave wives from Mbweni struggled to get along with the local people on the mainland. Eight months into her and her husband’s new post at Kwa Kibai, near Magila, Blandina was evidently struggling to accustom herself to the people. She was, reportedly, snobbish about another African priest’s wife, who was her assistant teacher and ‘no scholar; she cannot help me to do anything’. Blandina had received a very high standard

37 Capel to Steere, January 1877.
38 W. Forbes Capel to The Lord Bishop of London and the committee of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, 1884.
41 Bishop Charles Alan Smythies, ‘A Letter from the Bishop’.
42 J. Zanzibar to Duncan Travers, Mkunazini, Zanzibar, 17 January 1905, A1 (13), 257, UMArch.
of education under Caroline Thackeray, which probably explained why she felt ‘quite alone’ on the mainland. She added that, ‘I do miss my Mbweni friends and companions’.43

Some Mbweni girls pursued ‘Swahili marriages with Mohammedans’, as one missionary phrased it. This suggests that, for Mbweni girls, African Christian men were not necessarily the best or only option as future husbands. Missionaries did not support this, but they accepted it, given that Zanzibar had a majority Muslim population.44 However, there is no evidence to suggest that non-Christians especially sought out Mbweni girls. Mbweni girls lacked an essential education: that of unyago (female initiation). Mbweni girls were referred to as wasungo, women who had not been initiated, and were thus inexperienced in the matters of sex.45 This meant Mbweni girls were not usually seen as ideal wives from the perspective of non-Christians. However, not all suitors valued unyago. Many Muslims rejected initiations because unyago was believed to undermine Islamic values of chasteness.46 It is also possible that Mbweni girls were more valued for their education in the 1920s, when mission education became more popular in Zanzibar, as one of my Muslim Zanzibari respondents suggested.47 At any rate, the occurrence of such marriages again shows that the Mbweni girls were connected to the Muslim society around them.

INDUSTRIAL STUDENTS AND DOMESTIC LABOUR
The school was split between ‘academic’ and ‘industrial’ students. The latter tended to be older but were largely still children. They provided the domestic labour to make the running of Mbweni possible. From the beginning of the twentieth century, schoolchildren rarely worked as domestic servants and the mission transitioned to employing wage-earning adults, usually men. The exception to this rule was the case of Mbweni girls’ school, where students were more likely to have domestic skills as part of their curriculum than male students in the twentieth century. This reflected two key characteristics of

43 Blandina Limo, ‘A Letter from Blandina Limo’, Central Africa, April 1895; Louisa Mumbi is another example. See: Caroline D. M. Thackeray to Mrs Leeke, Mbweni, Zanzibar, 25 November 1890, A1 (6) A, 783, UMArch. All of these letters appear to have been translated by Thackeray into English.
44 Janet Phillips, ‘St Monica’s Sewing Class’, Central Africa, May 1901.
45 Esther Musa, interview.
female mission education. Firstly, the missionaries intended to help rear good Christian wives who could look after their households. Secondly, for much of the period, female mission schools consisted of ex-slaves and orphans who were more likely to depend on the opportunity to provide domestic service to the mission than freeborn women with kin. Therefore, female students were more likely to have been kinless and, thus able to devote their energies to the mission household rather than their own households.

While Kiungani school was divided between those with slave status and those who had come from the mainland, the division at Mbweni was different because all the students were ex-slaves or children of ex-slaves. From 1884 the girls’ school was divided between academic and industrial training. At Kiungani there was a similar divide with one significant difference: academic students were overwhelmingly non-ex-slaves from the mainland while industrial students were all ex-slaves. Meanwhile, at Mbweni all students were ex-slaves or their decedents. Thackeray reported the separation had been for the best, even if she would have preferred to keep all the students together. Although Thackeray saw ‘industrial girls’ as somewhat troublesome, she was quite optimistic about them, too:

I am sure it is better for those who would never make ‘scholars’, that they should be put to work. A girl nearly grown up wants some way of working off her superfluous energy, and if she is too poor a scholar for her lessons to be an interest to her, one must give her some other if she is to do well. It does not at all follow either, that a girl who is slow at books is stupid at other matters. Even so, the industrial students received very little tuition and acted as the domestic servants for the Mbweni school. However, the communal character of ‘industrial’ work, which in fact meant predominantly shared domestic tasks, probably offset some of the social stigma attached to it. In fact, given that the Mbweni girls’ school was relatively isolated, it is possible that the social stigma attached to agricultural or ‘industrial’ labour was conspicuous to most of the students at the school, perhaps because it tended to be of a more domestic, rather than agricultural, nature.

49 ‘Our African Postbag’.
There existed a fluid distinction between education and domestic service in UMCA boys’ schools too (see Chapter 5) with two important differences. Firstly, while missionaries dramatically reduced the domestic service responsibilities of male students to a minimum by the turn of the century, the role of schoolgirls as domestic servants persisted. Secondly, girls’ domestic service never became a paid profession with routinised expectations of payment. The mission stations of the ‘ladies’ generally employed female domestic workers or utilised the labour of female students. Indeed, female missionaries in the Mbweni mission had ex-slave female maids as early as 1865.


Usually, these female students were not personal servants. Rather, they worked in groups (as Illustration 20 shows), with certain students being periodically appointed as overseers. This excerpt of a letter from 1911 helps to explain how duties were shared at Mbweni:

Certain girls had definite duties to perform. There were no trained servants in the house beyond the cook, everything else being done by the children. Rooms had to

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50 There was actually quite a demand for domestic servants in the Mbweni mission but very few women – or men – wanted to live so far from the town, especially in the period following the First World War. A. D. Swainson, ‘Work in Zanzibar I’.
51 Edward Steere to Polly, Zanzibar, August 1865, A1 (3) A, 39, UMArch.
be swept, lamps collected and cleaned, the table laid for our breakfast, and so on. The room-girls would be busy in the Bibi's rooms, probably with a number of companions to hinder, or perhaps help, in carrying out the necessary duties. 53

Thackeray herself used the term ‘house-girl’ for the ex-slave girls living in the mission, as opposed to the ‘day-girls’ who had a family to stay with, usually the children of ex-slaves. They even donned different uniforms to signify this distinction. 54


The so-called ‘House-girls’, who received intermittent wages, boarding and food at Mbweni, were expected to attend scripture lessons, but considered too old to join the

school. Some of them were married. Others used the term ‘industrial girl’ to describe this Mbweni girl category. They did all the catering and housekeeping for the school. One of their chief chores was to make *vitumbua*, a kind of fried rice cake that the students had for breakfast most days. This involved pounding the grain (see Illustration 21), which was a labour-intensive and gendered process as this passage shows:

Two girls generally pound together; when one ‘mche’ is out the other goes in; this pounding goes on every day, and is woman’s work entirely; men never pound. [...] as many as 220 ‘vitumbua’ are made in the course of a morning, as the industrials cook for the school side as well as for themselves.57

The missionaries’ belief in the educational role of *vitumbua*-making is striking, as the next passage demonstrates:

Two girls are supposed to pound the rice together, but they often like to do it all by themselves one day, and then have nothing to do the next day, sometimes one girl is lazy and leaves her companion to do it alone. Occasionally, when the evening comes, we find they have put the rice away and not ground it at all, then they have no supper, and have to do their work instead.58

Missionaries admitted that the *vitumbua* could not be made more cheaply at the mission than they could be bought in the town. In fact, missionaries valued *vitumbua* preparation as a character-building exercise that taught traditional gender roles.59 Here, we begin to see a contrast between male students, who were taught domestic service such as waiting tables, and female students, who were taught domestic skills of a more ‘traditional’ nature, such as pounding grain.

Personal domestic service in Mbweni could lead to careers in teaching, just as in boys’ schools. For example, Thackeray had a ‘bed-room girl’ who she hoped would one day become a teacher.60 What all these girls and young women in Magila on the mainland and Mbweni in Zanzibar had in common is that they were kinless due either to famine or

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56 Pestle.
57 Eleanor M. Bennett, ‘The Industrial Wing at Mbweni’.
58 M. E. W., ‘Among the School Children in Zanzibar’.
60 Caroline D. M. Thackeray, ‘Letter from Miss Thackeray about the Girls’ School at Mbweni’.
slavery. To some extent, missionaries in both locations were making use of the labour they had to hand, namely, socially marginal girls and women who had lost their kin. But the Magila mission stations were much less likely to give intermittent payments to schoolgirls in return for domestic labour. This was largely because mission dependants receiving wages was slightly less controversial in Zanzibar, where a monetised labour market was more firmly established. Mbweni girls did not have to pay for food or boarding, which explains why these intermittent payments appear to have been spent largely on imported clothes and fabrics. Comparing Mbweni with mission stations on the mainland that took in kinless girls, the privileged status of Mbweni becomes even clearer.


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61 Caroline D. M. Thackeray to Mrs Leeke, 25 November 1890; Caroline D. M. Thackeray to Mrs Leeke, 29 September 1897.
Industrial girls’ lower status was reflected in their clothing, which was more worn and simpler than that of the academic students who all wore white, sometimes with a *kaniki* cloth for further coverage, in addition to many types of beads and necklaces (see Illustration 22). However, the attire of industrial students was superior to, and certainly covered more flesh than, the clothing of the women working on the Mbweni *shamba*, which was similar to that of female manual labourers on the island (compare Illustrations 23-24).

**Illustration 23.** Female manual labourers on the Mbweni *shamba* who specialised in quarrying stone. This is, and remains today, lowly work for women and children who have few option open to them. It is hard physical labour that has always been badly paid. Historically, men shunned this stigmatised work as better paid work existed. Original caption: ‘Mr Brough and Mbweni “Pigilia” Women’. Source: K., ‘Mbweni Incidents’, *African Tidings*, January, 1893.

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Illustration 24. Female manual labourers in a village in Zanzibar. The attire pictured here appears to be of a higher quality than that pictured in Illustration 23. This may simply indicate the contrasting work. Here, women are drawing and carrying water, whereas the previous image depicts women in the middle of stone quarrying work. The latter is more difficult labour for which you would not risk ruining good clothing. Original caption: ‘Swahili water-carriers, Zanzibar.’ Ethel Younghusband, *Glimpses of East Africa and Zanzibar* (London: J. Long, 1910).

DOMESTIC WORK BEYOND THE SCHOOL

This section takes a broader view of female domestic work in the mission. Girls and women contributed significantly to the domestic labour that the mission demanded, but they were rarely paid a regular wage and the conditions of their labour cannot be described as ‘professional’. There were some exceptions to the rule that Europeans did not employ women as wage-earning domestic servants. To cite one notable example, in 1905 in Kota Kota it was decided that missionaries should make a transition to female house servants in order to offer destitute women an opportunity to earn a wage. These women were usually elderly because young women were under their parents’ or husband’s control and, thus, prohibited from this line of work.

A missionary named Mr Marsh responded to the proposed experiment as follows: ‘[it] made me very sad, because girls here as a rule are most unsatisfactory servants’.

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Some reasons for his doubts about the suitability of women as domestic servants were probably a mixture of habit, a concern about having to watch over women’s ‘morality’, and a belief that African men were more sophisticated than African women. Eventually, though, Marsh conceded and chose a ‘boy’ called Elizabethi, ‘a funny wizened little old woman with grey hair and such a wrinkled face.’

She was a widow and had worked for him as a gardener for a long time and clearly valued her promotion to working in the house:

She looks upon herself as responsible for all my belongings, and would not think of leaving anything outside on the baraza when she goes away at night. Another great function is the preparing of my bed each night. [...] As she finds [my blankets] in confusion in the morning she always contrives to give the top one a rakish and untidy look before she tucks in the mosquito net, because she thinks I like it like that.  

Illustration 25. Elizabethi, Mr Marsh’s domestic servant. This image may come as a surprise based on Marsh’s description of her as an elderly woman; she does not look as old as his description suggests. At a time when female domestic workers could be preyed upon by upper class Englishmen, Marsh may have been attempting to reassure his audience by exaggerating about her age and thus depicting her as undesirable. Source: K. M., ‘My ‘Boy’,’ African Tidings, November 1905.

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64 K. M.
65 Ibid.
Marsh, despite his amusement, spoke very warmly and highly of her capacity as a servant. Nevertheless, the experiment of employing women as ‘boys’ did not transform into a normal practice. There were two key reasons for this. First, missionaries grew impatient with these women, whom they found difficult to train and communicate with. Secondly, most UMCA missionaries were male and part of an Anglican tradition in which contact between genders was kept to a minimum.\textsuperscript{66} Even so, Elizabethi’s story is a striking subversion of the assumptions of what \textit{uboi} entails in terms of both gender and age.

Predictably, there were more opportunities in Zanzibar than on the mainland for women to become wage-earning domestic servants. By the 1900s there were opportunities in Zanzibar town for women to earn a wage as water-carriers to Europeans or \textit{ayah} (nannies or maids) for English settlers. The mission station in town also employed women in various jobs, including hospital work and sewing.\textsuperscript{67} This was partly because there was a greater demand among wealthy potential employers looking for specialised skills, but also because there was such a large population of women, especially ex-slave women. At the hospital in Mkunazini, Zanzibar, the women of St. Katherine’s mission station – who were a mixture of mission educated Christians and destitute ‘saved’ women from the town – were the primary domestic workers. In addition to helping around the hospital, these women also performed delicate laundry work for the European residents of the town from the base of the mission station.\textsuperscript{68} Even so, the opportunities were extremely limited, as one female missionary noted in 1901: ‘There is no domestic service for women, except for a few \textit{ayahs}.\textsuperscript{69} Men and boys do all the housework; even laundry work is almost all in the hands of men.’\textsuperscript{70} Indeed, the mission trained men and women in \textit{dhobi} (laundry) as we can see from Illustrations 27-29. Even so, it was more often men who secured employment in \textit{dhobi} inside and outside of the mission.\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{67} M. A. A., ‘S. Katherine’s Zanzibar’, \textit{African Tidings}, February 1904; The situation had not changed very much by 1920. Swainson reported that, ‘Many of the [Christian] women are engaged as servants in the Mission, while others are ayahs to Europeans in town or in the Government hospitals […] but the majority have no regular work to do.’ A. D. S., ‘Work in Zanzibar II’, \textit{Central Africa}, November 1920.
\textsuperscript{69} Nannies.
\textsuperscript{70} Janet Phillips, ‘St Monica’s Sewing Class’.
Illustration 26. Women’s paid work was often more physically demanding than men’s professional wage labour. This image shows a colonial official in uniform to the left, women water-carriers in the centre, and a ‘boy’ to the right. Original caption: ‘Women water carriers’. Source: Captain Chauncey H. Stigand, The Land of Zinj: Being an Account of British East Africa, Its Ancient History and Present Inhabitants (London: Constable & Co, 1913).

Illustration 27. At the UMCA mission station at Mbweni the laundry work was performed by men. Original caption: ‘Laundry at Zanzibar’. Source: Central Africa, 1904.

Alongside the gendered divisions of wage labour, it is worth reflecting on the division of culinary labour and food preparation. For instance, both in Zanzibar and on the mainland, pounding grain was considered strictly women’s work. The UMCA official history, published in 1897, describes how cooking came naturally to ex-slave girls at the school yet the missionaries did not attempt to impose on these girls any, ‘civilized method of cooking’, as they put it. The author added, ‘[the girls] do not learn European cookery, as that is done by men’. European cooking was looked upon with wonder, fascination, and probably some repulsion. It was a departure from the mundane; a special skill that gave a worker valuable knowledge. The imparting of this knowledge to men only had wider implications as it compromised women’s ability to access employment and made women dependent on men for access to cash.

On missionary journeys around the Magila area, the missionaries and African teachers of the party would do some of the cooking, but this was restricted to warming up tinned food or boiling potatoes. The cooked food, usually consisting of ugali (maize-meal porridge) and mchicha (cooked amaranth leaf), would be sent for from a nearby village, from a woman’s kitchen. This suggests an advantage of employing a young boy as a domestic servant as there came a certain age at which young men refused to cook certain dishes such as ugali because it was considered unmanly labour. The same can be seen in Zanzibar. For example, during a Beriberi outbreak in 1902 the students in the Kiungani school were so ill that they were unable to cook for themselves and the paid adult cook flatly refused to prepare ugali. This caused the mission great expense because they had to source local women to come and cook the ugali, which the schoolboys normally prepared. Thus, we see that there were limits to the feminisation of men’s work as domestic servants, with great symbolic value ascribed to the mundane nature of everyday cooking, which evidently was an inescapable marker of femininity. Considering how awkward the gendered division of household labour could be, it is not surprising that

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73 Mary Grace Gongwe, interview by Elias Mutani, Mkuzi, 2 August 2016; Agnes Gumbo Mshoa, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Mkonje, Kideleko, 10 November 2014; Agnes Mbwana, interview.
75 Gerrard Michael Francis Kiongoa Yambi, interview; John Mhando-Nyungu, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Kideleko, 7 October 2014.
missionaries experimented with hiring married couples to be domestic workers together in order to cover all bases. However, these experiments failed early on without explanation and were never repeated as far as my reading of the sources suggest.77

There was a distinction between ‘boys’ who could cook and those who could not. Unlike the general ‘boys’ of the mission, the position of cooks in the mission was much more professional. Cooking was typically left to more specialised employees. Missionaries did not entrust female Africans with the task of preparing European-style food, a responsibility entrusted only to paid, professional, cooks.78 Because it was difficult to procure Goan cooks in Magila, who were valued for their extensive cooking abilities and familiarity with European cuisines, missionaries from a very early point set out to train African male cooks for the mission.79

Illustration 30. Original caption: ‘The cook does some sums while the pots boil!’ Source: African Tidings (1930), 59.

77 J. P. Farler to Bishop Edward Steere, 10 October 1876.
78 ‘A Typical Day at Mbweni’.
For example, at Korogwe in the 1890s there was a highly-trained (unnamed) African cook who was, as Webb put it, as good as if not better than a ‘well paid English’ cook. This cook was also ‘a man of some learning’, owning several books he kept in his kitchen-library including devotional Swahili texts and a copy of Mrs. Beeton’s Cookery-book in English.\(^{80}\) Similarly, in the 1909 issue of *African Tidings*, a cook named Yohana Chamalanda at Msalabani was commended for his cooking and for the fact that he was writing a cookery book.\(^{81}\) Indeed, cooks in the mission seem to have had a particularly strong interest in literacy throughout the period. Whether this interest in literacy was part of a conscious effort to make their roles masculine and distinct from female work is difficult to gauge in the light of the available evidence. Judging from oral history interviews, it is indicative of how securing a job as a cook demanded a high level of education because they were desirable and scarce jobs.\(^{82}\)

**LIMITED LIVELIHOODS AND PRECARIOUS CLAIMS TO BELONGING**

Mbweni girls were anomalies in the grand scheme of female ex-slave trajectories. However, their stories also reflect more typical patterns of women with ex-slave status, such as the risks of marriage and of paid work. Unlike their male counterparts, female ex-slaves in the mission were less likely to pursue social mobility in the public eye. As Felicitas Becker has suggested, women grappling with slave status more often fought their battles in domestic arenas, which were ‘intrinsically political units’.\(^{83}\) In the case of the female UMCA mission ex-slaves, they used their leverage as members of Caroline Thackeray’s tight-knit community, largely by strengthening their networks among themselves. Association with the mission appears to have been more profitable for Mbweni girls than for any other category of ex-slave. Nonetheless, they entered their husbands’ family networks (if any) in a subordinate position and risked losing the protection of the mission when leaving school.

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\(^{82}\) Emmanuel Ngoma, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Korogwe, 2 October 2014; William Kamna, interview; Gerrard Michael Francis Kiongoa Yambi, interview.

One major reason why missionaries tended to offer Mbweni students more support than male Kiungani students was that they were more vulnerable when finding work in the town. Bishop Smythies insisted in 1885 that, ‘The girls cannot go out in this country to earn their own living’. The subtext was that they would fall into disreputable work in the town, such as prostitution. In addition, Smythies was concerned that if a mission educated girl was forced to find work in town she would inevitably find a Muslim marriage suitor. The problem of finding ‘suitable’ livelihoods for Christian women outside the mission persisted into the twentieth century. In the ‘coast towns’ of Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, ‘a recognised sect of Arabs’ were in charge of distributing the work of drawing water for townspeople among women, and would favour Muslim women. Fetching firewood was also out of the question because of the lack of appropriated land from which to gather it. Female missionaries worked together to arrange a solution: to develop ‘home industries’ such as plaiting mats. The problem was that the only buyers for their crafts work were Europeans in Zanzibar. Instead, these female missionaries hoped to export the women’s handiwork to England, where UMCA supporters would purchase them. Needless to say, but the pay was too infrequent to constitute a full livelihood.

Christian networks were valuable to Mbweni girls. Mbweni girls formed cohorts of their own accord, but the missionaries attempted to manage them through establishing the Guild of All Saints (see Illustration 32). The guild had many rules, including attendance at Sunday service, being selective about their choice of friends, monitoring the spread of rumour, and trying to draw others into the mission. The idea was also to unite the Mbweni girls with other African Christian women on the mainland, who would all come together for a meeting twice a year. In practice, very few mainland female Christians were involved.

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84 Kate Mabruki was an unusual but notable example of a female Zanzibar Christian gaining sustained working opportunities in the town for Europeans. She would mend the clothes returned from the washermen. Lincoln, ‘A Primitive Christian’.
85 Bishop Charles Alan Smythies, ‘A Letter from the Bishop’; Similar concerns about the lack of respectable employment for young women, outside the context of the mission, can be viewed here: The Industrials, ‘An Appeal for Frocks’, Central Africa, June 1899; Janet Phillips, ‘St Monica’s Sewing Class’.

There were other ways that ex-Mbweni students maintained their cohorts. One of the major functions of St. Katherine’s Home for Women in Mkunazini was to provide a meeting point for ‘old Mbweni girls’ who had married and moved to live on plantations, often with Muslims. These women would use this space to reconnect with their old friends, and the town, ‘showing off their children with the greatest pride’. The women enjoyed the ‘home’ so much that one woman came announcing, to the alarm of the missionaries, she was there for a holiday and would stay one month.  

Thus, Mbweni girls maintained mission networks and the mission stations were spaces in which they united and reunited, even if their everyday lives had moved on into Muslim communities.

CONCLUSION
The Mbweni girls provide a rare glimpse into the lives of ex-slave women, a group even harder to trace in sources than men in the same position. They were clearly exceptional, even within the mission, and more so beyond it. The level of education they were offered and the material goods they had access to, without depending on a husband or other male guardian, made them privileged oddities compared to other females grappling with their slave status on the island. Yet despite the advantages they enjoyed, they lived precariously and were in some ways unprotected from post-abolition struggles. Limited livelihood options and labour market participation meant limited income generating possibilities. Marriage was important yet involved great risks to these kinless individuals.

Still, the mission provided some security and, perhaps more importantly, a place to gravitate to even when they had moved away from it. The centre in Mkunazini where they congregated is now defunct, and the descendants of Thackeray’s exhausted Mbweni girls have melted into the population of the town. Inasmuch as this means that slave status has faded, the school has met its original purpose, albeit in a manner very different from what Thackeray set out to do. In this sense, the ‘Mbweni girls’ again demonstrate the unpredictability and variability of ex-slave trajectories, as observed by Rossi.

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88 A. D. S., ‘Work in Zanzibar II’.
CHAPTER 5
DOMESTIC SERVICE IN MAGILA AND ZANZIBAR, 1864-c.1930

In the nineteenth century, schoolchildren provided all or most of the labour the UMCA mission household demanded. Missionaries, in keeping with the habits of other Europeans, referred to these students-cum-domestics as ‘boys’. These students, whose ages were rarely known or mentioned, divided their time between domestic service, study, and play, as we can see from this ex-slave student’s letter to his patrons in England: ‘My work it is to cook food for the children. […] I study in the evening and Acland Sahera is my teacher, we learn to read English. In the morning my work is to cook, and later my companions take turns with me that I may walk or go to football.’¹ The distinction between students and domestic servants was equally blurred in Magila. For example, at Umba, the missionary Herbert Geldart oversaw thirteen boarding school boys from neighbouring areas. He wrote that: ‘[they] do all my housework – sweep, cook, lay table, wash up, &c.; they receive no pice, and often work very hard indeed; yet they are pleased to do it, and a grumble is about the last thing you would hear.’²

This close connection between children’s education and domestic service declined in the twentieth century. From the early twentieth century, school boys’, and – to a lesser extent – school girls’, household labour was confined to their own familial homes. By this time, there was an emerging – albeit ambiguous – distinction between ‘boys’, who were schoolboys, and ‘boys’, who were adult, professional wage-earners.³ William Kamna, an Anglican whose parents attended the Zanzibar mission schools around the 1910s and 1920s, insisted in an English-language interview that ‘children never worked, especially

¹ This is a translation. As with most UMCA translations of schoolchildren’s letters, the missionaries applied an infantilised style of English. ‘Letter from the Cirencester Boy’, African Tidings, 1886.
² Mr. Geldart, ‘Boys at Umba’.
not for salaries, it was not allowed. You don't employ children’. To him, payment made children’s engagement in productive labour scandalous. This says something about changing ideas regarding the ethics of child labour, but more importantly for this chapter, it suggests that domestic service became an adult, professional labour category.

The mission school, a male-dominated environment, was a key site of domestic service training for many Africans, yet few studies have explored domestic service in this context. The history of domestic service provides a lens to view one of the many varied trajectories of socialisation into and out of the mission. Crucially, the missionaries’ demands for domestic service opened up new employment possibilities within and outside the mission, leading mission-trained domestic ‘boys’ to leave the mission behind. This chapter explores that process and the role the mission played within it.

Illustration 33. William Kamna’s sentiment regarding child labour is encapsulated on this sign. ‘Epuka ajira za utotoni’ translates as ‘child labour must be avoided’. It was accompanied by

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4 Incidentally, his father was a mission ‘boy’ in Zanzibar. William Kamna, interview, 00:25:00-00:26:00.
6 Hunt’s study of the British Baptist Mission in the Congo is a notable exception. Nancy Rose Hunt, Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Barbara Cooper has also noted how domestic service and education went hand in hand in the missions of the Muslim Sahel. Barbara MacGowan Cooper, Evangelical Christians in the Muslim Sahel (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006).
other signs nailed onto trees surrounding Korogwe cathedral that declared the importance of children’s human rights, such as: ‘pigavita ndoa za utotoni’ (‘wage war on child marriage’); ‘toa taarifaza unyanyasaji kwa watoto’ (‘report child abuse’); ‘ilikupata haki yako timiza wajibu wako’ (‘in order to get your rights fulfil your duties’). Photographed by author in 2014; translations by author.


‘BOYS’ OVER TIME AND SPACE

Scholars have not failed to point out that the domestic service industry in colonial Africa was male-dominated, so much so that as a labour category it was often referred to as ‘boy-work’. 7 ‘Boy-work’ has a broader history in Africa, beginning with European explorers

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in the nineteenth century. Notably, Henry Morton Stanley’s personal servant, Kalulu, was one of the first and most famous ‘boys’ in East Africa. In his short life, Kalulu travelled to Europe, had a book dedicated to him, attended David Livingstone’s funeral, and even had a model of himself in Madame Tussaud’s. The pride men took in being ‘boys’ is striking considering how notions of domesticity were so closely entangled with notions of femininity in Europe.

Equally, in African contexts, it was not common for a man to do household chores such as preparing food or carrying water unless he was a slave. Much like the experience of slavery, professional domestic service imposed disorder on gender roles. John Iliffe explained that domestic service in Africa remained male-dominated for a long time because male servants defended the profession for its reasonable pay and status and colonial officials preferred that African women concentrate on family life. In addition, white women did not want their husbands anywhere near black women, and, finally, African men, likewise, did not want their wives and daughters near white men.

The history of ‘boys’ is, tellingly, transnational as this English term has spread across linguistic boundaries. Christine Deslaurier has shown how the term ‘boy’ was even used in French-speaking Burundi. The term has also been used to describe African male workers more generally, as Carolyn Brown showed with regards to Nigerian miners in the early twentieth century. In Tanzania, the term ‘boy’ and other related terms such as ‘houseboy’, ‘cook-boy’, ‘dispensary boy’, and ‘donkey-boy’ came into use as early as the

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1870s among UMCA missionaries. The term also referred to African civil servants or messengers.14 Occasionally, as Nancy Rose Hunt noted, girls and women could be ‘boys’, which reflects just how deeply ingrained the term ‘boy’ was in the vocabulary.15 In the twentieth century, and perhaps earlier, ‘boy’ was Swahilized as ‘boi’ while ‘uboi’ refers to the labour itself and the identity associated with it.16 Thus, it refers to what we might call ‘boyness’ or ‘boyship’. The term ‘uboi’ will be used in this chapter to refer to the profession of domestic service in the early twentieth century in Tanzania. In this chapter I utilise the term ‘boi’ unless I am discussing a source that specifically uses the term ‘boy’.

The term ‘boy’ is extremely broad, and could refer to an actual labour practice (i.e. domestic service) but other times it may be used to denote social status or ‘race’. To a large extent, it has always been a derogatory and infantilising term, particularly as ‘boys’ were often adults. In fact, there is one case of a mission ‘dispensary boy’, in a Pemba UMCA mission station, who had grandchildren.17 Still, uboi was generally an occupation for younger generations. Yet respondents insisted boi work was desirable, respectable, and scarce, even for non-youths. It was even said that African mission teachers were at times jealous of boi and their relative intimacy with the missionary employers’ daily lives.18 Boi were part of a small and relatively well-to-do category of colonial servants that tended to have uniquely intimate exposure to European cultures.19 Training into domestic service was a form of education, which is partly why uboi came to be seen as privileged.20 Most importantly, despite the strictures associated with it, uboi was also a way people could shape their own personhood. This is not to say that the social status of uboi was

15 As Nancy Rose Hunt shows, there were female ‘boys’ in the Yakusu mission in the Congo. Hunt, Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo, 1999.
16 For the first reference to the term ‘boi’ I could find in UMCA literature, see: C. C. Frewer, ‘The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba’.
unambiguously high, but domestic service for Europeans was a way people could claim status, even if precariously.

The desirability of uboi became more ambiguous over time, especially when the domestic service industry grew exponentially in the 1940s in Tanzania. As domestic service grew as an employment sector, the status associated with it declined. Indeed, Matthew Lockwood explained that from the 1950s onwards, the cost of living in Tanzania was increasingly less favourable to a domestic worker who was categorised as ‘unskilled’. Today, uboi is connected with hospitality and tourist industries, more often than with domestic service. In some common tropes, barmen and waiters proudly refer themselves as boi. The term can be used lightly as a joke, or as an expression of their servile status. A ‘boi’ might jest, ‘I can't buy you a drink because I am just a boi’, or ‘I will buy you a drink even though am just a boy’. Another use of the term is to criticise workers for being too close to their wazungu (European, white) bosses. These critics might say, ‘Yule ni boi wa mzungu’, meaning, ‘he is a puppet’, (lit., ‘he’s the white person’s boy’). Or, if a person in a position of authority gives a pupil or employee an assignment that is not compulsory, they might boldly refuse by saying, ‘mimi sio boi wako’, meaning ‘I am not your boi’. In sum, the term is still alive in the language and is used playfully and dynamically to say something about social status, economic means, and relationships of power with wazungu.

Having painted some broad brushstrokes to suggest what uboi meant, let us now consider the linguistic links between uboi, utumwa (slavery), and utumishi (service). Jonathon Glassman argued that the condition of slaves varied wildly – but it could be quite debased, especially for women. Indeed, the category of ‘mtumwa’ has historically been very broad. For instance, Randall Pouwels has shown how there was great similarity

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21 It was in the 1940s that domestic labour came to make up a particularly significant proportion of the wage earning population. the Labor Office estimated that 6,000 men and 1,000 children worked as domestic servants, representing 47 percent (7,000 or 14,770) of the city’s wage-laborers. Pariser, ‘The Servant Problem: African Servants and the Making of European Domesticity in Colonial Tanganyika’.


23 Email correspondence with Elias Mutani.

between *watumwa* and ‘uprooted mainland settlers’ who were likely to be labelled as *washenzi* (uncivilised or primitive people). The same was true of *boi* who were migrants and consequently faced alienation. UMCA *boi* were not exempt from this experience. This letter from 1885 written by Aaron Amwitamno, a ‘cook-boy’, who travelled from the Zanzibar mission to work at the Magila mission station, illustrates this point: ‘I came on the mainland to cook; if there had been no cook's work I should not have come. [...] I am greatly troubled now because I have no father here.’ The word ‘father’ may refer to a father through kinship but is more likely to have referred to a missionary-patron. As his words suggest, this ex-slave ‘boy’ was socially disadvantaged as a kinless stranger lacking a patron, recently re-confronted with his slave status.

Carol Eastman’s sociolinguistic work made the point that the term ‘*utumwa*’ became, from the late nineteenth century onwards, abstract and a binary opposite to ‘*uungwana*’ (civilisation) and later, *ustaarabu* (Arabness). In the early twentieth century, the term ‘*utumishi*’ largely replaced ‘*utumwa*’, which reflected the changes occurring in the cultural definition of household membership and structure. As such, according to modern dictionary definitions, ‘*mtumishi*’ (a person who serves) refers to a servant who carries out his or her employers’ wishes, as opposed to ‘*mtumwa*’, (a slave), who works for nothing and receives inhumane treatment. As the meaning of *mtumwa* became more extreme, it also came to be distanced from male *watumishi*, and female wives or concubines who were integrated into a family. Thus, the notion that *utumwa* is or was part of Swahili society is greatly contested in the twentieth century. In other words, Eastman argued that ‘*utumwa*’ came to be understood as an extreme condition once slavery had become a thing of the past.

Initially, then, *Uboi* (along with terms like *kibarua*, *mshenzi*, *mtumishi*, and *mjoli*) connoted servile status and a lack of Swahili, coastal or civilised identity. Yet as slavery declined in the early twentieth century, those who identified as Swahili were often slaves

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26 ‘Letters from Native Boys’, *African Tidings*, October 1885. This was a translation, I have not been able to find the original Swahili letter.

27 Carol Eastman, ‘*Service, “Slavery” (Utumwa) and Swahili Social Reality’*.  
28 Carol Eastman.  
29 Carol Eastman.
or ex-slaves.\textsuperscript{30} Similarly, \textit{uboi} was simultaneously a way of self-fashioning oneself as \textit{mwungwana} (a gentleman). Eastman made the point that, often, when a household grew too large, some male members would be sent to find wage labour in Asian households or on the docks.\textsuperscript{31} These Swahili non-freeborn males ‘gained a reputation as excellent cooks and valets (houseboys) – with distinctive dress’.\textsuperscript{32} She noted that,

Ironically, the costume of the coveted Swahili cook or valet in colonial homes emulated the clothing long associated with the \textit{mwungwana} par excellence of nineteenth century Lamu or Siyu (\textit{kilemba} ‘turban’ and long flowing robe with a decorated sword or [side-blown] horn \textit{siwa} to bring out on fancy occasions). This outfit contrasts with that of the \textit{mtumwa mjinga},\textsuperscript{33} capless, shoeless, without even an umbrella.\textsuperscript{34}

Thus, servant status:

\[\ldots\] eventually became associated with this particular form of dress, some education, and a certain amount of prestige. People from various coastal ethnic groups would aspire to have their sons become domestic servants and seek to apprentice them to Swahili households where they would learn the skill and style necessary for them to be sought after to work in colonial homes.\textsuperscript{35}

For Eastman, this condition of ‘boyness’ was a development of \textit{utumwa} and also a product of colonialist and neo-colonialist ways of life that valued Swahili domesticity.\textsuperscript{36} However, Eastman’s observations did not generally apply to \textit{uboi} in the mission context, as this chapter will make clear.

\textit{Uboi} status was fluid and ambivalent, always depending on the observers’ own relationship to the history of domestic and unfree labour, and the exact nature of the work, employer, and social environment. Employers varied from missionaries, Indians to German and British settlers and officials. Colonial officials tended to be employers who offered the highest wages, partly because they usually operated from coastal or urban

\textsuperscript{31} Eastman writes about the Kenyan, coastal context but the same case can be made for Tanzania. Carol Eastman, ‘Service, “Slavery” (Utumwa) and Swahili Social Reality’.
\textsuperscript{32} Carol Eastman; Iliffe makes the same point, Iliffe, \textit{Honour in African History}, 287.
\textsuperscript{33} Lit. ‘foolish slave’.
\textsuperscript{34} Carol Eastman, ‘Service, “Slavery” (Utumwa) and Swahili Social Reality’.
\textsuperscript{35} Carol Eastman. Again, Eastman is referring to the Kenyan case. There is no evidence to suggest that there existed indigenous employers of domestic servants in the Tanga region or in Zanzibar during this period.
\textsuperscript{36} Carol Eastman, ‘Service, ‘Slavery’ (Utumwa) and Swahili Social Reality’.
areas in which wages were expected to be higher. On the one hand, uboi was fairly well-paid work that came with status. On the other hand, women were usually the ones in charge of domestic servants and humiliating to follow women's orders. In an interview with Gerrard Michael Francis Kiongoa Yambi, who proudly spoke of his father who was a ‘cook-boy’ for the UMCA mission in the 1920s, he insisted that uboi was a profession of great heshima, requiring an education. His words noticeably startled my research assistant, Zuhura Mohammed, a Muslim woman from a younger generation. Among some Tanzanians, Muslims especially, uboi denotes a conspicuously servile, colonised condition. For example, when positing that they are from freeborn ancestry, the Manyema, who originate from the Congo Basin and Kigoma, have been known to say ‘Manyema hatutoki boi’. If we take boi to be a synonym of utumwa, this statement roughly translates as, ‘the Manyema were no slaves’. The use of the term ‘boi’ rather than ‘utumwa’ underlines its connection to slave status. The related notion of Europeans being hypocritical when it came to personal service is evident in the caption for Illustration 35, from a book that attempted to defend the ‘Arab’ role in the slave trade. Thus, uboi represented a bewildering mixture of precarious masculinity, upward social mobility, and servility.

Historians have long noted the significant historical change that occurred with regards to domestic labour in colonial Africa. Bill Freund argued that domestic labour became less kinship-based and more ‘systematic’ because of the presence of settlers and colonialism. European employment practices brought in a new type of domestic service. Indeed, domestic service became more professional in three ways. Firstly, it was a move away from a kinship-based ‘economy of affection’, dominated by exchange of non-monetary goods and services. Secondly, it commanded a wage. Thirdly, it became essential for servants to provide proof of their suitability, training, and previous work

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37 Gerrard Michael Francis Kiongoa Yambi, interview.
39 Zöller.
experience. Fourth, it gave birth to a new vocabulary of worker identities. However, I do not intend to offer an account of a transition from ‘informal’ to ‘formal’ domestic labour. The binary distinction is too simplistic. Accordingly, Maxim Bolt urged economic historians to ask instead, ‘How [...] do workforces shape not only income flows, but also notions of moral regulation, kinship, space, and time?’ Thus, domestic labour should be set within a context of diverse labour practices with which it was entangled. It is from this theoretical starting point that I set out to analyse my sources.


What is clear is that domestic service for Europeans grew over time, and that this had great social implications that reflect servant-employer and colonised-coloniser relationships. Nancy Rose Hunt’s work on domestic service showed that, usually, it was not race, but slave status, at stake. Hunt demonstrated that in the early twentieth century


the employment of students in the mission household was prestigious, at least prior to the 1940s. This prestige was relative because they were ex-slaves and therefore ‘honoured to locate new patrons’. This troubled parishioners at home, but the missionaries insisted that these ex-slaves were not servants and that domestic service was part of the educational scheme.\textsuperscript{44} Indeed, Hunt showed that domesticity conditioned the way in which knowledge was spread to these Yakusu students, though not always in the way missionaries intended. For example, in 1928 one student wrote in a class composition: ‘white people are people who sit at a table to eat food […] and they are constantly saying to their boy “never bring us dirty plates and spoons”’.\textsuperscript{45}

Many scholars have pointed out the resonances between colonising Africa and ‘domesticating’ Africans.\textsuperscript{46} As Jean and John Comaroff argued, in Western Europe domesticity was closely aligned with a ‘civilising’ mission to eradicate what was perceived as poor housekeeping practices and the immorality and backwardness that were considered characteristic of poor urban households.\textsuperscript{47} The scholarship has also noted how receptive Africans were to European domesticity. For example, Robyn Pariser made a strong case that Tanzanian men shaped domesticity in colonial households, which in turn helped create the categories, ‘colonizer’ and ‘colonized’.\textsuperscript{48} Though Pariser rightly emphasised the historical agency of African workers, the drawback of this line of analysis that centred on employer-servant relations was that it overshadowed any interactions that took place outside of the colonised-coloniser relationship. Employer-servant relationships can only go so far to explain social change, which is why I consider the

\textsuperscript{44} The prestige of being a ‘house boy’ diminished by the 1950s partly because the punishments for work-related failures were so severe. The 1954 laws about schooling meant that these men referred to as ‘boys’ had to leave school at a certain age so it was no longer possible to keep them on past a certain age and therefore support the mission with cheap labour. Hunt, \textit{Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo}, 1999, 136.

\textsuperscript{45} Hunt, 121.


position of domestic servants within the broader social networks that connected them to other Africans.

Domesticity was also supposed to have been an important feature of Christian marriages, which was not necessarily unpopular. As Michael West put it, “the cult of domesticity was not [...] simply a missionary or government imposition on Africans. Both female and male members of the emerging middle class voluntarily subscribed to it.”

Wives of the elite Christian teachers and clergy members were ideally expected to act much like middle-class women and tried to generate interest in needlework and other respectable occupations. Karen Hansen’s work on domesticity demonstrates how “modern” western ideas of gendered division of labour did not translate so easily in domestic life in Africa. For example, she notes that many African men were first incorporated into wage labour through their work in domestic service, a domain supposedly meant for females according to British norms. The acquisition of knowledge was an activity almost completely reserved for male students. Female students would face a more practical education. As one missionary in Uganda put it, “Our aim is not so much to fill the girls’ heads with knowledge, as to develop their character and make them good sensible women who are not afraid to work.” Indeed, the missionaries’ insistence on teaching women how to work must have seemed strange to societies in which it was not only expected but essential for women to perform manual labour.

New working cultures and masculinity were tightly connected, as has been well documented in the Southern and West African literature. For example, T. Dunbar Moodie revealed mine labour’s function was a kind of initiation ritual into manhood. Carolyn Brown’s work on the Nigerian coal industry in the early twentieth century showed that

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these emasculating, racial, colonial, workplaces, in which men were referred to as ‘boys’, had the paradoxical effect of allowing these men to affirm their masculinity at home. The ‘boys’ who were in the most marginal positions as local slaves, unmarried men, or poor, challenged the hegemony of powerful elites and claimed their position in a rural patriarchy. They did this by revolting against the coercion with which men were recruited to the mines, the conditions in the mines, and the wages. All this gave them a stronger standing in their communities. These mineworkers challenged both the authoritarian positions of colonial chiefs and village elites, and the racist and emasculating treatment on the mines, by drawing on their connections with ‘modern’ industry and their position as self-improving rural men.

Though Brown’s research is not about domestic service, I ask similar questions in this chapter. The awkward femininity of male domestic work reveals the limits of modernisation: the introduction of ‘Western’ domesticity is supposed to be an aspect of modernisation. However, domesticity is neither straightforwardly ‘Western’ nor straightforwardly feminine. I also explore how and why boi were respected in different ways within and outside of their specific working contexts. Unlike in Brown’s study, there is no evidence to suggest that young boi in Tanzania could transcend the generational boundary by becoming ‘big men’ before reaching a certain age and establishing a family. In the context of this thesis, being a ‘boy’ was part of a longer game to attain social status. Even so, Brown usefully conceptualised how knowledge and new labour categories prompted opportunities to claim social status in new ways, which is precisely what this chapter hopes to investigate.

**Uboi in the Nineteenth Century**

Missionaries were simultaneously employers with far-reaching entitlements, and educators. However, they were also generally ignorant about household management, often unable to even warm up food, having depended on domestic servants while living

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in England.\textsuperscript{54} This was especially the case for missionaries of the 1860s up until the 1880s who tended to be from a higher income bracket.\textsuperscript{55} Indeed, domestic life was one major way in which missionaries faced a steep learning curve in Africa. Some missionaries took to it more easily than others. Bishop Steere, who was celebrated for being humble enough to perform any chore, gave the following advice to a young Herbert Willoughby Woodward in 1880: ‘Don’t be content with bad food or allow Eustace not to do what he is told – possibly Lourdes’ Swahili is bad and his ideas of cooking vague so that he puzzles a native more than he instructs him.’\textsuperscript{56}

Thus, missionaries learned about domestic chores through a combination of necessity and their missionary principles, but it rarely came easily. This is why Gertrude Ward, a missionary who was at the UMCA in the 1890s, suggested that the UMCA organise a teaching session in London so that new missionaries could learn about the domestic challenges they were bound to face including laundry, making soda water, cooking, opening tins, and popping champagne bottles.\textsuperscript{57}

Crucially, missionaries, male ones in particular, lacked experience managing domestic servants.\textsuperscript{58} In England, interactions between domestic servants and their masters were typically kept to a minimum because domestic servants were trained by other more senior domestic servants who in turn were far more engaged with their employers, who were usually female. This distance was impossible to uphold in the African context, which made missionaries miserable. For example, May Allen grumbled that: ‘It is a hard life superintending a household of these natives’.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{54} J. E. Griffin, ‘A Journey to Kologwe’; Scholars have frequently noted how Europeans were very dependent on male domestic servants. Pariser, ‘The Servant Problem: African Servants and the Making of European Domesticity in Colonial Tanganyika’.
\textsuperscript{55} Helen Tozer, bishop Tozer’s sister, was a key example of a missionary lacking domestic knowledge. Helen Tozer to Mary Steere, Zanzibar, 1865, A1 (3) A, 28, UMArch; Helen Tozer to Mary Steere, Zanzibar, September 1865, A1 (3) A, 44, UMArch.
\textsuperscript{56} Eustace was an African convert and Lourdes was a missionary. Steere acquired extensive knowledge about cooking and gave Woodward additional advice on cooking with local produce. Edward Steere to H. W. Woodward, Zanzibar, December 1880, A1 (3) A, 308, UMArch.
\textsuperscript{57} Gertrude Ward, \textit{Letters from East Africa, 1895-1897}, 87.
\textsuperscript{58} Edward Steere to Mary Steere, Zanzibar, December 1873, A1 (3) A, 147, UMArch; Edward Steere to Polly, Zanzibar, July 1865, A1 (3) A, 34, UMArch.
These challenges were intensified by the fact that the African environment was alien to them and not suited to European domesticity. At times, male missionaries complained of being at the mercy of their African domestic servants and desperately wrote home asking for female missionaries to come and fill the role of ‘housekeeper’. This was a long time before advice manuals (usually aimed at women) about how to manage settler households came to be printed, but there are some examples of travel or settler accounts that give advice on how to run a household in colonial Tanzania. Thus, the peculiarity of missionary (and other European) demands for domestic service was that, as employers, they struggled to train domestic servants how to meet their demands.

Whatever the extent of a missionary’s domestic knowledge, they were both teachers and employers (as they put it, ‘masters’) of these mission students. Strict discipline characterised the missionaries’ style of education. In a mission periodical, Dora S. Yarnton Mills narrated a story about how she found out about the theft of a pumpkin and how she proceeded to punish the schoolboys for the theft. The story went that one evening she walked into the room in which the pumpkin was being boiled,

Inwardly choking with laughter, but outwardly stern and displeased I walked up to the cooking pot, amid dead silence, and kicked it over into the fire, and then severely ordered each boy to take up a stick of firewood, and the stones, and the pieces of the cooking-pot – which was broken, of course – and the pumpkin, and carry them all solemnly the whole length of the playground, and pitch them into the sea as far as they could throw.

One of the boys tried to throw the pumpkin near enough so they could collect it in the morning but she insisted that another boy should throw it out to sea.

Many years later, Mills invited many of her ‘boys’ – who had by this time become either teachers or deacons – to tea for a reunion. They were finally able to laugh about the story. As they reminisced, one of her former students enquired, ‘But, Bibi, when you

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60 Farler to Penney, 28 July 1885.
62 Mills was nicknamed, ‘she who must be obeyed’ and ‘mama wa zamani’ (‘mother of the old days’). P. M. W., ‘A Joyful Reunion’, Central Africa, July 1921.
64 Literally meaning ‘grandmother’ but in this case ‘bibi’ was a term like ‘Miss’ that was used to refer to female missionaries.
kicked over that cooking-pot full of boiling water, didn’t it hurt?’ She admitted that it did, adding she intentionally hid her physical pain from them. Interestingly, Mills had not noticed at the time that her students were aware of her pain. The ‘boys’ noticed that Mills ‘went about in an old shoe’, presumably a more comfortable one, but were too afraid to mention the pumpkin incident. One ‘boy’ said, ‘we thought you were very brave not to cry out, but that you had no sense, and we were sorry for you’. 65

This anecdote demonstrates how many missionaries – along with other Europeans – believed dramatic performance was necessary to instil discipline, perhaps partly as a consequence of not being comfortable with the language. It also suggests that Mills shared with her old students a nostalgia for ‘days gone by’. It is stories like this that convey a strange kind of intimacy between them, which was only possible to put into words long after the events took place. Finally, the anecdote reveals how Africans closely involved with the mission kept an observant, critical distance from missionaries.

Mission schoolboys’ role as domestic servants in the nineteenth century was distinct from the profession of uboi in the twentieth century. It was also different from the compulsory labour of boarding school students in England at the time. Schoolboys were domestic servants because the missionaries wanted and needed (preferably free) domestic servants, but they also wanted to teach discipline and humility. 66 In Zanzibar the maintenance of the mission school was left almost entirely to its students, with a greater share for the ‘industrial students’, who specialised in skilled manual labour rather than academic work. There also existed – as in an English boarding school – systems of superintendence among them as ‘head boys’ were responsible for ensuring the work was done. 67 Some children became full-time domestic servants, rather than proceeding with their studies, sometimes because they were thought to lack ‘talent for learning’ and other times because they were particularly good at domestic work. 68 Schoolboys’ role as domestic servants was equally institutionalised in Magila. They even had uniforms. In the late 1870s and early 1880s the increasing band of ‘houseboys’ wore visibau, which was,

incidentally, the same attire allocated to prize-winning ‘native school boys’. This, again, emphasises the blurred boundaries between domestic workers and students. 69

The work of schoolboys in this period was extremely varied. It included nursing other children, accompanying missionaries on journeys, laying the table, overseeing the cleanliness of dormitories, etc. 70 A student ‘boy’ might be a personal servant or simply contribute to the general domestic labour of the mission household. At Mkuzi, on the mainland, in 1895:

A certain portion of the work of the station is done by paid servants, but also a certain part by our boys. They clean up the courtyards and the rooms of the Europeans and the schoolrooms, and help to sweep out the church. We teach them to do this as some kind of return for what they receive. [... ] They are perfectly willing. 71

The missionaries did not recognise these children as economic actors even if they were performing the same tasks as paid adult domestic servants. Even so, schoolboys often acquired a liking for ‘boy’ work. There was, at any rate, no clear distinction between schoolboys who worked for free and those who were paid, partly because the payment itself was unregulated and informal. For the schoolboys who did receive a wage in some shape or form, the ability to buy things was, unsurprisingly, highly prized. 72

In addition to material benefits, domestic service was also about pride and perfectionism. When the Kilimani head waiter (a paid position) was ill, two small boys were enlisted to take his place (Josefu Dona, an academic student, and Juma, who was a ‘work boy’). Josefu became very enthusiastic about his newly appointed role:

It annoys him much to see a knife or a fork the least crooked on the table, and he bustles round to put things straight. The other day, when he was wiping the breakfast things which Miss Stevens was washing up, he twice handed her back a plate gently remarking ‘this is not clean’. 73

69 Farler to Penney, 2 November 1881.
70 Mr. Geldart, ‘Boys at Umba’; ‘Letters from Children’, African Tidings, 1886; Nicholas Kusi to Mrs Mallender, 10 September 1890.
72 ‘Letters from Children’.
Michael was another boy who replaced a paid domestic worker. He took pride in the fact that he decorated a pastry with a figure of a man, saying, ‘you make them without any decoration’.  

The distinctive qualities of schoolboys’ domestic service provide texture to the linguistic history of ‘boyness’ and the part servile, part privileged status that came with it. The use of the term ‘boy’ to allude to domestic servants emerged as early as the 1870s both in Zanzibar and the mainland and Kiungani missionaries would customarily refer to all Kiungani students as boys, ‘both young and old’. A similar explanation of the connection between age and the term ‘boy’ was found on the mainland. As one missionary put it, '[a] “boy” in Africa need not mean a young person’, and may well have been, ‘quite grown up, and a most solemn and responsible man’. This was because men who could not establish their own households could not achieve elder status, whatever their age. The term ‘boy’ seems also to have been part of the language, even among African students. For example, in 1890 some Mkuzi students signed their letters to patrons in England, ‘I am your boy’. This is all the more interesting because it suggests that being a ‘boy’ was a social condition as well as a labour category. In Zanzibar the term also had currency. For instance, there was a seven-year-old student named Herbert Frank Mrashi (pictured below in Illustration 36), nicknamed ‘Boy’ because he was happy to do chores for the missionaries. His parents lived on Mbweni shamba and were almost certainly ex-slaves.

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74 Josefu Dona first took up this position as a temporary worker in February 1906 but was still working there in August 1907. ‘Our African Mail (Kilimani)’, *African Tidings*, August 1907.
77 ‘Letters from Children’; Nicholas Kusi to Mrs Mallender, 10 September 1890.
78 *African Tidings*, 1910, 22.

Students in Zanzibar and the mainland were often displaced children and thus had marginal social status in the nineteenth century, which was compounded by the fact that they acted as domestic servants for the missionaries. This provided ammunition for Muslims competing with the missionaries for followers. Even on the mainland, Muslims referred to students of the mission as ‘slaves of the European teachers’. In one of Godfrey Dale’s missionary anecdotes from 1894, one day a student refused to sweep the floors in response to such invective from Muslim observers. The ‘boy’ was given an ultimatum to keep sweeping or to leave the school. He ended up going to Msalabani.

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79 Still, missionaries generally took all mainland children as ‘free’ by defition. Bishop Charles Alan Smythies, ‘Our Schools’.
instead, where Herbert W. Woodward, who was more permissive than other missionaries, was principal. However, when Woodward found out why the ‘boy’ had left, he told him he had to go to Mkuzi and apologise. After some time, he finally came back to Mkuzi, accompanied by friends for support. They had a meeting and for a long time the ex-student was silent. Then he broke down into tears, reportedly blurtting out, ‘Sir! Why should I perish?’

It is unclear whether he feared the consequences of being expelled, eternal damnation, or both. This anecdote, problematic and partial though it is, not to mention its agenda to tell a story of salvation, demonstrates how young people often had to make anguished decisions about going to school. Though this was surely the case also in the twentieth century, it was particularly true of the 1890s, as this was a decade of particularly bad famine.

It is possible that students were seemingly happy to work without wages for Europeans because they had few other options open to them. This was almost certainly the case for the ex-slave children of Zanzibar. In the nineteenth century the ‘boys’ in mission schools were from marginal social and economic backgrounds. Archdeacon John Prediger Farler had two ‘boys’ on a particular safari, working as cook and attendant. The one who served as Farler’s attendant was a young Hugh Peter Kayamba, who later became one of the first African civil servants (see Illustration 37). He was one of the sons of Chief Mwelekwnyuma of Kilole, son of Kimweri Za Nyumbai, King of the Kilindi. Though this sounds like a socially elite background, Justin Willis has shown that these ‘sons’ of chiefs were part of a distinctly marginal social group and their transition to mission life was in fact part of an exchange that reflected local human pawn practices. As Willis put it, ‘[Hugh Kayamba’s] position as a trusted member of the mission marked his lack of choice’. The marginal social backgrounds, domestic service, and corporal punishment in the mission all reinforced the association of these pupils with slave status. Whether or

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82 He was probably only six years old at this time if the estimation of Martin Kayamba is correct. Kayamba, ‘The Story of Martin Kayamba Mdumi, MBE, of the Bondei Tribe’; Rev. F. R. Hodgson to R. M. Heanley, ‘A Journey from Zanzibar to Magila’; Hugh was born a Muslim but after converting to Christianity he received an education in England and taught at Kiungani. He died an untimely death in 1882. J. P. Farler to Rev. W. H. Penney, Magila, Tanga (private), 17 March 1882, A1 (6) A, 428, UMArch.
83 Willis, ‘The Nature of a Mission Community’.
not Christians believed or accepted this social categorisation is less clear. The ambiguities of status are palpable in this odd mixture of servility, dependence, hierarchy, domestic intimacy, and the self-assertive impulse that comes with acquiring skills.


One interviewee for this study, John Mhina, a local intellectual and authority of a history of the UMCA in Magila, cited Booker Washington’s book Up From Slavery when discussing domestic service in mission schools. Mhina suggested his elders were in quite a similar situation to the upwardly mobile ex-slaves of the Americas, though he did not identify his ancestors as slaves. In the book, the boy protagonist desperately wanted to staggered over the period of corporal punishment of school children. Frank Weston to H. M., Kiungani, Zanzibar, 8 March 1902, A1 (17) A, 114, UMArch; Frank Weston to H. M., Kiungani, Zanzibar, 1904, A1 (17) A, 175, UMArch; D. C. A., ‘Tommy the Waif’, African Tidings, August 1915.

85 John Mhina, Historia ya Magila Msalabani 1848-2012: Mlango wa Kuingia Kanisa la Anglikana Tanzania Bara.
go to school so proved himself by working as a cleaner for the missionary teacher. His zeal for cleaning impressed the missionary so much that he was allowed to come to school.  

Mhina’s view of domestic service as a test of early converts’ commitment is not representative; most respondents did not remember this phase of the mission’s history. Even so, as a local historian, it is possible that Mhina’s ideas express what many in the area took for granted.

The oral history respondents, whose perspectives reflect the 1920s onwards, were emphatic that domestic service was a disciplinary punishment, not a responsibility tied up with the curriculum. The general decline of domestic service indicates two important changes. Firstly, the mission was getting more students coming to the mission of their own volition, and fewer displaced children. These ‘voluntary’ students had parents who did not wish for their male children to carry out chores that were considered feminine. Out of the respondents, Josephine Thomas Mungayao explained it best: ‘The customs didn’t allow boys to sweep the floor, to do the dishes or to fetch water. These were considered girls’ tasks.’ Preventing boys from performing what was perceived to be girlish chores was a way of introducing the boy to manhood. The phrase in Swahili that people would use was ‘kumkuza mtoto wa kiume, which literally translates as ‘to make a boy grow’, which denotes, ‘to cultivate a boy’s masculinity’.

Secondly, mission schools were becoming more academically inclined. The number of students considered to be destined for manual labour, who were generally given the largest share of the household chores, was in decline. Moreover, missionaries’ demands increased and they found it more efficient to employ people who had taken the initiative, to varying degrees, to fashion themselves as domestic servants.

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86 John Geldart Mhina, interview, 15 October 2014, 7.
87 Al Haji Ahmed Limo, interview; Nasoro Tajiri Ali, interview.
88 ‘Mila za huku watoto wa kiume walikuwa hawahusiki kufanya kazi za nyumbani kufagia, kuosha vyombo, kuteka maji zile zilikuwa ni kazi za watoto wa kike.’
89 Josephine Thomas Mungayao, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Mkuzi, Tanga, 21 October 2014.
Illustration 38. Original caption: ‘Kilimani boys preparing their Bibi’s dinner’. Kilimani school closed in 1909. This photograph the only evidence I have found to suggest that schoolboys in the mission continued to be domestic servants as late as 1908. It is likely that the photograph was taken much earlier than 1908. However, the fact that it was published in 1908 suggests that the missionaries were not overly concerned with their reputation for allowing child labour in the mission. Source: A. G. de la P, ‘How Long? And How Much?’ *African Tidings*, December, 1908.

Given the abolitionist movement and its emphasis on the plight of children, I had expected to find that one reason for the declining importance of domestic service in schools was that employing students for menial tasks became too controversial and the UMCA risked losing the support of English donors. During the early phase, educated protégés and children alike often performed the labour of a *boi* without receiving regular wages.°° Missionaries do not seem to have seen this as controversial. Rather, missionaries saw it as problematic that they were paying wages to dependents because they believed

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it risked making them ‘materialist’ and gave them a sense of entitlement. For some, the solution was to simply stop paying these educated students for their work. For instance, Bishop Smythies tried to put a stop to the payments Caroline Thackeray made to the girls at Mbweni because he believed their work should be ‘voluntary’. Moreover, ensuring the students did the domestic chores of course meant the mission could save their funds, an advantage missionaries were not ashamed to have benefitted from in the 1880s. In fact, quite the opposite, it was positive evidence of their frugality.

COLONIAL EMPLOYERS

Being a missionary’s ‘boy’ or domestic servant generally implied a fairly vague job description. There is a case to be made for a distinction between personal domestic servants on one hand and people who were paid to do domestic chores of one kind of another on the other. Indeed, missions needed far more workers to perform demanding piecemeal duties such as collecting water or firewood, sweeping, and lighting lamps, than they needed personal domestic servants to wait on them. Thus, most of the domestic service in the mission was routinized. In contrast, domestic servants who had specific duties were less likely to struggle for respect. As Hansen has argued, a lack of specialisation was likely to lead to a decline in prestige.

But having a specific domestic role did not automatically lead to enhanced respect. Domestic chores were varied and some involved greater interdependence than others. There is an intriguing example of a paid mission domestic worker being subject to the observation of a mission schoolboy in Magila that helps illustrate the status struggles mission domestic servants faced. In 1900 Herbert Woodward, a relatively benign missionary in terms of discipline, found that there was a huge amount of theft of the oil needed to light lamps. Woodward explained that the stealing was finally stopped when one of the schoolboys took it up on himself to watch over the ‘lamp-man’:

At last one of the school boys (who had been helping me by writing in the calendar all tins given out and the date), Stefano Mkacha, took it in hand of his own accord,

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91 Bishop Charles Alan Smythies, ‘A Letter from the Bishop’.
92 ‘How the Boys Spend Their Evenings at Mkunazini’.
94 Hansen, Distant Companions, 245.
and watched over the unfortunate Hugh till his life became a burden. He stood over him when he filled the lamps, he took charge in every way, with the result that in one month instead of twelve tins we only used 8 tins – less than ever before!\textsuperscript{95}

Thus, this anecdote shows that a schoolboy could transcend the relations of authority that one would expect to exist and preside over the labour of an older wage-earner.

Mission ‘boys’ were similar to domestic servants of other Europeans in that they were dependent on their employers for more than their wages. In particular, they were dependent on their missionary employers for paying bridewealth.\textsuperscript{96} This state of things was to remain right into the twentieth century and was part of a long tradition.\textsuperscript{97} For example, Woodward paid for his domestic servant, Peter Lukindo’s, bridewealth. This is an extract from one of Lukindo’s letters from 1887:

My work here is to cook the food. My mother is alive at this day, but my father died a long time ago when I was quite small, so I have never seen him. [...] Now I am growing up, I have sought a sweetheart, and Mr Woodward helped me to give the ‘turban’ (\textit{kilemba}, that is, the payment or price required by the parents). And now I have paid everything to her father so she is my sweetheart, and perhaps by and by when I am grown up, you may hear further news. My elder brother, whose name is George Sungimo, does the same work that I do; he cooks at Magila, and I cook here [Misozwe]. He has just gone to Zanzibar with the bishop.\textsuperscript{98}

There was another domestic worker, a ‘young man’, Christopher Hiza, who was not deemed suitable for the teaching profession. He worked as ‘a kind of steward or butler, or rather general servant to the establishment’. Woodward was clearly very close with Hiza, who had been in his employ for eight months:

A more generally useful boy I could hardly have, or one more trustworthy and upright in his general character. He has charge of the stores of maize, rice, and all in the commissariat line; attends to the table and washing up; trims and lights the lamps; washes the clothes and irons very well, besides looking after the place as a whole; also he can do a little carpentering as occasion may require.\textsuperscript{99}

\textsuperscript{95} H. W. W., ‘Lamps!', \textit{Central Africa}, April 1900.
\textsuperscript{96} Similarly, it was customary for slave masters to pay the bridewealth of their slaves. Captain H. A. Fraser, William Tozer, and James Christie, \textit{The East African Slave Trade, and the Measures Proposed for Its Extinction as Viewed by Residents in Zanzibar}, ed. Edward Steere (London: Harrison, 1871), 33.
\textsuperscript{97} Emmanuel Ngoma, interview.
\textsuperscript{98} Peter Lukindo, ‘Letter from a Misozswe Boy to the Children of St Peter’s, Dublin, Who Support Him (Translated)’, \textit{African Tidings}, 1887.

Woodward was also overseeing Hiza’s marriage to his non-Christian ‘sweetheart’ who was under instruction to be baptised. In this letter, Woodward was asking the patrons to donate some money or useful items to help Hiza start married life.¹⁰⁰ ‘Boys’ like Hiza, then, were closer to unpaid but valued, and to some extent skilled, dependents than to wage-earning professionals. Increasingly, this kind of relationship contrasted with more formalised and routinized employment in other European households.

¹⁰⁰ H. W. Woodward.

Illustration 41. An image of one missionary, several porters, in addition to two ‘boys’. I suspect that the individuals who are not carrying substantial loads were domestic servants. These seem to be dressed in buttoned-up shirts. One of the porters in the foreground is also wearing a buttoned-up shirt but the rest are wearing loincloths. Original caption: ‘The joys of ‘safari’’. Source: Central Africa, (1923).
Illustration 42. Bishop Frank Weston and two ‘boys’ on safari in Masasi. Source: Central Africa (1927).

Illustration 43. Domestic servants in Kota Kota carrying a kind of hammock known as a machila. Source: African Tidings 1927, 139.
There was, unsurprisingly, greater demand for mission-educated domestic servants for Europeans – male and female – in urban Zanzibar than in places like Magila. But that is not to say that mission-educated domestic servants flooded the domestic service labour market. According to a census from Percy L. Jones-Bateman in 1890, 65% of Kiungani’s students (who did not pass away by the time of the census) had gone on to work as servants or porters. The fact that this census combined servants and porters in the same category indicates that the system of domestic service developed out of the history of portage and personal service, just as van Onselen suggests in the case of South Africa. But there was also much greater demand for porters who could double up as servants. Bearing in mind the lack of roads at this point, it may well have been necessary for aspiring domestic servants to take up porterage until they managed to secure their desired employment. However, while employers seemed to perceive similarities between domestic service and porterage, there is evidence to suggest domestic servants actively distanced themselves from porters. For instance, boi did not like to share their knowledge with socially mobile porters looking to climb the employment ladder. All this being said, there were social and economic advantages to being a porter, which were obscured by European writings that overemphasised the overlap between slavery and porterage.

Still, Europeans looked to missions on the mainland to provide domestic servants and guides. However, as early as 1887, the reputation of mission-educated domestic servants among settlers was very poor. Farler’s retort to a criticism of this kind from Dr Oskar Lentz (who directed the Austro-Hungarian Congo Expedition, 1885-7) was that:

[Missionaries] do not consider it their duty to train up a lot of servants for European travellers; they consider that their work is a far higher one than this – namely, to restore to the poor, degraded African savage the image of God which

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1. M. A. Cameron, ‘Round about the Cathedral’.
4. Rockel, Carriers of Culture, 3.
he has lost, and generally they would prefer that their converts should do any other work rather than act as servants for Europeans, who sometimes have been known to live and act in Central Africa so as to destroy in the native all the good effects of the teaching of the missionaries.  

Even if mission ‘boys’ had a bad reputation as ‘boys’, they still very often went on to become domestic servants for non-missionary settlers. There was increased demand from colonial agents and settlers for mission-educated domestic servants, particularly in the British colonial period. For example, a missionary from Mkuzi noted in 1928 that: ‘Our settlers in the neighbourhoods seem to look to us to supply them with all their boys. We have lately sent off two Mission cooks from here at the urgent request of settlers.’  

It was not that missionaries wanted to recruit domestic servants; rather, they were responding to the wishes of the African Christians who saw missionaries as recruiters. However, British settlers complained that mission ‘boys’ were lazy, manipulative, and untrustworthy, with an air of superiority despite their superficial knowledge of elementary education.  

Settlers believed that the missionaries’ reforming mission was failing from the 1880s, largely because they wanted Africans to ‘know their place’ and believed missionaries tended to ‘indulge’ Africans.  

There were tensions between European employers about the best way to train Africans in domestic service. Missionaries argued that these ‘black sheep’, meaning the poor-quality domestic servants, were not strictly products of the mission. According to the settlers, these semi-educated men from the mission went to work for Europeans, trading upon what they learnt from missionaries.  

Indeed, there was some debate among missionaries, colonial agents, and settlers about whether it was better to hire trained or untrained domestic servants. Some believed mission domestic servants who had encountered Europeans and had been minimally trained were a good option because at least they could produce references and demonstrated some knowledge of European

107 Farler, ‘Mission Work in Africa’.  
108 Cyril S. S. M., ‘A Letter from Mkuzi’, Central Africa, January 1928. This missionary author proudly added that the Mkuzi mission ‘boys’ had a better reputation than those from other mission stations, suggesting there was some inter-UMCA competition.  
domesticity. Others believed it was best to hire ‘raw’ ‘boys’ and teach them from scratch, on the basis that it was easier to learn than to unlearn.\textsuperscript{111}

For the aspiring domestic servant, the challenge was to respond to all sorts of European demands without seeming too ‘Europeanised’, as Europeans were often suspicious of Africans who appeared to be accustomed to European cultures. There is also evidence to suggest that Africans recognised that European employers – particularly settlers – feared educated workers. Thus, some African workers hid their literacy from them. In fact, one settler account contained a complaint about a domestic servant who pretended to be illiterate and then used his employer’s signature to sign off on cases of whiskey. Missionaries retorted that it was the settlers’ own fault for failing to investigate their prospective workers’ character and not taking an interest in their morality, as the next section will show.\textsuperscript{112}

At the turn of the century ‘boy’ work was becoming increasingly clearly defined but this was a process of change confined largely to the boi of settlers in Zanzibar and Mombasa, rather than the missionaries in more rural locations. Outside of the frugal mission, ‘boys’ tended to have clearly defined roles and higher wages.\textsuperscript{113} In much the same way, a government official would usually take a band of different kinds of servants on safari, including a cook, who – in a missionaries’ words intended to mark the contrast with the frugal mission – could ‘turn out a four or five course meal just as if he were in his own kitchen’. Conversely, mission journeys tended to demand far fewer servants who would each be expected to fulfil a more varied job description.\textsuperscript{114}

Being a cook by profession was quite another matter. Professional cooks were rarely employed in nineteenth-century Magila and Zanzibar mission stations though the UMCA records demonstrate that professional cooks could be employed as early as the 1870s. They were usually described as ‘Goanese cooks’ and considered a luxury. It was

\textsuperscript{112} Cyril S. S. M., ‘A Letter from Mkuzi’.
\textsuperscript{113} Younghusband, \textit{Glimpses of East Africa and Zanzibar}, 28.
\textsuperscript{114} Mary Wallace, ‘Safari Cook’, \textit{African Tidings}, September 1924.
the students who did the greater part of the cooking. However, professional cooks – usually of Asian origin – would be specially outsourced to prepare the missionaries’ food, the justification being that this was an essential precaution against missionary illness.  

Cooks and *boi* would occasionally entrust some of their labour to porters who wished to learn their trades in order to achieve social mobility. Ferdinand Stephen Joelson, a settler in Tanganyika in the late 1910s and early 1920s, suggested that the *boi* were often less willing than cooks to share their knowledge with porters, which suggests that they may have had privileged access to the Europeans’ knowledge that cooks did not, even if cooking required more specialised skills and involved higher wages. Concomitantly, a distinction was increasingly made between *boi* and cooks. In some ways, cooks occupied a less desirable position as they were more constrained to the kitchen, while *boi* more closely resembled butlers and this relative intimacy with the employer may explain part of the high status of their position.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were frequent complaints from Europeans that Africans did not have to be well-qualified to get a position as a ‘boy’. For example, in 1913 this British army officer in Zanzibar complained:

> Wages, especially of servants, are high in the Protectorate, a boy who has an elementary idea of the relative positions a knife and fork should occupy when laid on the dinner table and a hazy idea that he must not finger the food until his master's back is turned, demands and obtains about twice the pay of an Indian bearer who will attend to all one's wants.  

Over the next few decades, domestic servants became more familiar with European demands and expectations, and they used their enhanced knowledge to their advantage.

But more than this, domestic servants were people who had access to rare knowledge. As Amin bin Said, a domestic servant, whose memoirs were recorded in the early 1960s, put it:

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I think that it is well for Africans to be taught and to try to learn all that the Europeans have to teach. For if we were left in ignorance we would suffer many hardships, but a man who has brains and works hard may make a name even when everyone is civilized. Our old people who have not learned anything or worked even now they are only fools. But when a man has learned a lot, let him not think he can learn no more, for anyone can go on learning till he dies, and even then a fool is buried.\textsuperscript{118}

The reason why Said was saying this is that he had had multiple employers, including settlers and missionaries, and each had their own preferences. Thus, he learned to be flexible and to unlearn for some employers in order to meet their expectations. As we can see from Said’s testimony, his appreciation for knowledge, and ability to accumulate it, formed part of his identity and his observations appear to confirm the extent of European hegemony at this time.

By 1930 each household servant customarily performed specific duties and refused to extend past their original job description. Thus, Gerald Sayers, a British colonial official, explained in his 1930 handbook that, ‘a normal household’, which could have consisted of just one European or a small European family, required ‘a kitchen-boy, head-boy and assistant, and a ‘dhobi’ or washerman.’\textsuperscript{119} Sayers also noted that a ‘Goan cook’ (where they were obtainable) could demand at least double the wages of a good ‘African cook’, and triple that of a ‘fair plain cook’ (see Table 13).\textsuperscript{120} ‘Kitchen-boys’, who were subordinate to cooks, were the lowest paid household servants, receiving shillings (shs.) 8-20 per month. Meanwhile, wages for ‘house-boys’ ranged significantly but could go up to shs. 70 per month in towns.\textsuperscript{121} In contrast, missionaries paid shs. 5-20 per month for most of their domestic servants and also did not tend to hire highly skilled servants, partly to reduce their costs but also because most mission stations were remote and highly skilled domestic servants were less plentiful.

\textsuperscript{119} Sayers, The Handbook of Tanganyika. General Editor.
\textsuperscript{120} Sayers, 470.
\textsuperscript{121} Sayers, The Handbook of Tanganyika. General Editor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Wages per month (shs.)</th>
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<tr>
<td>‘Fair plain cook’</td>
<td>&lt;40-50</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Good cook’</td>
<td>60-80</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Goan cook’</td>
<td>150-200</td>
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Cooking for Europeans was a different world to that of cooking in the household, though its novelty wore out with time and limited the ‘cook-boy’s’ prestige. Edith Yambi, the wife of one of our interviewees who was not formerly interviewed herself, said:

> Being a cook was a special job and it was a job of respect. Even my paternal uncle who was a cook told me that in those days if you were known to be a cook, you were seen to be important and that’s why they learnt how to do it. I mean it was a like learning a special task; like teaching, nursing, and so cooking was known to be a special job. [...] Becoming a cook didn’t mean that you had to stop your studies.\(^{122}\)

Much as Edith Yambi suggested, in the 1910s and 1920s well-trained domestic servants could command high wages and specify their role. This was largely because there were so few domestic servants of this kind and they had skills that were difficult to master. ‘Boys’ and cooks— from a domestic servants’ perspective – ideally did different kinds of work. Settlers also struggled to find ‘good servants’ and complained this was why they were able to demand high wages in the Tanganyika Territory in the twentieth century. The incentives for taking up domestic service outside the mission were again a mixture of financial and status considerations that were very much tied up with European cultural hegemony at this moment.

Settlers’ domestic servants were often mission-educated. However, they were rarely the missionaries’ favourite students. The mission’s favoured students – who were more interested in theology – were retained in the mission or encouraged to live as

\(^{122}\) ‘Ninavyojua mimi, ili kuwa ni kazi maalum tena ili kuwa ni kazi ya sifa hii ya upishi. Hata baba yangu mdogo ali kuwa mpishi alinieleza zamani u kione kana mpishi, unoone kana mtu wa maana na walisomea yaani ile ni somo kama kazi maalum, ualimu kama hivi unesi na nini na upishi ili kuwa ni kazi maalum ambazo zili kuwa zinajulikana. [...] Na kwa watu jinsi walivyokua wanasone sasa, ili kuwa si sababu hakuendelea.’ Gerrard Michael Francis Kiongoa Yambi, interview, 00:33:00-00:34:00.
agriculturists. This is partly because missionaries feared that employment under a settler would lead to moral degradation. This opprobrium was also an expression of missionary frustration with their inability to keep trained labour because of the low wages they paid. Though missionaries were pioneer employers of a particular culture of domestic service that occurred in schools, the *boi* of the twentieth century were not dissimilar to the upwardly mobile slave of the nineteenth century, who combined servitude and social mobility, as we shall see in the next section of this chapter.

UMCA missionaries generally discouraged their students from working for other Europeans. The career of Robert Ngoma demonstrates the missionaries’ concerns and how they impacted upon Ngoma, so it is worth considering it in detail. As a student at the school Ngoma was given leave in 1885 by Rev. Samuel Sehoza to go and find work so he could feed his mother and younger siblings during a time of famine. Ngoma initially worked in an Indian’s shop but was not satisfied with the pay so he went on to work for a European as a ‘house-boy’. Ngoma worked there until the European died, which seems to have been only a few years later, and Ngoma then returned to his Indian employer. After some time, famine subsided and Ngoma returned to Magila. However, he was no longer a child and could not resume his studies. Even so, Ngoma was qualified enough to take up a teaching post at an out-school in 1894.  

At least for Ngoma, the opportunities domestic service offered were more tempting and pressing than the opportunities of furthering his education. Another way of looking at it is that Ngoma’s work experience as a European’s ‘boy’ may have added to his qualifications to be a teacher. Indeed, it is possible that he continued to learn about Christianity and literacy while he was a domestic servant. This story is narrated in an article by Samuel Sehoza that celebrated how Ngoma heroically returned to the mission in the end, despite what the missionaries saw as the corrupting temptations that the earning potential of *uboi* inspired. The notion that receiving a mission education rendered people indebted to the mission carried on in the twentieth century, as my oral history interviews suggest.

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123 Samwil Sehoza, ‘Robert Ngoma, an African Teacher’.
124 Gerrard Michael Francis Kiongoa Yambi, interview; Anthony Christopher Mabundo, interview, 10 August 2014.
According to the missionaries, the ‘temptations’ of life working as a settler’s ‘boy’ included drinking alcohol, becoming vain, and paying for sex. They were also less likely to live with their families than mission ‘boys’, which missionaries feared would lead to broken homes and sexual deviance.\textsuperscript{125} This demonstrated the recurring theme of moral mistrust but also indicates that missionary concerns over morality blurred with their concerns over their lack of control over these young men.

Missionaries also were unconvinced that wage-earning Africans were capable of managing their finances by saving their wages. Indeed, it was said that many were in debt to Asian money-lenders.\textsuperscript{126} This, the missionaries reasoned, was a world away from agricultural livelihoods that usually depended upon an agriculturalist’s ability to prepare for the future many months or years in advance.\textsuperscript{127} As Cyril Frewer, a missionary based in Zanzibar and Pemba, put it, ‘boys […] are not a power for good in the community. They too often follow the vices of their masters without assimilating their virtues’.\textsuperscript{128} In a similar vein, Frank Weston, the Bishop of Zanzibar, objected to the way in which Africans were left with little choice but to ‘learn to be worth a regular monthly wage, and to avoid nakedness like the plague’.\textsuperscript{129} Most missionaries shared Weston’s doubts that wages had a positive reforming capacity. Missionaries were not interested in training Africans in domestic service unless they were training their own employees. The moral objection to competitive wages was accompanied by a pragmatic concern. Due to the missionaries’ financial constraints, they could only offer very low wages, which may partly explain their frustration when their domestic servants searched for jobs elsewhere.

Meanwhile, for settlers and colonial officials, wages were a way of introducing ideas of an African subject’s duty to colonial government and to reinforce the hierarchy of colonial society. Thus, in Tanganyika’s British colonial period, Lord Milner reasoned that:

\begin{quote}
As their knowledge and their wants increase, they will appreciate the need for more employment and more wages to satisfy those wants, so that the supply of
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{125} Bishop Richardson, ‘Letter to Members of UMCA’; T., ‘Bare Feet’; ‘Intercessions and Thanksgivings’.
\textsuperscript{126} C. C. Frewer, ‘Industrial Work in Zanzibar and Pemba’.
\textsuperscript{127} Weston, ‘Africa: And the Blight of Commercialism’, 1082.
\textsuperscript{128} C. C. Frewer, ‘The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba’.
\textsuperscript{129} Frank Zanzibar, ‘If the Salt Have Lost Its Savour?’, \textit{The Church Socialist}, November 1920, A1 (18) B, 132, UMArch.
\end{flushright}
labour should become continuous, while the condition of the native himself will inevitably improve at the same time.\textsuperscript{130}

The government official’s approach to reforming African workers, then, was to expose them to new material cultures, which would make them hunger for wages and thus become more ambitious.\textsuperscript{131} Needless to say, the importance of wages increased from the time of German colonialism as taxes were enforced.

**APPEARANCES AND THE AMBIGUITIES OF STATUS**

As Eastman has shown, the status struggles that boi faced in the early twentieth century were rooted in nineteenth century slave identity. Related to that, the importance of dress to post-slavery status struggles at this time is well established, especially thanks to Laura Fair.\textsuperscript{132} As such, boi were trying to assert status in the terms of coastal society, and simultaneously needed to placate Europeans who mistrusted them. Their sartorial compromise was creative, but it also reflected the precariousness of their position and internal status struggles of (mission) dependants. Accordingly, contemporary observers commonly noted that boi were anxious to perform their social status and wealth. This is evidenced by UMCA literature. For example, in the 1870s Steere hired a Muslim domestic servant in Zanzibar:

> We have in the employ of the mission a certain Mohammedan servant, who on state occasions, such as a visit to the Seyed, etc., used to walk in front of the Bishop with an air and manner so completely in contrast to the bearing of his master that one was always greatly amused at seeing the two together. I said so to the Bishop one day, and he laughed and said, ‘Yes, I think it is very fortunate I can get the swagger done for me, I think it is cheap at 8 [MTD] a month, I am sure I couldn’t do it for the money’.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{130} Lord Milner, ‘No. 1 Despatch to the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate’, Parliamentary paper, Despatch to the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate Relating to Native Labour, and Papers Connected Therewith (Downing Place, London, 22 July 1920).


\textsuperscript{133} Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere: Third Missionary Bishop in Central Africa*, 290.
Early twentieth century accounts also describe how boi were developing a complex professional identity that was materialised in their attire and comportment. A mixture of pity and mild irritation characterises European accounts of the fashion and public performance of ‘boys’. For example, the missionary Cyril Frewer complained in 1907 that wage-earning ex-slaves were guilty of spending money thoughtlessly, buying ‘a new cap and kanzu and becoming what they call malidadi (i.e. a dandy) and spending the rest of their earnings in debauchery’. 134

Likewise, Ethel Younghusband, writing in 1910, like many British travellers and settlers in East Africa, recorded her amusement at the public performance, ‘strong penetrating scent’, and attire of her ‘boy’ (pictured in Illustration 44):

Baruku appeared fearfully hot, but quite a swell in appearance, in his travelling costume of white cap, white coat and trousers, stick (silver-topped) and cigarette. Boys like to travel in their best clothes, then they walk about at each station with an air of great importance, and talk to friends, and feel they are being gazed at with envy by their lesser dressed comrades. 135

But not all boi were the same. The connected but contrasting case of uboi in settler households here is relevant because the mission trained servants for this milieu. Settlers distinguished between new boi and the boi who no longer felt the need to indulge in performance. 136

Stephen Joelson, a settler writing in 1920, approvingly observed that a boi who had ‘realised the dignity of his position’ – as he put it – would wear a fez-shaped linen cap, kanzu (see Illustration 45), and Arab sandals:

A light cane is carried in the hand, more often swung gently to and fro than used as an aid in walking; and as a rule a watch ranks as an indispensable article of adornment. Nowadays a silver wrist-watch with luminous dial is the hallmark of the aristocrat, but until the last few years a huge pocket watch with massive silver chain was the envy of less fortunate mortals. 137
European accounts suggest that it took time for a ‘boy’ to settle into his new attire. Europeans preferred to hire domestic servants who appeared humble. Even if ideas of unungwana were contested in the specific environments domestic servants operated, and even if young men tended to be more boisterous in the way they expressed their status as I have already suggested, humility was also valued in coastal society. Indeed, there is a
Swahili proverb that goes, ‘Arrogance does not make a gentleman’.\textsuperscript{138} Nevertheless, the calm self-possession expected of a \textit{mwungwana} was different from the humility expected of a servant and herein lies the contradictory status of \textit{boi} identity.\textsuperscript{139} Both missionaries and settler employers pushed ‘coastal’ dress styles for African dependants, (albeit, I take it, for different reasons: presumably the missionaries endorsed them as ‘traditional’, whereas the settlers liked them for being decorous, but non-European) they find themselves, unusually, on the same side of this particular debate on how to treat (i.e. dress) ‘natives’.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{water_carrier.jpg}
\caption{A young male water-carrier working for the mission in a long white \textit{kanzu}. Source: R. H. ‘From Tanga to Korogwe’, \textit{African Tidings}, April 1910.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Kiburi si mwungwana.} Sylvester Tayari, interview.

\textsuperscript{139} Glassman highlights the importance of humility to the village teacher in Zanzibar, though also shows that not all teachers followed this principle. Glassman, \textit{War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar}, 83.
Domestic servants, then, took enjoyment in the performance that European civility entailed but walked a tight line between sophistication and servitude. An anecdote that encapsulates this dilemma is told in Joelson's memoir. The story went that a settler, returning to his house from a safari earlier than planned, caught his boi entertaining two African ladies at table with tea and cakes, dressed in the finest attire the settler kept in his trunk. Joelson suggests that the settler-employer was more amused than he was angry. Settlers enjoyed telling stories like this because, though they were exasperated with how they saw African work ethic, they believed they had at least succeeded in transforming Africans as consumers.

Notions of sophistication and propriety remained indebted to pre-colonial ideas of uungwana even for mission-trained boi – partly because their European employers preferred them exoticised in Swahili garb. Like all other European observers in Tanganyika, missionaries feared they would help produce a ‘bad version’ of the European in the form of an ‘imitating’ African. However, employers’ preferences did not stop domestic servants from wearing what they wanted and shaping domestic service fashion. One missionary wrote in 1906 regretfully of one of her old students, Giles Kushelwa, who became a cook in Zanzibar town and dressed in a European fashion.

There were nuances to how Europeans presented and offered or denied Europeanness to Africans through access to clothing. Apparently without difficulty, missionaries praised coastal dress while avoiding praising Islam. Mission boys were more likely to be required to wear semi-European clothing or less ornate versions of ‘Arab’ dress. For example, Charles Nasibu was a messenger for the mission and one missionary described his dress as that of a ‘dignified old gentleman’. This entailed ‘a shooting coat and a Terai hat with a red ribbon round it’. To explain this visually, it is helpful to compare the appearances of mission boi (see Illustrations 39-43) to settlers’ boi (see

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140 Joelson, The Tanganyika Territory, Formerly German East Africa: Characteristics and Potentialities, 153.
141 Joelson.
142 ‘Old Boys’, African Tidings, March 1906.
143 Also known as a ‘slouch hat’. It is wide-brimmed and associated with military uniform in the nineteenth century.
144 Strangely, in 1887 Nasibu was working as a teacher and describes himself as an evangelist. However, in the 1927 obituary he was described as a messenger for the mission. Henry Nasibu, ‘News from Misozwe by a Native Evangelist’; ‘Charles Nasibu, a Faithful Servant’, African Tidings, 1910; O. D., ‘Henry Nasibu’, Central Africa, March 1927.
Illustration 44, in addition to Younghusband and Joelson’s descriptions of *boi*). There were two reasons for this difference between the attire of domestic servants for settlers and for missionaries. One was that missionaries preferred simple dress. As far as the missionaries were concerned, European dress was demoralising and they admired the dignity that came with coastal fashions, which shows how they operated under the long shadow of Muslim cultural hegemony. Missionaries were even more perturbed by Africans in European dress than settlers. However, unlike settlers, in principle missionaries had an ambition to remake Africans in their own image and they saw that dressing in coastal fashions would not set Christians apart from Muslims. The other reason was simpler. Settlers tended to procure their domestic servants on arrival at the coast. In contrast, missionaries tended to find their domestic servants in the rural locations of their mission stations, further from coastal cultures and fashions.

The clothing fashions of *boi*, combined with their flamboyant performance, suggest that *boi* were making claims to belonging to a coastal sphere of civilisation that, European rule notwithstanding, continued to be Arabocentric (Glassman’s term).\(^\text{145}\) *Boi* identified themselves as ‘Swahili’ in the 1910s and 1920s, which is a sign of their aspiration to civility and elite status. According to mission sources, domestic servants on safari and in the town would parade themselves around to admiring women in their *kanzu* and *fez*. For example, George William Mallender made this observation of the behaviour of wage earners (including hire slaves) in Zanzibar in 1896:

> There is no idea of saving, when a workman in Zanzibar town, a Mohammedan, has worked for, say three months and has saved a little money, he will put on his best clothes and strut about the street just like the Arabs do, and this will go on until his money has all gone when he will go to work again and repeat the same over again. This is their idea of enjoyment, to be a swell about the streets if only for a few weeks at a time.\(^\text{146}\)

Joelson made similar observations but noted a disjuncture, or a sudden fall from grandeur, because, ‘an hour later he is once more content to peel potatoes or to make the master’s


\(^{146}\) George William Mallender, ‘Missionary life in Central Africa’. 
bed’. Joelson also noted that although *boi* would wear ‘handsome Arab sandals’, they would have to remove them before entering the presence of his master.\(^{147}\)

There is tension here between the social respect and servile status that *uboi* conjures up. Domestic servants had to counter their servility, which could undermine their claims to respectability. *Boi* were often young men notorious among settlers and missionaries for enjoying an independent income and the ‘moral dangers’ that came with it.\(^ {148}\) This latter interpretation belongs to Europeans of the time, who believed they were, like slaves, incapable of saving money and thinking about the future. From the perspective of these domestic servants, the fact that they may have been spending their wages on women, rather than their kin, tells a story of a departure from communal and kinship obligations. All this being said, the sources I draw upon probably exaggerated the extent to which male wage-earners sought to escape kin-based responsibilities. Indeed, if they did fail to save, this may have been precisely because they spent money on kin, in addition to other forms of generosity.

The ostentation and public performance was to some extent a compensation for the fact that they were unable to establish and control households, given their travelling lifestyle and need to constantly be available in a European household. Servility characterised *uboi* and at times this posed a contradiction to the perks of the job and the status it entailed. Domestic servants’ way of life was fractured and so they routinely compartmentalised different aspects of their lives. At work they had to serve their employers, but in public they sought to project a very different persona.

**Conclusion**

Evidently, the meaning of *uboi* changed greatly over the period discussed here, and between different contexts. Within the mission, initially children, who were usually displaced in one way or another, worked as domestic servants. In some ways, this hardly differed from child slavery. However, the patronage, pursuit of knowledge, and, if lucky, the winning of cash currency and gifts, were important benefits that may have aided an


\(^ {148}\) Missionaries frequently complained that *boi* and teachers alike spent their wages on themselves, leaving their wives and families to fend for themselves. E.g. J. Zanzibar to Travers, 2 March 1904.
individual in their search for a better life. There is little evidence of the incorporation of these children into mission households as fictive kin, which sets this labour style apart from an ‘economy of affection’. The European-dominated and culturally exceptional nature of mission households meant that despite their domestic responsibilities, these young workers had no chance of being ‘absorbed’ in the manner of junior dependants elsewhere.

Instead, over time domestic service became at least a potential gateway into a variety of wage-earning professions, both in the mission and beyond it. Male domestic servants in the mission moved on from their original roles to become teachers, medical assistants, and priests. Others remained domestic servants, but changed employers, thus leaving the mission. For them, the mission was a crucial space in which knowledge of European domesticity and domestic service was shared at an early date, enabling them to enter a labour market beyond it.

Nevertheless, the mission-trained domestic servants of the early twentieth century drew upon coastal cultures as much as they did mission cultures. They were, after all, aspiring to become a version of waungwana, coastal freemen. Within their own households, missionaries tried to control what their servants wore, and demonstrated that they were at variance with coastal culture outside of the mission. But the possibility of moving on from the mission to the wider labour market undermined their efforts and ultimately reflects the missionaries’ lack of control. In conclusion, the emergence of a professional uboi identity from the unpaid student-servants of the nineteenth century reflects both missionaries’ changing strategies and requirements, and dependants’ struggles for status.
CONCLUSION

PATRONAGE AND EDUCATION IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MISSION

At the end of this study, it is evident that from the 1860s to the 1910s, the UMCA did not offer clear trajectories for most of the Africans interacting with it in search of a better life. However, from the late 1920s the mission’s formal institutional education became a significant draw for Tanzanians. This was reflected in my oral history research, but also in students’ written assignments in UMCA schools. For example, in an English writing practice essay from 1932, a student in a Magila mission school declared that he was going to be a teacher because he wanted, ‘to have a splendid life’. Of course, people were always in search of a better life, but by the late 1920s, formal education was considered the fundamental building block to securing one. By this time, it had become a well-worn colonial trope across Sub-Saharan Africa that, ‘[t]he African is everywhere more and more awaking to the advantages of education and beginning to desire to have it.’ The importance of education, then, emerged soon after the transition to British rule in Tanzania. However, during most of the period I cover, the formal education that the mission offered was not necessarily seen as a tool for overcoming livelihood and status struggles. Often, markers of coastal sophistication, such as clothing or knowledge of Swahili, had greater social currency, while the coast remained a prime source of paid employment, often preferable to conditions offered by the mission.

The focus in the scholarly literature on the central role of missions in fostering the emergence of an educated African elite that would, over time, challenge colonialism and inherit the colonial state, then, tends to overshadow the fact that in 1900 it was not clear that formal mission education would become so widespread and desirable, and could be crucial to securing a good livelihood. That such was the case in the high and late colonial

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3 Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*; Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya*. Frederick Cooper and Geiger are examples of authors who acknowledge that decolonisation was not only driven by educated elites’ activity but also by uneducated subalterns: Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*; Susan Geiger, *TANU Women*.
period, after the years covered here, became very evident in my interviews. Of all the themes that emerged during oral history interviews, education – for both men and women – was the most obviously important to interlocutors. For instance, Canon Samuel Sepeku recalled his father telling him that:

Education was the only important inheritance from our parents; not money or other kinds of wealth. Our father valued education more than riches. He promised to educate us to highest possible level. He pressed that notion upon us, and we repeated same message to our children.  

Likewise, John Raymond Ngovi echoed what many of my respondents had noted, that in his parents’ generation, a considerable number of people joined the church with hopes of receiving education, believing it would offer them socio-economic opportunity. Respondents wholeheartedly emphasised how central education was as part of the mission’s gift to the people and the basis for *maendeleo* (progress or development). Not only was education presented as something essential to personal success, it was a way of establishing personhood. In fact, respondents mentioning members of their families would summarise who they were according to what level of education they received.

Against this background, my thesis has highlighted that this central role of education emerged gradually and was far from a foregone conclusion early on. Concomitantly, mission stations were continually sites of contestation that served changing purposes. During the 1870s, the mission station in Magila was focused on surviving physically and politically, as the region was politically unstable and prone to slave-raiding and violence. Several chiefs converted to Christianity, and in so doing, claimed mission allegiance, though their impact on mission development was short-lived as most of them died or lost power under German rule in the 1890s. A more enduring

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4 ‘Elimu ilikuwa ndio kitu pekee cha muhimu tulichorithi kutoka kwa wazazi wetu sio pesa au mali nyingine. Baba yetu alithamini elimu kuliko utajiri. Alituahidi kutosomesha hadi kiwango cha juu tutakachoweza kufikia. Daima alisitiza wazo hilo, na sisi tumerudia wazo hilo kwa watoto wetu.’ Canon Samuel Sepeku, interview, 29 October 2014, 00:09:25–00:09:55; several other respondents made the same observations. E.g. Canon Matthias Edward Mbulinyingi, interview, 5 October 2014, 05:00–07:00; Judith Mbuji, interview, 9 October 2014; John Mfuko, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Kilole Korogwe, 13 October 2014.

5 John Mtoi, interview, 01:06:30–01:08:00; Prisca Mwengele, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Mtawa Kiloli, Korogwe, 1 October 2014, 00:22:00-00:27:00.
impact was made by child-pawns who were traded to the mission by chiefs. Notably, Rev. Samuel Sehoza and Rev. Petro Limo – who were both child dependants gifted to the mission by a chief (Semnkai) in the early stages of conversion – became some of the leading agents of UMCA’s history in Magila. Although their transition to the mission severed the ties they had to Semnkai, they went on to create their own social networks as Christian priests who held social authority. At this time, then, education was important mostly to a small number of dependents bereft of alternatives to allegiance to the mission, while the mission itself was an involuntary participant in densely networked, fractious politics that involved guns, rituals, slavery and relations to the coast.

At the same time in the 1860s and 1870s, in Zanzibar, the first cohorts of ex-slaves were being brought to the mission. At this early stage, most ex-slaves remained in the mission rather than venturing to live and work among the townspeople, partly for fear of re-enslavement. Some ex-slaves were sent to mission stations on the mainland, either to supplement the mission’s labour force (as in Magila) or to populate ex-slave settlements (as in Masasi). Young female ex-slaves, in whom female missionaries saw potential, were thoroughly trained in English domesticity. Missionaries selected young male ex-slaves to be educated and eventually become teachers and priests. The mission, then, faced struggles also in Zanzibar, and as on the mainland it gained the loyalty mostly of displaced people who lacked alternatives. Nevertheless, this was a time of missionary optimism as they hoped to have established a cohort of educated ex-slave followers who would one day be ready to take up the missionaries’ project. Compared to the mainland, the political and security context was much calmer, with British influence on the Sultans securing a fairly safe, if not exactly hospitable, climate for the mission.

It is worth considering this phase, before the emergence of education as the defining benefit of interaction with the mission, a bit further. In both Zanzibar and Magila, then, the missionaries found themselves playing the role of one kind of patron among many others. There were changes as colonialism encroached: in Magila in the 1880s and 1890s, less unsettled children, ones who had parents living locally and were not displaced, were coming to the mission school. The anxieties among parents about their children’s involvement with the mission indicate how readily Africans interacting with the mission assimilated it to other local power-brokers at this time. Missionaries gave these students
items, particularly clothes, such as *kanzu* and *visibau*, which were markers of coastal respectability. This caused parents and children much concern as they suspected missionaries would expect to keep the children as hostages or slaves.\(^7\) This concern was compounded by the fact that these students doubled up as the mission’s domestic servants. The blurred lines between servitude and education in the mission were the beginning of a complex social history of domestic service, in which the mission became an often reluctant and poorly-reputed contributor to a labour market beyond its control.

The meanings of mission education for its recipients, meanwhile, were gendered in complicated ways. At this time, young female children rarely interacted with the mission in Magila on the mainland, except during times of famine. In contrast, the girls’ school in Mbweni, Zanzibar, was growing. However, it was also clear that the girls of Mbweni faced future marriages and livelihoods that posed significant potential dangers at worst and compromised their autonomy at best, because these young women lacked the security of kinship. Meanwhile, missionaries increasingly side-lined the male educated ex-slaves in Zanzibar in favour of the freeborn ‘voluntary’ students of the mission stations on the mainland, especially by the 1890s. Yet ironically, greater numbers of male students from the mainland travelling to Zanzibar for an education reinforced the association, quite unplanned by the missionaries, between the education they provided and coastal culture, with its standards of sophistication quite alien to the missionaries. Even so, as I have shown, people were circumspect about these Zanzibar-educated individuals and what many viewed as their tendency towards arrogant behaviour.

Arguably, with missionaries increasingly frustrated by their attempts to provide vocational training to ex-slaves or re-socialise them into their notion of ‘yeomen’, education emerged as the mission’s main attraction as its other activities faltered. For the adult ex-slaves who did not receive a mission education, the opportunities the mission offered them for social mobility were increasingly limited to no more than a basic livelihood. Thus, the more enterprising among them endeavoured to centre their lives in the town. The result was that, by the early 1900s, the Mbweni *shamba* was a home to elderly and sick ex-slaves who made a living as best they could. For more educated ex-

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\(^7\) ‘Post Bag’, October 1897.
slaves, by contrast, networks created with fellow students in the mission helped them as they moved outside it.

In summary, from the 1860s to the 1910s, the mission was initially a space in which people could – often inventively – make a living through employment and patronage. Most Christians were mission employees (usually teachers) and their families. Being Christian was, in important ways, a livelihood. Yet, even if education was not the initial draw for potential Christian adherents, it did modify lives and subjectivities. After the First World War and with British colonialism, the mission rose to prominence as a place of education. From this point, people carried knowledge and experience away with them from the mission to make a living elsewhere, in keeping with the well-known narrative of mission and ‘modernity’. Throughout this period, the mission did not create unified progressive communities. Instead, the mission provided resources for status struggles. The definitions of high status in these struggles continued to draw on a variety of sources, not all of them European or Christian.

MISSION WITHOUT CULTURAL HEGEMONY

The embattled, far from hegemonic status of the cultural markers the mission represented during this period challenges the notion of ‘colonisation of consciousness’ and forces us to rethink what belonging and authority meant to those interacting with the mission.\(^8\) In Magila and Zanzibar up to 1926, the mission was a place where one could develop social identities, livelihoods, and obtain certain types of knowledge. However, it was not self-contained and neither did it sufficiently fulfil all a person’s social and economic needs. Everybody had to interact with people, spaces, and ideas that were not defined by the mission. This was not only on social grounds, but also simply to make ends meet. UMCA teachers and priests, who were those most likely to depend upon the mission for the means to support themselves, had to engage in subsistence agriculture as the payments they received from missionaries and congregations were not enough to establish a livelihood.

\(^8\) ‘Colonisation of consciousness’ as in Comaroff and Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier.
Moreover, most Christians took part in practices and livelihoods that the missionaries did not condone. Livelihoods, after all, were not solely about survival and economic opportunity. They also reflected personhood, the way people saw their individual selves in relation to others. They represented aspirations publicly and created social distinctions.\(^9\) Making a living was closely connected to decisions people made about interacting with and being part of various kinds of social networks. Indeed, well-developed social networks helped a person make a living and provided opportunities to pursue different kinds of livelihoods. It worked the other way around, too, that changes in livelihoods could prompt changes in the way people went about making, maintaining, and losing their part in social networks.

While under mission surveillance, Africans had to play by the book, but there were always opportunities to deviate from the mission’s regulations because there was no restricted mission community. Instead, there was a more complex understanding of community, with shared belonging and mutual obligations that were constantly subject to debate. Thus, neither Christianity, nor the mission as a space, offered anyone a complete identity. That missionaries struggled to impose their standards of behaviour, and that African converts refashioned missionary influence in multiple ways, has of course often been recognised.\(^10\) Nonetheless, it is useful to consider this not only as a reflection of divergent aims and expectations among missionaries and the people interacting with them, but also as the reflection of a layered, diverse and ever-shifting cultural context.\(^11\) Like Christian education, so European styles of dress and comportment were not yet clearly hegemonic during the period considered here. The choice of cultural reference points and elaboration of cultural allegiances among the mission’s dependants and interlocutors was a fluid process, anxiously perched between economic needs and social aspirations.

As I discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the scholarship published to date on mission has rarely focused on the economic circumstances and livelihoods of Africans

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\(^11\) Taking inspiration from Peel, Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba..
involved with the mission. In my attempt to rectify this inattention, I have found that economic needs and aims were inseparable from social and cultural ones. For the often marginal, displaced people discussed here, livelihoods, status struggles, and personhood could be pursued through the elaboration of varied cultural allegiances. What I have attempted to do is to explore how Africans utilised the mission in pursuit of a variety of aims, not all of them ‘modern’, and how they created networks in the mission in their pursuit of security, livelihood, and social status. In the process, it has become evident that the history of the UMCA in Magila and Zanzibar also forms part of the history of cosmopolitanism in the Western Indian Ocean, much discussed in recent years. During the period discussed here, the mission was in effect another actor among many peddling their cultural wares.

By the end of the period discussed here, the ascendancy of Christian, European-infused cultural forms was just becoming discernible, in connection with the emerging importance of mission education. One cause of this change is evident from the transformation colonisation wrought on the political context of the mission in Magila. The relations to the coast and the Sultan which had been so important in the late pre-colonial period fade from sight entirely when German control is established. Yet in other ways, both coastal culture and indigenous ritual showed enormous staying power. For the latter, this becomes evident in the on-going tensions and negotiations around things such as *kesha*, discussed above. For the former, it is evident in the continuing importance of the (implicitly Muslim) town for Christians in Zanzibar, and the survival of ‘Arabocentric’ dress codes in domestic work. Moreover, at times these reference points coexisted with little conflict, at least when European missionaries were not paying attention. African Christians compartmentalised their social lives and ritual expressions. Inasmuch as the mission was a harbinger of modernity, then, it was a very composite modernity. Rather than being broken, the former cultural hegemony of the Zanzibar Sultanate was compartmentalised into particular niches.

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The thesis I present is, thus, an important contribution to the literature in three ways. Firstly, I show that the early period of mission history was different to the later periods scholars usually focus upon because formal Christian education only became widely important by the 1920s. I demonstrate that struggles for livelihood and status were not only managed with education but through employment, patronage, and political alliances. In other words, the mission could be creatively drawn upon for livelihood and status not only through formal institutional education but through many other forms of association. Nonetheless, with figures like Sehoza and Limo, the significance of education did exist long before the 1920s, just very minimally. For these kinds of mission affiliates, schools were major sources of personal networks.

Secondly, in this early period, there were different, sometimes competing or else coexisting modernities whose elaboration the mission was involved with. The mission itself at times reinforced notions of sophistication derived from coastal influences and more typically associated with Islam, as with the dress styles it encouraged in African dependents. Missionaries were awkwardly inserted into coastal cultures and sought to draw leverage from association with both European-derived notions of modernity and Arabocentric ones. Often, they found the latter more influential. In fact, missionaries had limited control and had to defer to coastal hegemony politically and culturally.

Thirdly and finally, the history of mission community in the regions I study is characterised by diversity and disunity. The Africans who interacted with the mission pursued varied life trajectories and were moved between different networks very often. Because the mission was not culturally hegemonic, it was not the central focus for all African lives that crossed paths with it and there was a spectrum of identities that accompanied the relative dependence or independence Africans developed in relation to the mission. The question is whether the same uncertainties to do with cultural hegemonies, that I explored in this thesis, persisted into the British colonial period.
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APPENDICES

1: MHINA GENEALOGY

GELDART MHINA

Family trees based on interviews with Andrew Mhina, John Mhina, Michael Yambi, Godfrey Fumbwe, Catherina Msiba Mlangwa, Joesphine Mungayao.
Geldart Mhina and his siblings were born Christian, while their parents converted to Christianity in adulthood. Agnes Mamhina and her siblings probably converted in adulthood. Geldart Mhina was married to four different women, all of whom bore children. Agnes Mamhina was the latest of his wives and the second Christian wife. Some of the children from previous relationships may have been listed as Agnes’ children.

The ‘Sefu’, a recognisably Muslim name, in Michael Sefu’s name was given to him as an adult because he was known to study Islam in great detail. He even married an ex-slave woman in Zanzibar. He was listed as a teacher at Msalabani mission school in 1903.¹³

EVELYN KOMHOME (MAMOUDI)

Evelyn Komhome (Mamoudi) was one of Geldart Mhina’s siblings. Godfrey Phumbwe changed the surname ‘Fumbwe’ to ‘Phumbwe’ to reflect an Anglicised spelling.

¹³ Harrison, Log-book (Magila, 1903), A1 (14), UMArch.
Based on Josephine Thomas Mungayao’s interview. Rev. John Baptist Mdoe, who lived in Zanzibar, was known to have two wives simultaneously, who were ex-slaves. It appears from Josephine’s testimony that this was not kept secret and, because they had shared the same slave boat prior to their liberation, were like sisters. It is unclear which of John Mdoe’s children are from which relationship.

John Baptist Mdoe was baptised at Christmas in 1882 when he was about 8 years old. His father was not keen on him staying with the mission but Woodward gave him "a little present (without in any way intending to influence him but only as a token of friendship)". The father promptly handed him over to Woodward’s care. Wilson taught him to read and he started working in the printing press early on. He hardly spent any time in Magila since 1883. Most of his time was spent in Zanzibar. His parents have come to understand “the honour of his position” but have not benefitted in any way from his education and Mdoe did not receive any kind of salary. He was good friends with Yohana Hamisi. Other students admired his intelligence and missionaries complemented him on his teaching abilities.

However, tensions emerged between him and Woodward when his first child was born in 1893. He was about 19 years old at this point. In 1895 he was ordained as deacon and in 1897 he was ordained as priest. He settled at Wazo Hill for some years. In 1903 Hine said Mdoe was making satisfactory progress. A year later Hine complained that he had “gone utterly wrong” along with many other clergy. In the early 1900s he moved back
to Zanzibar and was based at Bububu (Zanzibar) around time of post WWI. He took a Goan to court because he said things about the British being weak, which was technically illegal. In 1924 he retired and two years later he died at the age of 50. Many respondents were related to him.

The oral history record tells a different story. Mungayao, who was an ascendant of his, believed Mdoe was captured from Magila and brought to Zanzibar, made a Christian, then captured again by Arabs. Later he continued his education under the mission and became a priest, spending much time in Zanzibar. The latter part of that claim is certainly true. The fact that she thought Mdoe was captured in slavery is an interesting twist on the fact that he was exchanged for a gift in a negotiation between Woodward and a chief. It is indicative of the fact that Mdoe’s membership in the mission was the result of a pawnship agreement between the missionaries and his guardian (who was probably not his father). Mungayao’s story was different in another way. She said that he had two wives who were ex-slaves. She was not sure if her paternal grandmother was his wife by a Christian or non-Christian marriage.

2: CHRONOLOGY OF UMCA FOUNDING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>David Livingstone’s speech in Senate House, Cambridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>“Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa” established</td>
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<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>First bishop Charles MacKenzie, consecrated in Cape Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Death of bishop Charles MacKenzie near Shire River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Second bishop, William Tozer, consecrated in London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Mission headquarters moved to Zanzibar from the Shire River region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Kiungani school founded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>The first UMCA visit to the Bondei region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Charles Argentine Alington established a base in Bondei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>John Swedi and George Farajallah made subdeacons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Mbweni land purchased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>First permanent mission in Bondei region (Magila)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>UMCA station established in Rovuma region, southeast Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>First permanent mission in Lake Nyasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Bishop Hine established new Diocese of Northern Rhodesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Bishop Tozer arrived in Zanzibar and formed the diocese of Zanzibar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Freed slave settlement established in Mbweni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Diocese of Nyasaland formed out of the Diocese of Zanzibar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Diocese of Northern Rhodesia formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Diocese of Masasi formed out of the Diocese of Zanzibar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 Josephine Thomas Mungayao, interview, 21 October 2014.
15 Josephine Thomas Mungayao.
3: **GENERAL CHRONOLOGY FOR ZANZIBAR AND MAGILA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Famine in Magila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884–1885</td>
<td>Famine in Magila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>German occupation of the coast and Arab rising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>German protectorate proclaimed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Heligoland–Zanzibar treaty between Germany and England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>First German governor appointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Famine in Magila, Masaai suffering in particular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Usambara Railway opened to Pongwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894–1896</td>
<td>Famine in Magila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>First African UMCA conference without Europeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Hut-tax introduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899–1901</td>
<td>Famine in Magila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Usambara Railway opened to Korogwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910–1911</td>
<td>Famine in Magila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>General Smuts defeated Germans at Moshi, occupation begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Smallpox in Magila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Second Kikuyu conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Famine in Magila</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4: **AFRICAN POWER-BROKERS AND MISSION ELITE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austini Sipindu</td>
<td>From Umba. Converted to Christianity, d. 1883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barghash bin Said</td>
<td>Sultan of Zanzibar, 1870–1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecil Majaliwa</td>
<td>Ex-slave, ordained 1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Semnkai</td>
<td>Chief from Umba. Baptised 1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Peter Kayamba</td>
<td>Paramount chief, 1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kirk</td>
<td>Consul General at Zanzibar, 1873–1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Swedi</td>
<td>Ex-slave, ordained 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibanga</td>
<td>Muslim Kilindi chief based in Bulwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimweri ya Nyumbai</td>
<td>Kilindi-Shambaai leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majid bin Said</td>
<td>Sultan of Zanzibar, 1856–1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manfred Mabundo</td>
<td>Ordained c.1904, d. 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Kayamba</td>
<td>Colonial civil servant; 1891–1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Kifungiwe</td>
<td>Kilindi chief. Baptised 1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Sudi</td>
<td>Ex-slave, mission employee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petro Limo</td>
<td>Ex-slave, ordained 1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Sehoza</td>
<td>Ordained 1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segao</td>
<td>Power-broker, Umba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semboja</td>
<td>Power-broker, Usambara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5: **BISHOPS OF THE UMCA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Diocese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861–1862</td>
<td>Charles MacKenzie</td>
<td>Died in office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863–1873</td>
<td>William Tozer</td>
<td>Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874–1882</td>
<td>Edward Steere</td>
<td>Died in office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883–1894</td>
<td>Charles Smythies</td>
<td>Died in office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895–1900</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
<td>Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901–1908</td>
<td>John Hine</td>
<td>Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908–1924</td>
<td>Frank Weston</td>
<td>Died in office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925–1943</td>
<td>Thomas Birley</td>
<td>Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926–1944</td>
<td>Vincent Lucas</td>
<td>Resigned, died soon after</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diocese of Zanzibar

Diocese of Masasi
## 6: Other Significant UMCA Missionaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caroline D. M. Thackeray</td>
<td>Arrived 1877, d. 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Fixsen</td>
<td>Arrived 1911, d. 1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyril C. Frewer</td>
<td>Active as missionary 1904-1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dora S. Yarnton Mills</td>
<td>Arrived 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godfrey Dale</td>
<td>Arrived 1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert A. B. Wilson</td>
<td>d. 1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert W. Woodward</td>
<td>Arrived 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Farler</td>
<td>Active as missionary 1875-1894</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>