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The Matengo Highlands and the German Memories; the Cross Preceded the Flag

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigated the memories of German in the Matengo Highlands from the 1890s to 1968. The periodization has been made deliberately in order to cover the period of the German rule and the Benedictine missionaries also from Germany. The German period is very special by considering the fact that the missionaries who established Christianity in the Matengo Highlands were Benedictine whose nationality was German. The work has investigated what were the circumstances which pushed the Benedictines to come to German East Africa and specifically the Matengo Highlands. Upon arriving in German East Africa, the study investigated the relationship that existed between the German colonial state and the Benedictine missionaries and how this relationship affected the Wamatengo people. The paper concludes that unlike the other parts of Tanzania the memories of Germans both missionaries and the colonial masters are all bearing some legacies in the Matengo Highlands to 1968. However, colonial administration was so short lived (1902-1916) and less entrenched. To the contrary, the cross preceded the flag in the sense that German Benedictine missionaries founded the first parish mission at Kigonsera in 1899.

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collection of data was done using a number of historical sources. Interview, oral histories and archival review methods and techniques were used for data collection, both primary and secondary historical sources were employed. The year 1968 was deliberately chosen in order to mark the end of German Benedictines influence upon conclusion of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Peramiho diocese.

Keywords: german rule, memories, Benedictine fathers, Matengo Highlands, missionaries, colonization.

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I. INTRODUCTION - THE HISTORY OF THE MATENGO HIGHLANDS

The process of colonization of African lands has always been associated with forerunners including the missionaries, explorers and traders.¹ In this setting the colonial governments reciprocated through provision of protection to the missionaries and other agents of colonialism in Africa. Theoretically the Germans colonized Tanganyika *Deutsch Ostafrika* in 1885 after the conclusion of the Berlin International Conference. The German company had its capital at Bagamoyo from 1885 to 1890 and later the capital shifted to Dar es Salaam where it existed from 1890 to 1918.² However, the task of subjecting German sphere of influence into an effective occupation took much longer and indeed it was not very uniform. The coastal area and parts of north eastern highlands were put under effective control immediately due to the reasons of proximity,

¹ Historical Section of the Foreign Office, Tanganyika (German East Africa) Published by H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1920:27

² The Berlin Act

existence of bogus treaties secured by Carl Peters,³ easy accessibility and endowment of abundant resources.⁴ However, the process of effective occupation on the ground of the other parts of DOA was not a simple task. Some parts for reasons of remoteness, difficult communication, lack of resources and distance from the center of administration took very long to be effectively put under the colonial regime.⁵

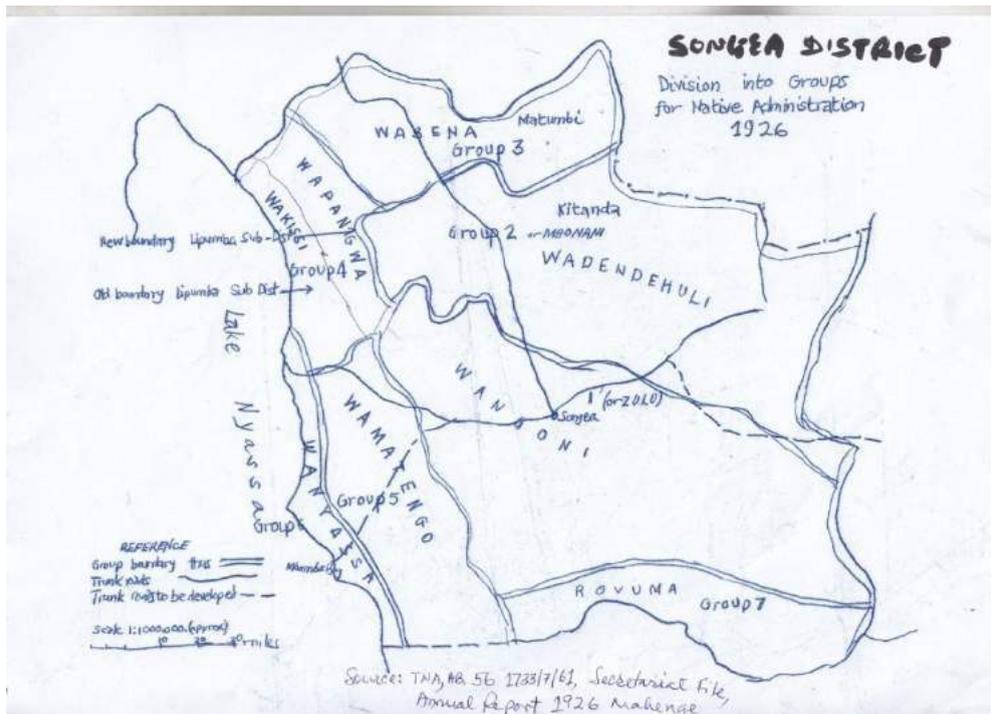
Among the areas which were hard to be reached was the Matengo Highlands in south western Tanzania. The Matengo Highlands is a geographical region in the South West of Tanzania.⁶ It is an area with people who have a unique history known as Matengo. The Matengo are Bantu-speaking people who occupy the highlands East of Lake Nyasa. This is an area located in the south western part of Tanzania forming the present Mbinga district in Ruvuma region. This is a mountainous area bordered by the Livingstone mountain ranges to the west, to the south is bordered by the lowlands of Msumbiji lands, to the north there are the Wamanda people and to the east the Wangoni as it is shown in map 1 below. In the map, Matengo Highlands is represented by group 5: Wamatengo.

³ E.Kienitz, Zeittafel zur Deutschen Kolonialgeschichte, Ficht-Velag/Munichen, 1941:79, Carl Peters had secured fake treaties with sultans of Msovero, Usagara, Ukami and Uluguru in 1884

⁴ Isaria Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania, The Impact of the World Economy on the Pare 1860 - 1960* Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaam, 1991:46

⁵ Kimambo, *ibid.* :5

⁶ John Iliffe, *Modern History of Tanganyika*, 1979:117, cf. Egno Ndunguru, *Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wamatengo*, East Africa Literature Bureau, Dar, 1972:1



Source: TNA, AB. 56 1733/7/61, Secretariat File, Annual Report 1926 Mahenge Province

Map 1: Administration Groups of Songea District as at 1926

The incursion of the German colonialists in the Matengo Highlands met the people in the process of transforming themselves socially, economically and politically. It can be argued that the Matengo society was at the time of advent of colonialism transforming itself towards stratification. There was the beginning of inequality marked by differences in terms of access to political power as well as access to economic opportunities. The Matengo were living in the hill settlement in the highlands which had some implications on defense. From the hills the Matengo people were able to fight their enemies by just rolling big stones from the hilltop against the Ngoni enemies who were at the hill bottom. The mountain sites had a series of caves which the Matengo used as the hideouts against the Ngoni warriors. These caves were available at Litembo, Mitambo, Mbugu, Lubala, Nangomba, Hagati, Masiba, Mawindi and many others along the Mikiga mountain range which ran from Litembo westwards to Nzwasi which overlooks Lake Nyasa at Mkili.⁷

When the Germans occupied the Matengo Highlands, they found clusters of the clans' settlements circumscribing the Mikiga mountain range, the Likengema and the Kilanga Mountains. In each settlement broad status categories were based on birth, historical and ethnic criteria. When the German colonialists and the German Missionaries arrived they met the Matengo people organized along these clan structures.

With the advent of colonialism this area became part of Lungenburg district during the German period. In due course, the Matengo Highlands were put under the administration of the Litembo sub-station up to 1914.⁸ Later on the area was put under the administration of Lipumba sub-station up to 1926 when this station was officially closed down.⁹ The local administration was still in the hands of clan heads who did not really acknowledge the German administration in the real sense. This is also evident from the German Annual Report thus:

⁸ APA, Peramiho, cf. Iliffe op.cit. 117

⁹ Tanzania National Archives (hereinafter referred to as TNA) Acc. 155, SDB

⁷ Egno Ndunguru, *ibid.* 1972:1

“Although German rule is everywhere acknowledged, in the remote military districts of the inland especially in the mountainous areas the real influence of the authorities is still limited”¹⁰

II. THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF THE MATENGO HIGHLANDS

The conclusion of the Berlin International Conference ended with the German nation proclaiming its sphere of influence in German East Africa. The Matengo formed part of the German possession. The occupation began with the occupation of Ungoni with a center erected at Songea in 1897. There was virtually no resistance to speak of among the Wangoni except the incidence of the *boma* massacre where the Ngoni chiefs were put under arrest and five Ngoni generals were killed.¹¹ To demonstrate their prowess, the Germans spread their flags across the villages in Ungoni. This actually marked the acceptance of German colonial over lordship by the Wangoni.

The approach of annexing the Matengo Highlands, however, was slightly different. Upon hearing of the presence of the Wamatengo, the Germans summoned Mandawa, the son of chief Kayuni Makita to the Germans center of Songea. When Mandawa came back, he hoisted the German flag he had brought from Songea. This flag signaled the initial German annexation of the Matengo Highlands.¹² In 1889, two Germans arrived at Litembo. They divided the Matengo Highlands into two parts. The Langiro area in the Hagati valley under *bambo* Howahowa Komba, was assigned to be under Unyanja in Langenburg *boma*. This section was administered from a distant Manda (Wiedhafen) station. The Litembo area of Umatengo was to be administered from Songea district *boma*. Sultanates were placed in charge of the subdivisions. Under the sultans,

there were *jumbes* who were assisted by *nyapararas*.¹³ A sultan was responsible for maintenance of peace and order of his subdivision, clearing roads, constructing bridges, supplying labour, reporting offences, collecting tax and arresting natives who were charged for committing offences. He was also reporting the cases of immigrants wishing to settle in the country, reporting epidemics and generally supervising native affairs of his area.¹⁴ Fundamentally, the early years of the German rule were spent on an attempt to establish political legitimacy in the area and consolidation of colonial state power.

2.1 German Colonial Enterprise in the Matengo Highlands

In the Matengo Highlands, the colonial government issued orders to the *jumbes* to conscript labour which was to be used in the construction of the *boma* at Songea. In 1898 a tax was imposed to generate revenue for the colonial state.¹⁵ The Matengo natives were, therefore, obliged to pay hut tax, usually in foodstuffs, hoes or livestock, because they did not have cash. These items were taken to the German *boma* at Songea. The Matengo people were required to carry heavy loads of lime, *vigae* (roofing materials made from baked clay) and tiles from Umatengo at Mbugu and Hiso industrial sites to Songea, more than a hundred miles away. These materials were to be used in the construction of the Songea District *boma*.¹⁶

In addition to government services, the natives were required to perform duties for their sultans and *jumbes*. The services included hoeing the gardens, building and/or repairing huts, building schools, and contributing food. Disobedience was severely punished.¹⁷ The heavy hand and cruelty

¹⁰ Jahresbericht urber die Entwicklung Von Deutch Ostafrika (Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa) 1901/02

¹¹ Anold Temu, Tanzania Societies and Colonial Invasion 1875-1907, in Martin H.Y.Kaniki (ed.), *Tanzania under Colonial Rule*, London, 1980: 112

¹² John Iliffe, op.cit.1979:117

¹³ Jahresbericht urber die Entwicklung Von Deutch Ostafrika, 1901/02

¹⁴ TNA, SDB. See also Harry W. Basehart, Traditional History and Political Change among the Matengo of Tanzania, *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Apr., 1972) :91

¹⁵ Hut Tax charged on an annual basis from one to four shillings per hut. See also J Ilffe, op. cit. 1979:133

¹⁶ Interviewed; Malekano, Mandiluli.

¹⁷ TNA, SDB MF 38 Volume I, Folio 27

the German government used to administer the natives made the Matengo people angry. In the execution of the administration there were a lot of excesses performed by the *askaris*, *jumbes*, *nyaparas*, *akidas* and the district officers. There were complaints by missionaries at Kigonsera,¹⁸ Lituhi¹⁹ and Litembo missions against excesses of the colonial officers. Some of the abuses included a repression campaign against the natives; this campaign was mainly conducted by the so-called *rugaruga*, ill-disciplined auxiliary troops. They abducted and abused women and children in order to force the Matengo to pay tax and provide labour for public works. They requisitioned food at will for their own use, they burned houses and crops and were quick at opening power at defenseless people. Other excesses included deplorable harsh working conditions including *bakora* slashing during public works. In the eyes of the missionaries these *rugaruga* were altogether the biggest bunch of robbers and permitted themselves in every regard violent encroachments against the people.²⁰ On 8th March 1902 Lt. Albinus sent a letter to the Kigonsera missionaries advising them not to work in Litembo village because he was planning to go back and punish the people. He also added that on this occasion he would not stop at the mission station.²¹

In March 1902 the German administrator in Songea by the name of Captain Richter (*Karonga*²²) sent a message to the Matengo ruler, Mandawa that he wanted to hoist his flag and collect tax from the Wamatengo.²³ But the Matengo people at Litembo refused to pay tax and set on fire the school opened by Benedictine Fr. Johannes in 1901.²⁴ They also refused to provide labour and when the *askari* entered Litembo in

March 1902 the people tore the badge off his uniform and sent him back to Songea.²⁵

Sergeant Muller was dispatched from Songea and arrived at Litembo with fifteen *askaris*. They found about eight hundred armed Matengo with arrows, spears, clubs and axes who withdrew to the nearby hill. Three days later, the German forces appeared and attacked Matengo during what was popularly known as the *Karonga War* of 1902.²⁶ The Matengo people were able to utilize the hilly landscape and the available caves at Ngwindi fortress against the enemy. They lost forty soldiers and finally conceded defeat. The *bambo* Mandawa was deposed and deported to the coast where it is alleged he died.²⁷ Bambo Howahowa of Langiro sultanate was captured and deported to Tukuyu where it is said he was assassinated.²⁸ It was out of this fact that the Matengo were able to withstand German might until 1904 when the Matengo were forced out of the hideouts as they faced a shortage of food.²⁹

Apart from tax collection and labour conscription for public works, the impact of German rule was hardly felt in the Matengo Highlands. This was because the Matengo Highlands was very far from the administrative posts of Songea and Tukuyu, but also transport and communication were poor. Even when the Germans introduced manufactured goods, it was difficult to find their way into the heart of the Matengo Highlands. Traders were unable to establish residences in the heartland of Umatengo. Instead, they established themselves at Mang'ua in Ungoni. From Mang'ua the small-time African and Asian itinerant traders traveled to Umatengo to sell their merchandise.³⁰

Private investors showed little interest in testing the potentials of the Matengo Highlands. Lemann, a German settler, and Henry Packham attempted to establish an estate at Ugano.³¹ Consequently, the German colonial government itself took over

¹⁸ APA, Diary of Peramiho Mission, Vol. 1, 1906.

¹⁹ Parokia ya Lituhi, *Jubilei ya Miaka 100*, 1912-2012, Peramiho Printing Press, 2012:26

²⁰ APA, Diary of Peramiho Mission, Vol. 1, 1907

²¹ Rev. Fr. Sebastian W Napachihi, S.Napachihi, *The Relationship between the German Missionaries of the Congregation of St Benedict from St. Ottilien and the German Colonial Authorities in Tanzania 1887 – 1907*: 157

²² *Karonga* was a nickname given to Captain Richter on account of his brutality unleashed to the local population.

²³ Interviews, Anton Kapinga Matanila,

²⁴ RC Litembo school 1901

²⁵ TNA, Acc. 155, District Book 1, Matengo

²⁶ John Iliffe, op.cit. 1979:117

²⁷ APA, Kigonsera Mission Diary, 1901-1904

²⁸ Interviewed; Howahowa Komba

²⁹ Iliffe, op.cit. 1979:117

³⁰ M.O.Kapinga, op. cit. 1993:61

³¹ TNA, Acc. 155/33. Cf. Anton Matanila Kapinga, interviewed Mbinga 2012

this work in view of future possibilities of white settlement. The government undertook to establish an experimental station for coffee growing at Lipumba which was the seat of the government. The crop failed because it was attacked by borers. Another government experimental center was established at Myangayanga. The plants died because they were planted on an open ground without irrigation.³² It was not very easy to force economic programmes onto the people whom they had not yet politically subdued. The problem was more compounded by lack of colonial manpower and poor transport and communication system. As such, the Matengo people were living an independent political life. Even the claim of the Ngoni to be the overlords of the Wamatengo was proved wrong. Furthermore, *Bambo Makita's* claim to be the paramount chief of the whole Umatengo was yet another myth. This is confirmed by Morgans, the British Officer at ... sometimes later:

*Makita does not govern his people, he left them alone without the Government, the Matengo would rapidly return to a state of savagery and unmanageable and unapproachable. ... It seems Matengo were partially subdued by Angoni.*³³

In fact, it is further alleged that the Germans were seriously short of staff to man the whole district. The few they had, concentrated at the district headquarters at Songea. Many of the sub-districts were manned by local authorities of the *liwali*, *jumbe* and *nyaparas*. They were assisted by the local *askaris* and other assistants. Under German colonial rule, the subordinates were not controlled from the district. Thus, they had freedom to administer excesses to the native population. Furthermore, most of the subordinates did not have the necessary expertise in running the modern administrative functions, like collecting tax and conscripting labour.

The problem of running the local administration was much serious in the stateless societies, the Wamatengo being one practical example.³⁴ That is why, as it was revealed in the preceding

³² TNA, SDB MF 40 Volume II

³³ Ibid. sheet 5-8

³⁴ Iliffe op.cit. :117

discussion, that the Germans did not at the outset (1897) occupy the Matengo Highlands physically. Instead, they summoned Mandawa, a village headman of Litembo village, to Songea where he was handed over a German flag. This situation tallies with the conclusion that the Germans did not actually rule the entire Matengo Highlands through the chosen headmen since they were not recognized by other clans. Each clan was paying allegiance to its clan head. Even the boundaries demarcating the sub-districts were not consistent and extremely fluid. Sometimes, you had a person from Kingua refusing to belong to Litembo when confronted by a tax collector; he could instead, claim to belong to Langiro. But when the reverse became the case, the same individual could claim to belong to the Litembo sub-district.³⁵

2.2 German influence in the Matengo Highlands

The colonial influence in the Matengo Highlands was conceived from the point of view of both ecclesiastical influences through the activities of the missionaries of Benedictine Fathers from Germany and from the German colonialists themselves. The German colonialists had a very short period of governing the Matengo Highlands from 1902 to 1916 when World War One erupted which ultimately ended into liquidation of German rule in the Matengo Highlands. Unlike the generalization made by Father Kevin Haule thus "In the case of Southern Tanzania German colonizers preceded the Missionaries."³⁶ This was not the case in the Matengo highlands where the cross preceded the flag.

Politically, at the time of the advent of colonialism and missionaries, the Matengo society was organized along a clan system. There was no centralized political structure with one person commanding power at the apex of the political hierarchy.³⁷ The approach the Benedictines used

³⁵ TNA Songea District Book MF 40 Sheet 6F, cf. M.Kapinga, op. cit.1993:69

³⁶ Kevin Haule, Mission und Kolonialherrschaft with special reference to the German Benedictine Missions in Southern Tanzania, Paper read to the participants of the Workshop on 100th Anniversary of Maji Maji war, Wuppertal, November 5, 2005 p. 3

³⁷ TNA, Acc. 155 Songea District Book

was that of top down system. Norbert Weber the Abbot Superior for the Benedictine Fathers of St. Ottilien put it thus:

*”The work of missionary Benedictines was not only to convert individuals, but whole peoples”*³⁸

This meant that they had first to convert the ruling class then the rest of the people to follow suit. This system which fared very well in Ufipa,³⁹ Buganda, Rwanda and Burundi by White Fathers missionaries⁴⁰ and utilized very well by Benedictines in Ungoni, did not find a conducive environment in a non-centralized Matengo society. Even the myth that Makita was the paramount chief did not attest to the objective political structure of the Matengo society.⁴¹ The Matengo people were scattered from the East bordering the Ngoni and to the west bordering the Nyasa. This was quite a vast area with a chain of mountain ridges (*lupimbi or ntambo*) to be easily controlled from a single point of either Litembo, Langiro or Lipumba. Each clan occupied a *lupimbi* which was their economic, social and political unit under a clan head. The truth is that the creation of the paramount chief was a British creation in 1926 when an indirect rule system was introduced in the Matengo Highlands.⁴²

In many parts of Africa where missionaries opened enterprises, they normally started by creating settlements of destitute including freed-slaves and orphans.⁴³ This was the case in Ungoni where Fr. Cassian Spiess used to ransom slaves from Arab traders.⁴⁴ This was also the case with the founding Benedictine monastery of Pugu where freed-slaves and orphans became the first

converts.⁴⁵ To the contrary, in the Matengo Highlands there were no slaves to ransom and show it as a demonstration so as to attract other followers. Outcasts and orphans were hard to find. In an event to destitute the structure of the society which was egalitarian and clan based, the society would care for their orphans at the clan level.

The data collected and presented in the preceding discussion suggested that the Benedictine missionaries arrived at the time colonialists were making their entry in the Matengo Highlands. The colonial masters showed severe brutality and harshness to the Matengo during the 1902 rising and during the suppression of Majimaji uprising of 1905. The cordial relationship between the missionaries and the colonial masters made the Matengo look at them as the same oppressors and exploiters.⁴⁶ There are incidences where this alliance between the two groups of Europeans was so pronounced. An incident is cited ; some people in Mkumbi killed a person wrongly. The killers went to confess at the Litembo mission but it came to be discovered that the missionaries reported the case to the Songea Boma. To their surprise, all of them were apprehended by the colonial *askari* and taken to the Songea Boma. They were taken to court charged for a murder case. Some were convicted for the offence and ordered to be hanged and others were sentenced to life imprisonment.⁴⁷

III. HISTORY OF EVANGELIZATION IN THE MATENGO HIGHLANDS BY BENEDICTINES

In the Matengo Highlands the Missionary Benedictines of St. Ottilien order, took the task of evangelizing the area. St. Benedict (480-547A.D.), the founder of the order, puts down three basic activities for such a monastic community namely, prayer (*ora*), work (*labora*) and study (*studia*). Hence the motto of Benedictines namely “*ora et*

³⁸Doerr, *Peramiho 1898-1998 In the Service of the Missionary Church*, 1998.:16. Cf. John Ilffe, op.cit. 218

³⁹Kathleen Smythe, ‘The Creation of the Catholic Fipa Society’, in Spear and Kimambo, op. cit. :129

⁴⁰ Thomas Spear, Towards the History of African Christianity, in T.Spear and I.N.Kimambo (eds.) *East African Expressions of Christianity*, Oxford, 1999.:10-11

⁴¹ Harry W. Basehart, op.cit. 1972:91

⁴² TNA, Acc. 155 Songea District Book

⁴³ Roland Oliver, *Missionary Factor in East Africa*, (2nd ed.), Longmans 1965, :172

⁴⁴ Doerr, op. cit. 1998:15. Fr. Cassian Spiess ransomed former slaves from an Arab trader Rashid bin Masudi living at Mang’ua at 40 rupees per head. These are the first people who came and live in the young mission of Peramiho.

⁴⁵ Fr.Gerold Rupper, (ed.), *Pugu hadi Peramiho: Miaka 100 ya Wamisionari Wabenediktini katika Tanzania, Historia na Masimulizi*, Benedictine Publications Ndanda-Peramiho, 1988:29-30. Cf. Napachihi, op.cit. :84

⁴⁶ Napachihi, op.cit. 157

⁴⁷ Anton Matanila, interviewed by author, 2012

labora” or prayer and work.⁴⁸ Discussing Christianity in the Matengo Highlands, is in reality a discussion on the Missionary Congregation of the Order of St. Benedict (Benediktinerkongregation von St. Ottilien für auswärtige Missionen), with headquarters at St. Ottilien in Upper Bavaria since 1886, which was founded in 1884 in response to Carl Peter's plea for German missionaries in German colonies.⁴⁹

The introduction of Christianity in Southwestern Tanzania in general and the Matengo Highlands in particular is closely linked to the history of colonization of Tanzania by Germany. German East Africa was colonized by the Germans from 1885 to 1918 when the British took it over as a mandate territory in 1919.⁵⁰ During the German colonial era, the Benedictines of St. Ottilien from Germany introduced Christianity to the African population of South Western Tanzania, including the Matengo Highlands. The starting point was in November, 1887 when the first contingent of 14 missionaries left Rome and arrived in Dar-es-Salaam on 28th January 1888. They established their first monastery at Pugu in February 1888.⁵¹ This monastery was, however, destroyed by the Arab rising under Abushiri and Bwanaheri.⁵² From Dar-es-Salaam the Benedictines evangelized southwards to the Ruvuma River where Songea is located. In 1898, the Benedictines opened a station at Peramiho, a place where their Abbey is still in place.

From Peramiho, another station was opened at Kigonsera on 10th October 1899 in the border area between Ungoni and Matengo Highlands.⁵³ But the major interest of Fr. Jannes was to explore the possibility of setting up a mission station in the Matengo Highlands of chief Mandawa.⁵⁴ With this

idea in mind, Kigonsera mission opened up outstations at Litembo, Liparamba and Matiri. More specifically, the main interest of Fr. Maurus Hartmann, the Prefect Apostolic was to transfer the Kigonsera mission to Litembo which was heavily populated, endowed with fertile soil and cool climate.⁵⁵

The mission center or monastery which was established was an agent of change by establishing a spiritual department which was under a priest. This section of the monastery was assigned the work of evangelization so as to develop the convert spiritually to enhance the richness of the individual souls. The department of manual labour was put under the Brothers who were training the young natives in workshops, agriculture and animal husbandry. This section was also intended to supply the provisions for the monastery. The social service department was run by the Sisters/nuns who were running schools, hospitals and domestic science training for girls. This structure was supposed to enhance human development of an all-round person. Their monasteries were to become centers of development and modern civilization in South of Tanzania.⁵⁶

3.1 Benedictine Missionaries in the Matengo Highlands

From a very obscure beginning, the new Benedictine missionary congregation slowly grew from its first site in *Reichenbach* and then to *Emming*, later called St. Ottilien in Germany. The foundation developed into what we know now as the Congregation of the Benedictine Fathers of St. Ottilien. While still in *Reichenbach* Father Amrhein slowly included women in his foundation.⁵⁷ The Benedictines of St. Ottilien were given Papal permission in 1887 to work in the Southern half of the Apostolic Prefecture of South Zanzibar; in the same year the ecclesiastical

⁴⁸ www.peramiho.org/en/abbey/history.html

⁴⁹ Per Hassing, German Missionaries and the Maji Maji Rising: *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1970), :374

⁵⁰ Versailles Peace Treaty 1919, Article 119

⁵¹ Fr. Gerold Rupper, *Wabedektini huko Pugu: Chanzo cha Kanisa Katoliki Dar-es-Salaam*, Ndanda-Peramiho: Benedictine Publications Ndanda Peramiho, 2005: 6-9

⁵² Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*. Cambridge University Press, UK. 2000, :529

⁵³ Doerr, op.cit. 1998:19

⁵⁴ Ibid:19

⁵⁵ Archives of Peramiho Abbey, (hereinafter APA) Diary of Kigonsera Mission, Vol. I, 1901

⁵⁶ Method Kilaini, *The Church in Africa and Tanzania in Particular*, TEC, 1998:4 where examples of Ndanda and Peramiho monasteries are given.

⁵⁷ Sister Mary Bellarmine Bernas, OSB. Our Founder Father Andreas Amrhein, OSB

boundaries were changed to conform to the administrative boundaries of the colony.⁵⁸ The Benedictines started their work in Dar es Salaam in 1890 and gradually expanded until, by 1905, they were working in the following main centers: Kurasini (founded in 1894), Lukuledi (1895), Nyangao (1896), Tosamaganga (1897), Madibira (1897), Peramiho (1898), Kigonsera (1899), Kwiwo (1902), Rwiba (1903), and Lindi.⁵⁹

The German Benedictines did not question Germany's right to be in East Africa, and they appreciated the protection the government gave them and the improvements in communication it afforded. They too sought a trustful, confident cooperation with the administration while at the same time, trying to maintain their freedom and integrity. They stated plainly that, according to Catholic teaching, the purpose of the mission was to Christianize, not to Europeanize the Africans, and they took strong exception to the following statement by Carl Peters:

*“There are only two ways to deal with the black people. Either one submits to be their servant and makes them "happy" through schools and education. In this case one does not touch their country and founds no colonies in Africa. Or one seeks for oneself a home on the black continent and in that case, one trains the indigenous people through discipline and work, seeing oneself in principle as a conqueror. The latter was the way of Africa's rulers in antiquity, in our day it is the way of the Boers -- one way or the other! In any case it is fateful to choose the vagueness of the middle way, which, surely, will ultimately lead to massacres and destruction.”*⁶⁰

Basing on the monastic approach, the evangelization of the Matengo Highlands cannot be discussed without linking it to Peramiho where the Benedictine mission center was established in 1898. The usual practice of the Benedictines was to open up outstations to feed the monastery. One of its outstation was Kigonsera on the border

between the Ngoni and the Matengo people. However, the majority of the population was Wamatengo who were believed to have inhabited most of this area before the invasion of the Ngoni from Mozambique and Nyasaland. It did not take long; this outstation of Kigonsera was elevated to a full-fledged mission station with several outstations. The most outstanding outstations were Litembo, Matiri, Liparamba and Lituhi on the shore of Lake Nyasa. The founder of the Parish mission was Fr. Innozenz Handle OSB in 1899.⁶¹

The formation of Kigonsera parish was preceded by preparatory factors which essentially included political and ecclesiastical ones. On the political sphere, there was the agenda concerning the consolidation of German colonialism in the Matengo Highlands which was not yet effectively occupied. This consolidation was conducted by attempting to put to an end the Ngoni attacks over the Matengo people. It was envisaged by the Germans that in order to effectively govern Southwestern Tanzania they had to suppress the Ngoni war lords who were believed to be constantly harassing the tribes around there. For the Matengo to be organized for colonial enterprise, peace and order had to be established in the first place. As discussed in the above argument, there was very close alliance between the German Benedictines and the German colonial masters. It was not by accident during the suppression of the Matengo rising of 1902, the German troops on their way to Litembo, rested at Kigonsera mission and after punishing the Wamatengo, the troops again passed by Kigonsera mission where they were entertained by the missionaries.⁶² In such collaboration between the Benedictine missionaries and the German colonialists, the Matengo could not differentiate between them. The Matengo perceived all of them as oppressors and hence, hard to trust the Benedictine missionaries.

The other scenario was in 1905 when there was an outbreak of the Majimaji uprising which left both Peramiho and Kigonsera mission stations in

⁵⁸Franz Solan Schappi, *Die katholische Missionschule im ehemaligen Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Paderborn, 1937), 177.

⁵⁹ *Die katholischen Missionen*, 34, 2 (November 1905), 50.

⁶⁰ Wehrmeister, *Vor dem Sturm*, 253; Wehrmeister quoted from *Deutsch Ostafrikanischen Zeitung*, June 17, 1905.

⁶¹ TNA, Annual Report 1901/02. Cf. see also Parokia ya Lituhi, *Jubilei ya Miaka 100 – 1912-2012*, 2012:8-9

⁶²Napachihi, *op.cit.* 157

ashes, missionaries were murdered coldblooded and the remaining missionaries escaped through Lake Nyasa to save their lives.⁶³ This Majimaji uprising was cracked by the German authorities,⁶⁴ an action which convinced scholars to be moved by speculation that these mission stations were attacked because there was no fundamental difference between the missionaries and the German rulers in the eyes of indigenous population.⁶⁵

The situation was restored to peace, and Major Johannes, the German commander, granted permission that missionaries could move to Songea by joining a military column going to Songea. Upon reaching Songea, they were assigned the building of a former government school as living quarters.⁶⁶ The government brought supplies to both Peramiho and Kigonsera missions which included food and mass wine. This again showed the strong relationship and affection that existed between the German colonial authorities and the Benedictine missionaries who were also from German. The missionaries on the other hand worked tirelessly to organize famine relief efforts by helping to buy food in Umatengo and Lake Nyasa. This food was sent to the heavily hunger stricken population in the areas where Majimaji had been fought, notably in Ungoni. In these areas, the German forces had used scorched-earth policy to deal with Wangoni warriors.⁶⁷ In this situation, the German forces used hunger as a weapon for suppressing the Wangoni resistance. They destroyed homes and food granaries, crops and animals were all burned, food stocks were confiscated, people were prevented from planting their fields.⁶⁸ The situation was very deplorable.⁶⁹ In the Matengo Highlands the situation was a bit different in comparison to Ungoni since the participation of the Wamatengo in the Majimaji uprising was very

minimal. The Matengo enjoyed relative peace, involved in production hence had reasonable supplies of provisions.

The second factor for the establishment of the parish mission at Kigonsera is found from the ecclesiastical point of view. By this, time the Matengo Highlands was free from any other religious denomination, neither Christian nor Islam.⁷⁰ However, along the Lake Nyasa shore, there was the UMCA mission operating there. It was therefore the intention of the Benedictines to check the expansion of the Anglicans into the Matengo Highlands. It was not, therefore, by accident that the Benedictines later in the year 1924 established an outstation at Nangombo as a buffer zone,⁷¹ a site in the mountain ranges very close to the UMCA station of Mbamba-Bay along Lake Nyasa which was very close to the UMCA headquarters at Likoma Island in Lake Nyasa.

The name Kigonsera is the name of a person who received the first missionaries.⁷² The missionaries who settled at Kigonsera included one priest called Innozenz and one Brother called Ivo. The Brother started constructing buildings using the locally available raw materials of trees, bamboo, tree ropes and grass thatch. Water supply was coming from a source at a nearby mountain. The first building was for housing the missionaries and the second building was for the church services. The local people provided labour in the construction work and in the garden which was part of the missionary enterprise at the mission. In 1902 a bigger church was needed due to an increase of the converts. At this juncture, the main raw materials were then bricks and tiles for roofing and the floor. Fortunately, Kigonsera was rich in clay soil which was used for bricks and tiles making. As a result of this innovation, in 1904 Kigonsera mission got a permanent church and school buildings.

⁶³ S.Napachihi, *ibid*: 170-172

⁶⁴ Jahresbericht urber die Entwicklung Von Deutch Ostafrika (Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa)1907/08

⁶⁵ Interview Anton Kapinga Matanila (86) interviewed on 27.08.2012 at Mbinga town

⁶⁶ Doerr, *op.cit.* : 50

⁶⁷ Napachihi, *op.cit.* :179

⁶⁸ Doerr, *op. cit.* 1998:55

⁶⁹ MB 11, 1906/07 :145

⁷⁰ Mihanjo, *op.cit.*:24, refers to the Matengo Highlands as 'a no man's land.'

⁷¹ Jimbo Katoliki, *Ustawi wa Enjili Jimbo la Mbinga Kuelekea Mwaka 2000*, Peramiho Printing Press, 1997:86

⁷² Parokia ya Lituhi, *op. cit.* 2012:8

In order to win followers, Fr. Innozenz effectively applied the Amrhein *Magna Carta* of 1883 which insisted on setting schools in all monastic mission stations.⁷³ A *Bush school* was opened at Kigonsera as means to change the mentality of the young people; older people were hard to change.⁷⁴ The school taught prayers, reading, religious instructions, manual work and good behavior. The education provided was very elementary with emphasis on conversion. That is why religious teachings played a very special role in the school; even the environment of the school was to impress the sense of religion to the school children. The school was decorated with crosses, pictures of saints and the behavior of teachers had to demonstrate holiness.⁷⁵ Presents in the form of cloth, sweets and other goods were given to the pupils to encourage them to attend school. There was a big expansion of the Kigonsera mission as is revealed in the government annual report of 1902/03 which shows that there was one priest, two Brothers, eight Christians, 311 Catechumens, seven people were baptized, one school, 16 pupils, one boarding school, twelve pupils of boarding school and several catechists.⁷⁶ The number of pupils grew to 28 in 1903, and it further grew to 40 in 1904. In early 1905 the number was 113 pupils in the two schools.⁷⁷ Fr. Johannes opened a number of Bush schools at Litetema (Amni Makolo), Lihutu (Lipumba), Ndembo, Lukarasi, Muhurumusi, Mihango, Mahanda, Masimeri, Litorongi, Lihale, Kitai, Lupilo, Mkako and Ndolonela.⁷⁸

Fr. Innozenz faced a language barrier in communicating with the converts. To solve this problem, he took trouble to learn the vernacular Kimatengo language. In delivering his Christian faith instructions, Fr. Innozenz used Kimatengo in order to enable the local people to understand. In other instances, he had to employ interpreters who knew both Kiswahili and Kimatengo. In July 1901, Fr. Johannes replaced Fr. Innozenz as

superior of Kigonsera mission. He emphasized school expansion but also opened up outstations in the Matengo Highlands.⁷⁹ The most important ones were Litembo, Liparamba, Matiri and Lituhi along the Lake Nyasa shore. Bush schools, as a strategy of getting converts, were opened in all outstations. At Litembo with the approval of chief Mandawa, a church was opened together with a school in 1901.⁸⁰ A catechist Wilhelm was in charge of the school with the responsibility of giving catechism instructions.

The brief period of the outbreak of the uprising in Umatengo against the German invasion in 1902 and the Majimaji uprising in 1905 to 1907, halted the missionary work in the Matengo Highlands. Kigonsera was briefly put to a standstill, while the Litembo church and school were all demolished. The Missionaries of Kigonsera and those of Peramiho vacated their stations through Wiedhafen to Dar-es-Salaam. The missionaries came back after the German troops had succeeded to suppress the risings. The vigor that came after the Majimaji uprising succeeded in opening up new schools in Umatengo proper. The first school was opened at Mhagawa Asili in 1909 boasting 170 pupils under teacher Kilian Komba. Another school was opened at Kipapa in the same year. In 1910 another school was opened at Kindimba whose teachers were Yakob Pokela, Henrik and Paul Nombo Kandosa.⁸¹ The Matiri School was opened in 1911. Additional schools in the Matengo Highlands were built at Maguu and Mikalanga to forestall the advance of the UMCA mission from Lake Nyasa into the Matengo Highlands. The demand for the teacher – catechists - was so high because they were needed to staff the ever-increasing number of schools. In this situation, gifted pupils were spared at the mission in Kigonsera to get more instructions as future teachers.

To manage all these outstations in the event of the shortage of personnel, the superior devised a method of using the boys who excelled in the Bush

⁷³ The Missionary Magna Charta of Fr. Andrew Amrhein in Napachihi op.cit. 1998:65

⁷⁴ Napachihi, 1998:84 cf ibid.

⁷⁵ Napachihi, ibid. 1998:84

⁷⁶ Annual Report 1902/03

⁷⁷ Doerr, op. cit. 1998:31

⁷⁸ Eginald E. Mihanjo, op.cit. :30

⁷⁹ APA, 1901

⁸⁰ APA, 1901, Ibid.

⁸¹ Aloys Makupe Turuka, Manuscript of Parokia Litembo Historia na Maendeleo yake (n.d.)

schools as catechists. Bishop Gallus Steiger put it this way,

“It is quite obvious that we want first of all catechists i.e. people whose only is to convert non-Christians by their own example and by their instructions, further to instruct Christians, children as well as adults, in their religion, to visit the sick and take care that no one of them dies without the last sacraments, to watch over the discipline, the morals and the customs of the Christians: in brief to be the representatives of the missionary in the village. But all things taken into consideration ... what we want, is the teacher catechist”⁸²

The most popular catechists of Kigonsera mission included Yoseph Nchimbi of Litetema, Florian Mbena of Kigonsera,⁸³ Constantine Akitanda of Matiri⁸⁴ and Wilhem of Litembo.⁸⁵ In order to easily pay visits to these outstations, the Superior insisted the converts open their outstations by voluntarily constructing roads and bridges to facilitate communication.⁸⁶ In most cases, missionaries travelled on foot to offer services to the outstations or sometimes by donkeys or motorcycles. The terrain of the Matengo Highlands is not very friendly to the use of bicycles. During Christmas and Passover festivals, converts from all outstations assembled at Kigonsera for prayers.

The success of the Kigonsera mission was the founding of a new mission at Lituhi along the shore of Lake Nyasa. However, the most crucial achievement in the Matengo Highlands was witnessed on 28th July, 1914 when the Litembo outstation was elevated to the rank of a parish mission. The founding superior was Fr. Ludger Breindl. The choice of Litembo was justified by the following reasons. First, it was claimed by the missionaries to be in the center of the existing schools. The schools included Maguu, Mikalanga, Lundumato, Nangombo, Kindimba, Lihiso,

Mkumbi, Kipapa, Matuta, Lugari, Mbugu, Hagati, Ugano, Unyoni, Ngima, Magingu, Mapera, Mbuji, Mpapa, Manzeye and Litembo itself.⁸⁷ With this fleet of schools and outstations, the Litembo mission station was very strategic as a buffer zone against the expansion of the UMCA from the Lake Nyasa shore. Secondly, it is said that Litembo was the most densely populated area in the Matengo Highlands. Thirdly, Litembo had a healthy climate and fertile soil. There is also a claim going around that most of the places where the Benedictines established mission stations were rich in natural resources. That is why the parishes in Southwestern Tanzania have nicknames reflecting the type of available resources. Peramiho was referred to as the church of whisky, Kigonsera, Litembo, Liparamba, Tingi and Litumba were referred to as churches of gold. Lituhi was referred to as a church of diamonds, and Nangombo as a church of uranium and gold. Lundumato was popularly nicknamed a *chatu* church.⁸⁸ This suggests that, among other factors, for the choice of mission station, consideration of the available natural resources was very paramount.

The work of construction of the new station commenced with the focus on essential buildings which included the church and the house for missionaries. Because World War I had been declared in German East Africa by August 8, 1914, the Brothers from Germany could not come to assist Fr. Ludger in the construction work at Litembo mission station. According to Doerr, through the use of his energy, hard work and unskilled local labour, Fr. Ludger was able to accomplish a makeshift church and other important buildings using sun-dried bricks.⁸⁹ In reality, without the local people, the work of erecting a new mission station at Litembo would not have been possible without the commitment of the local people. The work of building Litembo station was labour intensive. The making of the

⁸² Quoted by Napachihi, 1998:87

⁸³ Parokia, *ibid.* 2009:9

⁸⁴ Benjamin Akitanda a retired teacher and a son of the late Constantine Akitanda (+1964) interviewed, 2013

⁸⁵ Doerr, *op.cit.* 1998:85

⁸⁶ Fr. Cassian Spiess used to come to Kigonsera to encourage people to voluntarily work for God.

⁸⁷ TNA, Acc.155/23/10, Mission schools, cf. Mihanjo, *op.cit.* 200:156

⁸⁸ Fr. Timothy Ndunguru is a parish priest of Kigonsera. He also served at the Abbazia of Peramiho in the early 2000s. cf. interview with Mzee Matanila who also subscribed to this reasoning.

⁸⁹ Doerr, *op.cit.* :80

bricks was quite a tedious work involving many people. The place where the bricks were made was some hundreds metres away. The other building materials included grass for thatching, tree poles, bamboo poles and tree ropes were not available within reach. The reeds - *matete* and the tree poles were obtained from Litembo about 1½ kilometres away from Litembo. The bamboo poles and *miyombo* tree ropes were at Kingua about 8 kilometres away from the Litembo station.⁹⁰ To get all these building materials, mobilization of labour was very crucial.

The work of construction of the mission station was coordinated by the Father Superior, but the real execution involved many people whose contribution cannot, in any way, pass without acknowledgement. The catechists from different outstations were very much committed to making this noble assignment well done. Under their catechists, all the outstations were supposed to contribute in the construction of the mission in materials and prayers. The schools were also involved in the construction by way of providing labour in the construction process. Among the lesson emphasized in the mission schools was manual labour, which, apart from making the pupils learn the different skills, they were also using their manual labour to assist in the construction to supplement their upkeep. They made the bricks, cleared the ground, carried building materials to the building site, gathered grass for thatching, drew water to the building site and made prayers for God to protect the project. The catechumens of the Litembo mission attended their Christian instructions at Litembo where they had to ‘camp’ for some months. Camps were a makeshift hut-residence (*lisekela*) constructed by reeds/*matete* walls with grass/*mapelele* thatch. The beddings (*mandupa*) which the catechumens used in the *lisekela* included beds which were made of wooden poles erected in rectangular shape; ropes were used as the supporting gear. Then a mat made of reeds (*ndengati*) was used as a bedspread and a bark cloth from *amtaba* tree (*ndenda*) or an animal skin were used as bed sheets. They came with their food of maize flour and beans and

stayed for a number of months. Apart from spiritual instructions, the catechumens provided labour for the construction of the mission station and other mission activities. To qualify for baptismal, communion or confirmation, a catechumen had to exhibit excellence, not only in spiritual instructions, but also to excel in manual work.⁹¹ During the feasts of Christmas and Passover, all Christians across the mission had to come to Litembo for prayers. Before communion, a Christian was supposed to make confession in front of a priest, who would finally instruct the convert to make *malipizi*/repentance in a form of prayers and manual labour which included working at the fields/*shamba*, construction site and gardens. The people around Litembo were also involved in, not only in the construction work, but also in other mission activities of keeping gardens, poultry, piggery, cooking and cleanliness in exchange with simple presents like second hand cloth, food stuffs, salt and other foreign goods.

The Superior of Litembo mission Fr. Ludger is remembered for introducing wheat growing at Litembo and spreading it to the entire Matengo Highlands. Fruit growing and tree planting were other inventions the Superior introduced in the Matengo Highlands. It is very common in the Matengo Highlands to hear such versions of European fruits such plums, peaches, passions, oranges, avocado, vines and *mioyo*.⁹² While the Superior of Litembo mission introduced the afforestation exercise around the mission station by planting different types of trees (eucalyptus, cypress, camellia, pines, and fir trees which were most common), the people around Litembo used to work in these fruit orchards and in planting and caring of the trees for small payments.

Evangelization was another challenge to Fr. Ludger at Litembo mission due to three major factors according to the Superior. The first problem was the lack of personnel to spread the message of God, taking into consideration the vastness of the area covering the Litembo mission. Litembo mission had a big number of outstations

⁹¹Cosmas Masingi, *ibid*.

⁹² Jacob Hyera, Kilimo Mbinga interviewed, 2013

⁹⁰ Cosmas Masingi interviewed at Kingua-Litembo, 2013

and Bush schools under its jurisdiction. The second problem in facilitating evangelization was communication barrier in terms of language. The Superior did not understand Kimatengo while the Wamatengo on their side did not understand Kiswahili. There was also a transport problem to enable the Superior to visit the outstations and the schools. This problem was much more compounded by the nature of the Matengo Highlands terrain which is mountainous. The third problem, according to the superior, was conservatism and dominance of paganism and witchcraft in its original form among the people of the Matengo Highlands. In some areas the missionaries were refused permission to build their stations. A good example was when the missionaries were refused at Ngima then they proceeded to Mkumbi and Lundumato.⁹³

To solve the problem of personnel, there were people who were employed as catechists, cooks, cleaners and other helpers whose remuneration was by way of presents.⁹⁴ As for the language problem, Fr. Ludger embarked on rigorous study of Kimatengo language to allow him to communicate with his converts. The transport problem was solved by encouraging each outstation to voluntarily construct a road to connect with another outstation and vice versa. The problem of conservatism, paganism and witchcraft was difficult to solve. Until Fr. Ludger left Litembo in September 1916 when he was deported by the British, he showed frustration due to the people of the Matengo Highlands failing to cooperate with the missionaries.⁹⁵ This frustration was also shown by Fr. Johannes, the Superior of Kigonsera. The feeling of these two Superiors over the Matengo Highlands created an impression that the Matengo Highlands people were anti-Christian. To the contrary, there were young people who willingly followed the influence of schools and of the mission. These young people were allowed by their parents to follow up Christian instructions and finally joined the new religion. So, there was such an increase of

missionary activity in the Matengo Highlands. However, the outbreak of World War I in 1914 interrupted most of the Benedictine activities in the Matengo Highlands. In 1916 all German missionaries were interned and deported to Europe while the Litembo mission was used as the administrative headquarters of British administration. They left the 18 schools with 4000 pupils to the older pupils who were nominally paid. There were 500 Christians who were baptized, 300 communicants every Sunday and 2000 adults following instructions in the Christian faith.⁹⁶ The Catechists did a commendable work during the absence of the missionaries. Occasionally, the White Fathers were visiting them to provide spiritual services to the converts in the Matengo Highlands.

3.2 Benedictines Missionaries after majimaji

The focus of Benedictines in the post Majimaji uprising period appeared to be expansion into what was known as Umatengo proper with its center at Litembo. This was an area which boasted the following advantages.⁹⁷ It was firstly believed to be the center of existing mission schools of Litembo/Mhagawa, Kindimba, Kipapa, Matiri, Maguu and Mikalanga which by then were controlled from the Kigonsera mission.⁹⁸ The second advantage of this area was a site Fr. Johannes had constructed the first outstation in 1901 but was burned down by the 1902 uprising against the German invading forces. Thirdly, the Matengo Highlands were the most populated area of the country. Being mountainous, this location boasted of having a very cool and healthy climate suitable for European missionaries. The fifth advantage was the area having very fertile soil for production of a variety of crops. Lastly, it was suggested that the need to open up the Matengo Highlands was strategically aimed at countering

⁹³ Anton Matanila interviewed, cf. Fr. Alex Kenyata, *Maisha ya Wamatengo Kabla ya Ujio wa Wamisionari Wabenediktini*, 1999:30

⁹⁴ Benjamin Akitanda interviewed

⁹⁵ APA, 1914, *Chronicles of Litembo*, cf. Doerr, op.cit. 1998:81

⁹⁶ Doerr, *ibid.* :81

⁹⁷ Bishop Spreiter visited the Matengo Highlands and was very impressed the people, land and terrain

⁹⁸ Jahresbericht urber die Entwicklung Von Deutch Ostafrika (Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa) 1908/09 and also Doerr op.cit. :79

the advance of UMCA from their stronghold along the Lake Nyasa shore.⁹⁹

3.3 World War I in the Matengo Highlands and Benedictines activities

The evangelization expansion was, however, curtailed by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. This war ravaged Litembo in September 1916 when the British troops arrived from Lake Nyasa.¹⁰⁰ The other thing worth mentioning among the Matengo was that World War I physically affected the Matengo. The British soldiers from Nyasaland invaded the German *bomas* and the mission stations in the Matengo Highlands area.¹⁰¹ The German priests at Litembo and Kigonsera mission stations were interned and finally deported. Kigonsera mission was made a military hospital and Litembo mission was made an administrative post for the British government.¹⁰²

Fr. Ludger, the superior of the Litembo mission was interned by the British authorities. He left back 18 schools with 4000 pupils and 2000 adults following instructions in the Christian faith.¹⁰³ The British established themselves in the mission centers changing the infrastructure into uses they thought of. Litembo mission in this aftermath became an administrative headquarters of the British administration, while Kigonsera became a British military post. On the other hand, the Benedictine station at Peramiho was made a British military hospital in South Western Tanzania.¹⁰⁴ German Benedictine Fathers at Litembo and Kigonsera mission stations in the Matengo Highlands were interned and finally deported to German after World War I, hence creating a serious shortage of missionary personnel.¹⁰⁵

The end of the First World War marked the end of German rule in German East Africa. In the

Matengo Highlands German rule ended in September 1916 when the British troops occupied Litembo and Kigonsera Benedictine mission stations. Concerning the German missionaries, their sphere of influence was safeguarded by an agreement of allies in France. Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 resolved that ex-enemy missions should be replaced by the same denominations from the allied powers or neutral power.¹⁰⁶ The orphan Benedictine church in South Western Tanzania was now entrusted to the White Fathers; most of them were French nationals, Luxemburger, Dutchman, two Belgians and a Canadian.¹⁰⁷ Fr. Pierre Regent, a French member of Montfort missionaries, was at Peramiho as chaplain of a military hospital from September to December 1917. Fr. David Roy, a Canadian White Father, was a chaplain at Kigonsera military post from February to August 1917. Fr. Camile De Chatonville, a White Father, stayed at Kigonsera as superior up to 1919. Between September 1917 and April 1918 Fr. Camile stayed at Litembo but was frustrated by what he purported as lack of response by the Wamatengo.¹⁰⁸ A Dutch-born White Father Joseph Laane was appointed Apostolic Administrator of Dar-es-Salaam in 1917. In 1919 he was named as administrator of Lindi Apostolic Prefect and he was able to draw in other White Fathers to assist him to care for the Benedictine missions.

Father David Roy came back in April 1919 and stayed at Kigonsera before he moved to Litembo. He removed the British administrative post from the mission buildings and his consistent hard work was able to revive the Christian Community of Litembo. This was the most badly affected mission as a result of the removal of the Benedictine mission.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Kamati, *ibid.* : 64. See also TNA AB.635, Secretariat File 1920. A telegraphic conversation between the Governor of Tanganyika Territory and the Foreign Office in London – Downing Street on the German Mission property.

¹⁰⁷TNA AB.4 (1733) Annual Reports Southern Area, Songea District Report 1920, Since this sphere was occupied by White Fathers, the British authority refused UMCA mission permission to have hill station in Litembo sub-District.

¹⁰⁸ TNA AB.4 (1733) Annual Reports Southern Area, Songea District Report 1920

¹⁰⁹ S.Rweyemamu and T.Msambure, *The Catholic Church in Tanzania*, 1989: 17

⁹⁹ TNA, AB.4(1733) Annual Reports Southern Area, 1919/1920. Cf. Mihanjo, *op. cit.* 2001,:24

¹⁰⁰Kamati *op.cit.* 1998: 62-63

¹⁰¹Kamati, *ibid.* 1998:63

¹⁰²Doerr, *op.cit.* 1998:84

¹⁰³ Doerr, 1998:81

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 1998:84-86

¹⁰⁵ Doerr, cf. Kamati :66

3.4 Benedictine Missionaries during Post World War 1 Period

In 1922 the British authorities agreed to the return of all ex-enemy missionaries and getting back all their property. The Benedictines came back but they left the Vicariate of Dar-es-Salaam in the hands of Swiss Capuchins and the Consolata Fathers and went to the South where they had been working before the war. They concentrated on the Southern Highlands, notably in Ndanda and Peramiho.¹¹⁰ In 1922 the Swiss Benedictine Order were allowed to come back to South Western Tanzania (Prefect Apostolic Gallus Steigler and Fr. Xaver) to take charge in the abandoned German Benedictines missions.¹¹¹ The Swiss Benedictines worked hard to bring to life the already dilapidated church as an aftermath of the world war. Being a Swiss Benedictine and a Superior of the diocese who stayed very long and demonstrated politeness to the indigenous people, Gallus Steigler was likely to win the Matengo people. This was contrary to the German missionaries who usually demonstrated arrogance, prejudice and segregation to the indigenous people. That is why the German missionaries had always lamented the non-cooperation of the Matengo people because the Germans were not well received by the Matengo people who were culturally very inquisitive to strangers' behaviour. If a stranger showed arrogance, the Matengo would simply ignore him and would never at all cooperate.¹¹² It was very unfortunate to the Germans missionary to refuse to learn the socio-philosophical underpinnings of the Matengo society.

Though it is evident that Mandawa the Matengo chief showed acceptance to erect a mission station at his place, when the Prefect Apostolic Maurus Hartmann visited him in 1901,¹¹³ and a catechist was placed to start a school and to give

instructions in catechism, it turned out that the Matengo Highlands was not favourable for a mission.¹¹⁴ The reasons given for not being favourable are that there were succession disputes; there were mutual accusations of witchcraft and Fr. Johannes felt that the Wamatengo were not promising to be Christians. Further to these explanations, the British authority claimed that Wamatengo were exceedingly superstitious; they practice witchcraft and they often used poison ordeal and that Matengo witchdoctor ate human flesh by exhuming dead bodies or obtained his desire by murder. The mission at Litembo had strange stories of their behavior.¹¹⁵

The work of reviving the collapsing church was said to have involved the local catechists including Constantine James Akitanda of Matiri outstation¹¹⁶ and Petri Ndunguru at the Litembo Parish.¹¹⁷ The main task by this time was to revive the decaying schools since education was the major concern of the missionaries. "*Kusoma*" Christianity was a distinctive form of Christianity.¹¹⁸ But on the other hand, this enthusiasm was curtailed by the regulation imposed by the British administration that there could be no opening of new schools.¹¹⁹ The explanation for this regulation might be on the account that the Roman Catholic was so aggressive since education was to them synonymous to Christianity. This attitude posed a threat to the existence of the Anglican British missionaries in the Lake Nyasa region. This can be substantiated by the decision of the Songea District Political Officer J.C.Cassian who gave permission to UMCA to establish their schools in villages where German Berlin and Lutheran mission had schools.¹²⁰

¹¹⁰ S.Rweyemamu *ibid.* : 17. See also John Baur, *Two Thousand Years of Christianity in Africa*, Second Edition, Paulines Publications Africa 2009:233

¹¹¹ Kamati *op.cit.*: 72

¹¹² Fr. Timoth Ndunguru, Interviewed July 2013. Cf. Abbot Lambert, interviewed in June 2013 indicated that it is easier to live with the Matengo people than the Wangoni.

¹¹³ Doerr, *ibid.* :32

¹¹⁴ Jahresbericht urber die Entwicklung Von Deutch Ostafrika, 1901/02

¹¹⁵ TNA Acc. 155, Songea District Book

¹¹⁶ Interviewed Benjamin Akitanda a last born son of the catechist (August 2013)

¹¹⁷ Kamati *op.cit.* :74

¹¹⁸ Doerr , *op.cit.* :96

¹¹⁹ TNA AB.16 Part 1733/15, Annual Report – Songea District 1923

¹²⁰TNA *Ibid.*

3.5 The Missionary Work in the Matengo Highlands 1919-1950s

One observation to be made in the Matengo Highlands during this period is the fact that German missionaries were the sole providers of social services. This is testified by the 1900 Agreement between the German government and Bishop Maurus Hartmann which required the missions to educate the minor government officials and to expand and modify their curricula to meet the purposes of government to get officials. In return the government was not to establish schools where mission schools were already in place. Further, the government announced to support the mission schools which educated government officials by providing teaching equipment free of charge.¹²¹ World War I, therefore, hit Matengo very hard in terms of social services after the departure of the German missionaries. This is true because the German missionaries were not wanted by the British war victors and that is why they were interned and finally deported to Germany. All these challenges, notwithstanding, it is argued that during this period of British rule in the Matengo Highlands there was a phenomenal expansion of Christianity.¹²²

3.6 The Return of German Benedictine Missionaries

In 1926, the German Benedictines of St. Ottilien were admitted to come back to Tanganyika. During this phase the German Benedictines devoted much of their effort to rehabilitate the dilapidated infrastructures which were destroyed during their absence upon being interned by British authorities due to the First World War. The Tanganyika government agreed to the return of the ex-enemy and getting back all their property.¹²³ When the German Benedictine Fathers came back in 1926, they left the Vicariate

of Dar-es-Salaam to the Swiss Capuchins and the Consolata Fathers and went to the South where they had been working before the war. They concentrated on the southern Highlands and on the districts of Lindi comprising Peramiho and Ndanda.¹²⁴

The return of the German missionaries had the impact on the increase of personnel in the Matengo Highlands as is reflected in missionary social service provision.¹²⁵ The number of priests and brothers showed a steady increase in the Matengo Highlands. Moreover, the increase in personnel led to the increase of mission stations. In 1927 the Kigonsera mission embarked on the establishment of another station at Liparamba. The Litembo mission station undertook to establish a daughter mission station at Nangombo in the hills close to Lake Nyasa. The other important mission station was established at Mbinga in 1935. An additional mission station at this period was established at Matiri in 1937 from the Kigonsera mission. It is argued that at Matiri it was anticipated that the Benedictines would launch a large-scale gold mining in the area.¹²⁶ In the southern part of the Matengo Highlands Tingi was established as a separate mission station from Litembo in 1937.

These missions were founded from Kigonsera mission. Mbangamao in 1964 and St. Killian Mbinga in 1997 both were founded from Mbinga mission. The other missions at Nangombo 1933, Tingi 1937, Maguu 1949, Lundumato 1959, Mkumbi 1962, Kindimba 1998, Kitula 2005, Miyau 2011, Wukiro 2013 were founded from Litembo mission. Mpapa 1957 and Mikalanga 1966 were founded from Maguu. Mpepo 2002 founded from Tingi. Mpepai 1994 founded from Mbangamao.¹²⁷

Simultaneously with this development and expansion of Christianity in South-Western Tanzania, there was a phenomenal increase of

¹²¹Heinke, The Report of negotiation with Hartmann, November 23rd, 1900. Heinke, a Secretary for Schools and Mission Affairs in 1900 negotiated with Bishop Hartmann leading to Benedictine Agreement.

¹²² Doerr, op.cit. 1998:85

¹²³ The Paris Peace Treaty 1919, op.cit. cf. TNA, AB, No. 3197, op.cit.

¹²⁴Rweyemamu and Msambure, op.cit. :17.

¹²⁵ M.O.Kapinga, Religion and Development in the Matengo Highlands from 1899 to 198, PhD Thesis, UDOM, 2014:401

¹²⁶Doerr, op.cit. 134

¹²⁷Kamati ya Mawasiliano, *Jimbo la Mbinga na Askofu Mstaafu, Jubilei Pacha*, Peramiho Printing Press, 2012:21

Missionary Benedictine Sisters from 1926. In every mission station, the Benedictines opened and built hospitals and dispensaries to attend to the sick people around. Services in the health centers were offered by sisters who began work with prayers regardless whether the patients were Christians or not. Where there were serious cases of illness the sisters used to baptize the sick people lest they die before joining the kingdom of heaven. The Sisters were also in charge of kitchen, garden and general cleanliness of the mission centers. Together with the Sisters there were Brothers, who were in charge of the workshops; planned and designed mission buildings, supervised work in the fields and animal husbandry. Sisters and brothers on some occasions, assisted in giving religious instructions to different groups of converts. In the final analysis, the social services they provided served as a strategy of conversion of the pagans.

Due to the mistrust of the German missionaries by the British government, the Swiss missionaries had to shoulder all top administrative posts in South western Tanzania.¹²⁸ At the headquarters of the Abbey Nullius of Peramiho, Gallus Steiger, a Swiss national missionary, was the Abbot-Bishop. At the Abbey itself the prominent lieutenants were all Swiss nationals. The prior at the same time, Vicar General and Parish Priest, the Sub-Superior, the Procurator, the headmaster of the Peramiho schools and the Educational Secretary were all Swiss nationals. The Parish Superiors in the whole of Peramiho were to be of Swiss in origin and those of neutral missions from the allied powers, including French nationals.¹²⁹ Some of the Benedictines missionaries were exchanged with the Holy Ghost Fathers. The following Benedictines were transferred to the Moshi diocese from Peramiho Abbey Nullius: Elzear Ebner, Enhard Bundshuh, Ferrnand Fichtner Nathanael Biller, Wener Brodhun, and Bonaventure. From Moshi diocese, the following priests were transferred to Peramiho: Richard

Gillet, Alois, Joseph and Mcquire.¹³⁰ In 1968 when the German missionaries retreated to the Peramiho, Abbatia, leaving the church leadership to the indigenous clergy, the whole of the Matengo Highlands was heavily influenced by the German Benedictine teachings. It was true that the Matengo Highlands had never witnessed any other missionary order apart from the Benedictine Fathers. The Matengo Highlands was understood to be a no man's land in terms of ecclesiastical affiliation.¹³¹ It is therefore safe to conclude that the socio-economic development of the Matengo Highlands as attributed to the work done by the German Benedictine Order.

3.7 Benedictines and Socio-economic Development of the Matengo Highlands

When the Germans colonized the DOA, they had to establish an administration system which was charged with the maintenance of law and order through the state instruments such as the police, the courts, the army and the bureaucracy. In this regard, the German East Africa Company, a business company, was granted an imperial charter to rule the German sphere of influence in 1885. The company officials started arriving in 1887 to take up their administrative posts. The second function was that of providing social services to the population. These included sanitation, water, electricity, education, health services, roads, bridges, railways, telegraphs and transportation. The company invited the Benedictines of Bavaria to accompany the DOA in the administration of the colony. This invitation was intended to make the missionaries involve themselves in the provision of the social services and, in this way, the business company would not involve itself in the provision of social services. The logic here was that, being a commercial company, engaging in the provision of social services was tantamount to reducing the profits of the commercial firm. Besides, religious orders were experienced in the running of education and health services.

¹²⁸TNA, AB. 7 File No. 1733, Annual Report on Songea District 1921. The report blamed Roman Catholic Native Teachers employed by the Benedictine Missions in Songea District as being somewhat pro-German in their sympathies.

¹²⁹ Doerr, 1998, op.cit. :167

¹³⁰ Kamati, 1998, op.cit. :78

¹³¹ Mihanjo, op.cit. :24

The DOA had to surrender and give up the administration of the colony for various reasons. The first was inexperience in running administrative functions, being a business Company. Consequently, the company officials turned out to be very unpopular among the people, amounting to the rising of the Arab landlords along the coast led by Bushiri and Bwanaheri. The people complained of the brutality, forced labour and heavy taxation imposed by the company officials. The other reason was that the company ran bankrupt on account that much of the profit accrued in the business was spent in running administrative costs. In 1891 the imperial German government had to intervene and took over the administration of the colony. However, the spirit of using the missionaries, as it was under the company rule, in the provision of social services in the colony remained unabated. This spirit continued even during the British period.

3.8 Development of Missionary Education in the Matengo Highlands

Missionary expansion in the Matengo Highlands up to World War I was slow as it is seen in Table 3.1 above. The opening of schools throughout the Matengo Highlands went hand in hand with conversion into Christianity. There were Bush schools which were established in the outstations where pupils were prepared for baptism. Besides, the pupils were taught other subjects such as hand crafts, singing and manual work. Koponen pointed to the fact that Roman Catholic and Germans stressed on the importance of manual farm labour as education for work.¹³² However missionary schools were for conversion, to mold the pupils while still young in the heathen interior. From 1900 to 1914, there was change in colonial education due to the change in colonial conditions. There was the emergence of the development imperative which demanded close collaboration between the state and the missionaries by restricting competition between missions and state schools and to share functions.

¹³² Johan Koponen, *Development for Exploitation, German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914*. Printed in Finland by Raamattutalo, Pieksamaki, 1994:355

The state supported mission schools in funds, books. School fees were paid through manual work by school children on the Benedictines' fields, gardens and grounds.¹³³

Though the German government had opened craftsman schools and Hinterland schools in the coastal areas and few hinterland districts, the Matengo Highlands was much more neglected. As such, the Benedictines were the sole providers of education in this area of the German protectorate. It is again argued that the children from South western Tanzania could not safely be taken to the government schools because of poor communication networks. There were no railroads, no good roads except those constructed by the followers of Christianity. Under such circumstances, the Benedictines embarked on construction of schools throughout the Matengo Highlands.¹³⁴

Looking at the content taught in these schools the bulk of what was taught were religious instructions with a little bit of reading, writing and counting.¹³⁵ The pupils were divided into three groups, the first group was that of the children, the second group included all Christians and the last group included those who were preparing for baptism, both children and adults. Those who excelled in their studies were recruited as catechists. The other component of the content that was taught were skills which were aimed at teaching manual labour.¹³⁶ This syllabus was in line with the Benedictine philosophy of *ora et labora*. But also, the German government in the protectorate during the governorship of Georg Albrecht Freiherr von Rechenberg between 04/15/1906 - 22/04/1912, came up with the policy of development. To implement his development imperative, the governor put emphasis on the collaboration between state and the missionaries. He restricted competition between the mission and state schools. Incentives

¹³³ Juhan Koponen, *Ibid.* 357

¹³⁴ TNA, 2286, Register of Mission Stations, cf. TNA, Acc. 155/23/10 Mission Schools for which no Right of Occupancy are Registered 1922-1926

¹³⁵ Kamati ya Historia na Habari Jimbo Kuu Songea, op.cit. :41-42

¹³⁶ Annual Report, 1901/02

in terms of funds and books¹³⁷ were given to the mission schools which taught German language and other subjects like handcraft as it was echoed in the 1908/09 Annual Report:

*As for the Benedictines ... the missions have done particularly gratifying work this year in the field of youth education work in handcraft, agriculture, horticulture and also in the sphere of medical auxiliary work.*¹³⁸

Kigonsera school was among the schools in which the German administration put effort to encourage it to adopt the German government education system more specifically, the teaching of German language apart from Kiswahili which was the medium of communication. Furthermore, sisters instructed girls in all kinds of work which girls are supposed to do. Like in the government schools, apart from learning subjects like Bible classes, reading, writing, arithmetic, singing and German, the pupils had to work in the fields and in the house in the kitchen and garden for four hours. Boys learned blacksmithery, joinery, bricklaying and how to sow seeds.¹³⁹

The mission stations based on the Benedictines' monastic approach acted as a source of employment. A monastery was supposed to be self-reliant in terms of provisions. In order to implement this philosophy, the Benedictines established a variety of projects like farms, workshops, gardens, and domestic activities. The personnel, as is presented in Table 3.1 above, were so limited to cater for all projects in the monasteries. The number of brothers and sisters was very small to perform all the duties by themselves in the entire monastery. This situation called for an extra massive labour force from outside the monastery. While the missionaries – priests, brothers and sisters - did the supervisory functions, the manual labour was to be performed by the neighbouring local population. The work of construction of churches, living houses, schools, health centers, infrastructure, tiles making and bricklaying called for an intensive labour supply. The real construction work of the buildings also

proved to be labour demanding. Looking at the type of gothic structures of churches they designed, intensive manual labour was highly demanded. The buildings, especially of the churches were very tall; especially the long naves or bell towers (*minara*) needed an abundant labour supply. This was more necessary because there was no technology of winch and cranes. The fields and the gardens also needed reliable sources of labour to attend them. This was true with the livestock keeping project. There was a demand for labour to attend the livestock which included pigs, chicken, cattle, and other available livestock in the mission centre. Furthermore, the workshops of carpentry, masonry, shoe making, sewing, blacksmithing and food canning called for intensive manual labour. Employment was also available in the houses of the missionaries for cooking, cleaning the houses, washing clothes, and attending to the missionaries as helpers.¹⁴⁰ The transport of missionary provisions from the coast involved enlisting of caravans in hundreds or thousands from the coast to the interior. For all these activities the missionaries needed the assistance of hundreds of Africans as a workforce.¹⁴¹ One observation ought to be made regarding the labour situation in the mission stations. The use of labour in the mission centers ended up using underage children who worked in fields for some hours daily in addition to school attendance.¹⁴² The catechumens who used to camp at Kigonsera and Litembo mission stations for religious instructions for some months spend most of their precious time working in the fields and construction work. The grownups were involved in making bricks and floor and roof tiles while the young ones used to move the bricks from one place to another as required by the brothers.¹⁴³

3.9 The Benedictines Medical Services in the Matengo Highlands

The medical services in the Matengo Highlands were not very well established during this period.

¹⁴⁰ Koponen, op. cit. 357

¹⁴¹ Roland Oliver, op. cit.: 69

¹⁴² Roland Oliver, Ibid. 357-358. Cf. interview with Cosmas Masingi in June 2013

¹⁴³ Cosmas Masingi, Ibid.

¹³⁷ Koponen, op.cit. 1994:509

¹³⁸ Annual Report 1908/09

¹³⁹ Annual Report, 1908/1909, Ibid.

It is well understood that there were two mission centers only in the Matengo Highlands. The mission of Kigonsera did not have enough sisters to run the medical center. The plan to bring some sisters from Germany did not materialize due to the outbreak of the Majamaji war in 1905, the year they planned to send sisters to Kigonsera.¹⁴⁴ The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 was another obstacle to the coming of the sisters. The war effects required that all German missionaries should leave the colony. In this situation, bringing in more missionaries was no longer possible. As a result of World War I, the sisters left Peramiho for the second time. Some went to South Africa, while others started other new mission fields. The Tanganyika Territory (as it was called at that time) was closed to German missionaries.¹⁴⁵ The second Litembo mission in the Matengo Highlands was still very young as it was established in July 1914 by a Benedictine Father Ludger and some brothers from St. Ottilien. They gave medicine to the sick and started a local health centre.¹⁴⁶

3.10 *Benedictines and Construction of Infrastructure in the Matengo Highlands*

The German colonial government did not invest much in infrastructural construction in the Matengo Highlands. The focus was partly to connect the coast of Lindi and Kilwa with Wiedhfen on the shore of lake Nyasa which apparently was so strategic. As argued earlier, in the Matengo Highlands there was a typical case where the cross preceded the flag. Missionaries had occupied this area and established Christianity in the remote rural area of the Matengo Highlands. The already established two missions of Kigonsera and Litembo had established a series of outstations and Bush schools. The missionaries had to establish their own infrastructure which would enable them to visit their stations. The missionaries embarked on the construction of the road between Kigonsera and Matiri under the supervision of Brothers

Rainald OSB and Yustin OSB.¹⁴⁷ Catechist Constantine Akitanda played a very important role in the construction of this road and the bridges by mobilizing the faithful of Matiri to participate in the road construction.¹⁴⁸ Another road was constructed between Kigonsera and Litembo. Another big road was between Kigonsera and Liparamba outstation. There were many small roads which connected the mission station and the outstations and the chain of Bush schools. The good examples were the road from Litembo to Nyasa/Nangombo outstation via Maguu outstation and another road from Litembo to Lugari outstation via Ngima. A road was constructed between Litembo and Kindimba outstation through Myanganga to Mbinga mission station.¹⁴⁹ In all cases the Christians used volunteers in the construction of these roads. The Matengo Highlands terrain is naturally associated with mountain ridges and a series of rivers and streams. In all these cases, bridges were very common and again the converts volunteered their time and energy in this construction. The construction materials which included tree logs, big stones, ropes and many other materials required were brought to the sites by the Christians. At the end of the day, most of the infrastructure construction in the Matengo Highlands was the sole responsibility of the mission stations which organized the Christians to perform this noble responsibility until the end of the World War I. Later in September 1916, the war entered the Matengo Highlands when the British troops came from Nyasaland through the Nyasa area. The British administration was forced to construct a road from Mbamba-bay along Lake Nyasa to Ndengo in the Matengo Highlands to ferry the British troops. Another road was

¹⁴⁷ Jimbo Katoliki Mbinga, *Ustawi wa Enjili Jimbo la Mbinga kuelekea mwaka 2000*, Peramiho Printing Press, 1997:30

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Benjamin Akitanda and Fr. Josephat Komb Malunda, 2013

¹⁴⁹ Anton Kapinga Matanila and Fr. Francis Ndunguru interviewed in 2012 and 2013 respectively, Remigius Michael Hyera, Paul Jeremia Ndunguru, Kostantin Manyuka Mwingira and Longnus Matias Mwingira interviewed at Litembo, 2014.

¹⁴⁴ APA, Diary of Kigonsera, Vol. 1 entry for 9.5.1905

¹⁴⁵ <http://www.peramiho.org> Missionary Benedictine Sisters Peramiho, Tanzania, East Africa, 2013

¹⁴⁶ www.seniorenland.com poste 2010

constructed from Lituhi along Lake Nyasa to Ruanda in the interior for the same purpose.¹⁵⁰

IV. CONCLUSION

The German Benedictine Fathers' work marked the initial attempt to introduce the new religion to the people who had their traditional religion. The response was, therefore, negative and frustration among the missionaries was evident. Despite all these setbacks, the German Benedictine missionaries, through the use of material inducements, were able to convince the youth who accepted conversion and, in the long run, formed the foundation of a strong Christian tradition in the whole of South Western Tanzania. These youths were much more attracted to the material incentives like cloth, salt, sugar, kerosene, utensils and different trades rather than the spiritual values. The German colonial government on the other hand benefited from the missionaries who provided social services which, otherwise it was the role of the state. As reciprocity to this contribution, the state assisted the pacification of the rebellious natives as it happened in the *Karonga* war 1902 and the *majimaji* uprising 1905-1907. The state was also all out to assist the missionaries alienate land from the natives through the provision of offers of land occupancy to different mission activities. The British from 1916 when German rule was liquidated in the Matengo Highlands did not overhaul the existing structures. There were improvements here and there. To that effect, the Benedictine missionaries remained the major social services provider. Serve the period between 1919 to 1926 when the church was left in the hands of White Fathers as caretakers based on the Versailles Agreement. Otherwise after the return of German Benedictine missionaries in 1926 the church shouldered most of the tasks related to provision of social services here. Despite their mistrust over the German Benedictine Missionaries, the British government continued depending on the missionaries for social services provisions. Therefore, the European occupation of the Matengo Highlands is among the typical examples where the colonial masters collaborated strongly with the

missionaries. Furthermore, the missionaries had a stronger influence in the lives of the Matengo Highlands hence the cross preceded the flag. More important is the situation where the German Benedictine missionaries stayed longer in the area (1899 to 1968) than the German colonialists (1902 to 1916) which ultimately entrenched their legacy in the Matengo Highlands.

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¹⁵⁰Doerr, op.cit. :83

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