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150 Years of Spiritan Presence and Mission in Mainland Tanzania

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150 YEARS OF SPIRITAN PRESENCE AND MISSION IN MAINLAND TANZANIA

Introduction

The event of the Jubilee of 150 years of Evangelization and Spiritan presence and mission in mainland Tanzania¹ gives the opportunity to revisit, albeit briefly, the rich history of both the church in Tanzania and that of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit. This article focuses on the Spiritan mission in mainland Tanzania. It commemorates the great event, the outcome of which no one could have predicted. Those of us living today are privileged to be part of this wonderful history of the church in this nation.

Raymond Crotty, an Irish economist, said that the study of the past makes us know where we have come from, why things are the way they are, and what the future might be. As we celebrate 150 years of evangelization and education in Tanzania, there is the temptation to glorify the past or vilify those who went before us; neither is intended, rather thanksgiving to God, gratitude to the missionaries, acceptance of the challenges of today.

I begin with a quotation from a pioneer Spiritan missionary, Fr Alexander Le Roy, C.S.Sp.,² later a bishop and superior general of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost (as Spiritans were then called), who arrived in Zanzibar in 1881. Looking back twenty years after his arrival in mainland Tanzania, he wrote:

If we count the steps taken by a missionary in an un-evangelized land, some are fruitless, some are wasted, but this cannot be said of all of them. He will experience sufferings, sometimes from things, sometimes from beasts, sometimes from human beings, sometimes from all of these together. St. Paul made this point in his own time. But when, later on, he looked back on those unexplored roads which he watered with his sweat, he saw light breaking through the darkness that had reigned there. He forgot the miseries of the past and only remembered the delightful experiences; he has only smiles for his present situation, and steps forward into the future, happy with his lot and profoundly grateful to God.³

Zanzibar, the Mother of the Catholic Church in Tanzania

The man who is credited with the beginning of the Holy Spirit Mission in East Africa, and indeed of the Catholic Church there, is the bishop of the Island of Réunion, Bishop Armand Maupoint. In the year 1858, having heard about the atrocities of slavery in East Africa, he sent his vicar general, Fr Armand Fava,⁴ on a reconnaissance visit to East Africa. Fava returned with a report in 1860 that opened the doors for the coming of the missionaries.

On December, 22 1860, a French steam corvette carrying three priests, six sisters, a surgeon of the French Navy and some craftsmen, dropped anchor in the placid waters of Zanzibar. Sultan Seyyed Majid, who was approached by the priests for his permission, gladly offered both his protection and his full support to their charitable work ... to look after the sick, to nourish the poor, and to teach their converts useful trades ...⁵

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This marked the beginning of the presence of the Spiritan Congregation in East Africa, particularly in Zanzibar. But things did not really get underway until 1863 when the first Spiritans, Frs. Etienne Baur, C.S.Sp., and Antoine Horner, C.S.Sp., arrived in Zanzibar together with Brother Celestine, C.S.Sp., Brother Felician, C.S.Sp., and two Sisters.⁶ In a document written in August 1863 following the visit to Bagamoyo of the First Assistant, Mère Thérèse de Jésus, three nuns are mentioned: Mère du Sacré-Coeur, Mère Maris des Anges, and Sr. Marie Claver.

The Beginning of the Church in mainland Tanzania

On March 4, 1868, the first missionaries of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit landed at the coastal town of Bagamoyo to begin what would be the penetration of the Catholic Church to the Interior. Bagamoyo was the site of a thriving slave market. Thus began the history of the church as well as that of the Spiritan Congregation on the Tanzanian mainland. If we were recalling the armistice, we would say that on the 11th hour, of the 11th day, of the 11th month, the guns fell silent. But for the missionaries, such precision as to the exact time they landed in Bagamoyo is not available. They had come to Bagamoyo not to conquer, but like Simeon to fulfil a dream that had been planned for years. Simeon had intoned: “now, Master, you may let your servant go in peace, according to your word, for my eyes have seen your salvation, which you prepared in the sight of all the peoples (Luke 2:29-31).⁸ As God cared for Jeremiah, so God must have cared for, carried the Spiritan missionaries, and shown them the way. Indeed, the Spirit of the Lord, who never abandons his church, was with them.

The missionaries were overjoyed to have landed in the interior.⁹ They wanted to go forth. The word “go forth” is immensely rich in Scripture right from the beginnings. God said to Abraham, “go forth from your land...to a land that I will show you.” (Gen 12:1). St Paul in his Letter to the Romans has this to say:

But how can they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how can

they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how can they hear without someone to preach? And how can people preach unless they are sent? As it is written, “how beautiful are the feet of those who bring [the] good news” (Rom 10:14-16).

Challenges of Evangelization and the Inspiration of the first Missionaries

At the recent Enlarged Provincial Chapter of the Province of Kenya (Nairobi, January 2018), Fr. Sean McGovern, C.S.Sp., reflecting on first evangelization said:

On Mission Sunday, October, 2017, Pope Francis noted the upcoming 100th Anniversary of the Apostolic Letter, *Maximum Illud*, written by Pope Benedict XV in 1919, in which he sought to give new impetus to the mission of proclaiming the Gospel. Now Pope Francis wrote “what Pope Benedict so earnestly desired 100 years ago, and the Council reiterated some fifty years ago, remains timely today.”¹⁰ Pope Benedict had pointed out in 1919 that despite the fact that there has been admirable missionary effort for centuries, there still remains “an immense multitude of those who dwell in darkness and in the shadow of death.”¹¹

In brief, Pope Francis was putting special emphasis on the *missio ad gentes* (the church’s mission to the nations). It is interesting when one compares the number of nonbelievers in the document by Benedict XV and that of the Vatican Council fifty years later. Benedict put the number of nonbelievers in the world in 1919 at a billion people! Fifty years later, the situation seems worse, for the Vatican Council document, *Ad Gentes*, says that, “we are aware that there still remains a gigantic missionary task to be accomplished. For the Good News has not been heard or scarcely so by two billion people.” And, frighteningly, it goes on to say, “and that number is increasing daily.”¹²

No wonder Pope Francis, in one of the first tasks of his pontificate, wrote with contagious enthusiasm and eloquence his Apostolic Exhortation, *Evangelii Gaudium*, *The Joy of the Gospel*. Quoting from St. John Paul II, Pope Francis says, “There must be no lessening of the impetus to preach the Gospel to those who are far from Christ, because this is the first task of the church.”¹³ And then, almost by the way, he throws in a very challenging remark: “We cannot passively and calmly wait in our church buildings ... we need to move from a pastoral ministry of mere conservation to a decidedly missionary pastoral ministry” (no. 15). As we saw above, the missionaries who came to Tanzania were resolute in going forth into the interior, despite the challenges. They wanted to bring the good news to people who had not yet heard the message of the Gospel.

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Today we talk of internationality and intercultural living in mission. We recall that one hundred and fifty years ago, the first mission in mainland Tanzania was international, what Koren called, “interracial.”¹⁴ It was composed of the Sisters of the Daughters of Mary (Filles de Marie de St Denis) from the Island of Réunion, together with Spiritans, who

were joined in 1867 by Brother Francis Nassy, C.S.Sp., the first Indian Spiritan, a native of Madras. Brother Francis went to work in Zanzibar where he died in 1878.¹⁵

God's Mission

The Year of Jubilee is surely an occasion to reflect seriously on these challenging and encouraging words. Where do we stand as the Tanzanian Church in our commitment to proclaiming the Gospel and in our faithfulness to the call to evangelization? The Spiritan Rule of Life says that, "One basic characteristic of the Spiritan calling is *availability* for the service of the gospel, a readiness to go where we are sent by the Congregation" (SRL 25). In other words, mission is given to you. You do not choose where you want to go, you are sent. The missionaries came or went because they were sent on mission by their founder (Francis Libermann) who told them the work was God's, not theirs. Pope Francis, in underlining the word, "to go forth," says:

Each Christian and every community must discern the path that the Lord points out, but all of us are asked to obey his call to go forth from our own comfort zone in order to reach all the "peripheries" in need of the light of the Gospel.¹⁶

Another biblical image equally comes to mind as we remember the beginning of the church in mainland Tanzania. Time and again we hear the coming of the missionaries referred to as the *planting of the seed*, which is the word of God. This seed of the word, no matter where it is sown, sprouts one day. It may take long, but usually it ends up transforming persons. But before this may happen, many may lose their lives. Maybe (or perhaps) the missionaries had to die and be buried before the word of God could spread: "unless a grain of wheat falls to the ground and dies, it remains just a grain of wheat. But if it dies, it produces much fruit" (John 12:24). One of the classical philosophers says this about seed:

The acorn, he tells us, is an oak tree in the process of becoming. What it is to be an oak is both final and the end formal cause of the acorn's turning into an oak. The form that the acorn assumes when, through growth, it reaches its full development, is the end that the acorn was destined to reach simply by virtue of its being an acorn. According to Aristotle, the end that is to be achieved and the form that is to be developed in the process of growth are somehow present at the very beginning in the seed that, with proper nurturing, grows into the fully developed plant.¹⁷

The missionaries found themselves in a context where the climate was challenging, with unknown and incurable diseases, and poverty widespread. The Bagamoyo cemetery is a testimony to the courage of these missionaries. This one died at 21 years of age, that one at 24 years of age,¹⁸ and so on. The names include nuns of the Daughters of Mary who came to premature and certain death, all because of God, and because of their faith, hope and charity. These men and women left everything to follow Jesus.¹⁹

Place of Sacrifice, Tribute to Missionaries

Bagamoyo is a place of sacrifice in the real sense of the word, of the witness of martyrdom. The image of a seed embraces many mysteries. A seed contains life which has to be nurtured and cared for, and which once it sprouts carries within it other seeds. The missionaries never stopped coming despite the premature deaths. They were willing to sacrifice their lives for the people whom they rescued from slavery and loved so much. This was their contribution to a magnificent history, not a history of the powerful, the rich or the learned, but of the poor and humble who find their joy in meeting other poor people, in serving and protecting them, and sharing their own life-giving faith with them. But one must not be carried away by talk of heroic sacrifice. As Aung San Suu Kyi said, “if we choose to do something, that is not sacrifice; it is a gift.” So we do well to think not only of sacrifices, but of the gift of our vocation, and the gift we make to others through our joyfully dedicated lives.

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The missionaries did not stop once the first seeds were planted. They followed the example of Jesus, who said, “let us go elsewhere, to the neighboring county towns, so that I can proclaim the message there too, because that is why I came” (Mark 1:38, Jerusalem Bible). After all this was their sole purpose – to penetrate the interior. Pope Francis in the same Apostolic Exhortation says, “once the seed has been sown in one place, Jesus does not stay behind to explain things or to perform more signs; the Spirit moves him to go forth to other towns.”²⁰

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This Jubilee Year makes Spiritans and the church in Tanzania more conscious of the work of the Lord in our history and helps us continue the tasks of those who preceded us in the work of evangelization. We should always be mindful of those who lost their lives even at the age of 21 while planting the seed of evangelization. As Albert de Jung wrote:

their lives are examples of unshakeable faith that can move mountains. Their trust in the Lord was boundless. They obeyed his great commission: “go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit” (Matt 28:19). To evangelize the Africans, that was their paramount and sole aim.²¹

Fr Versteijnen, C.S.Sp., added:

But, above all, it should be recognized that the action of the missionaries was always disinterested and animated by the charity of the Gospel, and that to help the African peoples, to resolve the complex human and social problems in their countries, they spent themselves generously.²²

How do we live their single-minded commitment in our work of evangelization? One of the challenges that many congregations face today is the lack of what the Benedictines

call the vow of stability. No sooner do some set one foot in the place of mission than the other foot is out. The first question seems to be, “is there Internet or Wi-Fi?” Our ancestors would put some of us to shame today. Of course, we live in a different time and world, but the call to God’s mission remains the same, and we must identify appropriate means for promoting the apostolate and not simply our own convenience.

The Jubilee Year truly calls for the expression of joy, praise, and thanksgiving, yet it is no time to sit down, rest and relax. It calls for soul-searching. Where is that boldness? Where is that prophetic voice? Where is the courage of breaking new ground? Where is that spirit of sacrifice? The purpose is not to bombard you with questions, but to re-discover and be imbued by the spirit of our ancestors and to go forth to the peripheries, to the marginalized, and the most abandoned of our world today. Pope Francis, in the same exhortation, warns us of individualism, a crisis of identity, and a cooling of fervor. At the same time, we can take comfort from what he says, “let us look upon them as challenges which can help us to grow” (no. 84).

Bagamoyo: the Cradle of Education in East Africa.

...many of these missionaries were those who gave the first steps in education, the first medical help, the first friendly contact with the rest of humanity, their first defence of personal rights, the beginning and the deepening of those areas of knowledge which today are considered parts of general culture.²³

The role of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit in introducing formal education to Tanzania can never be underestimated. Today in East Africa formal education is taken so much for granted that one may be tempted to think it has been there from time immemorial. This was not the case 150 years ago. Spiritan missionaries were involved in education from the very early days in both Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. For example, one of the first things the missionaries did when they arrived in Zanzibar was not to carry out “direct evangelisation,” but to build schools. “By the end of 1862, they (the missionaries) were running a hospital, three schools and a technical training centre.”²⁴

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While it is not the intention to deal with formal education, sociologists make a distinction between education and schooling.

Education can be defined as a social institution, which enables and promotes the acquisition of skills, knowledge, and the broadening of personal horizons. **Schooling** on the other hand, refers to the formal process through which certain types of knowledge and skills are delivered, normally via a predesigned curriculum in specialised settings: schools.²⁵

The missionaries introduced both these items to Tanzania. They ran schools, from primary to secondary schools and teacher training colleges. Notable among the secondary

schools are Pugu Secondary School (where the first President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere taught with Spiritan Missionaries) and Umbwe Secondary School, which produced the first Maasai Prime Minister, the late Edward Moringe Sokoine.

Matthew Bender on the development of Spiritan missions on Mount Kilimanjaro wrote:

...They [the Spiritans] founded dozens of mission stations, each featuring not only churches, but also schools, hospitals, and dispensaries.

He continued:

The region [Kilimanjaro] sported the highest ratio of schools to students, the highest school enrolment figures, and the most medical facilities per capita of any part of rural Eastern Africa.²⁶

The Spiritans trained enough teachers for the whole country. They had two famous Teacher Training Colleges: Kigurunyembe Teacher Training College in Morogoro and Singa Chini Teacher Training College in Moshi. "By 1930, there were about 340 teachers serving in the vicariate's school, who also doubled as catechists."²⁷ This was how the missionaries began addressing the humanitarian need, taken so much for granted today. People who have been through an education system and emerged literate and reasonably knowledgeable know that education has been beneficial to them.

Today, the grandchildren of Libermann have continued the same tradition. Spiritan-run schools have become centres of excellence, as the country still concentrates on education. Spiritans have educated leaders in this country, for both church and state. The former President of Tanzania, William Mkapa, was educated at Pugu Secondary School. Looking back over one hundred and fifty years of missionary activity, one sees that education has been the strongest foundation in achieving socio-economic and political development.

Importance of Formation of the local Clergy

Spiritans have also educated and formed the clergy in Africa. When Libermann sent his missionaries to various parts of Africa, he was well aware that the sure way of building the local church was to form and educate the local clergy. Spiritans who came to East Africa carried out the instructions of their founder almost immediately. The records show that they no sooner arrived than started the first minor seminary at Bagamoyo in 1869.²⁸ They surely wanted to build up an indigenous clergy, following the dictum of Libermann, the second founder of the Spiritan Congregation, to make training local clergy one of the first tasks of mission.²⁹ Although this first effort was not successful, for reasons that I shall not engage in, their aim was clear. The training of the local clergy was for Francis Libermann the best way to consolidate the church in Africa. After one hundred and fifty years, the results are

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there for all to see. When we look back at these achievements, we can surely be proud that Spiritans have played a big role in building up the local church.

Like the first missionaries, we must not ignore going to the periphery, for example, those who cannot receive communion because of marital problems.³⁰ To be reached are likewise single mothers, the unemployed, the youth, the wandering thousands of street children, those who are deserting our church in droves and joining the mushrooming churches, and so on. We are called today to raise prophetic voices on the housetops and shout to the dictators who cause pain and suffering to millions of our brothers and sisters in this continent: enough is enough. The church must defend the values of democracy, speak out against the abuse of power, against the disappearance of people in this country, against corruption, and the violation of human rights. Coming together to celebrate 150 years of evangelization, can we ignore the blood of martyrs still bleeding on the continent?

The one unique and decisive thing the church has to offer all societies is the Good News proclaimed by Jesus and the humanizing power of the Kingdom of God which he proclaimed. We cannot keep holding back the humanizing power of God's Word. Without being impeded by regulations, customs, and jargon, we need to let it reach people who seek new meaning for their lives, people who want to live with hope. St John Paul II many years ago exhorted us to put Christ at the very centre of our evangelizing work. We need to put ourselves in immediate contact with Jesus and his Good News. We need to spend our energies on this. From this will come the renewal and growth the church needs today.

The song (based on Isaiah 6:8 and I Samuel 3) says, "I will go Lord if you send me and I shall hold your people in my heart."³¹ This is one of the most beautiful texts in the Scriptures. We also stand here to ask forgiveness and pardon for not holding God's people in our hearts as we look back through the 150 years. Indeed, today we have to ask, "What kind of church do we want?" The seeds of evangelization must not be suffocated by forces we can deal with.

What need be done to allow the seed to continue growing? This is part of the challenges of today. Why do Catholics lapse? We want a truly inculturated faith where everyone is able to live their faith authentically, in and through their own culture, and not through purely Western or imposed norms, and theological arguments that are largely irrelevant to contemporary African culture. We should be encouraged to celebrate our unity not in spite of diversity, but in and through our diversity. From the very beginning the missionaries promoted local languages and attempted to understand the deep cultural values of the people. They did this in their limitations and fragility. There has never been anything like a perfect mission. But now it is our responsibility to build on the past and courageously promote an inculturated faith, that is, a faith lived in an authentically African cultural way. We cannot live our faith through someone else's culture. That would be worse than speaking only foreign languages and acting only as outsiders in our own homes.

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In conclusion, exhorts Pope Francis:

An evangelizing community gets involved by deed and word in people's daily lives; it bridges distances, it is willing to abase itself if necessary, and it embraces human life, touching the suffering flesh of Christ in others. Evangelizers thus take on the "smell of the sheep" and the sheep are willing to hear their voice. An evangelizing community is also supportive, standing by people at every step of the way, no matter how difficult or lengthy this may prove to be (*Joy of the Gospel*, no. 24).

Conclusion

This article aimed to show, albeit briefly, where we came from, where we are now, and what lies ahead. Another goal was to show how the seeds of evangelization, education, and the formation of the local clergy have enormously transformed the church and the nation.

Like, Simeon, we stand to give thanks to God. The Holy Spirit advanced the efforts of the first missionaries and swept away the doubts and hesitations they had about moving into the interior. And today the church of Tanzania, and indeed of East Africa, is alive, very much alive, and can boast of indigenous clergy (Bishops, priests and religious), thousands of lay faithful, and thousands of educated men and women who are transforming this country and beyond. St John Paul II in his visit to Tanzania in 1990 said:

The Catholic community in Tanzania owes much to the sacrifices and often heroic labors of the Holy Spirit Missionaries (Spiritans), the White Fathers, the Benedictines of Saint Ottilien, and many other missionaries from various countries who first preached the Gospel in this region... Through God's grace, the apostolate begun by those pioneers is being continued by their successors and by increasing numbers of indigenous priests and religious Sisters and Brothers.³²

What joy to see all these developments! Bless the Lord. But then rise to the challenge of building up a truly authentic, indigenous, African Church, that will proudly manifests new growth, is blossoming and fruitful - a church giving glory to God in its diversity, and sharing in the unity of the one faith, yet recognizably different from the Church planted in Europe, America, Asia, and anywhere else.

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Endnotes

¹ The Holy Ghost Missionaries first arrived in Zanzibar to officially begin their apostolate in 1863. Zanzibar celebrated its Jubilee of 150 years in 2013.

² He later travelled to Kilimanjaro and wrote a book in French called *Au Kilima-Ndjaru*. The 1914 edition of this book has been translated into English by the late Fr. Adrian Edwards, C.S.Sp., and is being prepared for publication by the Center for Spiritan Studies, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh.

³ Le Roy, *Au Kilimanjaro*. No date. [This Preface did not appear in the 1914 French edition that Father Edwards translated.]

⁴ Fava studied at the Holy Ghost Seminary in Paris. In 1851 he went to Réunion. Twenty years later, he became Bishop of Martinique. In 1875 he was transferred to the See of Grenoble, where he died in 1899. See Koren, Henry J., *To the Ends of the Earth*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1983, 272.

⁵ Versteijnen, Fr. Frits, *The Catholic Mission of Bagamoyo*. Bagamoyo: Bagamoyo, 1968.

⁶ Mallya, Florentine, C.S.Sp., "Bagamoyo and the Spiritans," *Spiritans Horizons - A Journal of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit* 6 (Fall 2011) 15.

⁷ Kollman says that the penetration to the interior saw considerable transformation in the Catholic mission in eastern Africa, and refers to this period as "Claiming *La Grande Terre* for Christ." Kollman, Paul V., *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa*. New York: Orbis Books, 2005, 139-192.

⁸ It is claimed that the Spiritans chose March as the month for establishing the mission at Bagamoyo to gain the help of St. Joseph, whose feast falls on 19 March. Cf. Kollman, *Evangelization of Slaves*, 144.

⁹ Fr Horner, C.S.Sp., the founder of Bagamoyo mission, had an ambition to move to the interior, for he considered Zanzibar too small to accommodate his plans of expanding the work of evangelization.

¹⁰ The Holy Father's Letter: To My Venerable Brother Cardinal Fernando Filoni, Prefect of the Congregation for Evangelisation of the Peoples, 22 October 2017, World Mission Sunday.

¹¹ Encyclical of Pope Benedict XV, *Maximum Illud*, 30 November 1919 AAS 11 (6).

¹² *Ad Gentes* Decree On the Missionary Activity of the Church, no. 10.

¹³ Pope Francis, Apostolic Exhortation, *The Joy of the Gospel*. Nairobi: Paulines Publication, Africa, 2013, no. 15.

¹⁴ Koren, Henry J., *To the Ends of the Earth*, 272.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Apostolic Exhortation, *The Joy of the Gospel*.: Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2013, no. 20.

¹⁷ Adler, Mortimer, *Aristotle for Everybody: Difficult Thought Made Easy*. NY: Touchstone book and Schuster Inc. 1978, 46.

¹⁸ Brother Hughes Heidt, C.S.Sp., who died in Zanzibar of black water fever four months after his arrival, was 24 years of age.

¹⁹ On 30 April 1872, the death of Brother Isaac Guillerme, C.S.Sp., recorded the first Spiritan death in East Africa.

²⁰ *Evangelii Gaudium*, no. 21.

²¹ See Nnamunga, Gerard and Ochieng' Onyalla, Don Bosco. *25 Years of the Spiritans of the East African Province*. Nairobi: African Medical and Research and Foundation, 136.

²² Versteijnen, *The Catholic Mission of Bagamoyo*, 2.

²³ Ibid. p.2

²⁴ Mkulima, Eligius., *150 Years of Successful Evangelisation in Zanzibar and Mainland Tanzania: Spiritan Missionary Activities*. Dar es Salaam: Niim Printers, 2018, 45.

²⁵ Giddens, Anthony., *Sociology. 6th Edition*. Cambridge: Polity, 2009, 834.

²⁶ Bender, Matthew V., "Holy Ghost in the Highlands: The Spiritans on Kilimanjaro, 1892-1953," *Spiritan Horizons* 3 (Fall 2008) 69.

²⁷ Koren, Henry. *East African Memorial*. Pittsburgh: Spiritus Press, 1994, 243 paying tribute to Bishop Henry Gogarty who was known as a "bulldozer" when it came to building schools. Henry Koren remarked: "he set to work with a will and made the others also work "at top speed."

²⁸ According to the Spiritan Anniversary Diary, on 17 February 1869 a minor seminary was opened at Bagamoyo by the Spiritans. It was later transferred to Zanzibar in 1872 where it dies a natural death.

²⁹ Libermann wrote to his missionaries: "We would choose the more religious and capable amongst them for further studies with a view to eventual ordination to the priesthood... The priests could do much good work and would soon gain the confidence of the people from which they come themselves." The formation of local clergy was for Libermann a *sine qua non* for the success of the West African Mission.

³⁰ How do we reach out to them? They too are part of the sheep that we must look after, they need the shepherd's care.

³¹ Dan Schutte, 1981.

³² Address of His Holiness John Paul II to Priests and Religious of Tanzania, St Peter's Church, Dar es Salaam, Sunday 2 September 1990, no 2.