

Kim Groop

With the Gospel to Maasailand

Lutheran Mission Work among the Arusha and Maasai in Northern Tanzania 1904–1973

OST-AFRIKA

KILIMANDSCHARO
PARE-MERU-MAISAI
-GEBIETE-

GRENZE MAISAILÄNDER
GRENZE KENYAKOLONIE
TANGANYIKAKOLONIE



Entree des Missionnaires au Troit de Cassini.



Kim Groop

was born in 1972 in Pedersöre, Finland. He obtained his Master's degree in Church History at the Faculty of Theology at Åbo Akademi in 2001. Between October 2001 and the publishing of this book he has pursued full-time research.

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Medical clinic (Leipzig Mission Archive, Album 4 (43))

Maasai warriors (Leipzig Mission Archive, Album 8 (19/119))

Evangelist with Maasai listeners (Leipzig Mission Archive, Album 3 (1159))

Missionary Blumer and colleagues with car

(Leipzig Mission Archive, Album 18 (132))

Map (112 Jahresbericht der Leipziger Mission)

Maasai elder (Photo: Kim Groop)

Maasai woman (Photo: Kim Groop)

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INTRODUCTION

“The Maasai are a redeemable part of God’s created universe. God has them as an integral part of his mission of redeeming love. [...] If we succeed in communicating to the Maasai Christ’s love for all men, so that they confess Jesus Christ as their Lord, we have laid a successful foundation in our communicational efforts. For it is only from this foundation that men can possibly experience and express the transforming Grace of God to others.”¹

Lutheran mission work among the Maa-speaking peoples in Tanzania had been carried out for almost seventy years when Missionary Stanley Benson wrote these hopeful words in 1971. Similar statements had been made when mission work began among the Arusha at Mount Meru in 1904 and amidst the Maasai on the surrounding plains in the late 1920s. The Lutheran mission did manage to wake an interest among the Maasai-related Arusha as well as among the neighbouring non-Maasai. The Maasai themselves, however, were markedly slow to accept Christianity. For decades, missionaries and evangelists tried to attract them to the Christian Gospel. Occasionally, they had some measure of success, but on the whole they had to accept rather modest results. As late as 1969, it was estimated that there were not more than 300 practising Maasai Christians in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT).²

¹ Benson 1971, 68 and 75.

² Flatt 1969, 1. Many more had been baptised, but were for one reason or another not participating in the Lutheran work.

Previous Research on the Field

The East African Maasai have fascinated Europeans from the day they became known to Europe in the second half of the 19th century. As a result of this magnetism, an abundance of literature has been published about the Maasai. With the exception of a large number of coffee table books, the majority are generally either anthropological or political-historical. A few books exist, however, which deal with the Maasai in either a mission-historical, missiological or theological context. I will mention four of them here. Three are published by the *Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene*, two of which constitute a part of the Makumira Publication series of the Makumira University College in Tanzania. The fourth book is published at the Åbo Akademi University in Finland.

In *Christians in Maasailand*, Christel Kiel deals historically with the work among the Maasai in the North Eastern Diocese of the ELCT. Kiel portrays both the life cycle and religious views of the Maasai and the Lutheran work among them. Her research is restricted to the North Eastern Diocese and does not embrace the work in what is today the Diocese in Arusha Region, where the largest part of the Tanzanian Maasai lives.

Lutheran Maasai mission work has also been investigated by Joseph Wilson Parsalaw in his book *A History of the Lutheran Church Diocese in the Arusha Region*. Contrary to Kiel, Parsalaw explicitly examines the work in today's Diocese in Arusha Region. He tries to picture the Church history of the Arusha, Maasai and Sonjo tribes until the death of the first Arusha pastor Lazarus Laiser in 1958. In practice, however, Parsalaw deals very little with the Lutheran work after the outbreak of the Second World War.

The most recent of these four books was published in 2000. In *Maasai gestalten Christsein*, Moritz Fischer analyses the dialogue between the Christian Gospel and Maasai traditions. He makes particular

reference to how Christian rites and mores in recent times have been incorporated and portrayed within the Maasai culture, and how Maasai traditions and rites have been re-interpreted and sometimes reshaped in the Christian Church. Fischer also examines the life and work of Isaiah ole Ndokoti, a diviner and evangelist who was the key leader behind a Lutheran revival movement in northern Maasailand in the 1980s and 1990s.³

The fourth and the oldest of these – but nonetheless still very relevant – is *Lutheran Church Autonomy in Northern Tanzania 1940-1963* by Henrik Smedjebacka. Smedjebacka describes the development from mission work on the former Leipzig Mission field in northeastern Tanganyika to the founding of the ELCT in 1963 where the former Leipzig field (later the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika – LCNT) became the Northern Diocese (ND). Smedjebacka's emphasis is on the progression towards self-government, self-support and self-propagation. The Lutheran work among the Maasai in what is today the Diocese in Arusha Region is included as a part of his research.

Finally, one book that does not deal with Maasai work but with missiology as a discipline is David Bosch's *Transforming Mission*. Bosch himself maintains that he is 'attempting to demonstrate the extent to which the understanding and practice of mission have changed during almost twenty centuries of Christian missionary history'. Bosch does not restrict himself to any specific Christian Church, but deals with the concept of mission in a wider perspective. He portrays the development and modifications of the mission idea, starting in the New Testament world, and depicts and discusses the most vital elements in the Christian mission. Bosch's reasoning in a number of mission-related questions has been of value for this research. His views have served as something of a

³ The word diviner for Isaiah ole Ndokoti might not be entirely correct. Fischer calls ole Ndokoti *Orishi* and translates this into intermediary [*Mittler – zwischen Gott und Mensch*], mediator, conciliator [*Streitschlichter, Versöhner*], peacemaker or pacifier [*Friedensstifter*] (Fischer 2001, 308-319).

benchmark, in particular regarding issues such as contextual theology and inculturation.

Of these five, my own research bears resemblance foremost to Smedjebacka and Parsalaw. I use similar sources to the two mentioned and examine, in part, the same work. However, every research project is unique. Smedjebacka is mainly concerned with the shaping of an autonomous Church and does not give special reference to mission methodology – not least in Maasailand. Parsalaw is more concerned with the Maasai mission than Smedjebacka, but does not give attention to the methods and challenges involved in the work. Compared to these two, I extend my research further in time but I also put a specific and different weight on the mission. The Lutheran workers and sending agencies varied over the seven decades concerned – as did the methods, challenges, outcomes and response – but the focus was always on reaching the Maasai with the Gospel. It is precisely these changing yet persistent, challenging yet rewarding, insistent and unconditional yet self-sacrificing mission aspects that get particular attention in my research.

Methodology

During the nearly 70 years of the Lutheran Maasai mission explored in this study (1904-1973), the mission work encountered many challenges, changes and achievements. This included encounters with Maasai traditions and customs, but it also included encounters with the political realities in the regions inhabited by the Maasai and Arusha. It encompassed an increasing dialogue between Christian messengers and contemporary Arusha and Maasai, but it also encompassed increasing indigenisation as Lutheranism in Tanganyika – and later Tanzania – grew in size and maturity. In trying to draw an overall image of the work, I posed a number of questions for myself. Some of them were quite basic; they aimed at answering why and how the Lutheran Maasai work was

started, how it was pursued, how it changed over time and what kind of results and changes it brought about. Other questions were somewhat more specific, concerning relationship issues, such as how the Lutheran relationship with the Arusha and Maasai, as well as with the government, affected the mission work?⁴ As the study covers almost seven decades, I also looked at how the Lutheran work changed over time, the kinds of challenges it encountered during different periods, and the methods used when problems arose as well as what kind of results the missionaries achieved.

My contributions do not lie in a thorough analysis of Maasai traditions and customs. Nor do they lie in a profound analysis of the comprehension by the Maasai speaking peoples of the Christian and Lutheran faith. My aim is rather to present and analyse the Lutheran mission work, as such, among the Maa-speaking peoples; from the initial pioneer efforts among the Arusha and Maasai, starting in 1904 and 1927 respectively, up until the year 1973 when the ELCT/Synod in Arusha Region was founded. The founding of the new Church Synod implied that the Arusha and Maasai Christians entered a new era with new structures, including their own president. This, I feel, is a natural ending to the study.

The disposition of this research is chronological. The five main chapters provide a timeline account of the Lutheran mission work starting with the work among the Arusha and later the pastoral Maasai as carried out by Leipzig missionaries and indigenous Christians up until the Second World War, and then on to the continuation of the work among the pastoral Maasai under joint foreign Lutheran and, later on, chiefly Tanzanian Lutheran leadership. Given that I emphasise the

⁴ Several mission enterprises have fallen due to bad relations with colonial governments. The work of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro is but one example (chapter 1.3. in this study). The early Danish Tranquebar mission (chapter 1.2.) was similarly suffering from poor relations with the colonial authorities and was one of several reasons why the work was later handed over to the Leipzig Mission (Lehmann 1956, 292. See also Bosch 2004, 254).

mission endeavour rather than church life, I have decided not to include the work among the Arusha after 1930. The work in and around Arusha increasingly took on congregational manifestations in the 1930s. The Arusha-Ilboru mission, which was registered as a parish in 1919, got its own Arusha pastor in 1934 and was largely financially self-sufficient by the time Lutheran work was extended to the Maasai plains. When the Arusha Christians are mentioned after 1930, they are mainly done so as co-workers in the Maasai mission project. This brings us to an issue that permeates the research; the Lutheran emphasis on holism.

In a missiological context, I use the concept holism to signify not only the spiritual needs of the peoples, but also their physical and intellectual needs. Work was seldom pursued solely by means of evangelism; health care and education also played central roles throughout the whole mission. The Lutheran mission wanted to care for the whole human being. The Lutheran emphasis on holism, however, may also be seen in a wider perspective as applied to the active participation of indigenous co-workers. Many African Christians who went to the Maasai were sent out as teachers and health workers. Most of them, however, went with the intention of spreading the Christian message as evangelists. Therefore, the Lutheran mission can be viewed as holistic, not only because it attended to various human needs and opened hospitals, schools and churches, but also in its attempt to engage the whole Christian Church in the project.

Cultural problems were another characteristic aspect of the Lutheran Maasai work. Backed by experiences from previous mission enterprises, the Lutheran messengers tried – sometimes with limited success – to make their work fit into local customs involving strong religious conceptions. These conceptions were often interwoven with cultural traditions such as polygyny and circumcision. Initially, these attempts were based on the Leipzig Mission's *adiaphora*-principle, which aimed at accepting cultural elements that were considered

harmless from a Christian point-of-view. Later, an increasing interest was taken in indigenisation and what, in the 1970s, became known as inculturation and contextualisation.⁵

Finally, I do not claim to include all of the Maasai in Tanzania. My research covers what is today the Diocese in Arusha Region, i.e. Arusha and the previous Maasai District – an area commonly called Maasailand. This is the location where most of the Maasai in Tanzania live and where the Leipzig Mission initiated its Maasai work.⁶ From this region, the Maasai work spread to Maasai living in other areas, such as the Pare region, but some Lutheran Maasai work was set up independently in other regions.⁷

Thus, in short, this study is concerned with the Lutheran mission among the Maasai speaking people in Arusha and Maasailand from 1904 to 1973 with special regard to holism, contextualisation and indigenisation.

Sources

The Lutheran work pursued by Leipzig missionaries until 1940, when they were interned, has been thoroughly documented. The

⁵ The *adiaphora*-principle will be discussed in chapter 1.2. For more about inculturation and contextualisation, see Bosch 2004, 420-432, 447-457. In this research I particularly utilize the terms indigenisation and contextualisation. With indigenisation, I imply essentially the same as Bosch (2004, 448-449), but I put a particular emphasis on the increasing indigenous participation including the indigenous expertise and character that it brought. Moreover, in some cases I use the word indigenisation to describe the africanisation or *Tanzanisation* of the Church. Indigenisation might involve increased contextualisation (and often does), but it did not necessarily contribute to contextualisation in a Maasai milieu. In the Maasai work, these two did not always walk hand in hand. Sometimes missionaries were better contextualisers than their African co-workers. In some instances, for example, missionaries were fluent in Maa and knew the Maasai context very well, even better than most Maasailand-workers from congregations outside Arusha and Maasailand

⁶ Compare page 29.

⁷ For the Maasai work in the Pare region, see for instance Mtaita 1998, 114-118. Lutheran Maasai work in what is today the North Eastern Diocese was set up by the Bethel Mission. This has most recently been documented in *Christians in Maasailand* by Christel Kiel (and before her by Gustav Menzel, *Die Bethel Mission – Aus 100 Jahren Missionsgeschichte*).

missionaries quite regularly wrote articles in the Leipzig Mission periodical *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt*. They also wrote annual reports and various minutes for their society, letters to friends and colleagues, and diaries and memoirs. The periodicals and official reports, as well as statistical records and a number of miscellaneous documents, can be found at the Leipzig Mission archives in Leipzig, Germany.

It is more difficult to locate sources pertaining to the work after 1940, when the responsibility for the Arusha and Maasai work was taken over by the Augustana Mission and other Lutheran bodies. These comprise letters as well as various official- and unofficial reports and minutes from meetings held both inside and outside Tanzania by indigenous and overseas church bodies and mission committees. Some of this material is available at the archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America located in Elk Grove Village in the USA. The work has also been documented in various Tanzanian, American and German periodicals and magazines, most of which are found either at the library of the Makumira University College in Tanzania or in the archives of the Leipzig Mission or Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

Valuable items of information have also been contributed by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria (*Missionswerk der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern*) through its archives in Neuendettelsau, the Ilboru congregation and the office of the Diocese in Arusha Region, the Regional Commissioner's Office in Arusha and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission in Helsinki. Lastly, a number of individuals – most of them present or retired church- and mission workers and historians – have willingly and professionally provided me with information and guidance.

Obviously, it was not possible to find all the original documents. I attempted to base my research on primary sources and, whenever possible, I signified their use with a reference. Whenever it was not possible to locate original documents, minutes and first hand sources, I

consult second hand sources such as reports in mission papers, letters etc. Sources written in Kiswahili in the 1950s and later, in particular, have been difficult to trace.

Terminology

There are a number of words used in this study which might demand an explanation. With the word Arusha I refer both to the Arusha town with its surrounding area and to the people (*ilarusa, larusa*) belonging to the Arusha tribe. Similarly with the word Meru I refer to the Meru Mountain, the Meru tribe and Meru individuals, but also to the area they inhabit. With Maasai, I have in mind the Maasai people, individual Maasai, but also the Maasai or Maa language.

The word Maasailand may also lead to some confusion. I write Maasailand to describe the area designated by the Germans and British to the Maasai – an area they inhabited long before Germany colonised what is today Tanzania. Thus, in Tanzania, Maasailand refers to the previous Maasai Reserve, which under British leadership became the Maasai District. With Maasailand in Kenya, I refer to the corresponding Maasai Reserve and District in Kenya. By simply writing Maasailand I indicate the previous Maasai District in Tanzania.

A similar dualism appears regarding words like church, mission, evangelist and teacher. With the use of the word church I allude to a parish or a number of parishes belonging together, but also to a church building and a Church family in a national and international perspective. In a similar way, I use the word mission to describe a mission(ary) society, mission station and a mission endeavour, but also to describe the Lutheran mission work as well as mission work in a wider ecumenical perspective. Furthermore, the titles of the indigenous workers were used quite inconsistently by the missionaries. Teachers were mostly referred to as teachers and evangelists as evangelists. However, when using the title evangelist, the foreign missionaries often implied both the

evangelists and their helpers, and sometimes even the teachers serving in Maasailand. There is often slightly more clarity in terms of the use of the word teacher. Nonetheless, teachers could also serve as evangelists in their spare time, and they often taught Christianity in the schools and served as catechumen instructors outside their working hours. Indigenous workers working in the hospitals and clinics are referred to in this study as medical helpers or dressers. Yet, here too is a paradox since these often served as evangelists both inside and outside the clinic. Lastly, the use of names for the indigenous teachers and evangelists are also problematic. The missionaries often referred to a Tanzanian worker as *the evangelist* or *our teacher*. If a name is mentioned, it is generally a first name. I tried to use the surnames of both foreign and indigenous mission workers, but was not always successful in finding them. Hence I was forced to find a middle ground, and chose to use the surnames if I knew them, and the first names when I did not. I will try to be consistent in the use of names and titles. Nonetheless, I hope that the reader will recognise the difficulty in knowing the exact name or duty of a particular worker.

In order to make the text readable, I try to use layman's language throughout the research. Thus I wave claims to use the more accurate terminology of Maa or Kiswahili. In most cases, I use the same spelling as Dorothy L. Hodgson in *Once Intrepid Warriors* and as in *Being Maasai*, edited by Thomas Spear and Richard Waller. A glossary is provided at the end of this book.

1. BACKGROUND

1.1. Maasai and Arusha – Maasailand and Mount Meru

In this first chapter, we will take a peek at the history and some of the most essential elements and features of the Maasai and Arusha within their own geographical contexts. Arusha and Maasai customs are alien to virtually everyone not brought up with them. Although quite a great deal has been documented and our knowledge of the history and identity of these peoples has deepened accordingly, the information given by various scholars is in part conflicting and much – especially in terms of history – is bound never to be revealed. My aim is not to try to add any new insight into Arusha and Maasai cultural life. Nor will I describe more than the absolute minimum of some of the most typical Maasai and Arusha elements. This serves the sole purpose of ensuring that the reader gains a better grasp on the customs and courses of events that appear further on in this study. Most of the information included in this chapter is provided by Gulliver, Merker, Spencer and Fosbrooke.

History and Structure

The Maasai differ in many ways from the majority of the ethnic groups in Tanzania and Kenya. Whereas most tribes in these countries are sedentary, the Maasai are either semi nomadic or nomadic, and whereas most other East-Africans are tied to agriculture or wage-labour, the Maasai find their ideals in pastoralism.⁸ Their Maa language is vastly

⁸ This is not to say that no Maasai today are occupied as farmers or wage-labourers. Many Maasai have obtained a good education. Many have partly or entirely left herding and earn their living from farming or sources other than cattle. Yet, most Maasai still see herding as

different from the widely spoken Bantu languages, including the Kiswahili, as is much of their culture. They are not of Bantu- but of Nilotic origin, and it is believed that they are a rather recent arrival on the East African scene.⁹ It is believed that the ancestors of today's Maasai descended from southern Sudan around a millennium ago. As the Maasai moved south into the Rift Valley, they left behind some of their previous means of living. Having formerly been occupied as herders, farmers, hunters and gatherers, they specialised increasingly on what suited their new semi-arid environment – nomadic pastoralism. With a new environment and a gradual change in economic specialisation, their ethnic identity and traditions changed accordingly. They became highly cattle-centred. They evolved weapons and military methods to defend themselves and their cattle against predators and enemies or to raid other tribes for cattle. They also developed age-sets to divide the young men into warriors and the older into leaders.¹⁰

The documented history of the Arusha is more recent. It is believed that sometime after 1830 the forefathers of the modern Arusha people migrated from Arusha Chini (lower Arusha) to Arusha Juu (upper Arusha), where they reside today. These Arusha are believed to have been partly of Bantu and partly of Nilotic strain. Most of them spoke Maa and many were probably Maasai who, due to wars between different Maasai groupings, had sought refuge at Arusha Chini. After having reached the southern slopes of the Meru Mountain, these early Arusha settlers started farming. Protected by the Kisongo, the neighbouring Maasai section, against the Meru tribe already inhabiting southern Meru, the Arusha could settle peacefully. Their co-operation with the Maasai advanced from a simple provision of tobacco, honey, beer, cereals and

the ideal, and they value and seek strength in their culture and heritage, which in one way or another is tied to cattle.

⁹ There are different theories regarding the Maasai origin. For this, see Sommer & Vossen 1993, 25-29; Fosbrooke 1948, 2-3; Hodgson 2004, 22-24. The word Maasai is a shortening of *ilmaasai* which literally means 'those who speak the Maasai language' (Priest 1990, 57).

¹⁰ Spear 1993, 1-2; Sutton 1993, 38-42; Galaty 1993, 61-70.

labour to a gradual assimilation into their culture. As far as Arusha agriculture permitted, the Arusha became Maasai. They participated in rites with the Kisongo Maasai, acknowledged the Kisongo diviner and initiated their sons into Maasai age-sets. In time, the Arusha grew in number, economic strength and confidence – to the extent that, towards the end of the 19th century, they dared not only challenge their Meru neighbours, but also their once superior Maasai benefactors. They raided their herds and drove them further away from the fertile slopes of Mount Meru. On the other hand, they also provided refuge for suffering Maasai during famines.¹¹

The Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania generally consider themselves as belonging to one and the same tribe. They have the same language, the same social structure and most Maasai are pastoralists – either as nomads or semi-nomads. They are, however, grouped in different sections, inhabiting different areas and have partly different dialects as well as political and social structures. Sommer and Vossen estimate the number of Maasai sections to be at least twenty-two, most of which inhabit Maasailand in Kenya. The largest sections in Tanzania are Kisongo, Sikirari, Salei, Serenget, Purko, Parakuyo and Loitai, but Arusha is also often considered a Maasai section although their Maasai ancestry is unclear.¹² The Maasai are further divided into smaller units consisting of a few clans and a larger number of sub-clans. These have no direct relation to the sections, and are spread throughout Maasailand. Maasai from different sections might belong to the same clan. As clan members

¹¹ Gulliver 1957, 1-4; Gulliver 1963, 10-12; Spear 1997, 41-47, 51-53; Yohanes ole Kauwenara (AHT 2). The Kisongo *loibon* Supeet is believed to have played a chief role in the assimilation of the Arusha into the Maasai. Compare Fokken, ELMB 1906, 60.

¹² Sommer & Vossen 1993, 30-31; Galaty 1993, 70-75. Compare Fosbrooke 1948, 6-10. There is probably more discussion among scholars than the Arusha and Maasai themselves as to whether the Arusha should be called a section, a sub-tribe or a totally different tribe. Their history is not well known – yet they speak Maasai and they have been allies with the Kisongo since the mid-1800s. Gulliver uses the word tribe (*olosh*) to describe the Arusha and sub-tribe when he refers to the Arusha sub-groups and areas Boru (Ilboru) and Burka (Gulliver 1963, 23).

are dispersed around Maasailand in Kenya and Tanzania, they lack a strong leadership and their functions, primarily legal, remain weak.¹³ As a sedentary people, the Arusha, unlike the Maasai, are divided into permanent geographical units. Gulliver describes these units – or parishes – as ‘a socially and geographically defined collection of scattered homesteads, each of which is built on the separate land-holding worked by the family which occupies it’. Parishes are autonomous local communities without any basis in kinship. Whereas Arusha lineages and clanship groups are territorially widely dispersed, the inhabitants in a parish are tightly knit and are involved with each other on a daily basis. Gulliver maintains that, on the eve of German colonisation, there were fifteen Arusha parishes, and, in 1948, twenty-eight.¹⁴

Identity

The Maasai and Arusha believe that God – *Enkai* – created the world and singled them out as his/her chosen people. According to various legends and creation narratives, *Enkai* gave the cow only to the Maasai. For centuries, the Maasai have considered all cows to be theirs by divine right, which explains, for a large part, all the cattle raiding from other ethnic groups.¹⁵ The whole Maasai society is firmly centred

¹³ Gulliver 1963, 110-116; Sankan 1971, 1-4; Huntingford 1953, 105-106. Sankan estimates the original number of clans to be five, but maintains that some new clans have emerged. Huntingford, comparing three separate studies, names seven clans and many sub-clans, but stresses that it is not certain how many clans there are and that not even the Maasai appear to be able to provide an accurate number. Flatt maintains that there are four clans among the Arusha and that the main and ‘traditional function of the clan is to take corporate responsibility and action in any case of homicide in which a member is involved.’ (Flatt 1980, 36). Benson argues that clans control marriages to keep the bloodline pure – marriage within the clan is undesirable and subject to a fine. He also emphasises that a particular solidarity exists between clan brothers (Benson 1974, 47-48). Finally the *loibons* have traditionally been derived from the *Laiser* clan and its sub-clan *Enkidong* (or *Enkidongi*) (Fosbrooke 1948, 13-14; Spear 1993, 122-123).

¹⁴ Gulliver 1963, 17-24.

¹⁵ Merker 1910, 204; Saibull & Carr 1981, 17; Benson 1974, 77-81; Sankan 1971, 67-73. *Enkai* is linguistically feminine. Benson, however, claims that ‘when people pray to the deity, it is with the concept of fatherhood as well as when you talk to people about God, it is always in the masculine context. This fatherhood context with the Deity seems to

on cattle. Cattle have traditionally provided the Maasai with their main nutrition and large herds are thus regarded as wealth. Although the cattle-based nutrition has gradually been substituted or complemented with agricultural products, the cow is still considered the backbone of Maasai society. While the Arusha also view cattle in terms of wealth, they are secondary to land, which has been more important to them than to their pastoral brethren. In both Arusha and Maasai society, cows are subject to various kinds of sacrifices. Cattle are sacrificed at most of the traditional ceremonies. The sacrificial slaughtering of cattle, as well as oxen, rams and sheep, is also performed to bring peace, break spells and cure sicknesses. Cattle are ascribed with both material and spiritual value.¹⁶

Another feature typical for the Arusha and Maasai is their age-system. All Maasai men belong to an age-set, into which they are initiated through circumcision. During certain ceremonies, all Maasai men in a given age-set advance to more senior age-grades with more responsibilities and privileges. Spencer compares the age system with ‘a queue climbing up a ladder [...] with each successive climber representing an age-set and each rung an age grade’.¹⁷ At the bottom of

indicate him to be a “spirit” with whom they can communicate. He is like a father in relationship to his child.’ (Benson 1974, 76). Hodgson claims the opposite meaning that the addressing of *Enkai* as a male ‘reflects the historical influence of Christian imagery.’ (Hodgson 2000a, 762-763). Priest likewise discusses the feminine sex of *Enkai*, noting that ‘the use of feminine gender does not necessarily mean that the Maasai view deity as a feminine, however. Some Maasai names for God are in the masculine gender as well. [...] the vast majority of Maasai nouns do not refer to beings or things that are intrinsically masculine or feminine.’ (Priest 1990, 114). Flatt similarly notes that ‘prayers are offered to him as a “father”’. It is claimed that this is not due to external contact, but is a traditional usage. We might find reason to question this claim, but it certainly seems to be the contemporary custom.’ (Flatt 1980, 58). Flatt and Priest, like most male authors, write him, when indicating *Enkai*, whereas female authors like Kiel (1997, 88-89) and Hodgson address *Enkai* as she.

¹⁶ Huntingford 1953, 121-122; Priest 1990, 83-109, 113, 120-141; Benson 1974, 90-110, 121-123. There are many aspects of sacrifice in Maasai society. Maasai offer sacrifices on a daily basis in the form of milk, beer etc. In general religiosity is tightly interwoven with Maasai and Arusha life. See for instance Priest 1990, 141-150; Flatt 1980, 85-89, 99-109 and Hodgson 2000a, 762-763. For more on Maasai and cattle today, see Campbell 1993, 258-271.

¹⁷ Spencer 1993, 140-141.

the ladder are the children, preceded by younger and older warriors, who in turn are preceded by junior and senior elders. The ladder-like system, however, concerns only the men. Girls are also “circumcised” but their initiation is to adult life and the right to marry rather than to an age-set.¹⁸ Women enter an age-set by marriage and thereafter belong to the same age-set as their husbands. Thus women and men of roughly the same ages often belong to different age-sets; the women to more senior age-sets as they marry – or are forced to marry – older men.

Of the Maasai and Arusha age-set ceremonies, three are particularly respected; these ceremonies are the circumcision, the promotion from junior to senior warriors and the promotion of all warriors of an age-set to junior elders. The circumcision ceremony for boys is called *emurrata*. Boys are usually circumcised as teenagers and all Maasai sections, including the Arusha, circumcise the boys at the same period and into the same age-set. A circumcision period comprises more than ten years which would imply that not all the boys are teenagers when they are being circumcised. Yet, the Maasai initiate their sons into two sub-categories called the right and left hand. Those who are circumcised within the first years after the circumcision period is opened are done so into the right hand of the age-set. Those who are circumcised later become the left hand of the same age-set. The right hand circumcision period is somewhat longer than the left hand. Thus, most Maasai belong to the first and right hand group, which is also considered somewhat more prestigious than the left hand group. Circumcision on both boys and girls is regarded as inevitable in Maasai and Arusha communities. In the same way as contemporary circumcisions imply entrance into the society, those who are not circumcised in the Maasai custom are viewed as strangers or children.¹⁹ Shortly after the left hand

¹⁸ As a general rule, I use the word circumcision for men and female genital mutilation or incision for women. For the sake of simplicity, however, I sometimes also call the female genital mutilation circumcision. For more about female genital mutilation, see footnote 159.

¹⁹ Fosbrooke 1948, 25; Spencer 1993, 141-143.

group has been circumcised, a ceremony called *eunoto* is held. At this ceremony, the older right hand *murran* or warriors²⁰ are given a more senior role, whereas the younger left hand *murran* get to rule the warrior arena and are supposed to function as the warriors proper. A few years later, after a new age-set has been formed and a new right hand group of warriors has been initiated, an *eunoto* ceremony is held for the remaining warriors of the previous age-set.²¹ Due to practical – agriculture-related – reasons, the Arusha customs had, early on, started diverging from the Maasai ones. After the *eunoto*-ceremony, the right hand Arusha warriors were allowed to marry, establish households and pioneer new farms, whereas the younger left hand warriors remained bachelors and had more social restrictions. Moreover, the Arusha warriors did not, as their Kisongo brethren, withdraw to (communal) warrior villages or *manyattas*, but lived at home and assisted their families at their farms.²² A third crucial stage in the Arusha and Maasai life cycle is the *olngesher* ceremony. Through this ceremony the right and left hand *murran* – already elevated to senior warriors through the *eunoto* ceremony – are united and elevated to become junior elders.²³

Spirituality and Diviners

In terms of spirituality, the Maasai differ from most other tribes in Tanzania. They have quite a weak notion about life after death. Whereas ancestor worship is common, for instance, among the Chagga around Kilimanjaro, the Maasai, as a general rule, don't believe in any afterlife. Benson maintains that they are earth-oriented and live life in the present tense.²⁴ Two exceptions to this, however, should be noted. First, the

²⁰ Gulliver is reluctant to use the warrior-translation for *murran* (*olmurrani* pl. *ilmurran*) as he claims it too one-sidedly pronounces the warfare-aspect of *murran*-hood (Gulliver 1957, 26-27). I will, for variations sake, personally use both *murran* and warrior.

²¹ Fosbrooke 1948, 25; Spencer 1993, 143.

²² Fokken, ELMB 1906, 60-61; Gulliver 1957, 37-38; Spear 1997, 50-51.

²³ Ngoilenya Wuapi (AHT 5); Fosbrooke 1948, 25; Spencer 1993, 145-146.

²⁴ Benson 1974, 85, 141.

Arusha ideas differ slightly from the Maasai. Most Arusha believe in ancestral spirits, which are believed to live beneath the earth. Flatt, on the other hand, maintains that there are also considerable variations in Arusha practices ‘from intense concern with the ancestor cult to no concern at all according to heredity and geographical contingency [sic] with the neighbouring peoples’, and that Arusha spiritual conceptions are derived from Bantu-speaking agriculturalists. Those Arusha living closer to the Meru tend to have the heaviest emphasis on the ancestor cult.²⁵ Secondly, a common view among both the pastoral Maasai and the Arusha is that the spirit of some distinguished people – such as diviners and highly respected elders – survives and continues to exist in the form of snakes.²⁶

Both Maasai and Arusha believe that a person’s transgressions may harm the community and its relation with *Enkai*. Kiel compares sin and curse. Whereas sin to the Maasai – and Arusha – implies breaking community rules or harming others, a curse may be uttered by anyone to cause harm to individuals or whole communities.²⁷ Yet few transgressions or curses involve ancestral spirits. Likewise, Maasai prayers and sacrifices are essentially targeted at *Enkai*, aiming at breaking spells and restoring the balance between man and *Enkai* as well as between man and man.

In cases when restoration of order is needed, the services of a diviner might be requested. Fosbrooke maintains that there are three groups of Maasai diviners. The most junior of the diviners – or *loibons*²⁸ – are the private practitioners ‘curing sickness, removing barrenness and

²⁵ Flatt 1980, 27-28, 119-120; Gulliver 1963, 12, 74, 83-84, 97-99; Saibull & Carr 1981, 107.

²⁶ Benson 1974, 85; Flatt 1980, 120; Saibull & Carr 1981, 107. Flatt claims that in particular certain Maasai sub-clans have this belief.

²⁷ Kiel 1997, 96-99; Saitoti 1988, 3-4. Compare footnote 431 in this research.

²⁸ The Maa word for diviner is *oloiboni*, pl. *iloibonok*. Throughout this study I utilize the commonly used and simplified word *loibon*, pl. *loibons*. With the word *loibon* I hereafter refer to the Kisongo chief medicine man. In cases where I imply lesser medicine men or *loibons* of other Maasai sections this will be clearly noted.

insuring fidelity in wives'. When a diviner has acquired a good reputation among the people he might be consulted by groups of Maasai. Using Fosbrooke's words, he 'provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group'. This middle group of diviners are consulted to procure success in war, good rainfalls and help against diseases.²⁹ The third group, and the group frequently mentioned in this study, consists of the chief diviners. These *loibons* enjoy great respect among the people they serve. They are the spiritual leaders of the tribe and the sections, and in addition to duties they have in common with the lesser diviners, they sanction war raids as well as bless and authorize ceremonies affecting the whole Maasai tribe.³⁰

Maasailand and Mount Meru – Geography and Climate

The area concerned in this study is an area which today constitutes the Arusha and the eastern half of the Manyara Region. In 2002, this area containing seven districts had 1,587,406 inhabitants, with one half living close to Mount Meru in the districts of Arusha and Arumeru, and the other half being quite evenly spread out in the other five districts.³¹ In large, this is the area which, excluding Arusha and its

²⁹ Fosbrooke 1948, 13-14. Flatt maintains that there are also prophets and prophetesses who are not *loibons* in a traditional sense but nevertheless might exercise a powerful influence (Flatt 1980, 93).

³⁰ Although the chief medicine man, or *loibon*, of, for instance, the Kisongo section (to which the Arusha are tied) sanctions raids, superintends circumcision and promotion of warriors etc. predominantly in his own section, all Maasai are tied together in various ways. Thus the influence of the Kisongo *loibon*, in practice, extends outside of the section borders. An example of this is given by Spencer, who maintains that the *Keekonyokie* section (and *loibon*) inaugurate the circumcision period whereas the Kisongo (and its *loibon*) decides when *olngesher* ceremonies are to start (Spencer 1993, 145). The chief *loibons* have often come from the *Enkidong* sub-clan of the *Laiser* clan. Some Maasai diviners are, however, not strictly hierarchically organised and throughout Maasai history some have enjoyed more respect than others (Fosbrooke 1948, 14; Huntingford 1953, 108).

³¹ United Republic of Tanzania, Population and Housing Census, 2002. The five districts of the Arusha region are Ngorongoro, Karatu, Monduli, Arumeru and Arusha. Of the five districts Simanjiro, Kiteto, Mbulu, Babati and Hanang of the Manyara region only the first two are included in the statistics above. These are the districts that constituted the Arusha

immediate surroundings, constituted the 37,000 square kilometres of the Maasai District during German and British rule.³²

Mount Meru and its surrounding steppe have a vastly different climate and vegetation. The slopes of Mount Meru are well watered, have a fertile volcanic soil and lush vegetation. This area is well suited for agriculture and most of the land is used either as farmland or house plots by the roughly 800,000 Arusha or Meru inhabiting it.³³ In sharp contrast, most of the Maasai steppe surrounding Mount Meru is arid or semi-arid. Apart from the Pangani or Ruvu River, which forms the eastern border of the regions Arusha and Manyara and is the only permanent river, there are only a few seasonal rivers. The population, for the most part Maasai, is therefore dependant on man-made wells and water holes – not least for their cattle. Drought is constantly an issue on the Maasai steppe. In 1948, Senior Provincial Commissioner F. H. Page-Jones noted that ‘rain falls evenly throughout Maasailand only once in seven years’ and that ‘one large area or another was always drought stricken’.³⁴ Due to the harsh conditions, it has been necessary throughout history for the Maasai to migrate with their cattle to find water and grazing areas. Through the creation of artificial water holes, which was first carried out by the British in the 1920s in an attempt to convince the Maasai to settle, the water issue was partly solved.³⁵ The grazing problems, however, have proven more difficult to solve and the Maasai have, therefore, remained reluctant to abandon their nomadic lifestyle. The fact that the Maasai have gradually become more sedentary is, consequently, not due to environmental conditions but to political

region until mid-2002 and, for the majority, the area that constituted the Maasai Reserve and District during German and British rule.

³² Page-Jones 1948, 51.

³³ Gulliver 1963, 5-9; United Republic of Tanzania, Population and Housing Census, 2002.

³⁴ Page-Jones 1948, 51-56. See also Nangoro 1998, 46-47 and Huntingford 1953, 119-120.

³⁵ Page-Jones 1948, 54-56. Compare Hodgson 200b, 56-61.

enforcements – such as land alienation and, after independence, the *ujamaa*-villagisation programme.³⁶

It was within these cultural and geographical milieus – with a rich and well-defined cultural heritage on the one hand and contradicting visions and harsh realities on the other – that Christianity was brought to Arusha and Maasailand.

1.2. The Leipzig Mission – Background and Identity

Mission interest among the German Protestants experienced a major upswing at the beginning of the 19th century. The reasons for this were several. Changes entered the religious sector as a result of the political situation in the aftermath of the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars, but also because of the enlightenment and an ever stronger German nationalism. More closely, however, the new mission zeal was associated with the pietistic movement emerging at the beginning of the century – a movement which itself was fuelled by the turbulent political situation. Several missionary societies were founded during the first half of the 19th century and most of them had roots in this movement.³⁷

One of these missionary societies was *Evangelisch-Lutherische Missionsgesellschaft zu Dresden*, founded in 1836. The main goal for the founding of the Dresden Mission was to establish a Lutheran mission body, and, in doing so, to make mission work a Lutheran issue and not merely a pietistic movement outside the Church. It was hoped that

³⁶ See for instance Campbell 1993, 258-271 and Ndagala 1998, 36-59.

³⁷ Mirbt 1918, 38-43; Neill 1990, 210-215. See also Bosch 2004, 279-282. Mirbt, on the one hand, sees the new mission zeal as a part of a larger Protestant upsurge wherein German Evangelic Christianity tried to liberate itself from the destructive consequences of the French revolution, the Napoleonic wars and from the influence of the enlightenment, and, on the other, as a direct result of a pietistic movement outside the church (Mirbt 1918, 38).

Lutherans from all over Europe would join the new society. The founding of the Dresden Mission gained positive attention and Lutherans both within and outside of Germany became supporters. Some of these were newcomers to mission work, whereas others had been earlier involved in non-Lutheran mission societies. In 1848, the Dresden Mission moved to the university town of Leipzig and changed its name to *Evangelisch-Lutherische Mission zu Leipzig*, or the Leipzig Mission.³⁸

The Leipzig Mission differed from other German 19th century mission organisations in three main ways; it had an orthodox Lutheran theology, it laid considerable weight on sending out well-trained missionaries – most of them theologians – and it stressed, as its goal, the idea of creating independent churches of indigenous people [*Volkskirchen*].³⁹ These characteristics were shaped under the leadership of Dr. Karl Graul, who served as the first director for the Leipzig Mission between 1844 and 1859. Although the Leipzig Mission undeniably had roots in the pietistic revivals of the 18th and 19th centuries and was organised as an independent society, its Lutheran heritage and ties were vigorously stressed. As a devoted Lutheran, Graul underlined the importance of the Leipzig Mission as essentially *eine kirchliche Mission* and a concern of the Church. He similarly stressed the obvious role of the Lutheran confession, the Word and the sacraments for the Leipzig Mission.⁴⁰ In fact, Graul wanted the Leipzig Mission to distance itself from ‘superfluous sentimental enthusiasm’ [*überschwengliche Gefühls-*

³⁸ Fleisch 1936, 24-25. Despite its founders’ original intention to make the Dresden (and Leipzig) Mission an organisation for all Lutherans in Germany (and beyond), it did not remain the only Lutheran missionary society, but a few others were founded. I will hereafter refer to the Dresden Mission (1836-1848) as the Leipzig Mission.

³⁹ *Grundbestimmungen der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission zu Leipzig* (in J-ELM 1905, 20-22); Oehler 1949, 217-218; Myklebust 1955, 93-94. See also Mirbt 1910, 33-34 and Fleisch 1936, 25-27. Only 25 out of 509 German Protestant missionaries in the 1870s were university graduates. 15 of these were Leipzig missionaries. Still half a century later only 10 per cent of the German Protestant missionaries were university graduates (Myklebust 1955, 94).

⁴⁰ Myklebust 1955, 93-94.

schwärmerei] which he considered typical for the pietistic mission.⁴¹ Myklebust describes the director's mission approach as largely scientific; Graul's discussion of missions – its claims, results and problems – is marked throughout by sincerity and soberness. Missionary interest and zeal must be based, not on the sinking sand of sentimentality, but on the solid rock of reality, i.e. on knowledge of things as they are. Graul stood for facts, not fancies. What he advocated was no less than a scientific approach to missions.⁴²

In line with Graul's attempts to create a more scientific mission, he wished to bring the Leipzig Mission closer to the University of Leipzig. This was one of the reasons why he wanted the society to move to Leipzig. He believed that the university could offer the missionary candidates valuable training, particularly in foreign languages and theology. Moreover, by moving to Leipzig, which was widely considered the spiritual centre of the Lutheran Church in Germany, Graul hoped to enhance the status of the Leipzig Mission as a mission for the whole Lutheran Church and not only for Saxony.⁴³

Aside from its Lutheran bias and emphasis on Lutheranism and education, the Leipzig Mission had a somewhat different view on its own role than most other Protestant societies. Regarding itself as a representative of the whole Lutheran Church, it emphasised not only the conversion of individuals, but, above all, the building of young Lutheran churches [*Volkskirchen*] on the mission field. These churches were in due course to become autonomous, and, at the same time, a part of the worldwide Lutheran Church. Consequently, the Leipzig Mission came to put emphasis not only on the appropriate education for the missionaries,

⁴¹ Oehler 1949, 217.

⁴² Myklebust 1955, 94.

⁴³ Oehler 1949, 218-219; Fleisch 1936, 9-10, 25-26, 66. There were also other reasons why Graul wanted co-operation with the University of Leipzig. One of them was that he wished to make mission (or *Evangelistik*) a science besides theology and other sciences taught at the university. See for instance Myklebust 1955, 98-103.

but also on the importance of various levels of education in the mission field.⁴⁴

As early as 1836 the Leipzig Mission opened a seminary and began educating missionaries. The early missionary training lasted two years and involved studies in theology, teaching, geography, history and archaeology, mathematics and logics, geography, singing and languages, i.e. English as well as biblical Greek and Hebrew.⁴⁵ Only young men with a decent educational background, such as continued gymnasium or university studies, were received as students. It proved difficult to find willing and qualified candidates. Therefore an attempt was made in 1853 to lower the requirements and welcome less educated men into the seminary. The effort was unsuccessful and only one out of ten students managed to complete the programme, forcing the Leipzig Mission to return to its former demands for a certain pre-education.⁴⁶ In 1879, the missionary education was thoroughly expanded and came to comprise six years of studies. The three first years were devoted to humanistic subjects whereas theology and languages were on the agenda for the three remaining years. Those who had passed the upper-secondary final examination, the *Abitur*, entered directly into year four and could begin immediately with theological studies. This structure was considered satisfactory to such a degree that the Leipzig Mission chose to retain it until as late as 1924 when the seminary was reopened after being closed during the First World War.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Grundbestimmungen der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission zu Leipzig* (in J-ELM 1905, 20-22); Oehler 1949, 218; Oehler 1951, 70-71; Moritzen 1986, 18. For various types of schools on the Leipzig Mission field in East Africa, see Eggert 1970, 176-185.

⁴⁵ Fleisch 1936, 8-9. It is notable that Fleisch does not reveal what the early missionary candidates did study, but what their teacher, Pastor Johann Georg Wermelskirch, thought that the education should comprise. Most likely, however, the early missionary education was carried out in accordance with Wermelskirch's plans.

⁴⁶ Fleisch 1936, 9-10; 45-47. After having graduated from the Leipzig Mission seminary, the missionaries could get further education at the universities in Leipzig and Erlangen or practice in a congregation before being ordained and sent out as missionaries (Fleisch 1936, 9).

⁴⁷ Fleisch 1936, 94-95, 374-375. Hermann Fokken was one of the missionaries who had passed the *Abitur* and spent only three years at the seminary (Fokken 1967, 5).

The first Leipzig Mission enterprise was around Adelaide in southern Australia, where four missionaries were sent in 1838 and 1840. The aim of the work was partly to care for the spiritual life of the German settlers and partly to initiate work among the Aborigines. However, the mission work was highly unsuccessful and the Leipzig Mission decided in 1846 not to send any more missionaries to Australia.⁴⁸ With a similar mission to work both among German settlers and the indigenous population, a few missionaries were sent to North America in the 1840s. A mission station was founded in Michigan and, in 1853, it had 60 Christians. During the subsequent years, the work in America declined and it was abandoned altogether in 1868.⁴⁹

During the 19th century, the Leipzig Mission was primarily occupied with its work in Tranquebar in southeastern India. The Lutheran work in Tranquebar started in 1705-1706 when the Danish king Frederick IV and a circle of Pietists from Halle sent two German Lutheran theologians to commence mission work in the small Danish colony there. After a propitious start, the Tranquebar mission began to encounter problems. Lehmann describes the new winds in Europe as the main reason for the downfall. Along with enlightenment, the mission zeal in Germany and Denmark diminished, and with fewer and less zealous missionaries reaching Tranquebar the work weakened and became more secular. The last German Halle-missionary in Tranquebar died in 1837.⁵⁰ After little more than brief negotiations with the management of the Danish mission, the Leipzig Mission in 1840 sent a missionary to Tranquebar. In 1847, after having operated under the

⁴⁸ Fleisch 1936, 11. The missionaries resigned from the Leipzig Mission. Two of them became pastors in German congregations and two became farmers (Fleisch 1936, 11).

⁴⁹ Fleisch 1936, 10, 27-28; Moritzen 1986, 16, 18.

⁵⁰ Lehmann 1956, 7-24, 290-300; Fleisch 1936, 12; Bosch 2004, 253-255. The two first Protestant missionaries were Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau (Lehmann 1956, 7-24).

Danish-Halle mission for almost seven years, the Leipzig Mission took over what was left of the Tranquebar mission.⁵¹

The Birth of the Adiaphora-Principle and the Mission Council

By taking over the old Danish-Halle mission field in India, the Leipzig Mission came off easier than if it had started from scratch. Yet, as a young society, the Leipzig Mission still stood on rather shaky grounds. Not only did it struggle to find appropriate working methods and mutual strategies for its missionaries, but the Indian cultures put the work to the test. Above all, the caste system caused disagreements among the missionaries. Some of the missionaries wanted to forbid the system within the Lutheran work altogether, signifying that it was predominantly wicked and harmful. Others had a more tolerant approach and viewed it as a cultural practice which the mission should tolerate. On the one hand, it was possible to look at the caste system from a biblical point of view and thereby accept it as a social reality, similarly to how Paul viewed slavery in the New Testament world.⁵² On the other hand – and the main reason why the system stirred up so much aversion – the caste order with its grouping of people in different ranks collided not only with Lutheran views of righteousness only through God’s grace, but also with Lutheran aspirations to build a *Volkskirche* – a Church where people of all groups would be accepted. As the caste system tended to penetrate the Lutheran work and to divide even Christians into different

⁵¹ Lehmann 1956, 304-312; Fleisch 1936, 13-16, 28-30. The Danish work in Tranquebar was directed by a mission board in Copenhagen. The board, which in the 1830s had only three members, had the authorization of the Danish king to lead the mission work (Fleisch 1936, 12, 29). The first Leipzig missionary to be sent to Tranquebar was Heinrich Cordes. He was actually sent before any official agreement had been made with the government in Tranquebar. He started off as a curate to the colony’s only pastor and missionary Knudsen, who himself had only worked in Tranquebar since 1837. In 1845, Denmark sold its Indian colonies Tranquebar and Serampore to Britain (Fleisch 1936, 12-14; Oehler 1949, 216-217).

⁵² Here I refer to 1 Cor. 7:21-22, Gal. 3:28, Gal. 4:7, Eph. 6:8, Col. 3:11 and Phil. 16 where Paul speaks of slaves as equal in Christ. He states that slavery has little or no meaning in Christian life but similarly writes of it as a political reality.

grades, it became a concern of the mission. Hence, until a mutual decision had been made as to whether or not to accept the caste system, the foundations for a future Indian Lutheran Church would remain weak. During a 2 ½-year sojourn in India (1849-1852), the director of the Leipzig Mission, Karl Graul became acquainted with the problems in the field. After thorough cultural and language research, Graul came to the conclusion that the caste system, at least when stripped of its religious features, could not be forbidden within the Leipzig Mission work. The caste system should rather be regarded as an *adiaphoron*⁵³ – something neither desired, nor threatening to the Lutheran work. Instead of banning the caste system, the missionaries should, according to Graul, work towards an abolition of the caste system through education and guidance. In this way Graul thought it possible to reach the heart of the Indian societies without renouncing the actual heart of the Christian faith. The *adiaphoron* issue was brought forth at the General Assembly in Leipzig where the delegates appeared to have widely different views regarding the caste system and its status within the Lutheran work. The issue was eagerly debated before a decision was finally reached in 1858. Karl Graul's stance prevailed. The caste system was classified as an *adiaphoron* and was, as such, accepted.⁵⁴

The early Leipzig Mission work in India, apart from projecting new mission philosophies, was decisive in the development of practical

⁵³ The Greek word *adiaphoron* (pl. *adiaphora*) means something indifferent. An *adiaphoron* in Christian theology is something that is neither commanded nor forbidden in the Bible. Philipp Melancton considered certain Catholic elements in the Church service as *adiaphora* whereas more orthodox Lutherans wanted to forbid them. Similarly, in the 18th and 19th centuries, many Pietists could not tolerate visits to the theatre whereas orthodox Lutherans considered such as *adiaphora* (See Ulrich 1986, 41-43). It can be discussed whether the Indian caste system should be considered an *adiaphoron* since it was closely connected with Hindu religious beliefs.

⁵⁴ Fleisch 1936, 34-39, 50-62; Fiedler 1983, 29. Although the caste system was accepted, the goal of the Leipzig Mission was to work towards its abolishment. Moreover, at Holy Communion, the caste system would not be recognised and for an indigenous Christian to be ordained he had to promise that he would not treat members of various castes differently. A certain amount of freedom was also granted the missionaries in India to decide on how to implement the decision of the General Assembly (Fleisch 1936, 57-59).

aspects of the Lutheran work. Since, due to the distance between Leipzig and Tranquebar, it was extremely difficult for Graul and the leadership in Germany to guide the work in India, it became increasingly apparent that a part of the right of decision had to be handed over to the missionaries themselves. An attempt was made in 1845 to shape a Missionary Conference on the field and to hand off some of the rights of decision to the missionaries themselves. The purpose of establishing this institution was to increase efficiency by allowing issues of lesser importance to be dealt with locally rather than in Leipzig. In cases of disagreements between missionaries, the final decision should be made by the missionary-in-charge; the senior. As the missionaries tended to have different theological ideas and opinions on how the Gospel should be promoted, disagreements were common. Final decisions were thus often made by the senior and, accordingly, he became something of an autocrat. Most missionaries found the management structure unsatisfying and changes ensued. The Missionary Conference persisted, but the role of the senior was reduced.⁵⁵ This in turn made the decision apparatus in the field ineffective; the situation only grew worse as the number of missionaries and, thus, opinions grew. In 1857, the organisation was re-revised. The Missionary Conference was dissolved and replaced by a Mission Church Council [*Missionskirchenrat*]. The Mission Church Council should, like the Missionary Conference, be headed by the senior, but his personal power was still to remain quite insignificant. What changed more significantly was how the missionaries were represented. Whereas every missionary had been represented in the discontinued Missionary Conference, the new Mission Church Council was comprised of only three delegates. By minimizing the number of delegates, an attempt was made to make the administration more effective. All missionaries would be invited to an annual synod. This synod, however,

⁵⁵ Fleisch 1936, 33-34. The first missionary, Heinrich Cordes, was elected the first senior by the board in Leipzig. Even he, according to Fleisch, was critical of the new constitution, and, in particular of the prominent role of the senior (Fleisch 1936, 33-34).

was to serve not as a General Assembly but rather as a discussion forum and, thus, came to play a rather insignificant role.⁵⁶

As the work in Tranquebar grew and got better organised, so did the Leipzig Mission as an organisation. Through the ups-and-downs that the society encountered in India, the Leipzig Mission gained experience and maturity. When, in 1892, the Leipzig Mission made the decision to open up a new field in Africa, it had a significantly firmer ground on which to build than when it began work in Tranquebar. Early experiences in Tranquebar had given birth to a functioning management apparatus and – perhaps more importantly – a mission ideology which was to be characteristic to the Leipzig Mission. Later on in this study we will see how the lessons learned from India were to be beneficial in the forthcoming work in Africa, but also how difficult it would become to implement the *adiaphoron* principle.

1.3. The First Attempt at Mission Work around Mount Meru

Long hesitant to focus on anything but its work in India, the Leipzig Mission repeatedly discarded proposals from supporting circles to start a new mission enterprise in East Africa. Frustrated by this disinclination, previously Leipzig-loyal supporters in Bavaria decided to

⁵⁶ Fleisch 1936, 59. The role of the Mission Church Council was primarily to make proposals regarding appointments and placement of missionaries and regarding the founding of new stations. In urgent cases, the Mission Church Council could make these decisions itself, without contacting the leadership in Leipzig. Moreover, the employing of mission workers and inspection of the various areas of work was the responsibility of the Mission Church Council. The senior was chairman in both the Mission Church Council and at the annual synod. Apart from his authority to inspect the various missions, together with a member of the council, and to postpone decisions to a later Mission Church Council session, the senior had very little extraordinary power. The Mission Church Council should actually count five members, but as chaotic as the situation was in India in the mid 1800s this number was temporarily reduced to three. Apparently the General Assembly tried to stabilise the situation by entrusting the leadership to three trusted men. See Fleisch 1936, 59. In later work in East Africa, the Mission Church Council was called the Mission Council [*Missionsrat*].

found a new Lutheran society. The Society for Evangelical-Lutheran Mission in East Africa [*Gesellschaft für ev-luth Mission in Ostafrika*] was founded in 1881 and soon after, the new Lutheran society had sent its first missionaries to Africa. During the six years that the Bavarian society existed, its missionaries, under difficult circumstances, founded three stations among the Kamba tribe in what is today southern Kenya. During these years, Leipzig interest in work in East Africa matured and in 1892, after a range of constructive negotiations, the Leipzig Mission took charge of the work of the Society for Evangelical-Lutheran Mission in East Africa, which itself ceased to exist.⁵⁷ The Leipzig Mission also held talks with the British Church Missionary Society (CMS), which, since 1885, had a station at Moshi on the lower slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. Due to tense relations between the British missionaries and the German colonial authorities, CMS had few options in 1892 but to sell its station to the Leipzig Mission, whose first four missionaries arrived at Moshi on 30 September 1893. Members of the Chagga tribe had burned down the Moshi station shortly after the departure of the CMS missionaries and the Leipzig missionaries reopened it only two years later, after first having founded new stations at the nearby locations of Machame and Mamba.⁵⁸

In 1895, four new Leipzig missionaries were sent to German East Africa. Two of these, Ewald Ovir and Karl Segebrock, were to expand the Lutheran work westwards. The work among the Chagga of

⁵⁷ Fleisch 1936, 240-248. Initially, the Society for Evangelical-Lutheran Mission in East Africa wanted to continue the work of Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881) among the Galla tribe in what is today northern Kenya, but chose the Kamba tribe instead. Three stations were founded; at Jimba, Mbungu and Ikutha. It was hoped that the expeditions of Karl Peters would extend the German sphere further than it did, but instead the area where the Kamba stations were founded became British territory. The work with the Kamba tribe was far from successful. Few people seemed interested in the Christian message and the missionaries fought with health problems (Fleisch 1936, 239-246; Knauß 1992, columns 606-608). The Leipzig Mission continued with the Kamba work – although with quite poor results and battling against health problems – until it finally had to leave the British colony at the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

⁵⁸ Fleisch 1936, 267-269; Oliver 1970, 166-167.

Kilimanjaro was well underway and the enlargement of the Lutheran work was timely. Moreover, with increased competition from the Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers⁵⁹, swift expansion was considered necessary. In October 1896, after receiving orders from the board in Leipzig, Ovir and Segebrock travelled to Mount Meru to make preparations for the foundation of a station amid the Meru [Waro] tribe inhabiting the southeastern slopes of the mountain. In an optimistic letter to Missionary Emil Müller, Ovir reported about a friendly reception by *Mangi* Matunda, the Meru Chief. Ovir also noted that the Holy Ghost Fathers had not preceded them.⁶⁰

The young missionaries eagerly set to work reconnoitring the area in search for a suitable location for a mission, which they found at Akeri close to the River Malala. Though fully aware of Meru and Arusha opposition against European influence, Ovir and Segebrock confidently turned down repeated offers to stay with Captain Kurt Johannes and Lieutenant Moritz Merker in a nearby military camp. Yet, on the 19th of October, when the purchase sum – a large piece of cotton – was paid for the Akeri plot, the missionaries were assisted by the military officers. No less than three times the same night Captain Johannes was warned about a potential Arusha and Meru attack. The first warning came from Chief Matunda who was dismissed as drunk. Twice more, however, Matunda,

⁵⁹ The Holy Ghost Fathers, Spiritans or *The Congregation of the Holy Ghost under the Protection of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CSSp)* was founded in Paris in 1703. Although the initial purpose of the founder Claude Francis Poullart des Places was to provide the Catholic Church with priests, the Holy Ghost Fathers have made themselves known as a mission society (Koren 1967, 70-71). The Catholic congregation in Arusha was founded by the Holy Ghost Fathers in 1926. Until 1963 when the Diocese of Arusha was founded, the Catholic work in the region formed a part of the Diocese of Moshi. Most of the Spiritan Fathers working in the Diocese of Arusha were Americans or British (Catholic Directory of Eastern Africa 1968-1969, 157; LeClair 1993, 60-61).

⁶⁰ Müller 1936, 5-6, 13-14; Müller/Faßmann, ELMB 1897, 15. Mission Inspector Martin Weishaupt admitted that the competition with the Catholics was a key reason why the Leipzig Mission was so eager to found stations around Mount Meru (Weishaupt, ELMB 1912, 534).

along with Arusha spokesmen [*filaigwenak*] Rawaito and Masinde turned to the military camp with their warnings.⁶¹ Johannes reported as follows;

At 3.15 [at night] the three chiefs returned to the camp and Rawaito claimed that he had seen three Arusha warriors not far from the mission camp. While I was talking to the chiefs, the Askaris, whom I had ordered to take position around the camp, opened heavy gunfire. We were surrounded by a considerable superiority of warriors who, soundlessly and unseen, had approached the camp on three sides protected by dense and dark banana groves. As no enemies were in sight I immediately stopped the gunfire. Immediately afterwards a shot was fired by the missionaries and already in the next moment the breaking of boxes and trunks followed by terrible howling was heard.⁶²

Despite having received shotguns from Johannes, the missionaries had little chance of protecting themselves against the sudden attack of the warriors. Captain Johannes did not dare to send any of his near 30 soldiers to help the missionaries. Ovir and Segebrock were stabbed to death – as were three of their co-workers from Kilimanjaro. When the news of the missionaries' fate reached Johannes, he decamped, buried the two missionaries and hurried back to Moshi knowing that his soldiers were too few to withstand a potential new assault.⁶³

The attacks had been carried out jointly by Arusha and Meru *murran*. Around 1881, Meru had joined Arusha and Kisongo Maasai to initiate their young men into a new age-set named *Talala*. This made the Meru and Arusha allies and put an end to decades of tensions between the two neighbouring tribes.⁶⁴ The attack was not aimed specifically at the missionaries, but at what was seen as an external force threatening

⁶¹ Müller/Faßmann, ELMB 1897, 15; Schwartz 1897, 89-94. For location of Akeri, see map 2.1.

⁶² Captain Kurt Johannes in Müller/Faßmann, ELMB 1897, 17. Translation by author.

⁶³ Schwartz 1897, 91-96; Müller/Faßmann, ELMB 1897, 17-18. Captain Johannes ordered Chief Matunda to bury the African co-workers (Schwartz 1897, 96). According to Spear (1997, 67) the name of Lt. Merker was Wilhelm. This is probably incorrect (Uhlig 1920, 548; Spear to Groop, 7 September 2004).

⁶⁴ See for instance Spear 1997, 29. Compare pages 22-23 and 212 in this volume.

Arusha dominance around Mount Meru. The warriors had also surrounded Johannes' and Merker's military camp in order to attack, but had pulled out when overwhelmed by the gunfire. It is unknown on whose jurisdiction the warriors attacked. Prior to most raids, the *loibon* was consulted and it is likely that he was either aware of or directly involved in these as well. Yet, in the late 1800s, little was known about the Maasai and the role of the *loibon*, and it is probable that no attempts were made to connect him – or any of the lesser diviners – to the killings. The Meru and Arusha chiefs and spokesmen, for their part, gave the appearance of having been completely unaware of the plans until shortly before the attack. They might either have been unaware, or wanted to protect themselves by approaching the military commanders. Yet that does not imply that they did not approve of the killings. Rawaito, at least, participated in the sharing of the loot from Ovir's and Segebrock's camp, a fact that was revealed when, during subsequent punishment raids, soldiers found mission goods in his house.⁶⁵ The mainstream Arusha and Meru were probably the least aware of the plans. This, however, was not considered during the German retaliation. Similarly to the failure of the Arusha and Meru *murrans* to distinguish between German missionaries and soldiers, Captain Johannes *failed* to distinguish between innocent people and warriors who had been involved in the killings. The German military had not primarily been concerned with the safety of the missionaries but rather with the conquering of rebellion tribes. Thus the retaliation for the killing of the Lutheran messengers was not the punishment of guilty individuals but rather the crushing of all resistance towards German colonialism.

In November 1896, Captain Kurt Johannes returned to Meru with around 6,000 Chagga auxiliaries to punish the Arusha and Meru. The retaliation raids were ruthless. More than 500 Arusha warriors were killed. The area was looted and many thousand cattle and small stock

⁶⁵ Müller 1936, 18.

were seized and brought to Kilimanjaro. Hundreds of women, allegedly brought from Kilimanjaro in *Talala*-raids, were also repatriated. In January 1897, Johannes and his Chagga army returned and conducted new raids. Arusha and Meru were deprived of most of their remaining livestock and more women were taken away. Due to renewed attack rumours, Captain Johannes returned to Meru twice more in 1900, but the resistance he met was minimal. Some of the Arusha and Meru leaders – one of them Rawaito – were hanged and a large number of the younger population was forced into penal servitude.⁶⁶

In 1900, the Germans appointed new leaders to replace those who had been discharged or executed. Matunda was sacked and replaced as *mangi* for the Meru. For the Arusha, who had previously not had any chiefs, the Germans elected three *mangis*. The role of these chiefs was rather to implement German military orders than to rule the Arusha and Meru. Sabaya became the chief in northern Arusha, whereas Ndasekoi and Saruni were put in charge of southern Arusha.⁶⁷

Arusha and Meru opposition against the German oppression did not start with the killing of the missionaries Ovir and Segebrock. The *Talala*-warriors were widely known for their warfare as well as for their ruthlessness against anything that threatened to destroy Maasai and Arusha power and practice. They were also known for their many cattle raids, during which they not only expanded their own herds but also brought with them women to marry or to hand over to someone else in exchange for bridewealth. During much of the second half of the 19th century, *Talala* and prior warrior age-sets had been involved in raids

⁶⁶ Müller 1936, 20-21; Iliffe 1979, 102; Spear 1997, 75-77; Mosingo ole Meipusu (AHT 1); Ngole ole Njololoi (AHT 4); Ngoilenya Wuapi (AHT 5). Many women and children had been brought to Meru in Arusha (and Meru) raids against other tribes (Mosingo ole Meipusu (AHT 1); Ngoilenya Wuapi (AHT 5)). It can therefore be assumed that at least a part of the women brought to Kilimanjaro returned to their home districts.

⁶⁷ Spear 1997, 80-82.

against other tribes, including the Chagga around Kilimanjaro. Through some of these raids, they had ended up fighting Germans as well.⁶⁸

The Arusha and Meru were punished over several years for the *crime* of their *murrán*. Men and women were forced into hard labour for the German colonial government. People were chained together and had to carry rocks to build a military station in the midst of Arusha territory. Others were forced into building roads. In principle, the German authorities opposed slavery. Hard work, nonetheless, was not regarded as slavery as long as the intention was to punish criminals.⁶⁹

The Germans had no intentions to give up Meru. Subduing the people in the region through sporadic raids was, however, considered impossible. Therefore, the only way of reaching *law-and-order* was by building a military headquarters and manning it permanently with officers and soldiers. The building of the military station or *boma*, as it was called by the local population, was finished in 1901. It was a European-style fortress built in lime and mortar and equipped with a Maxim machine gun to withstand major attacks even with a smaller number of soldiers.

⁶⁸ Ngoilenya Wuapi (AHT 5); Jonathan Kidale (AHT 7); Spear 1997, 64-65. On several occasions Arusha/Meru and Germans found themselves fighting on opposite sides. While the Germans allied themselves with various Chagga chieftains and fought others to gain power around Kilimanjaro, Arusha and Meru warriors fought together with other Chagga chiefs to win cattle, wives and prestige (Ilfie 1979, 98-102; Ngoilenya Wuapi (AHT 5); Jonathan Kidale (AHT 7)).

⁶⁹ Mosingo ole Meipusu (AHT 1); Yohanes ole Kauwenara (AHT 2); Lodenaga Lotisia (AHT 3).

Picture 1.1.

The boma or military station in Arusha



Leipzig Mission Archive, Album 4 (420a).

The completion of the military station marked a definite end to Arusha dominance and an equally definite advent of foreign dominance and influence. Aside from pacifying the Arusha and Meru, the *boma* created opportunities for an increasing number of immigrants, many of whom were specialising in trade. Already in 1903, some thirty Indian and Arab stores had emerged.⁷⁰ But the building of the German *boma* also marked a beginning for Christian activity in the region. The Leipzig Mission had made the first mission attempts around Mount Meru. Shortly after Ovir and Segebrock's death, the remaining three Leipzig missionaries in German East Africa held the first official conference. With the reasoning that the Leipzig Mission 'owed it to the memory of

⁷⁰ Boyes 1997, 117-118; Krause, ELMB 1902, 279. Boyes writes that the station 'furnished with a Maxim **and** a machine gun, made a formidable stronghold'. The Maxim was a machine gun which was considered highly effective at the time. Probably this was the only machine gun (Boyes 1997, 118. Emphasis added).

our fallen brothers', the so-called Chagga Conference decided that all measures be taken to ensure that Meru become Lutheran.⁷¹

In two articles published in 1904 and 1914, the director of the Leipzig Mission, Dr. Carl Paul, discussed the relation between the German colonial power and the German Christian mission. He pointed out that German colonialism did not benefit mission work in a direct way, but that it created a favourable atmosphere for the mission enterprise and, as such, paved the way for the mission. Colonialism brought about improved communications, such as direct boat connections between Europe and East Africa, but also railways, roads, postal communication and telegraph use within the colony. Colonialism, moreover, favoured the mission education system, seeing that German officers often encouraged people to send their children to school. The advance of colonialism, according to Paul, also brought with it medical research, leading, for instance, to the discovery of quinine – a vital step in the battle against malaria.⁷² But, above all, Paul noted that colonialism brought security.

To this came the protection granted for the missionaries on dangerous outposts, which by no means becomes important only when missionary stations are warned about an imminent attack or threatened missionaries are gathered behind the protecting walls of the military station. The mere presence of a military base in accessible proximity has a calming effect on the recklessness of African despots. All this has contributed greatly to prepare the road for Christ's messengers.⁷³

Paul, however, made it clear that the Protestant mission dissociated itself from the political side of colonialism. Whereas Catholic societies, according to the director, took advantage of the military power by setting up missions in close proximity to military stations, the Protestants tried to distance themselves from the same. Although there had been incidents in which Protestant missionaries had been politically

⁷¹ Müller 1936, 21.

⁷² Paul 1914, 220-222; Paul 1904, 113-115.

⁷³ Paul 1904, 114. Translation by author.

active on the side of the German authorities, the Leipzig Mission, as stated by Paul, had successfully managed to stay clear of such.⁷⁴

It is questionable whether or not the Leipzig Mission succeeded in keeping out colonial politics. The Lutheran race to Meru had certainly taken place without much interference by the German military. Ovir and Segebrock even discarded the offer to spend the first nights in the army camp. Yet the price paid for the mistake of the Leipzig Mission was extreme. The choice to precede both the military and the Catholics in turn led to a political and military intervention, which makes it legitimate to question Paul's assertion on the Leipzig Mission's non-political bias.

Missionary Müller acknowledged that the Leipzig Mission was fully dependant on the German military force – in particular on the building of the Arusha military station – to reach its goals at Meru.⁷⁵ In fact, the dependency spoke for itself. After the military station had been completed, it did not take long for the Leipzig Mission to send the next two missionaries to Meru. In February 1902, after having received clear sign from Captain Johannes' successor, Chief Lieutenant Moritz Merker, the Mission Council sent Missionary Arno Krause and Carpenter Kurt Fickert on a reconnaissance trip to Meru. Within days after their arrival at Meru, the missionaries had purchased a plot of land at Nkoaranga and erected the first buildings.⁷⁶

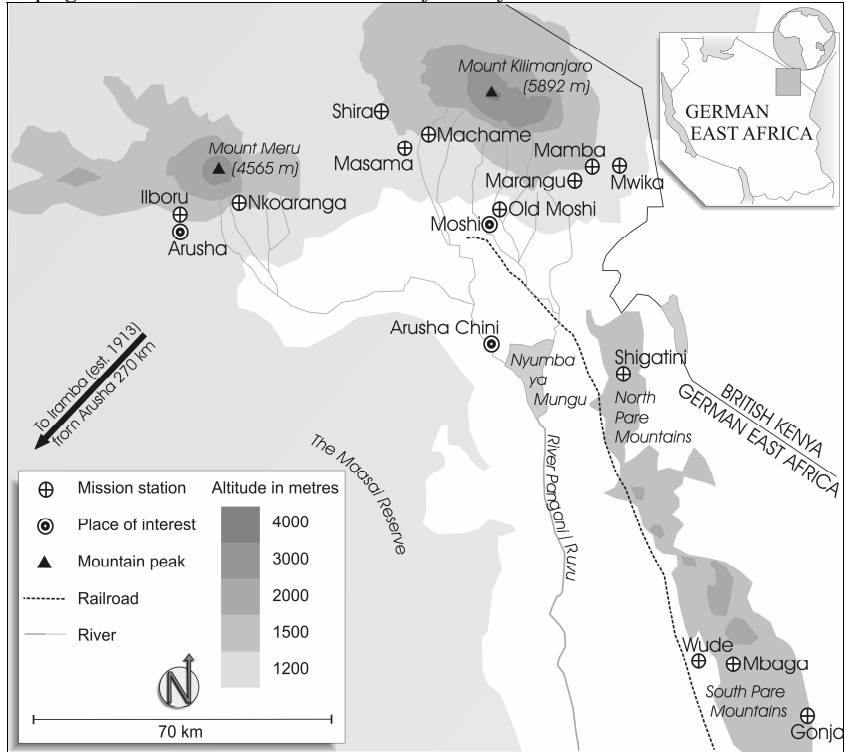
⁷⁴ Paul 1914, 220-223.

⁷⁵ Müller 1936, 21.

⁷⁶ Krause, ELMB 1902, 276-282. The Mission Council in East Africa was established in 1900. It was headed by the senior and had three members (Fleisch 1936, 271).

Map 1.1.

Leipzig Mission stations in German East Africa before 1914



Sources: *ELMB* 1912, 19; *ELMB* 1913, 284-285, 419; *ELMB* 1914, 284-285; *LAW* 1968, 161; *Karte von Deutsch-Ostafrika* 1911.

2. PIONEER MISSION AMONG THE ARUSHA (1904-1922)

2.1. The Foundation and the First Ten Years

During a visit of the Leipzig Mission's director, Dr. Carl von Schwartz, to the East African field at the end of 1903, the decision was taken to open up two new fields. One of these was to be in South Pare and the other one among the Arusha tribe inhabiting the western half of the Meru Mountain. The missionary assigned to go to the Arusha was Hermann Fokken.⁷⁷ A bill of sale for a plot of land was arranged between the Meru missionary Arno Krause and the commander of the German military station in Arusha, Lieutenant Baron Ludwig Friedrich von Reitzenstein. The agreement concerned a land site of 20 hectares at Ilboru, approximately two kilometres north of the German military station on the lower slopes of the Meru Mountain.⁷⁸

On 20 June 1904, Missionary Hermann Fokken and Carpenter Karl Luckin arrived at Arusha with a party of 75 porters. The

⁷⁷ Fokken 1967, 8-10; Fuchs, ELMB 1904, 142. Hermann Albert Fokken was born in Emden, Germany in 1881. Having finished the *Gymnasium* he entered the mission seminary in Leipzig in 1898. After his graduation three years later he was sent to Metz where he obtained his first experience in congregational work as a vice pastor [*Vikar*]. After approximately two months of intensive language studies, first at the University of Leipzig and then with a private teacher, Fokken was sent to German East Africa in mid-1902. During 1902-1904, he worked at the mission station Shira at Kilimanjaro (Fokken 1967, 2-9; ELMB 1902, 255).

⁷⁸ *Kaufvertrag*, 5 January 1904; Krause, ELMB 1904, 391; Weishaupt, ELMB 1912, 534. The bill of sale was signed by Lieutenant Bock von Wülffingen (as seller on behalf of the German government) and Missionary Robert Faßmann (as buyer on behalf of the Leipzig Mission) (*Kaufvertrag*, 5 January 1904). The region inhabited by Arusha was grouped as Boru and Burka (or Ilboru and Ilburka), the former being the northern region and the latter the southern. Since 1900, Arusha had been ruled by three German-elected *mangis* or chiefs; Ilboru by Sabaya and Ilburka by Saruni and Ndasekoi in west and east respectively. For more about this, see Spear 1997, 78-84. See also map 2.1.

missionaries were cordially welcomed by von Reitzenstein, who personally brought them to their plot in his ox wagon. The missionaries were also welcomed by Sabaya, the German-elected chief for the Ilboru area, and, although his friendliness was assessed as polite rather than genuine, Fokken and Luckin were grateful for the positive start that they had been granted.⁷⁹

The first weeks at Ilboru were practically a dance on roses. Arusha warriors reported to the missionaries and asked for jobs. A school was opened at the station and Chief Sabaya made sure that a great number of children attended. The Sunday services were likewise well attended; already the first Sunday some 400 men and women came to listen to God's word. In a staggering display of Maasai language, Fokken held a short sermon on John 3:16 in the New Testament with the aim of trying to explain to the listeners why the missionaries had come to the Arusha people. As on most Leipzig Mission stations, Fokken introduced boarding facilities at Ilboru and soon seven boys were living at the station. Boarding schools were a relatively easy means of getting active participation at the station school, but also of obtaining baptismal candidates. On most Leipzig Mission stations, the boarding pupils had been the first ones to be baptised. The Ilboru boarders received school education in the mornings and worked in the afternoon – predominantly on the mission maize and vegetable plantations. In exchange, they received food, clothes and pocket money.⁸⁰

The start at Ilboru was a rewarding experience, but it also required hard work. Fokken taught and learned at the same time. He held school lessons and Sunday services parallel with learning the Maasai language.

⁷⁹ Fokken, ELMB 1904, 450-452; Blumer, ELMB 1921, 179.

⁸⁰ Fokken, ELMB 1904, 452-453; 1907, 383; Fokken 1967, 13. Fokken had studied the Maasai language only for a few months while waiting for Luckin who was working in South-Pare (Fokken, IAW 1954, 107). As for cultivating, Missionary Krause and the boarding pupils at the Nkoaranga station had already begun, in 1902, growing coffee instead of vegetables because they were cheaper to buy than to grow at the mission. Coffee was expected to bring more income than vegetables (Krause, ELMB 1903, 138).

Maa was not only new to Fokken, but to the whole world outside East Africa. Due to the lack of literature in Maa, there was practically no other way to learn the language than with the help of the local people.⁸¹ While Fokken set up the evangelistic and educational work and pursued language studies, Mission Carpenter Luckin took charge of the physical development of the station, most of which implied house building. Demands were high on the missionary living conditions and the station environment had to be developed accordingly. Over a period of three years, Luckin and a number of Arusha workers built a stone house. Bricks were burned from clay available close to the mission and planks were sawn from tree trunks brought from the mountain. Situated between the Narok and Tololwa, rivers that ran year round, and a canal leading over the Ilboru plot, farming was made possible and a further canal was dug. Luckin even constructed a water wheel to mix the clay for the manufacturing of bricks. Obviously, both missionaries and local residents were dependant on water for survival. Arusha farmers showed their discontent with the new competition for water and repeatedly closed off Luckin's canal. As the main canal, however, crossed the mission plot, the missionaries could counter by closing off all water to the same farmers' cultivations, thereby forcing them to submit and accept sharing the water with the mission.⁸²

2.1.1. Passive Cooperation with the Colonial Authorities

Christian missionary presence had already been seen in positive terms by the German East African Society (DOAG) when, in the mid-1880s, it started governing German interests in East Africa. The takeover of the colonial administration by the German government in 1890

⁸¹ Fokken, ELMB 1904, 452-453; Fokken 1914, 3-5. Fokken noted that, apart from two insignificant and unimpressive books, there was no literature in or regarding the Maa language when he learnt to speak Maa in 1904 (Fokken 1914, 5).

⁸² Fokken, ELMB 1904, 453; 1905, 393; 1908, 246-247, 542; Weishaupt, ELMB 1912, 537.

implied little change in this aspect. The Christian mission – in particular, the German mission – was not only hoped to bring civilisation to the African societies; by their mere presence, the German missionaries increased the German element in the colony, making their work warmly welcomed by officers positioned far away from their home country.⁸³ Fokken did not want to take too much advantage of his good relations with the officers or with the chiefs. He valued the friendliness of the local authorities, but was careful not to jeopardise his fragile relationship with the Arusha people by co-operating too closely with his military countrymen. Moreover, the missionaries took advantage of the respect that they enjoyed among the chiefs only insofar as it was compatible with the mission duties, and Fokken pointed out that each person who worked for the mission was to be paid.⁸⁴

Although Fokken and the Leipzig Mission tried to limit co-operation with the German men-in-power to the absolute minimum, the start at Arusha-Ilboru clearly benefited from the helping hand of the officers. Von Reitzenstein had personally helped the Leipzig Mission to find the plot at Ilboru. Likewise, he helped Fokken and Luckin to get started. By sporadic visits to the Ilboru station and by attending Sunday services, he demonstrated to the Arusha his support for the Lutheran mission. The closeness between von Reitzenstein and the missionaries affected Fokken's and Luckin's standing among the people, and Fokken admitted that von Reitzenstein's assistance during the first months gave the mission a good start.⁸⁵ Sometimes, when both Fokken and Brother Luckin were surprised to see many workers turn up to work, they heard afterwards that these had come because of orders by the *bwana* – the commander at the military station.⁸⁶ This brotherly assistance was not only restricted to the first year. In 1906, von Reitzenstein's successor,

⁸³ For an account of DOAG's mission policy, see Niesel 1971, 83-86.

⁸⁴ Fokken, ELMB 1904, 452.

⁸⁵ Fokken 1967, 14; Fokken 1905, 37. See also Fokken, ELMB 1905, 218-219.

⁸⁶ Fokken, ELMB 1904, 540-541.

Chief Lieutenant Bock von Wülfigen, and the commander of the *I Kompagnie* at Arusha, Chief Lieutenant Brentzel, visited the Ilboru station. When they saw the German military station above the treetops and realised how inconvenient the present road between the two stations was, they immediately ordered Chief Sabaya to have a new and straight road built. Neither Fokken nor Luckin had asked for government intervention, so it was a gesture of friendship from the side of the officers.⁸⁷ The missionaries only occasionally asked for government assistance, but they did not want to destroy their relationship with the German personnel in Arusha by rejecting their help. After all, Lutheran work might sometimes benefit from a minor intervention from higher powers.⁸⁸ In fact, due to governmental help, the missionaries sometimes abandoned their principle of paying the workers. When, during the first year, people turned up in great numbers to school and Sunday services, Fokken naturally considered it important that a large chapel be built at Ilboru. Being built rather for the people than for the mission – so the missionary reasoned – Fokken decided not to pay the workers. The chapel, in itself, would be their salary. The workers turned up in great numbers, but only after persuasion by von Reitzenstein.⁸⁹ During the first years, many people either participated in the Lutheran work because they were curious about something new or because they were persuaded to do so by the missionaries, government officers or by their own chiefs. Their active attendance did not necessarily imply that they supported the Lutheran work. Fokken was, however, satisfied with the abundant turn-up and enjoyed working hard to provide the participants with quality services.

In certain aspects, government assistance was of little help – if not harm – and the mission could break ground only through faith and

⁸⁷ Fokken, ELMB 1907, 190-191. Bock von Wülfigen was the officer who, on behalf of the German government, had signed the bill of sale when the Ilboru plot was sold to the Leipzig Mission (*Kaufvertrag*, 5 January 1904).

⁸⁸ For two examples, see page 87-88.

⁸⁹ Fokken, ELMB 1904, 540-541. Compare Blumer, ELMB 1921, 179-180.

determination. The Arusha were, in essence, a proud people and they did not wish any change. Together with the Maasai, they had a satisfying religious world view which put them in the midst of the creation. Their agriculture-based economy gave them the upper hand, since, during drought and cattle epidemics, the Arusha were stronger than their once superior Kisongo Maasai allies, whose economy was quite fragile.⁹⁰ The Arusha, moreover, had been at the height of their power when the Germans began colonising East Africa. They had controlled most of the Meru Mountain and had sent warriors far beyond their own sphere of influence, even to fight Germans at Kilimanjaro. Whereas the Arusha people did not want any change either in the political, cultural or religious realm, the advent of the German colonial era implied change in exactly these spheres.⁹¹ Regardless of how much the Leipzig missionaries tried to proclaim mission independence or communicate a message of hope to the people, the efforts by government officials to persuade people to participate in mission services and ventures told another story. Most Arusha failed to see the difference between the missionaries and the German officers. As they avoided the mission station, they did not learn to see that the mission desired a totally different change than German rule did, but what they saw instead was that the German element had terminated their dominance around Meru.⁹²

At the end of the day, a limited amount of cooperation with the colonial government was of benefit for the Arusha mission. It not only

⁹⁰ Blumer, ELMB 1927, 78; Spear 1993, 124.

⁹¹ I am aware here that I'm interpreting Arusha life from a western perspective. The Arusha would themselves hardly distinguish between religion, culture and politics in the same way as is common in the so-called western world.

⁹² It should be noted once again that Arusha fear of losing dominance had been the key reasons for killing Ovir and Segebrock in 1896. Due to the seemingly similar agenda of the Lutheran mission and German rule (the German officials too encouraged schools and Sunday services), many – if not most – Arusha failed to see anything good in the missionaries. Most Arusha did not want the mission. Probably the Arusha understanding of the missionaries' purposes was not too different from what it had been in 1896. It was, rather, the political reality and balance of power that had significantly changed, and Fokken and his partners enjoyed far more security than Ovir and Segebrock had done in 1896. See for instance Fokken, ELMB 1905, 218-219.

increased the security of the mission but also increased the impetus of the Lutheran endeavour. The status and respect that the missionaries gained by friendship with the government helped them through the most difficult initial phase. On the other hand, the missionaries did not want to be seen as government auxiliaries. The Leipzig Mission knew that it in the long run had to build up its work independently in order to inspire confidence and awaken interest among the Arusha.⁹³

2.1.2. Working Methods and Work Progress

After opening a school and boarding facilities at the Ilboru station in 1904, Fokken turned outwards. It was one of his desires not to centralize the whole work around the main station but to open schools and hold Sunday Services in other parts of the Arusha countryside as well. In fact, in order to be able to work extensively in other locations, Fokken decided to limit the number of boarding pupils to ten. Within a year after the founding of the Ilboru station, he had opened school classes and begun holding Sunday services in the vicinities of the two other Arusha chiefs – in Salei and Kimandolu. The syllabus in the schools was quite simple. The children were taught Christianity, reading, writing, arithmetic and singing.⁹⁴ Many children liked school once they had made the effort to come. During the dry season, the attendance was quite lively, yet when it was raining, most children stayed at home. The parents, in general, did not see the point of education, nor did the chiefs. If they had the choice to choose between sending their children to school or work they rather sent them to work, either at home or elsewhere for money.⁹⁵ Thus after a few months of active school attendance, the number of pupils fell. For Fokken, the importance of the schools was clear. They were to be as imperial in reaching the Arusha as they were in

⁹³ Blumer, ELMB 1912, 111.

⁹⁴ Fokken, ELMB 1905, 39-40; Faßmann, ELMB 1905, 168; Pätzig 1932, 19.

⁹⁵ Fokken, ELMB 1905, 392; Fokken, ELMB 1907, 191; Blumer, ELMB 1911, 362.

reaching other peoples on the Leipzig field. Sunday services were also considered important. However, few older Arusha were thought willing to undergo the changes necessary to become Christians. It was mainly through the children that the missionary believed it possible to bring the Christian Gospel to the Arusha. Consequently, Fokken, when having done a favour for the Arusha, did not primarily ask the adults to participate actively in the Sunday services, but encouraged them to send their children to school.⁹⁶

The Sunday services were actively visited during the first year. Yet, within a short period of time, some, including the three chiefs, started to stand up to the missionaries and stay away from church. Finding it hard to accept this, the missionary initially demanded an explanation from regular church-goers, including the chiefs when they failed to turn up.⁹⁷ Fokken's zeal did not convince the Arusha. After a while, it was mainly women, children and old men who came to church. Both the warriors and the elders were conspicuous by their absence. The warriors saw it as below their dignity to succumb to the German missionaries whereas the elders and chiefs, at least according to the missionary, would rather sit together and drink beer.⁹⁸ Just as with school attendance, more people came to church during clear days than during rainy and cold weather. Fokken judged this to be mainly a question of laziness and a lack of interest.⁹⁹ The correlation, however, between weather and attendance had more to do with it than the people disliking getting wet. Max Pätzig, who served as a missionary at Arusha-Ilboru between 1928 and 1940, observed that the Arusha could estimate the time quite accurately when they saw the sun. Yet this was difficult when

⁹⁶ In 1905, Bruno Gutmann and Hermann Fokken helped the Arusha to capture a Leopard which had killed a woman and a lamb. The missionaries constructed a trap and killed the leopard. The elders, on Fokken's request, gratefully promised to send their children regularly to school (Fokken, ELMB 1905, 394).

⁹⁷ Fokken, ELMB 1905, 252; Blumer, ELMB 1921, 180-181.

⁹⁸ Fokken, ELMB 1906, 59; Fokken, ELMB 1906, 447.

⁹⁹ Fokken, ELMB 1906, 59.

the sun was covered by clouds.¹⁰⁰ As the German missionaries valued punctuality, many Arusha probably found it pointless to go to school or church as they could not be sure that they would arrive to church or school on time.

In January 1906, Fokken opened a baptismal class with seven boys – six boarding pupils and Fokken's servant. The catechumens were instructed three times a week and they were to be taught 'as long as possible in order to test their sincerity as much as humanly possible'.¹⁰¹ To the missionary's chagrin, most of the catechumens were not to be baptised. After a while, they gradually started dropping out when they realised the magnitude of the transformation that Fokken demanded from his adherents. After only one month, three of the boys turned out to be displeased with their pocket money. Judging this displeasure as a lack of desire to become Christians, Fokken dismissed the boys from baptismal instruction.¹⁰² When only four remained, Fokken expelled two whom he considered immature and indifferent. Shortly before the baptism, one of the two remaining catechumen boys suddenly became ill.

It was a dear boy, who had only the shortcoming that he was quite lazy when it came to work. As often as I spoke about it with him and threatened him with expulsion from the instruction he came with tears in his eyes and promised improvement. We did not recognise his sickness at once and after a few days his father, a pagan, appeared and demanded his son back. Every protest that the sick [boy] would be cared for better with us than in his smoky hut was useless. As he [the father] came back with his request the next day we let him take his son with him. When I visited the sick [boy] the same evening he did not recognise me anymore, otherwise I would have baptised him at his request. He died that night and at the funeral I used the opportunity to testify for the people present about the hope for a Christian.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Pätzig, ELMB 1930, 170.

¹⁰¹ Fokken, ELMB 1906, 423.

¹⁰² Fokken 1967, 13.

¹⁰³ Fokken 1967, 13-14. Translation by author.

Fokken himself thought it possible that the boy had been poisoned to death by his own father who strongly opposed his son's christening. The first baptism was held on Pentecost 1907. Only one of the seven catechumens, Salaito, was baptised and as his Christian name he chose Paulos.¹⁰⁴

Table 2.1.

Missionaries, wives and other personnel within the Arusha mission 1904-1914

1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
		Hermann Fokken						H. Fokken		
		Meta Fokken						M. Fokken		
	Karl Luckin									
			Leonhard Blumer							L. Blumer
						Bertha Blumer				B. Blumer
			Saul Rerei							
								Heinrich Roth		

Sources: ELMB 1904-1915; Fokken 1967. Note, Leonhard Blumer continued working in Arusha during the war. Saul Rerei left the mission in August 1917 (Fokken, ELMB 1920, 199; Blumer, ELMB 1921, 151-152).

The missionary crew changed considerably during the first five years. In November 1905, Fokken got married and his wife Meta moved with him to Ilboru. A year later, after having finished the most crucial building projects, Karl Luckin left the station. With Luckin's departure the first phase of the mission work was completed and it became topical for the Leipzig Mission to look ahead and plan for continuation. In particular, the language issue had to be taken into account. Due to the difference between the Maasai language and the Bantu-languages spoken on the rest of the Leipzig field, it was imperative for the Arusha mission to receive a second missionary. With the present setup, nobody else had the language knowledge required to take over the Arusha field in case

¹⁰⁴ Fokken, ELMB 1906, 423-424; Fokken, ELMB 1907, 383-384; Fokken 1967, 13-14. *Missionsstation Aruscha, Verzeichnis der Taufen aus den Heiden* (1907).

Fokken became ill and had to leave Arusha.¹⁰⁵ In August 1907, a new missionary, Leonhard Blumer¹⁰⁶ arrived. While pursuing language studies, Blumer was not entrusted with much more than supervisory tasks at Arusha-Ilboru, but outside the station he served as pastor for a German-Russian settlement, Leudorf or Leganga, close to Nkoaranga. Logically, as Blumer's language skills improved he assumed more responsibilities.¹⁰⁷ One year after Blumer's arrival, the Arusha mission received a third full-time worker, Saul Rerei. Rerei had come to Arusha shortly after its founding in 1904. He was Arusha by birth, but had, as a child, been abducted to Kilimanjaro where he later became a Christian. Fokken sent him to the Leipzig Mission Teacher's Training College in Moshi from where he graduated in 1908.¹⁰⁸ It is not known how well Rerei spoke Maa, but his contributions were highly appreciated by the missionaries, and after he had taken charge of the school in Kimandolu, the number of pupils increased considerably. Blumer took charge of the second outpost-school in Salei. In 1908, girls also began coming to school and, before long, they outnumbered the boys.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Fokken, ELMB 1906, 389-390; Fokken, ELMB 1907, 190. It was, however, not in the plan of the Leipzig Mission to extend its work to the nomadic Maasai on the steppe. That thought was discussed shortly before the eruption of the First World War but the missionaries did not feel that God led them to Maasailand (Blumer, ELMB 1929, 316; Ihmels 1936, 13).

¹⁰⁶ Leonhard Waldemar Otto Blumer (1878-1938) was born in Kida in Estonia. He studied at the Leipzig Mission seminary between 1901 and 1907. Shortly after his ordination on 19 May 1907, he departed for German East Africa and arrived in Arusha in August the same year. Leonhard Blumer and Bertha Hacker got married on 8 February 1910 (Leipzig Mission, *Afrika Archiv* 311 A 1+, Leonhard Blumer; Fokken 1967, 15). See also footnote 296.

¹⁰⁷ Fokken, ELMB 1908, 61-62; Blumer, ELMB 1908, 145-149. Leudorf had obtained its name from the name of a German officer, *Hauptmann* August Leue, who lived in the settlement. The Leudorf community, which was located at Leganga, got its own pastor in 1912, but in 1917, he was interned (Blumer ELMB 1921, 206-207). See map 2.1.

¹⁰⁸ Fokken, ELMB 1905, 38; Fokken, ELMB 1905, 556-557. The Teacher's Training College was opened in 1902 in Moshi. During the three years of study, the students were taught dogmatic and biblical knowledge, reading, writing, arithmetic, singing as well as the ecclesiastical year and its gospel texts. Moreover, the students studied methodology and practiced teaching (Fleisch 1936, 277; Weishaupt 1914, 185).

¹⁰⁹ Fokken, ELMB 1909, 84-85.

With a sufficient number of full-time mission workers, the work was able to expand. Apart from the two outposts already in existence in Salei and Kimandolu, two more were opened; one higher on the mountain slopes in Ilkidinga and one east of Kimandolu in Baraa.¹¹⁰ While still fresh and interesting – or after the chiefs had been persuaded to show an interest – the Lutheran work was actively attended. Overall, however, the schools and Sunday Services encountered large fluctuations in terms of attendance. In Salei, in Chief Saruni's vicinity, the Lutheran work was particularly troublesome. According to Spear, Saruni did not belong to the Arusha tribe but had Arab roots. He had been made chief in Arusha as a reward for his services to the Germans.¹¹¹ It is likely that Saruni, as a friend of the government, dared to question and oppose the mission work more than the other chiefs. In general, the Arusha remained quite indifferent to the work. Sometimes, the whole work at the outstations had to be closed altogether due to the lack of interest from the people. At other times, the work ceased because Arusha would rather work for settlers than come to school or church. This was the case in 1910 when a larger number of settlers bought land around Arusha and needed workers. The Arusha jumped at this lucrative opportunity and, as a consequence, the Lutheran work suffered from lack of church and school attendants. Only after the military commander requested, on Blumer's request, that the Arusha parents send their children to school did the situation change for the better.¹¹²

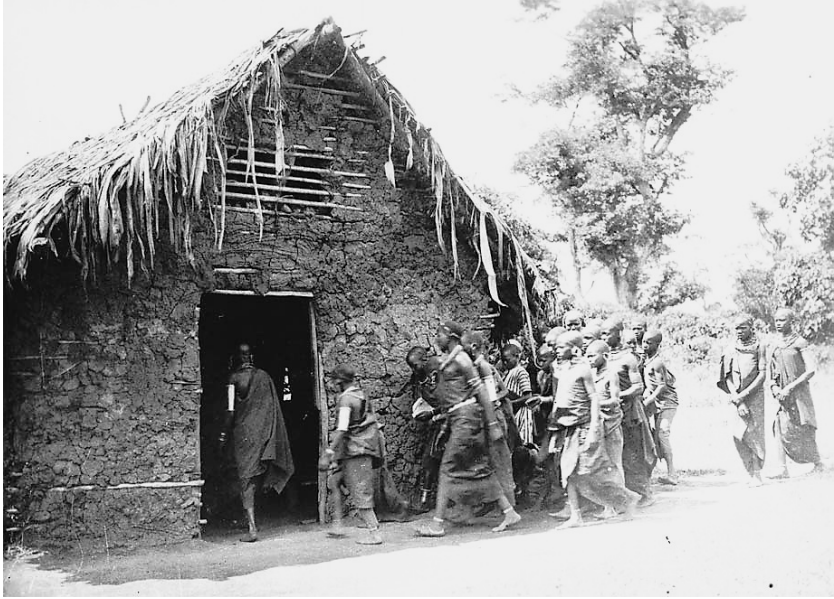
¹¹⁰ Fokken, ELMB 1909, 84-85; Blumer, ELMB 1909, 168-171; ELMB 1911, 362-363.

¹¹¹ Spear 1997, 82.

¹¹² Blumer, ELMB 1911, 362-363; Blumer, ELMB 1912, 111. Whereas there was only one German settler close to Meru in 1904, the number of immigrant farmers increased considerably during the subsequent years. Germans, German Russians, Boers and Palestinians bought land around Meru and began farming. The relationship between the missionaries and the settlers was shifting. On the one hand, the missionaries held Sunday Services for a number of the settlers and at times instructed their children. On the other hand, they often took sides with the Africans when these had been ill-treated by settlers. In time, the relationship between settlers and missionaries improved and the attendance at the German-speaking Sunday Services improved accordingly. The Leipzig missionaries were most actively involved in the German-Russian settlement Leudorf-Leganga to the south of

Picture 2.1.

Sunday service at one of the Arusha outposts



Leipzig Mission Archive, Album 3 (1926).

As the Ilboru station was close to the Arusha military station, where a doctor and medical workers were stationed, Fokken and Blumer initially did not give priority to health care. Yet a steady stream of people approaching the mission to get medication and medical help convinced the missionaries of the value of health care within the Lutheran work. Most patients were women and children, but in some cases men were also looking for treatment. In 1907, a dormitory for sick women was opened and in the subsequent year a small clinic was inaugurated. The missionary wives, Meta Fokken and Bertha Blumer, tended to the women whereas men who sought medical treatment at the station were nursed by the missionaries. The treatment was quite simple and included medication, bandaging, cleansing baths and rest. In some cases, wine was

Nkoaranga (Fokken, ELMB 1909, 87; Fleisch 1936, 280-281; ELMB 1909, 532; Fokken, ELMB 1913, 110-111).

given.¹¹³ Being loyal to their heritage, however, many Arusha brought the sick to their diviners first and turned to the mission only when traditional healing had failed. The missionaries complained that ‘when the diviners in most cases have ruined the patients to the extent that there is nothing more to help, then the European [...] whom they indeed consider the greatest of all diviners [...] must be able to aid’.¹¹⁴ Thus patients were often brought to the mission station in a severe condition, only to be redirected to the government doctor at the military station if the Lutheran workers knew that they were unable to help. When patients died at the Ilboru clinic, people were alarmed and avoided it for some time, and when patients were cured, the standing of the Lutheran mission picked up. In time, the missionaries’ reputation as healers improved among the Arusha. It was evident that this part of the work had to be evolved and so, in 1912, a proper stone clinic with two inpatient wards and a pharmacy was built. As no medical doctor or nurse was assigned to Ilboru, the best qualified missionary available would carry the key responsibility for the health work. Until 1912, the missionaries and their wives shared the work on a gender basis, and when Heinrich Roth arrived in 1912, he assumed the responsibility for the health work.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Fokken, ELMB 1908, 247; Fokken, ELMB 1909, 84-87; Blumer, ELMB 1911, 360-361; Blumer, ELMB 1911, 384-385. See also page 88 in this volume. The Leipzig Mission had a mission doctor since 1902 and, in 1905, the first female nurses (or deaconesses) took up work on the Leipzig field in East Africa. In 1914, four deaconesses served on the field (see table 2.3.). Since 1912, one of them was positioned at Nkoaranga (ELMB 1915, 300; Fleisch 1936, 279-280; ULPA Mission Archives Series No. 9, 2000). The missionaries were aware of their limited medical competence. At a missionary conference in 1908, it was noted that the mission has an obligation to help the natives medically as well. A request was made to the board in Leipzig that missionary candidates as well as missionaries on furlough be trained in medical care (Ittameier, ELMB 1908, 555).

¹¹⁴ Blumer, ELMB 1911, 385.

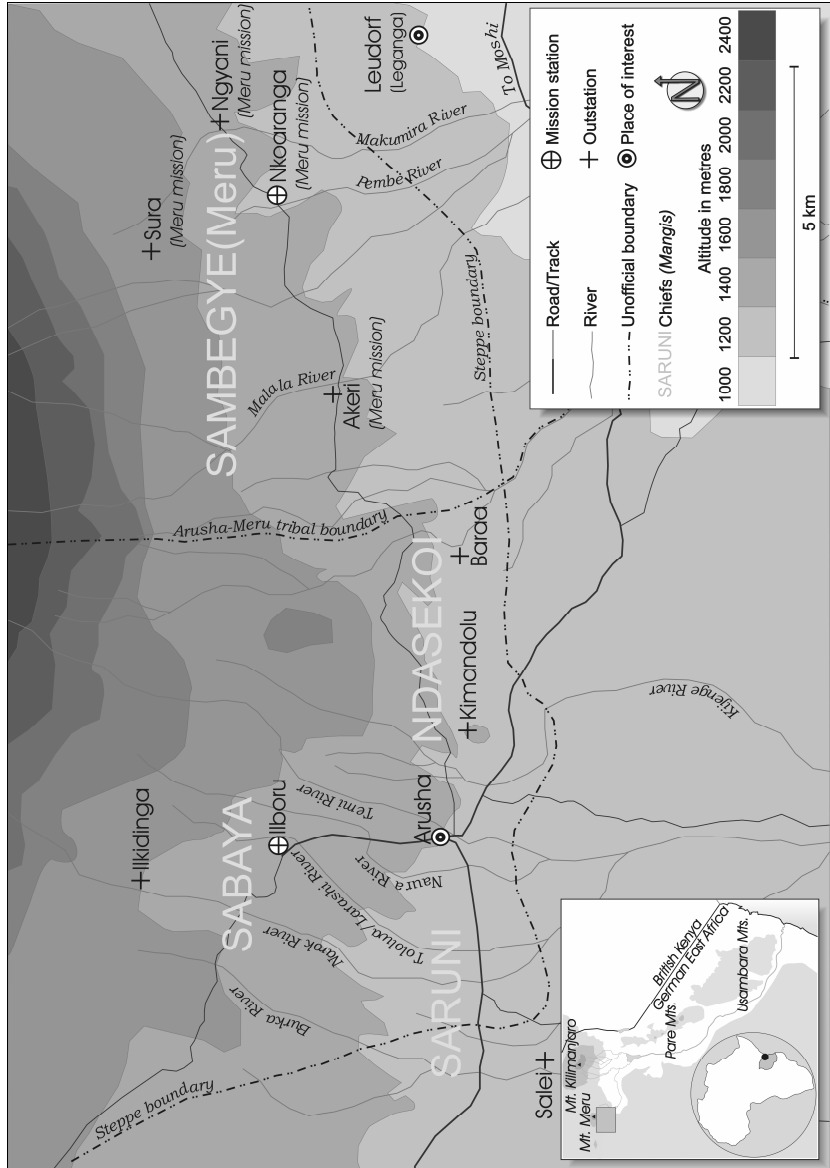
¹¹⁵ Fokken, ELMB 1909, 86-87; Blumer, ELMB 1911, 384-385; Fokken, ELMB 1913, 163. It seems that the missionaries who had attended the missionary seminary later (after 1908) had received better medical training. For instance it appears that Roth had received more training in health care than his predecessors. Besides his medical skills, it was also natural that he, as a newcomer, while learning to know the work and the language, took charge of the clinic. Reusch, who arrived in 1923, similarly took charge of the medical work at Nkoaranga and Ilboru (see page 104 in this research).

While on furlough with her husband in Estonia during 1912 and 1913, Bertha Blumer received training in health care. After her return to Arusha before the outbreak of the First World War, she not only resumed her work among women, but she was to dedicate ever more of her time to being a medical worker. During and after the war, when medical doctors, nurses and medication were scarce, Bertha Blumer's contributions were particularly valued.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Blumer, ELMB 1924, 26-27. Bertha Blumer participated in a *Schwesternkurs* in *Diakonissenhaus Reval*. She did not only tend people in the Ilboru clinic, but regularly visited sick people in their homes. Women also turned to Bertha Blumer when they were to give birth to children (Blumer, ELMB 1924, 26-27).

Map 2.1.

Mount Meru and the Lutheran missions 1904-1914



Sources: *Das Massai-Reservat Südlich des Kilimandscharo 1910*; *Karte von Deutsch-Ostafrika 1911*; Fokken, *ELMB 1909*, 84-85; Blumer, *ELMB 1909*, 168-169.

2.2. Cultural Differences and Strict Rules – Devotion and Growth

The start of the Leipzig Mission at Arusha-Ilboru had been quite favourable. Work was done in good spirits and participation in school and Sunday services was inconsistent but satisfactory. Being sent out to found a people's Church, the missionaries were, however, not satisfied with sole participation. The aspiration was to awaken sufficient interest among the participants in order to inspire a few to want to become Christians. What the missionaries sought would turn out to be completely different from what most Arusha were prepared to accept. Not long after the founding of the mission, the vast cultural differences between the missionaries and the local population became apparent. Before long, the Arusha mission was spoken of as the most demanding of the Leipzig Mission fields in Africa.¹¹⁷

Let us first take a look at one of the first challenges which the Leipzig Mission faced when settling among the Arusha – the language problems. The fact that the Maasai language differed significantly from the Bantu languages spoken on the rest of the Leipzig Mission field posed a few dilemmas. First of all, Fokken had to carry the heavy burden of learning to master the hitherto relatively unknown Maasai language. The missionary had little or no use for his previously acquired language skills. Neither were there any other Germans – or foreign workers at all – in the colony who knew Maa. In fact, Fokken had to learn a language that hitherto did not even exist as a written but only as a spoken tongue. This was, however, not reported in negative terms by the missionary, but rather as a positive challenge. Fokken was a keen linguist. As was Blumer, who arrived three years later than Fokken. Together they assumed the challenging task of creating a written Maasai language. No major literature was written or translated into Maa during the first ten years of mission work in Arusha, but by 1912, the two missionaries had

¹¹⁷ Fokken, ELMB 1904, 453; Blumer ELMB 1924, 4; Blumer, ELMB 1930, 104; Fleisch 1936, 274, 291.

translated 50 hymns into the Maasai language and, in 1914, Fokken published a book on Maasai proverbs.¹¹⁸

Secondly, the Arusha work started in relative segregation and was to develop quite independently from the rest of the Leipzig Mission field. Arusha-Ilboru did not benefit from the help of Christians on other stations to the same extent they might have had the languages been more similar. During the first weeks, a group of Christians from Fokken's previous station in Shira accompanied him and assisted at the first Sunday Service, and Saul Rerei's permanent move to Arusha in 1908 gave the work a much needed indigenous character. Yet the neighbouring, and only two years older, Nkoaranga station also had very few Christians and despite its geographical proximity to Ilboru, cultural and language differences between the Meru and Arusha implied hidden barriers. The co-operation between Nkoaranga and Arusha-Ilboru appears to have been very limited.¹¹⁹ Compared to the work around Kilimanjaro, where the Christians benefited from having a mutual language, Arusha-Ilboru received relatively little assistance from other mission congregations. The lack of role models for the Arusha and of co-workers for the missionaries was a clear disadvantage which hampered the work.¹²⁰

Thirdly, the work among the Arusha was the most fragile of the Lutheran stations in the sense that no missionaries other than Fokken and Blumer spoke Maa. While Fokken could be called to another station due to his fluency in the Shira dialect, and understood most other Bantu dialects spoken on the Leipzig field, no other missionary could be called

¹¹⁸ Fokken, ELMB 1905, 216-218; Fokken 1914, 5-8; Fokken, ELMB 1913, 161; Fokken, ELMB 1920, 198-199. See also page 126 (including footnote) in this volume.

¹¹⁹ According to Mission Inspector Weishaupt (ELMB 1924, 139), the relationship between the Christians at Nkoaranga and Ilboru had been even cool. Tensions gradually disappeared between 1917 and 1924 when Blumer was in charge of both stations and interaction between the Christians at Nkoaranga and Ilboru increased.

¹²⁰ Fokken 1967, 13.

to Arusha-Ilboru on similar grounds. This weakness was eventually to become a problem, as we will see in chapter 2.2.3.¹²¹

Whereas the Leipzig missionaries did not complain too much about language-related difficulties, the Arusha and Maasai traditions created much more stir. Shortly after the Arusha-Ilboru station had been founded, the first complaints about paganism were reported to the home supporters. What Fokken, and later also Blumer, criticised the most was laziness and dishonesty. The Leipzig missionaries did not baptise people before they knew that they had a thorough understanding of the Christian faith as presented in Luther's small catechism. The missionaries also wanted to see a change of heart in their catechumens. Many potential baptismal candidates were discarded from catechumen class or from the mission altogether after the missionaries had judged them to be insincere or dishonest. People were also punished or discarded due to laziness. Fokken and Blumer tried to teach the Africans the value and pleasure of hard work. Indolence was, perhaps, not in conflict with Christianity itself, but it was a highly undesirable quality from the standpoint of the missionaries and a frequent motive for dismissing Arusha people from baptismal classes.¹²² Many Arusha, for their part, saw the mission as an

¹²¹ Blumer who arrived straight to Arusha from Germany had no particular knowledge in Bantu languages and could thus not be transferred to other stations.

¹²² Fokken, ELMB 1906, 423; Luckin, ELMB 1907, 142; Fokken, ELMB 1907, 383-384; Fokken, ELMB 1908, 61-62, 248; Blumer, ELMB 1911, 383-385; Fokken, ELMB 1913, 133; Fokken 1967, 13. In 1913, Fokken conducted an emergency baptism on a young female catechumen who was very sick. The girl finally got well and was expected to return to school, catechumen education and work at the station. For a long time, Fokken had the feeling that the girl pretended to be sick in order to avoid work. When he at last was convinced that this was the case, he gave her a good hiding after which – so he claimed – she got well and could return to all her duties (Fokken, ELMB 1913, 569-570). At one of the missionary conferences, Fokken held a lecture for the other missionaries on the theme of the ethical (moral) value of work and the stance of the mission to the African Christians regarding work. The missionary pointed out that *„der Neger sei im allgemeinen nicht für die Arbeit, einen sittlichen Wert derselben kenne er nicht, weil ihm die Fähigkeit des Denkens fast abgeht. Man müsse deshalb darauf bedacht sein, den Neger durch die Predig zum Denken anzuleiten, seine Gedanken zu vertiefen und auch auf den Wert der Arbeit hinzurichten. Für die Mission bleibe es aber immer die erste Aufgabe, den Eingebornen zum Christen zu machen, weil er nur als Christ sittliche Werte richtig erfassen könne, und*

opportunity to gain materialistically and, consequently, they sometimes demanded money or cattle for sending their children to school. Even catechists frequently became indolent or demanded higher pay when the teaching was no longer interesting, or they told the missionaries what they thought they wanted to hear rather than the real truth. The reason was simple; whereas many children liked school once they had gotten used to it, the interest of most adult Arusha essentially lay in earning money to pay the annual government tax, rebuilding herds and continuing to live traditionally.¹²³

2.2.1. Polygyny and Circumcision – Obstacle and Conflict

In the shaping of the Lutheran work, Fokken and Blumer had to take a stand on several difficult issues. The Leipzig Mission emphasised tolerance in respect to indigenous traditions and, in line with this, Fokken and Blumer naturally wished to incorporate as much of the local culture as possible in their work.¹²⁴ Some Maasai customs would, however, turn out to be hard for the missionaries to accept. During Maasai festivities, many people behaved in a way which the missionaries considered immoral. In particular, the drinking and liberal sexual habits stirred their reactions. The missionaries also, however, had reservations about the dancing, customary Maasai dress, body painting and ornaments as well as the general disorder surrounding many local events.¹²⁵ After witnessing the festivities connected to the incision of Chief Ndasekoi's daughter in 1905, Fokken described them in highly critical words.

dann habe sie die Pflicht, ihre Christen zur Arbeit zu erziehen und anzuhalten, weshalb sie ihnen auch Arbeit verschaffen müsse.' (ELMB 1909, 528).

¹²³ Fokken, ELMB 1906, 423-424; Fokken, ELMB 1907, 410-411; Blumer, ELMB 1911, 362-363; Fokken, ELMB 1913, 133, 161; Pätzig 1959, 10-11.

¹²⁴ Neill 1966, 400; Myklebust 1955, 94. See also chapter 2.2.2. in this volume.

¹²⁵ Fokken, ELMB 1905, 251-252, 391, 393-394; Fokken, ELMB 1906, 424-425, 447-448; Fokken, ELMB 1907; Fokken, ELMB 1908, 374-379; Blumer, ELMB 1909, 550; Blumer, ELMB 1912, 112; Fokken, ELMB 1913, 134.

As they [a young woman and two young men] came closer to me and ran past me, I could only look at these people with the greatest detest. In complete contrast to the usual [*zu Gewöhnlich*], they were dissolutely dressed around the loin; the head as well as the whole upper body shone from red soil [*Erde*], which they had rubbed onto the skin with a fat paste. Moreover, their faces were disfigured through red or white or blue stripes below and above the eyes, on the cheeks and on the brow. As I rode on, our chief Sabaia accompanied me with a large swarm of old people, all of them in more or less drunken condition. They came from a beer bout which the other chief had arranged for all Arusha people on account of the circumcision of his daughter. [...] As I rode home in the evening, I was accompanied by a countless number of people, all in the same downright devilish dress as previously described. The most inconceivable fact was that I found that even very old decrepit mothers were dressed in the same manner and were also, for the most, part drunk.¹²⁶

The two customs that Fokken considered the most incompatible with the Lutheran work were polygyny and circumcision.¹²⁷ Polygyny was deeply rooted in the Arusha- and Maasai societies and was seen as something natural and precious. Moreover, polygyny and wealth usually walked hand in hand. Those men who had plenty of cattle could afford marrying more wives and, by taking additional wives, a man generally could get more children. Several wives and many children also entailed that larger herds could be tended and, in particular for the Arusha, that larger farms could be cultivated. The women likewise valued polygyny for practical reasons; co-wives implied shared work and joint responsibility. Although jealousy might have infested some marriages and relationships, it seems that most women thought polygyny to be to their advantage rather than disadvantage.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Fokken, ELMB 1905, 251. Translation by author.

¹²⁷ Fokken 1967, 16.

¹²⁸ Fosbrooke 1948, 44; Spear 1997, 96.

The Leipzig missionaries were in agreement in the matter; polygyny was not to be accepted on any Leipzig station.¹²⁹ This Leipzig Mission stance did not, however, exclude everybody living in polygynous marriages from Christianity. The women whose husbands were polygynists could receive baptism, whereas the husbands themselves could not. Unless these men left all wives but one, they could not become Lutheran Christians. Polygynous men were welcome to participate in Sunday services, but they were denied baptism. As there was less contradiction between baptism and polygyny for the women than for the men, the women did not have to challenge the polygyny custom before entering baptismal classes. As for the men, few were prepared to stick to one wife in order to get baptised. The Arusha leaders clearly demonstrated how far apart the Lutheran missionaries and Arusha men were in this matter. In 1909, Chief Sabaya took his fifteenth wife.¹³⁰ Yet, given that few Arusha men seemed to be thoroughly interested in baptism and very few showed any personal interest in Christianity at all, polygyny did not actually develop into a conflict but rather remained a fundamental obstacle.

The circumcision issue turned out to be more complicated. Circumcision was, as such, not forbidden on the Leipzig field. Already in 1897, the Leipzig missionaries working amongst the Chagga tribe around Mount Kilimanjaro discussed the issue. The basis for the discussion was Graul's *adiaphoron*-principles. It was noted that the circumcision, as conducted by the Chagga, was not a religious act but rather a cultural tradition. Although not a religious act as such, around Kilimanjaro circumcision was often connected with religious ceremonies, offerings and prayers and, as a result thereof, it was decided that the Chagga Christians could have themselves circumcised if they wanted to, under the condition that no 'religious ceremonies or indecent behaviour' was

¹²⁹ Fleisch 1936, 303-304.

¹³⁰ Weishaupt, ELMB 1912, 555-557; Fokken 1967, 16; Blumer, ELMB 1909, 171. Compare Fleisch 1936, 305.

involved. Female genital mutilation was accepted on these same grounds.¹³¹

Dr. Bruno Gutmann, a missionary amid the Chagga between 1902 and 1938, brought Graul's thoughts to the forefront in several ways. Gutmann preferred to see many of the African customs as primal ties [*urtümliche Bindungen*], i.e. something created by God and therefore natural and necessary also within the churches. Institutions like clans, neighbourhood and age groups were, in Gutmann's view, primal ties. The political organisation, including the authority of the chiefs, the folklore and the rites of passage, were acceptable also since they were highly valued within the African societies.¹³² It goes without saying that Gutmann had quite a positive attitude toward African circumcision. Or more precisely, he held the pre-initiation instruction as important, whereas he saw the circumcision itself as a theologically unimportant *adiaphoron*. Hence, he included some of the Chagga initiation instruction in the confirmation and school education as well as in the sermons.¹³³

The circumcision issue was to be handled totally differently at the two Meru stations. The Maasai-style circumcision on boys¹³⁴ was not more religious in its nature than the equivalent so-called Bantu-circumcision among the Chagga. For both the Chagga and Maasai, prayer and sacrifice had an evident role in both daily life and in ceremonies, and both the Chagga and the Maasai circumcision had religious aspects.¹³⁵ Thus if the Bantu circumcision was accepted under

¹³¹ Althaus 1992, 43-45; Fleisch 1936, 304.

¹³² Fiedler 1983, 33-34; Jaeschke 1985, 65-72, 125-131.

¹³³ Fiedler 1983, 34-35, 41-42; Gutmann, ELMB 1911, 15; Neill 1966, 401.

¹³⁴ Apart from many characteristic customs accompanying the Maasai circumcision, the Maasai circumcise their boys in a different way than the Bantu. Whereas the most Bantu circumcisers remove the foreskin altogether the Maasai circumcisers leave a piece of the foreskin on the underside of the boy's penis. See Saibull & Carr 1981, 71-72 and Kiel 1997, 43.

¹³⁵ The religious aspects of the Chagga (Bantu) circumcision were noticed and taken into account when the missionaries discussed the issue in 1897. Still they decided to give their consent to the custom (Althaus 1992, 45). Compare pages 27-29 in this volume. The Maasai and Arusha likewise saw the rites of passage in a spiritual context. Blumer wrote about the religious aspects of the circumcision as follows; „*Man holt vorher von den*

the assumption that it was an *adiaphoron*, logically, one could argue, the Maasai circumcision should have been accepted on the same grounds. Yet this was not to be the case. Mission Inspector Weishaupt, who had attended an Arusha circumcision, explained the difference between Bantu and Maasai practice as follows;

It is possible to detach the Bantu circumcision from its religious aspects and its immoral accessories, and still it does not lose its character as an incorporation act for the whole community. One can, therefore, let it persist in a purified form. The Maasai circumcision, in contrast, is under all circumstances to be discarded, as the impure customs constitute an indissoluble component in it.¹³⁶

In his report, Weishaupt pictured the Maasai circumcision in spiritual terms, yet he did not comment on any particular religious aspects of the Maasai circumcision. What made a negative impression on the mission inspector was what he witnessed; the riotous behaviour of the boys the night before circumcision, the pressure from society on the youngsters and the general atmosphere during the rite.¹³⁷ Weishaupt passed his judgements predominantly on moral grounds. Fokken largely shared Weishaupt's view. He did not criticise the Maasai circumcision as such for being more at odds with Christianity than the corresponding custom in other tribes. He did, however, consider the behaviour and ceremonies accompanying the Maasai rite of passage to be so sinful that the whole custom was hard to accept.¹³⁸

Zauberern verschiedene Zaubermittel (Amulette), man opfert den Geistern, damit der zu Beschneidende gestärkt wird und vor allem während des äußerst schmerzhaften Beschneidungsaktes nicht aufschreit, was ihm sein Leben lang Schande eintragen würde.' (Blumer, ELMB 1927, 80).

¹³⁶ Weishaupt, ELMB 1912, 556. Translation by author.

¹³⁷ Weishaupt, ELMB 1912, 555-557. Weishaupt termed the tradition as a pagan horror [heidnischer Greuel] and abhorrent national custom [widerlicher Volksbrauch].

¹³⁸ *„Wohl ist die Beschneidung hier zu Lande kein religiöser Akt, sondern Volksbrauch. Gegen die Volks- und Stammessitten, soweit sie nichts mit der heidnischen Religion zu tun haben, richtet sich das Christentum nicht; nun handelt es sich in diesem Fall nicht um eine Volkssitte, sondern um eine grobe Volksunsitte. [...] Als Sünde kann man die Beschneidung an sich auch bei Erwachsenen nicht bezeichnen, aber weil sie eine so große Versuchung zum Bösen in sich birgt, halte ich es wenigstens persönlich für meine Gewissenspflicht,*

From a mission standpoint, male circumcision among the Maasai, Arusha and Meru was troublesome also due to its collective nature. It was sanctioned by the Maasai *loibon* and it was similar and performed almost simultaneously throughout the entire Mount Meru region and Maasailand.¹³⁹ Circumcision among Arusha, Meru and Maasai boys was not simply a manhood ceremony but it served the crucial purpose of turning children into warriors and adults. It had provided security and meaning to the Maasai, at least since the 18th century, and to the Arusha since the point when they joined the Kisongo Maasai in the mid-1800s.¹⁴⁰ Deviations from the traditional practice were not accepted, nor were many Maasai or Maasai allies willing to forego the festivities including drinking, dancing, facial paintings and ornaments or to accept the missionaries' ideals of sexual purity.¹⁴¹

Finally, male circumcision, to the missionaries, was also problematic as it concerned the age-class from which they recruited pupils and candidates for baptism. Few of the youngsters were willing to remain un-circumcised. This also included those living at the mission, some of whom escaped to their families and friends to get initiated with their contemporaries.¹⁴² Even less co-operative were their parents, many of whom viewed the mission with great suspicion and feared the loss of their sons and daughters if they became Christians.¹⁴³

jedem mir anvertrauten Heidenchristen von der Beschneidung abzuraten. (Fokken, ELMB 1908, 375).

¹³⁹ Ngole ole Njololoi (AHT 4); Spencer 1993, 145-146.

¹⁴⁰ Fosbrooke tracks circumcision back to around 1776 when the age-group named *Diyogi* was initiated to *muran* (Fosbrooke 1948, 11). For the Meru, who had joined the Maasai and Arusha as an alternative to continuing fighting them, the Maasai circumcision might (precisely for these reasons) have brought security. It can, however, be discussed how much the Meru valued the Maasai circumcision.

¹⁴¹ Fokken, ELMB 1908, 378; Ittameier, ELMB 1908, 557; ELMB 1909, 529-530. See also Kiel 1997, 34-36.

¹⁴² Saibull & Carr 1981, 116.

¹⁴³ Loingoruaki Meshili (AHT 6); Eliyahu Lujas Meiliari (AHT 8); Blumer, J-ELM 1924, 18.

In 1908, Arusha and Meru boys were circumcised into the left hand of the age-set *Dwati*.¹⁴⁴ Before these circumcisions were to start, the Meru-based missionaries realised that they had to make a decision on whether or not to accept the custom. It was considered imperial that the Ilboru and Nkoaranga stations had a mutual stand in the matter, as they both served in an area of Maasai dominance. It was moreover considered important to settle the issue at an early stage. When the circumcisions started, Arusha-Ilboru had, apart from teacher Saul Rerei, only one Christian. Fokken made it clear that all Leipzig missionaries were not as critical towards the Maasai-style circumcision as he himself was. In fact, it seems that there was a fair amount of debate on the issue. Yet, it appears that those missionaries who came in contact with the custom the most were also its most relentless critics.¹⁴⁵ After having discussed the issue in January 1908, Fokken, Schachsneider and Ittameier decided to impose a total ban on the Maasai male circumcision for all Christians and for those men who lived at the mission stations. Circumcision, as such, was to be tolerated, but not within the Maasai context. In fact, it was decided that separate circumcision events should be held at the two missions, where circumcision was to be done in Bantu fashion and without any indigenous elements or festivities. Those who refused to accept this option and chose to be initiated traditionally would have to leave the stations.¹⁴⁶

The decision not to permit the local circumcision naturally struck the Maasai tradition right at the heart. The circumcision events held by the Ilboru and Nkoaranga missions were also of little help. As little as the traditional Maasai rite of passage was tolerated by the Lutheran

¹⁴⁴ Gulliver notes that boys were circumcised into the *Dwati* age-set from around 1896 and that the *Dwati* warriors became elders in 1917. A new age-set, *Dareto* (alt. *Tareto*), came into being in 1911 – six years before the retirement of *Dwati* (Gulliver 1963, 33). For left and right hand age-sets, see chapter 1.1.

¹⁴⁵ Fokken, ELMB 1908, 375.

¹⁴⁶ Fokken, ELMB 1908, 375; Ittameier, ELMB 1908, 557; Ittameier, ELMB 1909, 37-38.

missionaries, the mission circumcision was correspondingly not considered a valid alternative by the Arusha, Meru or Maasai.¹⁴⁷

Of the two missions, Nkoaranga held circumcision first. Four catechumens, two Christians and an unknown number of boarding pupils wanted to be circumcised traditionally. Some of these pretended to opt for the Bantu circumcision but escaped in secret to be initiated as Maasai. With the exception of the two Christians, all of those who chose the traditional Maasai circumcision had to leave the station. The two Christians who had broken the mission rules were punished, but were allowed to stay.¹⁴⁸

Out of fear of regional unrest, Fokken and Blumer chose to hold the circumcision at Ilboru only after the festivities in most areas were over.¹⁴⁹ The youth at the station were given two days to make a decision whether or not to undergo the mission circumcision. Fokken described the episode in spiritual terms as a battle between good and evil.

Now it had to be made clear if they already truly felt attracted to God and, for the sake of their salvation, they could make a few sacrifices, or whether the heathendom still held them in its bonds. [...] There were three not insignificant sacrifices that were demanded from the youngsters: repudiation from their own families, abdication of the whole circumcision festivities and finally abandonment of the old Maasai customs. Now they faced the decision: Will you make this sacrifice and remain faithful to your already partly expressed resolution to become God's children, or are you attracted by the impure stories of the landscape, so that you rather walk away from us?¹⁵⁰

Only four boarding pupils and servants left the station to be circumcised traditionally with their peers. All of the Christians,

¹⁴⁷ Flatt 1980, 288-289.

¹⁴⁸ Ittameier, ELMB 1909, 37-38; J-ELM 1909, 77.

¹⁴⁹ Fokken, ELMB 1908, 376-377. Before German colonialism, circumcision was often preceded and followed by unrest. The young boys had to prove their bravery in order to become warriors. This could be done by stealing cattle, robbing someone or by killing an enemy (Leue, ELMB 1909, 121; Fokken, ELMB 1908, 375-376).

¹⁵⁰ Fokken, ELMB 1908, 377-378. Translation by author.

catechumens and the rest of the workers and boarding pupils, in total 11 boys, agreed to become circumcised at the *purified* initiation event at Arusha-Ilboru. These boys were rigidly guarded, lest they would be tempted to escape the night before the circumcision. Only the relatives of the sick were allowed onto the mission premises and these were accompanied by the missionaries. Still, a few relatives managed to get in and tried to persuade their sons not to agree to get circumcised at the mission. When a mother saw that her son was still at the mission and had rejected the traditional Maasai initiation custom, she shouted in rage and cursed the day of his birth.¹⁵¹

Three things should be commented on at this stage. Firstly, it is clear from Fokken's remarks above, that he was fully aware of how out of favour the mission circumcision was by the people. He knew that the Christians could face expulsion from their families and that they ran the risk of becoming outcasts in the Arusha and Maasai society. This was a risk that he as well as his fellow missionaries were prepared to take. In order to build a solid Church foundation, Fokken wanted adherents who were prepared to leave even their families and friends to follow Christ.¹⁵² Therefore, secondly, Fokken, Schachschneider and Ittameier made it clear how much they disliked the ceremonies and practices which accompanied the Maasai circumcision. When one of the elders asked Fokken what was to happen to the beer and dancing at the mission circumcision event, the missionary answered that they 'did not stand on the same level as the Arusha – that they were teachers of the clean and holy God and would not take part in such dirty matters'.¹⁵³ The missionaries did not want Christians who were not prepared to part with

¹⁵¹ Fokken, ELMB 1908, 378-379.

¹⁵² Fokken knew that it would be close to impossible for the boys to find girls whose parents would accept a marriage with an uncircumcised man. He hoped, however, that the Bantu circumcision would be sufficient (Fokken, ELMB 1908, 375).

¹⁵³ „Ich machte dem Alten alsbald klar, daß wir nun doch nicht mit ihnen auf gleicher Stufe stünden, daß wir Lehrer des reinen (heiligen) Gottes seien und solche schmutzige Sachen wie sie nicht mitmachten.“ (Fokken, ELMB 1908, 378).

this side of Maasai tradition. In other words – and as Fokken clearly indicated in his reporting – an Arusha individual could not be both a faithful Christian and live traditionally.¹⁵⁴ Thirdly, by forbidding Maasai-style circumcision, the missions at Meru Mountain set a firm example for the future. The missionaries demanded a heavy sacrifice from those who wanted to become Christians. Certain Maasai customs were incompatible with Christian life and only those who agreed to sacrifice these could get baptised. But as the missionaries felt that they had to stick to their decision, those who opted for the Maasai circumcision would not be readmitted to the mission for a long time. During the subsequent years, the missionaries refused to let Maasai-circumcised boys live at the station or to become Christians.¹⁵⁵

It might seem contradictory that those who were not yet baptised and got circumcised traditionally were suspended, whereas those who were already Christians were not. None of the boys at Ilboru left the station to get initiated with their peers. Two at Nkoaranga, however, did so and they were not sent away. The missionaries, obviously, could not allow themselves to expel the two Meru Christians for the sake of setting an example for the rest. The transgressors in question were allowed to stay at the mission, but were punished by means of church discipline.¹⁵⁶ What Fokken and Blumer did not know at the time – or at least they did not report about it – was that some of the boys at Ilboru were already circumcised as Maasai. During the first years, a number of Arusha boys left the catechumen class and boarding school. Their explanations were numerous. Some claimed that their mothers were sick and that their assistance was needed at home. Others were still ‘too young and wanted

¹⁵⁴ See Fokken’s report, page 76.

¹⁵⁵ Blumer, ELMB 1911, 385. Compare page 81 in this volume.

¹⁵⁶ Flatt gives an example of how a Christian was punished after having escaped to undergo traditional circumcision. He was temporarily suspended from church and ‘had to serve a period of breaking rocks as penance for his breach of discipline and as an earnest of his desire to be received back into the fellowship.’ (Flatt 1980, 288-289). Compare Blumer, ELMB 1921, 107. Apostates who sought re-admittance into the Christian fellowship had to endure a long probationary period (Blumer, ELMB 1921, 109).

to get older' before becoming Christians.¹⁵⁷ One of these *homesick* youngsters was Bene ole Kokan. Bene left the mission shortly after his admittance into the boarding school in 1905. Without the missionaries' knowledge, he got circumcised traditionally and, following his return, he entered baptismal class and was baptised in 1908. Bene, who took the name Simeon at his baptism, was to become one of the influential church elders in the Ilboru congregation and, later on, the chief for all Arusha.¹⁵⁸

Surprisingly, the missionaries accepted the local female genital mutilation¹⁵⁹ although similar practices were connected to it as with the circumcision on boys. Fokken himself had described the festivities around the initiation of Chief Ndasekoi's daughter with words like dissolute and devilish.¹⁶⁰ He admitted that both male and female circumcisions were troublesome, but also that only male circumcision was tackled during his time as a missionary.¹⁶¹ The issue of female incision was on the agenda at a Leipzig missionary conference in 1913 – five years after the Maasai male circumcision had been prohibited. After the missionaries' wives had discussed the matter among themselves, they held a discussion with male participants. Although it was pointed out that female genital mutilation 'might have quite unpleasant physical

¹⁵⁷ Fokken, ELMB 1905, 249-250; Fokken, ELMB 1906, 423-424; Fokken, ELMB 1907, 383-384.

¹⁵⁸ Saibull & Carr 1981, 115-116; Fokken, ELMB 1907, 410; *Missionsstation Aruscha, Verzeichnis der Taufen aus den Heiden* (1908). Simeon Bene Ilmolelian was in the second baptismal group. He and three other boys were baptised on the 1 November 1908 (*Missionsstation Aruscha, Verzeichnis der Taufen aus den Heiden* (1908)). As a Christian, Bene did not participate in traditional Maasai festivities and did not bead his hair as his *murrans* contemporaries. He was criticised by his family for having left some of his cultural heritage to become a Christian, and he said that 'my family couldn't forgive me, and they refused to call me by my baptized name, Simeon. They knew me only as Benne.' (Saibull & Carr 1981, 115).

¹⁵⁹ For the Maasai female incision or genital mutilation, I will refer to Christel Kiel who writes that 'the "milder" type [which is practiced among the Maasai] is the excision of the clitoris and cutting of the upper surrounding part of the labia minora.' (Kiel 1997, 38). This technique is also used among the Arusha and Meru but, in accordance with Kiel's definition, the Chagga also "circumcised" women in this way.

¹⁶⁰ See page 70.

¹⁶¹ Fokken 1967, 16.

consequences', the moral damage was pronounced as a larger problem – at least as presented by missionary Thiele who wrote the report. Following a debate on whether or not to abolish genital incision on girls, the missionaries came to the same conclusion as regarding the Bantu circumcision on boys; i.e. it could not be forbidden as such, but all unchaste behaviour had to be excluded. The whole issue of female genital mutilation, including the one practiced around Mount Meru, was to be presented to the elders in the congregations. The missionaries preferred to work towards a total abolition by means of spiritual guidance. No tangible decisions were made at the missionary conference, but the final decision, as to whether or not to accept the custom, was to be taken up in a meeting for church elders after the issue had been thoroughly discussed in each congregation.¹⁶²

There were long-term consequences for the decision in 1908 to forbid Maasai male circumcision and begin arranging separate circumcision events. Those Arusha who chose to remain loyal to the mission rules and thereby to defy the traditional, indeed parted with much of their former identity. Many of them were rejected by their relatives and friends. They were regarded as lost or dead because they had betrayed their heritage and brought dishonour to their families.¹⁶³ The missionaries did not necessarily make it easier for the young Christians. Out of fear that they would be tempted to return to their traditional lifestyles, they discouraged them from mingling with non-Christian relatives and friends. Yet, many Christians broke these rules. Some eventually left the mission. The majority, however, remained loyal.¹⁶⁴ By forbidding the Maasai circumcision and rejecting

¹⁶² Thiele, ELMB 1913, 543. Compare Fleisch 1936, 304 and *Protokoll der I. (30) Konferenz in Madschame*, 3-7 September 1925. As the war broke out, no decisions were made until 1923, when the teachers and elders in the congregations on the Leipzig field decided to enforce a total ban on all forms of circumcision (See page 110).

¹⁶³ Blumer, J-ELM 1924, 18; Loingoruaki Meshili (AHT 6); Eliyahu Lujas Meiliari (AHT 8).

¹⁶⁴ Ngoilenya Wuapi (AHT 5). Even Paulos Salaito, the first Christian in Arusha, left the mission station and returned to a traditional lifestyle. He, however, returned in 1931 after

traditionally circumcised boys, the Lutheran work not only distanced itself from Arusha society, but diminished its chances of attracting catechumens. In 1911, Blumer regretted the low numbers of boys attending the boarding school. This was a direct result of the decision of the missionaries not to allow any Maasai-circumcised boys to become boarders or catechumens.¹⁶⁵ As the younger missionary, however, he could not do much more than complain and put his hope in a younger generation which he hoped would be ready to choose Christianity rather than Maasai circumcision. The missionaries did not reveal how long they waited before they admitted Maasai-circumcised boys as boarders and catechumens. It is clear, however, that they had to stick to their rules for some time in order to make an effective statement.

Despite Blumer's complaint about fewer catechumens, the Lutheran work at Ilboru, in other aspects, does not seem to have been greatly affected by the circumcision ban. Few had left the mission and those who stayed were even more devoted to the station than before. Teaching in the higher classes was halted for a few weeks so that the newly circumcised could recover. In the bush-schools, work continued largely as before. Controversially, there were somewhat more pupils and church attendees in 1908 than the year before, which suggests that, on the whole, relations between the mission and the people had not really turned for the worse. It is difficult to say how the situation might have been different if the Leipzig Mission had accepted circumcision. Probably, the mission would have made an impression on the Arusha with the result being an increased number of pupils and catechumens. The missionaries were, however, not interested in converting large numbers of people with minimal resistance. In the process of creating a

having been persuaded by Fokken to do so (Fokken, ELMB 1932, 312-313; Fokken, IAW 1954, 108-109). Saul Rerei also turned apostate during the First World War (see footnote 202).

¹⁶⁵ Blumer, ELMB 1911, 385.

people's Church it was more important to lay the proper foundations than to make many converts.¹⁶⁶

2.2.2. Early Attempts at Contextualisation¹⁶⁷ within the Arusha Work

Despite the exclusion of some Maasai elements, Fokken and Blumer showed a keen interest in Arusha culture and made several attempts to approach the people in ways that they could comprehend. They put a great deal of effort into becoming fluent in the Maasai language. Fokken pointed out two reasons why a missionary should prioritize language studies. Firstly, he noted the importance not only to learn to speak the Maasai language, but to learn to speak it the way the people spoke it.

He must not only understand the people, but also be able to explain something to them in their own language. In order to be able to preach God's word in an understandable way, one must, above all, penetrate the soul of the language. One has to listen assiduously to how the people express themselves in daily life. The better the missionary learns to speak in the same way as the natives express themselves among each other every day, the more understandable he becomes to them in the education and Sunday Service.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ *„Kein Missionar sollte nach großen Zahlen streben. Das Wichtigste ist, daß ein solides Fundament gelegt wird. Als ich einst hier draußen anfing, dachte ich wohl auch an große Zahlen. Aber dann hat mich Gott auf eins der härtesten Missionsfelder gestellt. Es galt zu arbeiten und nochmals zu arbeiten, ohne daß ich selber oder die Umwelt viel Frucht sah. Es war eben Arbeit an den Grundmauern. Es galt, tief zu graben, Steine und Mörtel herbeizuschleppen und dann einfach zu bauen. Das hat zu meiner eigenen inneren Entwicklung viel geholfen.“* (Blumer, ELMB 1924, 154).

¹⁶⁷ The words contextualisation and inculturation were not used by the Leipzig missionaries. They did not have similar words to express the same issue, nor did they relate to it as we do today. The terms contextualisation and inculturation, in a missiological sense, were created in the 1970s (See Bosch 2004, 294-295, 420-432, 447-457). For a lack of more suitable words and to describe the growing awareness of the need for appropriate methods to reach the very heart of various peoples, I nonetheless use these words.

¹⁶⁸ Fokken 1914, 7-8. Translation by author.

Secondly, Fokken emphasised the importance of learning local languages not only in order to be able to communicate with the people, but also in order to learn to know the culture through the language.

He must not only learn how to preach, but also what to preach. He comes to the pagans to bring them a new religion. If he wants to preach this new teaching successfully, then it is of outmost importance for him to learn the present religious beliefs well in advance. Therefore, he must not confine himself in his language studies to the occasional daily contact with the natives, but must let talented representatives of the people come to him and he must question them about their usages, customs and religious beliefs. In this way, he manages in time to collect a wealth of material on the spiritual life of the natives.¹⁶⁹

Fokken indeed tried to penetrate the customs and beliefs of the Maasai. He regularly visited one of the old Arusha diviners, Mbukara, close to Ilkidinga. After having tried in vain to convince the medicine man of the absurdity of some of his practices, Fokken submitted, yet he continued visiting the diviner to watch him treating patients.¹⁷⁰ Blumer, for his part, followed Fokken's advice and hired an Arusha man solely to help him to learn the language and mores properly. After having become fluent in Maasai, Blumer, like his predecessor, took a great – although critical – interest in Arusha and Maasai religious and cultural views.¹⁷¹ The missionaries' aim was essentially to learn to know the language and culture in order to find out how to set up the work to reach the very heart of the people. These early steps of contextualisation sought to make the Christian Gospel comprehensible to the people by using appropriate words and phrases, but also by pointing out similarities between Maasai spiritual belief and Christianity. Fokken and Blumer learned about a number of such similarities. They learned that the Maasai and Arusha

¹⁶⁹ Fokken 1914, 8. Translation by author.

¹⁷⁰ Fokken, ELMB 1915, 172-175, 196-198.

¹⁷¹ Lodenaga Lotisia (AHT 3). Blumer's translator did not become a Christian, nor did he take part in the education. For some of Blumer's cultural studies, see Blumer, ELMB 1927, 75-82.

were monotheists believing in one god, *Enkai*, who had created the whole world. To this god, the people addressed their prayers – often strikingly similar to the ones the missionaries themselves prayed. The missionaries, however, also learned early on that they and the Maasai shared the conception of good and evil as well as a number of similar stories, such as the first murder, the Flood and Noah’s Ark. Fokken and Blumer tried to use these similarities to make their teaching relevant and interesting to the Arusha.¹⁷²

One custom that was fully acknowledged was bridewealth or dowry. The custom of paying cattle to the parents of a bride was not accepted only on the Arusha-Ilboru station, but on every Leipzig station in German East Africa.¹⁷³ Fokken did not seem to have any particular aversions against the paying of bridewealth but noted amusingly that the first two married men, after having paid their dowry, could not afford to build proper houses and so were forced to continue living in simple huts.¹⁷⁴ The missionaries were also tolerant in terms of allowing women to enter baptismal classes although they were married to polygynous and non-Christian men. In 1913, for instance, a married woman approached Fokken and wanted to be baptised. As her husband was not a Christian, she was not sure that the missionary would accept her unless she got divorced. When Fokken learned that the husband did not oppose the wife’s christening, he had no objections against either the marriage or the woman becoming a Christian.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Blumer, ELMB 1927, 75-78; Weishaupt, ELMB 1912, 554-555.

¹⁷³ Bridewealth (Alternatively bride-price, dowry or marriage payment) was, and is still today, common among most tribes in Africa. In order to be allowed to marry a woman, the groom has to offer a number of livestock to the father of the bride. Often the mother also receives a number of livestock. The Leipzig missionaries discussed the bridewealth issue at a conference in 1911. It was stated that although the paying of cattle for a wife resembles a purchase, it should rather be seen as compensation and was, thus, rather symbolic in its nature. As such, the missionaries decided to accept the custom (Gutmann, ELMB 1912, 35-36).

¹⁷⁴ ELMB 1909, 121; Fokken, ELMB 1913, 135.

¹⁷⁵ Fokken, ELMB 1913, 133-134.

By learning the language, pointing out similarities between Christianity and Maasai beliefs and by accepting a number of traditional customs, the missionaries tried to promote Christianity in terms that the Arusha were likely to understand. The missionaries' way of relating to the local culture was thus largely two-sided. On the one hand, they attempted to reduce the cultural cleavages in order to reach as many Arusha as possible. On the other hand, they promoted a dramatically new way of living which was vastly distant from Arusha ideals. Everybody was welcome to participate in Sunday services and in school education – just as they were. For those who wanted to become Christians, however, considerable changes were ahead; changes that isolate many of the first Christians from their relatives and friends. Despite a number of similarities between Christianity and Maasai religious views, christening did not become an option for the great majority but remained a choice for a small minority.

2.2.3. The Ilboru Mission; a Welcome Option for the Poor, the Sick and Opportunists

Who were those that approached the Ilboru mission? And why did some come to the mission whereas others firmly avoided it? It is probably safe to assume that nobody came without a reason. Our interest thus primarily lies in concentrating on the motives of those for whom the mission became an option. Undoubtedly, the political situation in the region had a major impact. As new obligations were imposed by the German colonial government, it was becoming increasingly difficult for the Arusha to live traditionally. Men whom the chiefs or government clerks considered fit for work constantly ran the risk of being recruited as government labour. Towards the end of the German regime, this practice was institutionalised to the extent that every male had to work 30 days every three months for the government, a settler or for the missionaries.

Some Arusha had been mistreated by settlers or forced by government staff into unpleasant labour – such as carrying heavy loads to remote locations – and preferred employment for the missionaries despite the relative low salaries.¹⁷⁶ During good years, when few Arusha suffered from a lack of money, cattle and food, the work enforcement was especially detested. In years of drought and cattle epidemics, the case was the opposite and a large number of people sought jobs on the open market. In particular, when the annual head tax had to be paid, those men who owned neither large herds nor plantations had to look for work. Every adult man had to pay tax for himself and for his wives. The *murrān* also had to pay tax, but it was relatively common that their fathers paid the fees for them. Those men who were better off could sell a goat or a cow to pay the tax of three rupees. Those who could not afford the tax were forced to look for jobs and some of them ended up working at the mission.¹⁷⁷

The political situation also had an impact on the Lutheran schools. As we have previously noted, most parents did not want to their children to go to school. School was seen either as unnecessary or as a threat to traditional Arusha values and traditions. Children were rather kept at home herding, working on the plantation or helping their mothers with the domestic work. If there were no particular needs at home, the

¹⁷⁶ Fokken, ELMB 1907, 411; Fokken, ELMB 1913, 568-569; Jonathan Kidale (AHT 7); Lodenaga Lotisia (AHT 3). In 1907, the monthly salary paid to the mission workers was raised from 2 ½ to 3 rupees, and, in 1911, the boarding pupils (at least the men) were paid approximately 2 ½ rupees including food and clothes. Settlers generally paid more than the mission – up to 6 rupees per month if the work was physically demanding (Fokken, ELMB 1907, 411; ELMB 1909, 121; Blumer, ELMB 1911, 385). Some settlers did not even want Christians or people frequenting the mission to work for them. According to Fokken, the Christians could no longer tolerate the kind of treatment that was sometimes given on the farms. The missionary did not deny, however, that the Christians tended to become lazy and selective in their choice of work (Fokken, ELMB 1913, 568).

¹⁷⁷ Lodenaga Lotisia (AHT 3); Mosingo ole Meipusu (AHT 1); ELMB 1907, 142. In 1907, the harvests were good and it became difficult for the Ilboru mission to receive workers. Thus, in 1908, the missionaries introduced worker cards so that the employees could prove to the chiefs and government clerks that they had been working for the mission and should not be recruited for other jobs. This made employment at the mission more interesting to the Arusha men (Fokken, ELMB 1909, 86. Compare Spear 1997, 84-85).

children were rather sent to work for a farmer than to school. School, to the Arusha, was work – as much as labour on European farms was – and, thus, they expected the missionaries to pay school children at least some kind of salary.¹⁷⁸ There was no law in German East Africa imposing education. On the contrary, the Arusha chiefs were well aware that the missionaries could not force people to attend school – a fact which some of them willingly and meticulously passed on to the people. Some children had been taught by older generations to demand Blumer to ‘pay them a cow as salary if they came to school and finally finished their education’. They argued that their people ‘have, in the past, managed without school and they were not stupid’, and then they announced that they themselves ‘could manage as well without school’.¹⁷⁹ As the missionaries refused to pay, the number of pupils remained quite small. It was primarily children of less favoured wives who were allowed go to school, and even these were allowed to receive education rather to satisfy the government officers and missionaries than because the parents thought education to be of any value.¹⁸⁰ At times, however, the German officers felt it necessary to encourage education and urged the chiefs to make sure that children went to school. In 1911, for instance, Blumer asked the military commander to persuade the Arusha to send their children to school. This resulted in an increased number of pupils. One year later, however, when the same missionary learned that people came to church in great numbers only because it was ‘wished by the government’, he told the people that ‘listening to God’s word is something voluntary that one will not be commanded but rather [...]

¹⁷⁸ Blumer, ELMB 1911, 362.

¹⁷⁹ Blumer, ELMB 1911, 362-363.

¹⁸⁰ Ngole ole Njololoi (AHT 4); Jonathan Kidale (AHT 7); Eliyahu Lujas Meiliari (AHT 8). In fact, as late as November 1929, Pätzig noted in his diary that one of the Arusha chiefs had forbidden the children to go to school since they had done so for years without receiving any salary. The Arusha concerned also planned to complain to the Governor about the missionaries’ refusal to pay the children (Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (4 December 1929)).

warmly welcomed to'. Consequently, many people stayed at home the following Sundays.¹⁸¹

A number of Arusha also came to the Ilboru station of their own free will. The clinic was actively visited by women. Those who were cured were naturally grateful and held the mission in particularly high esteem. Some of these began participating in the activities at the mission. Some of the former patients even wanted to stay and, as a result thereof, a boarding school for women was opened in 1908.¹⁸² Women came to the mission for various reasons. Those who had come into contact with the Lutheran station through its health care tended to remain loyal and some of these eventually became catechumens. The mission also received girls who were not primarily interested in christening, but were trying to escape arranged marriages. This applies to the second girl who asked permission to stay at the station. The girl did not stay long. Pleas by her relatives that the missionaries let her go were of no use. In the end, however, she was not prepared for the different lifestyle at the station and ran away. On the missionaries' demand, she was brought back. She was punished, her traditional dress was confiscated and she was forced to redress in her mission uniform. Shortly after this, she ran away again and did not return.¹⁸³

Spear argues that those 'who did join [the Nkoaranga and Ilboru missions] were often in search of wages, education, medical cures, or escape from home rather than salvation'.¹⁸⁴ As we have seen, this was largely the case. Many of those who settled at the mission were those who had the least to lose. Some escaped to the mission after having been ill-treated at home. Others joined the mission because they saw christening as a possibility to gain success and wealth. Many, however,

¹⁸¹ Blumer, ELMB 1911, 362-363; Blumer, ELMB 1912, 111. See also table 2.2.

¹⁸² Blumer, ELMB 1909, 170; ELMB 1910, 229. The women's boarding school should not be mixed up with the dormitory for sick women opened in 1907 (page 62).

¹⁸³ Blumer, ELMB 1909, 170-171; Blumer, ELMB 1911, 384; Ngoilenya Wuapi (AHT 5); Loingoruaki Meshili (AHT 6).

¹⁸⁴ Spear 1997, 159.

became interested in the Christian faith after having been helped medically or after having received schooling for several years. The missionaries at Arusha-Ilboru were aware of the motives of many who joined the Lutheran work. At the same time they hoped that these worldly motives would turn more devout with time. They tested them hard before baptising them. Those who were found lacking ability or motivation had their baptism postponed or were dismissed altogether. Some were, however, reluctant to change in the way the missionaries wanted them to and they left voluntarily. Many of those who were baptised were too ashamed to return to their families and found a new family with the missionaries and fellow Christians. Still, many of these also found new meaning in their lives, became faithful Christians and loyal co-workers.¹⁸⁵

Table 2.2.

Lutheran work around Arusha 1904-1913

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Ordained/lay missionaries	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	2
Outposts		2	2	2	3	4	4	4	4	4
Church/school buildings		3	4	4	5	6	6	5	5	5
Churchgoers (average)	380	270	307	204	477	564	175	357	287	306
Indigenous teachers					1	1	5	5	5	5
Schools	3	3	3	3	5	6	5	5	5	5
Boarding school pupils	10	12	14	14	11	12	11	12	15	9
					3	10	10	6	10	13
Pupils in total ^a	178	120	184	159	168	156	26	54	62	29
					254	110	40	161	226	110
Catechumens			3	4	7	6	10	14	18	
Baptisms				1	4		6	8	14	19
				1				1		3
Christians				1	6	6	12	19	34	55

¹⁸⁵ Loingoruaki Meshili (AHT 6); Eliyahu Lujas Meiliari (AHT 8).

Sources: Statistik der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission in Deutsch-Ostafrika, ELMB 1905-1914. No statistics were published in 1914. ^{a)}Including boarding school pupils.

The many languages spoken around Meru, Kilimanjaro and Pare often posed challenges to the Leipzig Mission and its workers. In 1910, the Nkoaranga Missionary Martin Schachschneider went on furlough to Germany and, being the only missionary at the station, a stand-in had to be found. Speaking the Shira dialect, which was closely related to the Meru language or Kiro, Hermann Fokken was commanded to take over the Nkoaranga station. Blumer took charge of the Arusha mission during Fokken's absence.¹⁸⁶ In mid-1912, Bertha Blumer got ill and had to travel to Germany for treatment. With the departure of the Blumers and uncertainties over whether they would be able to return, and with Fokken's furlough already being overdue, the management in Leipzig had to act quickly and send a new missionary to Arusha. Heinrich Roth¹⁸⁷ arrived just before Blumer left. He was given one year to learn the Maasai language and to get acquainted with the mission work before taking over the station when Fokken was to leave. After having served 11 years as a missionary in German East Africa, Fokken left Ilboru in mid-1913 and Roth was left in charge. Fokken made no secret of his judgment that Roth was too inexperienced to take over the station. In fact, he did not even trust Roth enough to let him take charge of the catechumen class, but put the teachers in control – teachers who had themselves been baptised less than five years earlier, had no proper qualifications and had little more than two years of teaching

¹⁸⁶ Blumer, ELMB 1911, 359-360; Fokken 1967, 17-18.

¹⁸⁷ Heinrich Roth was born on 25 October 1887 in Szeghegy, Hungary. He was ordained on the 29th of May 1912 and departed for Africa and Arusha two weeks later. It is not recorded in any Leipzig Mission files when Roth passed away (Leipzig Mission, *Afrika Archiv* 408-1+, Heinrich Roth).

experience.¹⁸⁸ Two months after Fokken's departure, Roth baptised the twelve catechumens. Blumer, who arrived shortly afterwards, did not accept the baptism with the reasoning that Roth had baptised the catechumens before they were ready. The Christians in question were given further education before the baptism was confirmed and they were received as members of the Ilboru mission congregation. Blumer, moreover, criticised Roth for having gravely neglected his work and for having posed a bad example for the Christians by drinking alcohol and being absent from Sunday Services many Sundays – a criticism largely confirmed by the Leipzig Mission Director Dr. Carl Ihmels. During the months that Roth was in charge, two Christians left the station. In 1914, Roth was transferred to Machame at Kilimanjaro. Instead of continuing as a missionary he decided to resign and joined the German troops in the war.¹⁸⁹

At the end of 1913, there were 55 Christians at the Arusha-Ilboru station. 51 of these had been baptised since 1910, which proves that confidence in the Lutheran work had indeed grown. The number of teachers had increased to five. Apart from Saul Rerei, who had studied at the Leipzig Mission Teacher's Training College in Moshi, these men had no formal training. They did, however, provide valuable assistance and add an important indigenous character to the work, something that surely diminished the cleavages between traditional Arusha and the Lutheran mission.

The first decade of mission work around Arusha included both unconquerable challenges and promising steps. Unconquerable, because some mores seemed impossible to accept from a Lutheran Christian point of view, but promising in the sense that the work advanced despite these

¹⁸⁸ Fokken, ELMB 1913, 110; 567, 570; Fokken 1967, 17. Fokken voluntarily returned to Ilboru in September 1911 although he was entitled to a furlough.

¹⁸⁹ Ihmels to a. D. Kirnbauer 1943; Blumer *Tagebuchblätter* (cited in Parsalaw 1999, 144-145); *Missionsstation Aruscha Verzeichnis der Taufen aus den Heiden* (1913 II). *Kollegium der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission, Bescheinigung*, Heinrich Roth (Leipzig Mission, *Afrika Archiv* 408 1+, Heinrich Roth).

challenges. The number of outposts, church buildings, schools and mission workers grew significantly, but the number of churchgoers and school students remained more or less the same. The missionaries' decision to reject the Maasai circumcision as well as the widespread polygyny probably played a part in the slow progress. Fokken admitted that the Arusha work had progressed slowly compared to the rest of the Leipzig work. Although he was able to point out the demanding nature of the work among the Arusha, the missionary did not deny his own insufficiency. His prayer when leaving Africa in September 1913 was 'Lord, do not let the congregations at Meru suffer for what I have neglected or done in a wrong way!'¹⁹⁰

2.3. World War I and its Impact on the Mission Work

It was truly hoped among workers in German East Africa that the General Act of Berlin¹⁹¹ would be respected and that, consequently, no military operations would be carried out in the colony. The treaty was, however, disobeyed and war acts in East Africa took place as early as the beginning of the war, starting with the British sinking of a German steamship outside Dar es Salaam in August 1914.¹⁹² Allied troops entered German East Africa and gradually gained terrain. The German troops

¹⁹⁰ *„Herr, lass es die Gemeinden am Meru nicht entgelten, wenn ich etwas versäumt oder verkehrt gemacht habe!“* (Fokken 1967, 18).

¹⁹¹ The General Act of the Conference of Berlin or the Congo Act was signed by leaders from the United States of America, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and Portugal on 26 February 1885 in Berlin. According to Article 11, chapter 3, the undersigned agreed that the colonies would 'be placed during the war under the rule of neutrality, and considered as belonging to a non-belligerent State, the belligerents thenceforth abstaining from extending hostilities to the territories thus neutralized, and from using them as a base for warlike operations.' (Rathgen 1920, 352).

¹⁹² Oehler 1951, 279; J-ELM 1918, 44. The war came as a surprise to the missionaries. *„Die Nachricht schlug ein wie ein Blitz aus heiterem Himmel. Denn die Schwüle, die seit dem Mord von Sarajewo auf Europa lastete, hatte man im freien Afrika weit weniger empfunden. Niemand wollte recht daran glauben, daß wirklich Krieg sei.“* (J-ELM 1918, 44).

commanded by General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck were greatly outnumbered, but managed, nonetheless, to keep up firm resistance during the whole course of the war. The majority of the German troops consisted of African soldiers, but most Germans in the colony, including many of the Leipzig missionaries, were in one way or another involved on the German side. Some of the ordained and all of the lay missionaries volunteered either as soldiers or sanitarians.¹⁹³

In Moshi the missionaries Guth and Eisenschmidt held a service with Holy Communion immediately after the outbreak of the war and many Europeans attended. Afterwards, just like in Germany, the men hurried to the flag. Also the men of the Mission who were fit for service received their call-up orders [*Gestellungsbefehl*]; not only the building technicians Horn, Leuschner, Knepper and Klöpfel, but also ordained missionaries. Michel was drafted for service with the forces, while Dannholz [...], Guth and Wärthl voluntarily signed up as sanitarians.¹⁹⁴

Some of the Leipzig missionaries were ordered by the authorities to turn their stations into frontier posts. This was the case for Missionaries Paul Rother and Jakob Dannholz in the Pare mountains close to the Kenyan border. One hundred Pare men served as soldiers at these mission-frontier-stations, equipped not with firearms but with traditional bows and arrows.¹⁹⁵ By May 1916, the Allied troops had invaded the whole Leipzig field in the northeast portion of the colony. On most stations, the missionaries were allowed to remain and work as

¹⁹³ Iliffé 1979, 240-246; ELMB 1915, 314. Nine out of 15 interned Leipzig Mission workers actively served on the German side in the war (J-ELM 1918, 50; Fleisch 1936, 345). One of these, the Mission Artisan Edmund Leuschner, died in battle (J-ELM 1918, 45). Missionary Jacob Dannholz from Mbagá in South Pare died of a tropical sickness in a war hospital (Weishaupt, ELMB 1919, 43).

¹⁹⁴ J-ELM 1918, 44. Translation by author. According to ELMB 1915, 314, Missionary Guth, who was the missionary at Gonja in South Pare, volunteered as an armed soldier protecting the railroad.

¹⁹⁵ J-ELM 1918, 44-45; Fleisch 1936, 343.

usual during most of the war, but on some stations, missionaries were interned.¹⁹⁶

Table 2.3.

Mission work on the Leipzig field during and after World War I

	1914	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	
Mis- sio- naries	Ordnained (all males)	20	14	10	9	8	2
	Male lay workers	6	1	1	1	1	
	Female lay workers (deaconesses)	4	4	4	4	2	
	Church elders	43	49	44	44	52	57
	Church and school buildings	90	82	66	62	58	57
	Churchgoers (average)	8,778	4,340	4,787	4,115	4,060	4,107
	Indigenous teachers	126	105	86	77	74	91
	Pupils	8,721	5,390	3,749	2,905	1,851	2,363
	Catechumens	642	302	302	279	190	277
Baptisms	Pagans	360	373	295	40	271	137
	Children	224	273	240	247	288	303
	Number of Christians	4,125	5,133	5,119	5,143	5,559	5,789
	Communicants	3,555	1,977	3,203	2,248	4,180	5,243
	Congregation funds (in Rupees)	4,963,58	11,474,48	10,209,6	10,451,21	10,449,33	^a

Sources: ELMB 1915, 345-346; ELMB 1917, 170-171; J-ELM 1918, 82-83; J-ELM 1919, 28-29; J-ELM 1920, 28-29. ^aNo data available.

The war had a vast demoralizing effect on the young churches. Christians were fighting Christians and, for the first time in German East Africa, indigenous Christians were ordered to team up with non-Christians to fight Europeans – most of whom were, in fact, Christians

¹⁹⁶ J-ELM 1918, 48. Five of the 15 stations on the Leipzig field were left without missionaries after the invasion of the Allied forces (J-ELM 1918, 51). The families of those who were interned, with one exception, were left at their stations where they continued living (Weishaupt, J-ELM 1917, 21).

themselves.¹⁹⁷ As the work and structures of the missionaries creaked in every joint, the faith that many Africans had was put to the test. Regardless of the attempts of a decreasing number of missionaries to keep up the Lutheran work, the general interest among the Africans in Christian teaching declined. The number of pupils visiting the Leipzig Mission schools in 1919 decreased to almost one fifth compared to what it had been in 1914. During the same years, the number of teachers decreased by some forty per cent. In some places, school work ended altogether. Likewise in 1919, Sunday service attendance had gone down by more than 50 per cent compared to attendance before the war.¹⁹⁸

When examining the figures, it seems clear that it was primarily non-Christians who failed to attend the various services offered by the missions. The Christians, in general, appear to have remained loyal followers. Whereas fewer adults chose to have themselves baptised, the number of baptisms for children actually increased somewhat during and after the war. There were more communicants in 1919 than in 1914, and donations within the congregations increased the congregational funds. Despite the loyalty of many Christians, the impact of the war had destructive effects within the mission churches. Many Christians fell away and returned to their traditional beliefs and customs. Others were convinced to become Muslims.¹⁹⁹ In general, those congregations which were more seldom visited by a European missionary encountered more losses. The congregations in the South Pare region, which had lost their missionaries already at the beginning of the war, were one example of this trend. Halfway into the war, the Pare congregations practically ceased to exist, as no more baptismal classes, baptisms or Sunday services were conducted. The three congregations in South Pare lost

¹⁹⁷ Blumer, ELMB 1930, 104. Bernander notes that 'when the storm broke and swept over the country in 1916 and after, the churches which had to face its full force were little more than twenty years old. They were shaken to their very foundations, and it was little short of a miracle that they survived at all.' (Bernander 1968, 14).

¹⁹⁸ J-ELM 1918, 47, 52. See also table 2.3.

¹⁹⁹ Weishaupt, J-ELM 1917, 21-23; J-ELM 1918, 47, 51, 52.

almost 60 % of their church members.²⁰⁰ The same phenomenon occurred at Nkoaranga, whose missionary, Martin Schachsneider, was interned in 1917. Although Nkoaranga was thereafter regularly visited by the Arusha Missionary Leonhard Blumer, nearly half of its members left the congregation.²⁰¹

2.3.1. Continuation, Indigenisation and Optimism at Arusha-Ilboru

In contrast to the situation at Nkoaranga, the two-year-younger Arusha-Ilboru mission faced only a few apostasies, and the relatively high numbers of baptisms made the mission congregation grow.²⁰² The reason for the favourable situation at Arusha was twofold. First, under Blumer's guidance, the work was granted continuity. The missionary carried a heavy burden. Apart from his missionary duties at the Arusha and Nkoaranga stations, he consented, in 1917, to the pleas of the German-speaking settlers at Leudorf-Leganga to serve as their pastor.²⁰³ Blumer spent less time at Ilboru than before, and the work was restricted to the essentials. Nonetheless, he played a crucial role as a representative of the old and consistent. As he was allowed to stay, the work did not encounter any major crisis but could continue largely as before. The

²⁰⁰ Weishaupt, ELMB 1917, 264; Weishaupt, J-ELM 1917, 21-22; J-ELM 1918, 48-49; Fleisch 1936, 348-349.

²⁰¹ Weishaupt, J-ELM 1917, 21-22; J-ELM 1918, 48. Schachsneider was interned on orders by the commander in Arusha who, unlike his colleague in Moshi, ordered every male German citizen under the age of 45 to be interned (J-ELM 1918, 48). Blumer was not fluent in Kiro, the Meru language, nor did he have sufficient time to dedicate himself fully to the work at Nkoaranga. Most of the work was handed over to the teachers. Naturally the work suffered from the lack of a full time Kiro-speaking missionary (Blumer, ELMB 1921, 108-112; Fleisch 1936, 349, 352-353). Many of the apostates – unable to 'find peace in heathendom' – returned within a few years (ELMB 1924, 139).

²⁰² One of the Christians who left the Lutheran Church was the teacher Saul Rerei. Since 1914, Rerei had been unsatisfied with his salary and demanded a pay raise. Unsure of what to do, Blumer wrote to the Mission Council which replied that no salary increase would come into question. In August 1917, Rerei quit his job as a teacher. Blumer noted that Rerei had shortly after 'fallen back into paganism' and taken a second wife (Blumer, ELMB 1921, 152).

²⁰³ Blumer, ELMB 1921, 206-211.

other reason to the favourable situation in the Arusha work was indigenisation. Much of the Lutheran work around Arusha came to be carried out by a number of Arusha Christians. Blumer spoke particularly well of the teacher Lazarus Laiser, whom he called his best help and support. Laiser had received his teacher's education at the Leipzig Mission Teacher's Training College at Marangu, Moshi, between 1912 and 1916. After his return to Arusha, he was involved in most of the work and was in charge when Blumer was away. His leadership qualities proved invaluable in a time when faith in European-biased Christianity was at its lowest.²⁰⁴

Table 2.4.

Lutheran work around Arusha 1913-1922

	1913	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	
Ordained/lay missionaries	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Outposts	4	4	4	3	3	2	3	3	
Church and school buildings	5	5	5	4	4	3	4	4	
Churchgoers (average)	306	610	322	283	353	251	317	378	
Church elders		2	1		4	3	3	3	
Indigenous teachers	5	5	3	4	4	5	5	6	
Schools	5	5	^a	4	4	?	4	5	
Boarding school pupils	Boys	13	7	6	13	5	6	12	42 ^b
	Girls	9	15	13	5	12	15	18	
Pupils in all schools	Boys	29	18	16	10	16	24	35	
	Girls	110	208	145	119	105	81	96	122
Catechumens			11	7	12	11	9	19	
Baptisms	Pagans	19	5			7	14	11	3
	Children	3	6	8	2	6	8	19	9

²⁰⁴ Blumer, ELMB 1921, 107, 151, 202-203; Pätzig 1959, 12; Knittel, ELMB 1913, 136-137. See also Fokken, ELMB 1920, 199-202 (citing a letter from Arusha Christian Simeon Bene who was Chief Lairumbi's clerk). At Nkoaranga the teachers Andrea (Palangyo) and Davidi assumed much responsibility and were encouraged by the missionary (Blumer, ELMB 1921, 109-111, 202-203). Lazarus (or Lasaros) Loisira Malmali Laiser enrolled in the fourth catechumen class at Arusha-IIboru. He and seven other were baptised on 13 August 1911 (*Missionsstation Aruscha, Verzeichnis der Taufen aus den Heiden* (1911)).

Number of Christians	55	75	85	81	88	107	132	139
Weddings	3	^a	^a	^a	1	7	4	2

Sources: ELMB 1914, 284-285; ELMB 1917, 170-171; ELMB 1918, 184-185; J-ELM 1918-1922. No statistics published for the years 1914-1915. ^aNo data provided. ^bNo separate data provided.

Blumer described the wartime and post-war work as a time when motivation and hope was at its lowest, but he also described it as a work that evolved and caused him and his fellow Christians much joy.²⁰⁵ The many challenges caused by the war brought about increased co-operation. Work was plentiful, salaries were meagre or nonexistent, and all areas suffered from a lack of funds. Despite these hardships, the Christians not only managed to hold most positions, but foundations were also laid for the future. Already in 1911, preparations had been made for the building of a stone church at Ilboru. When the outbreak of the war halted financial support from Europe, the work was already well underway. With generous contributions from Arusha Christians and non-Christians alike, as well as from Europeans living in the region, Blumer managed to continue building. By Christmas 1915, the work was nearly finished and the first Sunday services were held.²⁰⁶ The relationship between the Lutheran mission and the mainstream Arusha also appears to have improved during the war. The German authorities were dissatisfied with Chief Leshabar and decided to replace him. On Blumer's recommendations, a new chief, Lairumbi, was appointed in 1916. Pleased with the choice, the people – and the new chief – wanted to thank the missionary by supporting the building of the new church. By bringing generous financial contributions to a subsequent Sunday service collection, the people showed their appreciation of Blumer.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Blumer, ELMB 1921, 113, 202-205, 209-211.

²⁰⁶ Blumer, ELMB 1921, 182-187; Fleisch 1936, 349-350.

²⁰⁷ Blumer, ELMB 1921, 185-186.

2.3.2. The Leipzig Field and Arusha-Ilboru after the War

Through the Treaty of Versailles, signed on 28 June 1919, Germany and its allies were forced to accept total responsibility for the war. The treaty resulted in a substantial number of restrictive and compensatory measures for Germany, including the deprivation of all its colonies. In 1920, German East Africa became a British mandate under the League of Nations and its name was changed to Tanganyika.²⁰⁸

Although the Germans lost the war, the remaining missionaries were initially allowed to stay on their stations providing that they could survive financially. Previous restrictions, such as the freedom of movement that had been imposed on the Germans during the war, were withdrawn and the missionaries could move around freely. With financial help from the American Iowa Synod, the Leipzig missionaries began to build up the work again. Payments from Leipzig had been sent to the field already during the war, but some of the transfers were vastly delayed. Additionally, the weak German *Reichsmark* minimized the German contribution.²⁰⁹

After a period of optimism and hopefulness amongst the German missionaries that they would be allowed to stay in Tanganyika, their situation plummeted. On 7 August 1920, the British authorities informed the German missionaries that they would all be repatriated. After four weeks of waiting in Tanga, the German missionaries left Tanganyika on 11 September.²¹⁰ Only Leonhard Blumer and Alexander Eisenschmidt

²⁰⁸ Conze 1980, 82-83; Iliffe 1979, 246-247.

²⁰⁹ Weishaupt, J-ELM 1917, 20; ELMB 1918, 62-63; Paul to Blumer, 27 October 1920; Paul to Blumer, 5 March 1921; Fleisch 1936, 345-346. The money that reached the field from Leipzig in 1917 amounted to 775 rupees, whereas the Americans contributed with 5,000 rupees (Weishaupt, J-ELM 1917, 20). The Synod of Iowa was founded in 1854 as a district synod of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. The Iowa Synod attracted a large number of German immigrants (Westin 1931, 350, 352).

²¹⁰ ELMB 1920, 166; ELMB 1920, 187; ELMB 1920, 213; Müller, ELMB 1920, 6-7. The missionaries had to pay for the journey themselves – 650 rupees per person. If the missionaries refused to pay for the journey, they received threats that the mission properties

were allowed to stay, by virtue of being Estonians. The work had been divided between the two already in 1917, making Eisenschmidt responsible for the work at Kilimanjaro and Pare and Blumer for the two stations at Meru.²¹¹

The internment of the missionaries forced the Leipzig Mission to loosen its grip on its field and allow the indigenous Christians to take on more responsibility. Shortly before the outbreak of the war, teachers and elders from every station had gathered for a meeting in connection with the annual missionary conference, and further teachers and elders' meetings were held during and after the war. The importance of these meetings increased during the absence of the German missionaries in the early 1920s, and they took a shape quite similar to the Mission Council. In 1917, further steps towards an independent Church were taken through the election of what was to become an African clergy. Every congregation was requested to choose a teacher or congregation elder to become a so-called congregational caretaker. These persons were given the responsibility for Sunday services, baptismal teaching and the educating of Christian children.²¹² Arusha-Ilboru constituted an exception as it was still regarded as a mission station and not a parish. In 1919, however, this was to change. With 88 Christians and – more importantly – 20 male Christians entitled to participate in Communion, Arusha-Ilboru could form a congregation.²¹³

would be sold. The Iowa Synod came to the Leipzig Mission's assistance and contributed with no less than 4,500 USD (ELMB 1920, 214).

²¹¹ Fleisch 1936, 346. Blumer was born in Kida and Eisenschmidt in Tackerort, both in Estonia.

²¹² Fleisch 1936, 346; Raum, J-ELM 1929, 38. Both Gutmann and Raum pointed out that the absence of the German missionaries taught the Christians to stand on their own feet and, above all, that it became widely realised that Christianity was God's thing and not a missionary issue (Gutmann, J-ELM 1923, 38; Raum, J-ELM 1925, 26).

²¹³ Blumer, ELMB 1930, 104; Fleisch 1936, 349. Baptism did in itself not entitle anyone to receive Holy Communion at the Lutheran missions. Being a sacrament in the Lutheran Church, it was given only to Christians who had received thorough instruction and were considered mature enough in their Christian faith (Fokken 1967, 16; Fleisch 1936, 279). The difference between a congregation and a mission on the Leipzig field was quite

Lutheran work among the Arusha was granted continuity, but under difficult circumstances. Blumer's burden increased considerably as, apart from leading the Arusha-Ilboru work, he was in charge of the work at Nkoaranga and, in addition, had assumed the task of leading the German-speaking congregation for settlers at Leudorf-Leganga.²¹⁴ Despite a dire lack of funding and equipment, the work appears to have proceeded quite favourably and in a spirit of self-sacrifice. Blumer himself made considerable sacrifices to make ends meet and to encourage the Christians. He received valuable help, above all, from teachers and church elders who had been handed a large share of the responsibility. He also received valuable aid from his wife Bertha who, apart from her work among women and the sick, took charge of and developed the much appreciated music and choir activities.²¹⁵ Due to Blumer's responsibility for both Ilboru and Nkoaranga, the contact between Christians of the two congregations increased. Arusha and Meru Christians paid each other visits during most special occasions and the previously cool relationship between the two parishes was gradually replaced by true friendship.²¹⁶ In general, Blumer described the post-war period quite positively, not least in terms of the relationship between the mission and the non-Christian Arusha. For the first time, Arusha elders allowed their wives to participate in baptismal education, and non-Christian couples likewise approached the missionary and wanted entrance into catechumen classes.²¹⁷ Blumer also highlights the improved relations with the local British officers. Shortly after the internment of

minimal. Congregations had their own elected elders (three to seven per congregation) but, in the 1920s, there were still no African pastors (Fleisch 1936, 279).

²¹⁴ Blumer, ELMB 1921, 208. See also pages 60 and 96.

²¹⁵ Blumer, ELMB 1921, 89; Blumer, ELMB 1924, 5-6; Blumer, ELMB 1924, 26. Blumer decided to continue to teach the catechumens at both Ilboru and Nkoaranga personally, but the teachers rehearsed with the baptismal candidates between the lessons (Blumer, ELMB 1924, 5).

²¹⁶ Blumer, ELMB 1921, 201-202; Blumer, ELMB 1922, 225-227; ELMB 1924, 139; Blumer, ELMB 1924, 150-151. See also page 67 in this study.

²¹⁷ ELMB 1924, 140-141; Blumer, ELMB 1924, 152-154.

the German missionaries, he had befriended the government doctor in Arusha and in March 1921, the district officer in Arusha, Major Mortimer, visited a baptismal occasion at Ilboru on Blumer's invitation.²¹⁸ Lastly, the Arusha work was also granted an expansion. In January 1923, four new outposts were opened in various parts of the Arusha countryside. Both school education and Sunday services were held at these locations. Later the same year, the school situation at Ilboru was considerably improved when a newly built school was inaugurated.²¹⁹

In the view of the Leipzig Mission, the Kilimanjaro, Pare and Meru congregations were still too young and immature to take on the responsibilities previously held by the missionaries. Another solution was urgently needed. Although no Germans were allowed to work in Tanganyika for the present, the Leipzig Mission could still send missionaries of other nationalities to its field as long as a non-German organisation assumed the main responsibility. The management in Leipzig, therefore, made preparations to send two missionaries, Heinrich Pfitzinger and Richard Reusch, to Tanganyika. Pfitzinger was of French and Reusch Russian nationality.²²⁰

²¹⁸ Blumer, ELMB 1921, 86-87; Blumer, ELMB 1921, 203. The Blumer family became particularly close to Doctor Wallace, the government practitioner, in 1920 when Bertha suffered from severe heart problems. Bertha bid farewell to her husband and children and fell silent. The missionary wrote that '*Ich konnte nur noch an ihrem Bette niederknien [sic] und beten. Und siehe, sie fing wieder an sich zu bewegen und kam zur Besinnung. Es wurde sichtlich besser mit ihr, und ich konnte mich etwas hinlegen.*' (Blumer, ELMB 1921, 88).

²¹⁹ Blumer, ELMB 1924, 25. The mission leased the outpost plots from the government. The new school building at Ilboru was a solid brick house. Previous schooling had taken place in the chapel, where two groups had been instructed simultaneously (Blumer, ELMB 1924, 25).

²²⁰ ELMB 1915, 307. Fleisch 1936, 354. Heinrich Pfitzinger was born in Oberkutzenhausen in Alsace (Elsass), France. Gustav Otto Richard Reusch was born 1891 in Baratajewka in Russia. For a number of years, Reusch served as a soldier in the Tsar-Russian army. He attended Wladikawka University in Dorpat from where he passed his final examination in 1916. He practiced as a pastor in Dorpat and obtained a Master's Degree in theology in 1921. Due to a law revision, his *Mag. Theol.*-degree was changed in 1931 to a *D. Theol.* Reusch was sent to Tanganyika as a Leipzig missionary in 1923. In 1927, he married Elveda Bonander from the Augustana Mission, and between 1938 and 1954 he served the

Discussions were held between the American National Lutheran Council (NLC) and the British Government on the possibility of American Lutherans sending missionaries to the former German fields. The American Iowa Synod, which had previously helped the Leipzig field financially, showed a particular interest in this task. In September 1921, missionary Rev. A. C. Zeilinger, as the first American missionary, assumed responsibility for the Lutheran station in New Moshi at Mount Kilimanjaro. Due to financial problems in the Iowa Synod, however, he was to remain the only Iowa missionary to move to Tanganyika.²²¹ The Augustana Synod²²², also an American Lutheran body, had for some time been looking for a mission field in Africa and was consequently interested in lending a hand in assisting the emerging need for missionaries in Tanganyika. Negotiations between the Leipzig Mission and the Augustana Synod led to the result that the Americans took charge of the whole Leipzig field in July 1922. If and when the Leipzig Mission was to resume responsibility for the work again, the field would be divided between the two organisations. Eight American missionaries and medical workers were sent to Tanganyika. The Leipzig Mission, for its part, sent out Heinrich Pfitzinger and Richard Reusch, who arrived at Moshi in February 1923. In July of the following year, Leonhard Blumer and Alexander Eisenschmidt were granted furlough.²²³

Augustana Mission. Dr. Reusch died in 1975 (Leipzig Mission, *Afrika Archiv* 404, Richard Reusch; ELMB 1931, 83; ULPA Mission Archives Series No. 9, 2000).

²²¹ Hult, President's Report. The Annual Report of the Tanganyika Lutheran Mission Conference of the Augustana Synod for the year, July 1, 1922 – June 30, 1923, 1-2; Fleisch 1936, 353-354. In all available sources, Rev. Zeilinger is referred to as A. C. Zeilinger.

²²² The Augustana Synod was founded in 1860 by Norwegian and Swedish immigrants. Ten years after its founding, the Norwegians left the synod and Augustana became entirely Swedish, and in 1948, the synod became the Augustana Lutheran Church (Westin 1931, 353; Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, <http://www.elca.org/archives/churchbodykey.html>, 31.5.2005).

²²³ Hult, President's Report. The Annual Report of the Tanganyika Lutheran Mission Conference of the Augustana Synod for the year, July 1.1922 – June 30.1923; Brandelle, Ihmels, Weishaupt, Gutmann, Agreement, 6 September 1924; ELMB 1924, 134-135. Rev. Steimer and his wife took up work at Mbaga in South Pare in August 1922. Less than a year later, two more workers, Nurse Selma Swanson and Missionary Ludwig Melander, started working in South Pare. Two missionaries went to Kilimanjaro; Ralph Hult and his

Substantial reinforcements were sent to South Pare where the congregations had suffered heavy losses since the beginning of the war. Although the Nkoaranga congregation had suffered similar losses in members, no separate missionary was sent there, but Nkoaranga remained one of the two stations that Richard Reusch was overseeing. The work at Nkoaranga and Arusha-Ilboru, apart from ordinary parish work, included four boarding schools, 17 schools, catechumen education as well as the tutoring of future teachers, health care and building work. Richard Reusch stressed the importance of health care – not least as ‘one of the best weapons against Islam and Catholicism’. During a period of 80 days, he treated some 5,000 patients at Nkoaranga and Ilboru. It is evident from Reusch’s correspondence with the leaders of the Augustana Mission that an extension of the work to the Maasai steppe had been discussed among the missionaries. Reusch declared the Arusha and Maasai as main targets for health care.²²⁴

wife moved to Machame early in 1923 and Herbert Magney, with his family, took up the work at Mamba. Later that year, T.N. Anderson, Elveda Bonander and Dr. Med. Anderson were sent out (Hult, President’s Report. The Annual Report of the Tanganyika Lutheran Mission Conference of the Augustana Synod for the year, July 1.1922-June 30.1923, 2-3; Fleisch 1936, 355-356). Augustana agreed to pay the salaries of Blumer, Eisenschmidt and Rev Zeilinger, the missionary from Iowa, until a future division of the field. Richard Reusch and Heinrich Pfitzinger were on the Leipzig Mission payroll (Fleisch 1936, 355). Heinrich Pfitzinger died on 28 January 1925 in Shigatini – thirty years after his arrival at Kilimanjaro for the first time (Fleisch 1936, 356). When the Leipzig Mission field was taken over by the Augustana Mission in 1922 it had a little more than 6,500 Lutheran Christians. The work in the last five years had grown slowly – on average somewhat more than five per cent per year. 115 teachers and 57 church elders collaborated with only a few European missionary workers to attend people in 77 school and church buildings (J-ELM 1923, 10-11).

²²⁴ Reusch to Mission Board of the Augustana Synod, 16 August 1923. Reusch asked the Augustana Synod to send an older deaconess to Meru to work medically as well as to take on the responsibility for the work at the girls’ boarding schools (Reusch to Mission Board of the Augustana Synod, 16 August 1923).

3. FROM ARUSHA TO MAASAILAND (1922-1940)

The agreement between the Leipzig Mission and the Augustana Mission in 1922 stated that the Augustana Mission ‘take over the care and the responsibility for the carrying on of the mission work on the former Leipzig Mission Field [...] to continue in entire and undisturbed possession of this field [...] until the German Mission Society should be permitted to return’.²²⁵ This agreement between the Leipzig and Augustana societies was to be considered a temporary solution and neither of the two parties was entirely satisfied with the terms. Forced to leave Tanganyika on short notice, the Leipzig Mission had desperately needed a stand-in. The Augustana Mission had been looking for a permanent rather than a temporary mission field when the opportunity arose to take over the German field. The Augustana representatives were not satisfied with simply a role as stand-ins, but demanded a part of the field when the German missionaries were to return. Consequently, it was agreed that the field was to be divided between the two parts upon the return of the Germans.²²⁶

Although both Lutheran societies, the Augustana and Leipzig missionaries had different ways of pursuing mission work, some of which was brought to the surface in various letters by workers of the two organisations.²²⁷ Smedjebacka points out that the Augustana missionaries, belonging to a pietistic tradition originating in the evangelical revival in Sweden during the 19th century, emphasised

²²⁵ See Agreement [between the Board of Mission of the Augustana Synod and the Leipzig Mission Society], 6 September 1924.

²²⁶ ELMB 1922, 26; Ihmels, ELMB 1924, 178. See also Agreement [between the Board of Missions of the Augustana Synod and the Leipzig Mission Society], 6 September 1924.

²²⁷ See footnote 229.

conversion, personal belief and patterns of Christian conduct.²²⁸ The Leipzig Mission, although also having pietistic traditions, emphasised its Lutheran heritage and its role as a mission within and for the Lutheran Church, rather than emphasising features more typical for the pietistic movement. In trying to build a people's Church, the Leipzig Mission stressed the need for the understanding of the various African cultures as well as the importance of acknowledging all the languages on the field. Thus, the Leipzig missionaries spent a great deal of time learning the various languages and dialects. The Augustana missionaries neither had the time to learn these languages before they were sent out, nor found it crucial to learn them afterward. Although admiring the devotion of the Germans, they regarded much of their efforts as unnecessary – some even destructive. In the views of the Americans, the German emphasis on languages isolated people from each other rather than unifying them. The Leipzig missionaries, on the other hand, found the methods of the Americans naive, selfish or even too 'American'.²²⁹

When the German missionaries were allowed to return to their fields in Tanganyika in 1924, the question of a division of the former Leipzig field became topical. An agreement between the two missionary organisations took place on 6 September 1924. It was decided that, if later accepted by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Augustana Synod, the eastern side of the Kilimanjaro Mountain with its ten congregations would be allotted to the Americans. West Kilimanjaro, Meru and – in

²²⁸ Smedjebacka 1973, 43.

²²⁹ Paul to Blumer, 30 June 1922. The Leipzig missionaries working among the Chagga people, especially Bruno Gutmann, were criticised the hardest. The determination of the Leipzig missionaries had resulted in no less than four versions of the Catechism, Hymnbook, Creed and the Lord's Prayer. According to some Augustana representatives, this had a negative effect by separating the Chagga people from one another (Magney to Brandelle, 20 April 1925; Hult, President's Report; The Annual Report of the Tanganyika Lutheran Mission Conference of the Augustana Synod for the year, July 1.1922 – June 30.1923, 10-11). In 1915, no less than eight languages and dialects were spoken on the Leipzig field – seven distinct Bantu dialects and the Maasai language (ELMB 1915, 300).

case of a decision in line with the above mentioned – Iramba would be ascribed to the Leipzig Mission.²³⁰

The message that the leadership of the Leipzig Mission gave to its supporters was that the Augustana missionaries were foremost helpers and stand-ins in a time of difficulty.²³¹ Given this, it is surprising how easily the Leipzig Mission delegates were prepared to let go of the larger part of its former field. In fact, most Leipzig missionaries and supporters found the agreement in London not only controversial but also incompatible with the goal of the Leipzig Mission to build a people's Church. The Leipzig Mission feared that a division of the field would harm the congregations.²³² After having licked their wounds from the negotiations in London in September 1924, the Leipzig Mission regrouped and chose to simply treat the London agreement as a proposal. As a counterproposal, it suggested a closer co-operation between Augustana and Leipzig, in particular regarding the education of teachers. Augustana, on the other hand, saw no danger in a division and wanted to shape its own work without any closer co-operation with the Leipzig Mission. In the Leipzig Mission camp, this determination was considered dangerous and the unity of the field was ever more eagerly stressed. Both parties presented the opinions of the Christians in the local congregations supporting their own views.²³³ After months of standstill in the negotiations, in January 1926 the board of the Augustana Synod finally

²³⁰ Agreement [between the board of Mission of the Augustana Synod and the Leipzig Mission Society], 6 September 1924. The agreement was undersigned by the president of the Augustana Synod G. A. Brandelle, the director of the Leipzig Mission Carl Ihmels as well as Missionaries Martin Weishaupt and Bruno Gutmann.

²³¹ ELMB 1922, 25-27; Paul, ELMB 1926, 143; Raum, J-ELM 1926, 23.

²³² This division would have divided the Chagga tribe into two churches.

²³³ Hult, President's Report. The Annual Report of the Tanganyika Lutheran Mission Conference of the Augustana Synod for the year, July 1.1922 – June 30.1923; Ihmels to Brandelle, 2 June 1925. See also Ihmels, ELMB 1925, 112-113.

made the decision to withdraw from Kilimanjaro and to choose Iramba instead.²³⁴

The period after 1922 was not only characterised by missio-political changes, but also by indigenisation and rapid growth. During the period 1922-1927, the number of Christians on the Leipzig field doubled to more than 13,000. This demonstrated that the work could prosper without grand foreign funding and a large number of foreign workers. It was clear that ever more responsibility had to be given to the indigenous Christians, but above all, it became more and more topical for the Leipzig Mission to implement its aim to create an autonomous Lutheran Church with its own pastorhood and rules.²³⁵ In May 1930, the mission board in Leipzig passed a Church rule draft for the proposed *Evangelical Lutheran Church in East Africa*.²³⁶ The first General Assembly was held in Mamba in August 1930 with around 50 delegates from Lutheran congregations on the field. At this General Assembly, the new Church Rules were approved.²³⁷

The next step in the creation of an indigenous Church was the education and ordination of African pastors. Each congregation was given the task to elect one or two men to become their pastors – Ilboru chose Lazarus Laiser. The first pastor's seminary was held by Senior Johannes Raum in Machame in 1933-1934. On 1 May 1934, 12 candidates graduated and were ordained in their own congregations shortly afterwards.²³⁸

²³⁴ Hult, Memorandum, Moshi Mission Station February 6th 1926. Bruno Gutmann and Johannes Raum, as the first German Leipzig missionaries departed for Africa in January 1925 (ELMB 1925, 68).

²³⁵ J-ELM 1939, 59 pp.; Ihmels, ELMB 1930, 347-348.

²³⁶ 'Die Ev.-luth. Kirche in Ostafrika bekennt sich als ein Glied der christlichen, ev.-luth. Kirche und gelobt, gemäß dem Worte Gottes, wie es in den ev.-luth. Bekenntnisschriften und sonderlich in dem Kleinen Katechismus Luthers bezeugt und ausgelegt ist, dem Herrn zu dienen. Sie steht in Verbindung mit der Ev.-luth. Mission zu Leipzig und unterstellt sich als ganze, in ihren Kreisen und Gemeinden bis zur vollen Mündigkeit der Leitung der Missionskollegiums.' (Fleisch 1936, 441).

²³⁷ Ihmels, ELMB 1930, 348-349; Fuchs, ELMB 1930, 349-351; Fleisch 1936, 442-444.

²³⁸ Raum, ELMB 1933, 101-105; Raum, ELMB 1934, 242-245; Fleisch 1936, 444-445. The education was held in Swahili and comprised 24 hours per week. The programme included

In the following chapters, we will witness the journey of the Christian Gospel from Arusha to Maasailand; from growth, indigenisation and particular tensions in the Arusha-Ilboru congregation to a successful co-operation between Arusha Christians and Leipzig missionaries in carrying the Christian faith to the pastoral Maasai. Finally we will look into the cultural and political struggles encountered by the Lutheran Maasai mission.

3.1. Customs, Conflicts and Contextualisation

Karl Graul's introduction of the *adiaphora* concept to the Leipzig Mission was, in theory, to be implemented in all aspects of Leipzig missionary work. In cases where African elements and views collided with European ones, the missionaries were expected to refuse only those aspects which were of a religious nature and/or clearly were inconsistent with the Christian faith. Consequently, local practices which the missionaries did not view as involving any religious features or *immoral* rites should not be forbidden.²³⁹ Practices which did not fill these criteria were either to be dismissed from the mission churches altogether or accepted after having been stripped of all *impious* aspects.

3.1.1. Weighing the Concept of Circumcision

Many African congregational leaders disagreed with the Leipzig Mission's standpoint on circumcision and wanted to eradicate the whole

Bible Study, Dogmatics [*Glaubenslehre und Kirchenkunde im Anschluss an das Augsburger Bekenntnis*], Moral Philosophy, Church- and Mission History, Islam studies, Education [*kirchlichen Unterricht*], Preaching, Liturgy, Church Administration [*Gemeindepflege*] and Pastoral Theology [*Pastoraltheologie*] (Fleisch 1936, 444-445, compare Raum ELMB 1933, 104). Two of the students died before they graduated (Raum, ELMB 1934, 242-245).

²³⁹ Clearly these Leipzig Mission rules left extensive right of decision to the missionaries themselves, not least regarding which rites and customs were to be considered immoral.

custom from the parishes once and for all. In the post-war absence of the German missionaries, the issue stirred afresh. The relatively progressive teachers, and to some extent church elders as well, considered circumcision not only a thing of the past, but also non-biblical. Discussions were held in every congregation and at a teachers and church elders' conference in January 1923, the delegates decided that circumcision in all forms be forbidden. In August of the same year, the first joint Augustana, Iowa and Leipzig missionary conference in Machame decided to accept the prohibition, provided that it had the support of the majority in the mission congregations. Although many Christians supported it – at least officially – many still had themselves or their sons and daughters circumcised, but in secret. Those who were unveiled were punished, and circumcised people increasingly tended to be regarded as second class Christians.²⁴⁰ Upon their return in 1925, the Leipzig missionaries questioned the decision for a total circumcision ban and implied that the decision was 'un-evangelical'. Although they shared the opinion of the teachers and church elders that circumcision was undesirable, they could not accept a prohibition of an *adiaphoron* and, consequently, cancelled the decision of the Africans. At the first conference following their return, the German missionaries decided to hold to their original decision to tolerate the act of circumcision. The

²⁴⁰ Nkya, *Die Beschneidungssache*, 12 August 1923; Pfitzinger, ELMB 1924, 17-21; Raum, J-ELM 1925, 28; Gutmann, ELMB 1926, 29-31. Compare Fiedler 1983, 75-82. Nine missionaries participated in the missionary conference. Four represented the Augustana and one the Iowa Synod. The Leipzig Mission was represented through Blumer and Eisenschmidt as well as the recently arrived Pfitzinger and Reusch. Gutmann, who had little understanding for the total ban, bitterly criticised the indigenous church leaders' way of punishing people who got circumcised. *„Dieselben Menschen, die z. T. das Recht auf ihre Beschneidung von ihrem Missionar geradezu ertrotzt haben, strafen jetzt die nachgeborener Brüder, die sich noch beschneiden lassen, mit unglaublicher Härte. Ausschuß vom Abendmahl und der Christenversammlung bewegen sich noch in gewöhnlichen Bahnen. Aber das genügte nicht, man häufte Unehre auf sie: verbot der Christengemeinde jede Teilnahme an ihrer Trauung und Hochzeit, verbot es jedem Christen, einen solchen Bruder zu Grabe zu begleiten oder seinen Leichnam in die Erde zu betten. Man taufte zwar sein Kind, verwehrte ihm aber die Paten dafür. Daß ein auf unbefristete Zeit Ausgeschlossener sein Kind unbeanstandet zur Taufe bringen kann, ist an sich unverständlich.*' (Gutmann, ELMB 1926, 30. Emphasis added).

Maasai male initiation, however, was still forbidden and the elders of the Arusha and Meru parishes were informed that the ‘prohibition of the horrid Maasai circumcision by no means be touched’.²⁴¹

In 1927, when Mission Director Carl Ihmels²⁴² visited the field, a special missionary conference was held. This conference, which aimed at re-evaluating the Maasai circumcision issue, was attended by the most experienced Leipzig missionaries in Tanganyika at the time; Leonhard Blumer, Eduard Ittameier, Johannes Raum and Bruno Gutmann as well as the Mission Doctor Gerhard Puff and Director Carl Ihmels. In two senses the meeting was extraordinary. Firstly, the delegates decided to nullify Fokken’s and Schachsneider’s decision from 1908 and put the Maasai male circumcision on equal footing with the Bantu circumcision. The Maasai initiation rite was thus accepted by the Leipzig Mission, but only as stripped of its religious and *immoral* elements. Secondly, and in contrast to the prior, it was established that the effort towards abolition of the female genital mutilation was to be intensified. Female incision was still to be nominally accepted, but as it was now considered ‘harmful in every respect’ it was also to meet with the greatest resistance in the missions. In short, those who wanted to get circumcised as Maasai – boys or girls – should not be punished. The missionaries viewed abolition of all circumcision as a necessary goal, but pointed out that this goal should be achieved by teaching and preaching rather than by punishment.²⁴³

²⁴¹ *Protokoll der I. (30) Konferenz in Madschame*, 3-7 September 1925; Raum, J-ELM 1925, 28-29. Apart from the *adiaphora* aspect of the (Bantu) circumcision being stressed, it was also emphasised that if circumcision was completely banned, the Lutheran parishes would lose members, not least to Islam (which tolerated circumcision).

²⁴² Ihmels, Carl Heinrich (1888-1967) graduated in theology at the University of Hanover. In 1916, he got his doctor’s degree in philosophy. Ihmels never worked as a missionary in the field, but was nevertheless, at the age of 34, chosen to succeed Professor Carl Paul as director of the Leipzig Mission, a position that he held until the year 1960 (Plasger 1998, columns 1099-1101).

²⁴³ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 121; Fleisch 1936, 418-419. Blumer who reported to the *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt* wrote about the circumcision issue as follows; *Bei der Bekämpfung der Beschneidung bleiben Differenzen im Maße der Energie, womit der einzelne Missionar und die einzelne Gemeinde vorgehen. Ganz zu verwerfen ist jedenfalls*

Let us, for the sake of comparison, take a look at a relatively conservative Protestant society working among the Maasai in Kenya and how the circumcision question was handled there. The Africa Inland Mission (AIM) was a non-denominational, chiefly American organisation. Having more in common with other non-denominational societies originating in the pietistic movements than with the denominational Leipzig Mission, the structure of AIM's work was different from that of the Lutherans. This was true in terms of education and health care, which were given a more prominent role in the work of the Leipzig Mission. Yet, as the AIM was likely to encounter similar culture-related challenges as the Leipzig Mission, a brief comparison might be justified.²⁴⁴ In 1903, the AIM missionary John Stauffacher opened up work among the Keekonyokie Maasai in southwestern Kenya. The Maasai work of the AIM advanced slowly and attracted more Kikuyu people living among the Maasai than Maasai proper. For Stauffacher, neither male circumcision nor female genital mutilation was a fundamental issue for the first twenty-seven years. He did not support the practice, but did not openly forbid it either – until the home-board in 1930 decided to ban incision on girls. As Stauffacher tried to implement the ban on his Maasai work at the Siyabei station, most Christians, including the elders, refused to obey and threatened to leave the

die Mädchenbeschneidung, die in jeder Hinsicht schädlich ist.' (Blumer, ELMB 1928, 121).

²⁴⁴ Waller writes the following about AIM (which was founded in 1895); 'Born out of the evangelical fervour of middle-class urban revivalism in late nineteenth-century America, the mission had as its central tenets of belief a conviction of the sole efficacy of salvation through a personal experience of Christ and an acceptance of Divine Revelation in matters great and small, the inerrancy and primacy of Scripture, and an absolute abhorrence of 'modernism'.' (Waller 1999, 84-85). Whereas the Leipzig Mission emphasised holistic work where education and health care were seen as valuable means for reaching people, the AIM wanted to reach the people with the Gospel but considered education and health care as superfluous (Waller 1999, 84-85, 97; Sandgren 1999, 179). The Leipzig missionaries working among the Arusha and Maasai came into contact with the AIM on several occasions, not least in the 1930s when work in Maasailand in Tanganyika had started. In August 1934 Max Pätzig and Hans Buchta visited the AIM missionaries John and Florence Stauffacher as well as Roy and Ruth Shaffer. The missionaries discussed mutual problems and language issues (Pätzig, ELMB 1935, 140-142).

mission.²⁴⁵ The AIM forbade female incision after having silently tolerated it for more than thirty years, but did not make any principal decision regarding male circumcision. No separate circumcision events were held at Siyabei. The AIM silently accepted the male circumcision, both as it was done by the Kikuyu and by the Maasai.²⁴⁶

The fact that the circumcision practice also developed into a conflict at the AIM stations in Kenya demonstrates how difficult the issue was to solve. The complexity of the problem is further enhanced by the fact that the AIM and Leipzig Mission created very different rules. Both the Leipzig and AIM missionaries appear to have looked more at the moral rather than the physical side of circumcision. The AIM accepted circumcision on both sexes until 1930 when it forbade female genital mutilation – on predominantly religious and ethical grounds. The Maasai male circumcision, however, was not banned although the festivities surrounding it were met with great suspicion.²⁴⁷ The Meru-based Leipzig missionaries, though being well acquainted with their society's stance in these issues, prohibited the Maasai-style circumcision on boys but not on girls. What could have been the reasoning behind their decision? Evidence is rather slim, but as it seems clear that the medical reasoning for the missionaries in question was secondary, we will have to look for an answer in the customs themselves. There was a particular difference between Maasai male circumcision and female

²⁴⁵ Waller 1999, 102-106. The work was begun at Kijabe in 1903 and moved to Rumuruti in the middle of the country in 1911. According to Waller, the reason for the ban on female genital mutilation is unclear, but he suggests that the religious reasoning was stronger than the medical (Waller to Groop, 18 April 2005). Waller moreover raises the issue of gendered perception and suggests that women and men had different views on the matter. Whereas John Stauffacher half-heartedly implemented the new rules at his mission, stating that it was unfair to ban a custom that the mission had hitherto accepted, his wife Florence detested female genital incision and was completely in favour of the ban. According to Waller, the male missionaries focused primarily on the issue of church discipline whereas female missionaries 'empathized with the plight of the girls concerned and saw the ban on female circumcision as crucial to their conception of marriage and 'Christian Womanhood'.' (Waller 1999, 103-104).

²⁴⁶ Waller to Groop, 1 February 2005; Waller to Groop, 4 February 2005.

²⁴⁷ Waller to Groop, 18 April 2005.

genital mutilation which spoke in favour of only the latter being accepted. Both were considered inevitable by the local population. Of the two, male circumcision was more strictly regulated and monitored by the Maasai society and the society was, consequently, likely to allow less space for changes, such as the exclusion of traditional festivities – which the Leipzig missionaries would have wanted. Girls were “circumcised” when their parents so decided. Female initiation was, by its nature, more of a family event – along with its own sets of regulations – and was more flexible than the male one in its disposition.²⁴⁸ It was possible for Christian parents to have their daughters initiated in a way that was acceptable to the Lutheran mission. Donald Flatt stresses that no mission worker was willing to sanction a surgery for female initiation events similar to the ones arranged for the boys. Thus, as the missionaries saw that female initiation was possible without *sinister elements* and as they did not want to get involved with the medical issues, initiation on girls around Meru was neither forbidden, nor wholeheartedly accepted, but rather became a private issue for Christian families.²⁴⁹

One factor which the Leipzig Mission and the AIM had in common was that both were deeply patriarchal milieus and some issues, like female genital mutilation, were uncomfortable ones that the missionaries hesitated to thoroughly examine and tackle. The AIM hesitated for more than thirty years to reach a decision on banning female incision. Ironically, the AIM eased its ban years later due to the

²⁴⁸ Yohanes ole Kauwenara (AHT 2); Ngole ole Njololoi (AHT 4); Merker 1910, 60-67; Huntingford 1953, 116. By contrast, in 1974, Stanley Benson described female initiation as more problematic, stating that ‘it is too closely tied up with their eschatological beliefs, especially in the area of fertility. Female circumcision is an act connected closely with the deity. It is sacred, mysterious and has some invisible power which can harm or bring blessing.’ It should be noted that Benson here compares the female genital mutilation with the male circumcision done in hospital (Benson 1974, 158).

²⁴⁹ Flatt 1980, 298. Regarding the female incision in Christian homes, Flatt maintains that this ‘uneasy solution was that the surgery be done for the Christian girls at home, apart from the non-Christians and without the traditional instruction, but by the women who normally perform the operation.’ (Flatt 1980, 298).

overwhelmingly strong negative reactions from its adherents.²⁵⁰ The Leipzig missionaries waited only half that long, but primarily judged the moral side of the female initiation custom, accepted it in principle and left the final decision to the congregations.²⁵¹ Nearly fifteen years later, the Leipzig missionaries and their director came as close to a total ban as they could allow themselves when they judged the female incision to be ‘something to be totally rejected as it is harmful in every respect’. Whereas the missionaries at the AIM Maasai stations neither dealt with nor forbade the traditional male circumcision, the Leipzig missionaries on the Nkoaranga and Ilboru stations imposed a total ban which was to be retained for almost 20 years before it was invalidated.

3.1.2. A Power Struggle in the Ilboru Congregation

Between 1922 and 1927, the number of Christians in the Arusha-Ilboru congregation grew from 139 to 406. During these five years 304 people were baptised – 221 converts and 83 children. These figures demonstrate that roughly $\frac{3}{4}$ of the parish members in 1927 constituted Christians who had been baptised in the last five years. More than half of the Christians had been baptised as converts less than five years earlier.²⁵² It was obvious that the standing of the Lutheran work around Arusha had improved, but also that the growing congregation needed competent leaders. As the only missionary before Max Pätzig’s²⁵³ arrival in October 1928, Leonhard Blumer’s work load and responsibility were

²⁵⁰ Waller 1999, 103 (including footnotes).

²⁵¹ See page 79.

²⁵² See table 3.1.

²⁵³ Max Otto Pätzig was born 31 October 1885 in Böhrigen in Saxony, Germany. After having been taught the shoemaker’s vocation he joined the army in 1907 and the Leipzig Mission seminary in 1909. His final missionary exam he wrote during a furlough in 1916 from active service in the First World War. Pätzig practiced in a Lutheran congregation in 1919 and served as a teacher at the *Diakonenanstalt Rummelsberg* until he and his family were sent to Tanganyika in 1928. He died on 17 September 1983. Max Pätzig and Johanna Elisabeth Popp got married in January 1919 (Leipzig Mission, *Afrika Archiv* 398, Max Pätzig).

considerable. Pätzig, however, described the relation between Blumer and the congregation in positive terms.

The Christians come to him [the missionary] with their inner and outer needs. He must give advice, he must help, remind, sometimes even punish. It was Missionary Blumer granted, to live together with his congregation like a father with his children. It was a fine patriarchal relationship.²⁵⁴

The first Arusha converts had not only been considered fools by contemporary Arusha, but they had often been rejected by the Arusha and Maasai society. Some had even been considered dead by their families.²⁵⁵ The missionaries, on the other hand, had discouraged the young pupils and converts from mingling with their fellow tribesmen, fearing that they would be allured into sin or even into leaving the mission.²⁵⁶ As the Arusha congregation grew in size and the work got a more indigenous character through its local teachers, the tide began to turn and relations between Christian and non-Christian Arusha started to improve.²⁵⁷ In 1924, many educated Arusha Christians followed their fellow Meru Christians' example and began growing coffee. Due to high coffee prices, some of these farmers could soon earn a good living. Their education and occupation as independent farmers gained them increasing respect among their non-Christian tribesmen. If having been considered

²⁵⁴ Pätzig 1959, 14. Translation by author.

²⁵⁵ Loingoruaki Meshili (AHT 6); Eliyahu Lujas Meiliari (AHT 8); Pätzig 1975, 65.

²⁵⁶ Ngoilenya Wuapi (AHT 5); Flatt 1980, 288.

²⁵⁷ This does, however, not imply that Christianity became favoured by the Arusha. Most parents still refused to let their children be baptised. In 1924, the three Arusha chiefs were still considered 'hostile to the mission [...] although they don't show their enmity openly.' (ELMB 1924, 135). Similarly, many of the Arusha Christians had stronger bonds with their past than was desired by the missionaries. Some broke the mission rules and had themselves circumcised. For instance, in September 1926, while Blumer was attending a conference in Machame, several men took the opportunity and got circumcised. One of these was an assistant teacher. An older Christian man even had his wife "circumcised" although she was in the fifth month of her pregnancy (Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1926*).

poor and foolish before World War I, many Christians came to represent an educated and wealthy minority after the war.²⁵⁸

The rapid changes around Arusha – with growing European influences and an increasing focus on money – began to put strain on the hitherto good relationship between the missionary and congregation members. Blumer, who had encouraged the young Christians to cultivate, did not oppose the farming itself, nor did he begrudge the farmers' or other workers' successful results. He reacted, however, when he sensed that the humbleness that he and his predecessors had taught had not taken root in the hearts of the Christians. Many of the Arusha farmers could all of a sudden afford to buy many of the goods of which they had previously only dreamed. To Blumer's chagrin some farmers and their wives changed their dressing patterns and began wearing stylish European clothes. In his annual report to the Leipzig Mission Society he criticised these Christians, stressing that they could not handle the sudden prosperity and that this had led to self assertion.

He dresses in a European suit and patent-leather shoes, also [like the European] he puts on the tropical helmet at night as well as blue glasses to show that he has achieved something and [that he] has, in everything, reached the same level as the European. [...] Until this year, I would never have believed that this destructive nature or more correctly nuisance could have such control over the native Christians.²⁵⁹

Europeanisation was by no means on the increase only around Arusha, but was a subject of discussion throughout the whole Leipzig field in Tanganyika. There were, however, some differences between the regions. As an older mission field, Moshi had a considerable number of second generation Christians whose attitudes towards Christianity and

²⁵⁸ Many of the Christian farmers started on a small scale and kept their ordinary jobs for the congregation, government or foreign farmers. As the yield from farming increased, they could quit their jobs and concentrate on farming (Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha*. 1928). One of the first Christians, Simeon Bene, even became Chief over the Arusha tribe in 1933 (Pätzig 1975, 68).

²⁵⁹ Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1928*. Translation by author.

Europeanisation differed from those of their parents. Missionaries complained that these second generation Christians were lazy, disrespectful and pleasure-seeking. The Christians around Kilimanjaro, for their part, found the German missionaries increasingly dominant. This second generation, many of which were quite young, was more likely to absorb the newfangled trends than their Christian parents of the first generation.²⁶⁰

In Arusha, the situation was somewhat different. Arusha had very few grown-up second generation Christians. Most of the church members were recently baptised converts who were prone to go back to their old culture rather than to a new and strange European one. The Arusha Christians, however, seemed to be as attracted by the ever stronger European influences as their fellow Christians around Kilimanjaro. The growth of Arusha Town gave new opportunities to many – especially to those who could read and write. Since many of the literate persons in the region were Lutheran Christians, the members of the Ilboru congregation were the ones to most actively come into contact with new opportunities and trends. This evolution was, in Blumer's view, far too rapid and harmed the Christians.²⁶¹

Blumer loudly questioned the new desire for European fashion and confronted the congregation in an attempt to get rid of, what he saw as, self-assertion and illusory ideas about western civilisation. This had

²⁶⁰ Fleisch 1936, 413. In fact, there was fear among the missionaries that the Africans would break loose from the Moshi congregation and form an independent African-style church. See Fiedler 1996, 132.

²⁶¹ ‚Man möchte die Leute über Nacht zu sogenannten zivilisierten und selbständigen Völkern und auch Kirchengemeinden machen, die möglichst nach europäischer Art alle ihre Angelegenheiten selber erledigen, und übersieht dabei, daß die hiesigen Leuten in allem noch in den Kinderschuhen sind und dafür noch gar nicht die innere Reife haben.‘ (Blumer ELMB 1930, 105). Blumer continued as follows; ‚Gerade unter unseren älteren Christen, an denen wir Jahrzehnte gearbeitet haben, mussten wir in dieser Hinsicht schwere Enttäuschungen erleben. Sie wollen sich mehr von Worte und Geiste Gottes lehren und strafen lassen, sondern legen sich eine falsche evangelische Freiheit zurecht und handeln danach. Das ist nicht mehr mit Kinderkrankheit oder Flegeljahren zu vergleichen, sondern der Feind selbst ist hier am Werte, die Missionsarbeit durch die Heidenchristen besonders hart zu schädigen.‘ (Blumer, ELMB 1930, 105).

the unpleasant result that the congregation became hostile towards him and his wife.²⁶²

This morning [the 9 December 1928] at the service, Blumer presented the ultimatum to the Christians to be either real Christians or to stay away from the congregation. The reason for this was the invading fashion. The women came to church in shoes, which is something new. Blumer did not want to permit this. As Tabela [sic], Lazarus' wife, then gave an impertinent reply, he gave her a slap.²⁶³

The situation got out of hand and on Christmas Eve [1928], a delegation of elders went to our senior Raum in Machame, 50 km away to complain. The senior, a respected and much beloved man, later came to Arusha to settle the dispute.²⁶⁴

The subsequent negotiations were headed by Senior Johannes Raum, but attended also by the missionaries Alexander Eisenschmidt from Shigatini and Eduard Ittameier from Nkoaranga. Talks were held over an entire week and a settlement seemed unlikely. Blumer surrendered – admitted that he had gone too far and asked the congregation for forgiveness. The congregation, however, did not submit. Clearly, the Arusha Christians held more against the missionary than the incident between him and Tabea Laiser itself. The missionaries tried to settle the dispute according to Arusha customs – asking for demands from both parties in the quarrel. Blumer did not have any requests. Laiser, on behalf of his wife and the congregation, was reluctant to forgive Blumer. Initially prepared to back off 'only if

²⁶² Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1928*. According to Blumer, his wife tried to influence the people by visiting the women and discussing the issue with them. She tried to stress the greater importance of hygiene and proper food for the children at the expense of beautiful shoes and clothes. The result was that the women refused visits by Mrs Blumer (Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1928*).

²⁶³ Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (9 December 1928). Translation by author. The name of Lazarus' wife was Tabea. Lazarus and Tabea were wed by Blumer in August 1916 (*Missionsstation Aruscha, Trauungs-Anzeigen* (1916))

²⁶⁴ Pätzig 1975, 50-51. Translation by author.

compelled with force⁷ he later, however, decided not to make any claims against Blumer.²⁶⁵

In the beginning of November 1927, before the struggle between Blumer and the Ilboru congregation had started, the missionaries held a conference in Moshi. One of the participants in this conference was the director of the Leipzig Mission, Carl Ihmels, who was visiting the Tanganyika field. During the conference the *Kleiderfrage* – the dressing issue – was discussed. It was pointed out that the Africans tended to imitate the Europeans in many ways, not least in their ways of dressing. The missionaries had, thus far with some success, fought against this growing trend, but the continually growing European influence as well as the increasing number of Indian and European shopkeepers selling European clothes made it increasingly difficult to obstruct it.²⁶⁶ Missionary Blumer, who reported about the conference, pointed out that;

Of course we do not wish for the natives go on walking around like they used to in their dirty, unclean and impractical fur-clothes. Even less do we want them to become caricatures of the Europeans. They should rather, as much as is possible, dress in a modest, decent and clean manner befitting their African heritage and, thereby, honour their national character and species. Through our experience, we learned that providing instruction based on matters of taste are of little or no use. The natives quickly jump to the conclusion that we begrudge them the new. The only thing left is to indefatigably guide them using hygiene as the argument.²⁶⁷

It is clear that although Blumer and his fellow missionaries shared a disapproving attitude towards the desire for European clothes, the European way of dressing was, in itself, not the key problem. On the contrary, the missionaries even introduced a European-style school

²⁶⁵ Pätzig 1975, 51-52; Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (5 January 1929, 10 January 1929). According to Pätzig, the women who attended the meeting were furious. Pätzig had managed to settle the dispute too easily. Although, in their view, he had practically held his hand on his wallet, no financial claims had been made (Pätzig 1975, 52).

²⁶⁶ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 118.

²⁶⁷ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 118. Translation by author.

uniform at the Teacher's Training College in Moshi.²⁶⁸ It was the extravagant way of dressing that they wished to eliminate. They wanted to encourage the Christians 'not to be vain and proud of their clothing – the wealthy must not despise the poorer Christians'.²⁶⁹ The Leipzig missionaries felt that worldly things were becoming too important at the expense of the spiritual life in the congregations. A sign, according to the missionaries, that a congregation was going in the wrong direction was that its income decreased although the congregation itself grew and the members earned more money than before. This was the case at Ilboru. The church income decreased, as did the number of volunteer workers. Blumer complained that the Christians who earned the most money paid less to the work than when they were poor.²⁷⁰

The majority of the African Christians in the Leipzig Mission area – the Arusha and Maasai included – came from tribes where clothes and ornaments played a central role. In their opinion, there was nothing immoral about being beautifully dressed.²⁷¹ They could not understand the reactions of the missionaries when they wore the clothes and jewellery that they wanted – given that most Europeans had this freedom. It was close to impossible for the Africans to understand the missionaries' distinctions between arrogance and modesty in this matter.

²⁶⁸ The students wore short trousers and a simple light coloured jacket. They could either walk barefoot or wear sandals (Fleisch 1936, 415). For a picture of this type of dress, see ELMB 1928, 269.

²⁶⁹ *Die Christen sollen angehalten werden, nicht eitel und stolz auf ihre Kleidung zu sein, die Wohlhabenden sollen ihre ärmeren Mitchristen nicht verachten.* (Blumer, ELMB 1928, 120). The missionaries, who had been brought up according to European Christian principles that embraced ascetic and humble ideals had little understanding of the desire of the Africans to dress up. In their opinion, there was a negative kind of pride connected to the way many Christians behaved and dressed themselves – a haughty pride of having achieved success rather than a meek pride of having been saved.

²⁷⁰ Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha* 1928. For statistics, see tables 3.1 and 3.2.

²⁷¹ For an interesting discussion on Maasai dressing and ornaments, see Klumpp & Kratz 1993, 195-218.

The Christians at Arusha-Ilboru, for instance, demanded that they be allowed to dress as they liked, provided that they could afford it.²⁷²

The management in Leipzig made it clear that the clothing conflict was, above all, a question of an *adiaphoron*.²⁷³ The board did not imply that the problem should not be taken seriously, but rather that the missionary should handle the problem accordingly and not as a conflict of religious nature. It is obvious that the management in Leipzig did not comprehend Blumer's methods. Mission Director Carl Ihmels himself noted that the conflict had not come as a surprise, but, like normal children's diseases, should be viewed as a passing phase, a viewpoint of which he had tried to convince Blumer. He feared that the conflict in the Arusha congregation would intensify 'where a missionary, like brother Blumer, leads a patriarchal regime with a certain legal strictness'.²⁷⁴ Pätzig likewise tried to convince Blumer not to let the conflict degenerate, yet he remarked that as a novice on the mission field Blumer refused to listen to his pleas.²⁷⁵

Table 3.1.

Lutheran work around Arusha 1922-1930

	1922	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	
Outposts	3	8	8	7	12	13	13	13	
Churchgoers (average)	378	675	702	633	904	761	797	595	
Indigenous teachers	6	11	11	10	16	17	16	17	
Schools	5	10	10	8	^a	16	^a	16	
Boarding school pupils	42	^a	25	19	29	32	21	16	
Pupils in all schools	Boys	35	237	246	178	227	311	233	225
	Girls	122	321	322	189	198	156	180	132
Catechumens	19	75	132	56	91	57	97	153	
Baptisms	Pagans	3	72	34	64	51	1	50	10
	Children	9	15	25	18	25	23	32	34

²⁷² Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (9 December 1928). See also Ihmels to Pätzig, 16 April 1929.

²⁷³ *Kollegium to Missionsrat*, 15 April 1929.

²⁷⁴ Ihmels to Pätzig, 16 April 1929.

²⁷⁵ Pätzig to *Domprediger*, 11 September 1929.

Number of Christians	139	249	355	324	406	427	502	490
Communicants	158	169	264	267	303	231	163	413
Weddings	2	9	5	3	4	3	8	4

Sources: J-ELM 1922-1930. The Leipzig Mission did not publish any statistics for the year 1923. Probably the baptismal numbers given in the 1924 statistics include those baptized in 1923. ^{w)}No data provided.

Officially, the dispute between Blumer and the Arusha Christians had been settled already in January 1929 as neither party had brought forward any financial claims. In practise, however, the schism continued and only changed face.²⁷⁶ The congregation members were not only hostile towards Blumer, but they froze out those who stood by him. When Bertha Blumer left Tanganyika in March 1929, only a few women bid her farewell.²⁷⁷ According to Pätzig, only one Christian, Teacher Abel Sirikwa, stood by Blumer throughout these times, which in turn cost him his friendship with the other Christians. His friendship with Blumer was also the reason why he was chosen as the first evangelist to go to Naberera for six months in 1929 when permanent work was set up in Maasailand. Not only was he willing and wanted for the task, but there probably were very few others who volunteered.²⁷⁸ Blumer responded

²⁷⁶ Pätzig, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1929*; Pätzig 1975, 52.

²⁷⁷ Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (7 March 1929); Pätzig to Ihmels, 6 March 1929). Bertha Blumer and her son Arnold left Tanganyika on 7 March 1929 for furlough in Europe. Apparently Bertha had planned to return to Tanganyika together with Leonhard after his furlough. Bertha, however, suffered from heart problems and it seems that, due to health reasons, she was unable to return to Africa (Pätzig to Ihmels, 6 March 1929; *Kollegium* (Weishaupt) to *Missionsrat*, 8 February 1930; Pätzig, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1929*; Pätzig 1975, 52). Bertha Blumer died as late as in 1958 – 20 years later than her husband. (IAW 1959, 9). See also footnotes 218 and 296.

²⁷⁸ ‚Nur ein Lehrer nahm seinen Missionar in Schutz. Es wurde ihm von der Gemeinde sehr übelgenommen. Hinfort stand er abseits, trotz meiner ständigen Bemühungen.‘ (Pätzig 1975, 51). ‚Als unsere Evangelisten zu Weihnachten [1929] nach Hause zurückkehrten, um in Januar durch andere Evangelisten ersetzt zu werden, fanden sie manchen Verlust vor. Abels Kaffeepflanzung hatte gelitten, ein Teil des Kaffees hatte nicht gepflückt werden können, weil er nicht selber dahinterstand. Fast sein ganzes Vieh war an der Rinderpest eingegangen. Aber er trauerte nicht, sondern sagte: "Der Herr hat's gegeben, der Herr hat's genommen. Sein Name sei gelobt! Er hat mir während meiner Abwesenheit ein Kindlein geschenkt. Darüber freue ich mich und ebenso darüber, daß ich des Herrn Arbeit tun durfje." Von solchen Christen und Evangelisten könnten wir mehr brauchen.‘ (Blumer, ELMB 1930, 284). Abel Lodoiyo (Sirikwa) Ilmolelian was one of the twelve catechumens

accordingly. He refused to greet many of the Christians and, at times, he used church discipline in cases where even his colleague thought it unjustified. In 1929, he refused to baptise a child whose parents had yet not paid the godparents and the annual church tax.²⁷⁹ During that same year, only 163 people attended Communion compared to 303 two years earlier. A reason for this decrease probably lies in the fact that some of Blumer's opponents were denied attendance for church disciplinary reasons whereas others simply refused to attend.²⁸⁰ A number of people finally left the Church and Pätzig complained about the growing immorality and selfishness among those who stayed.²⁸¹ At the end of 1929, the congregation was supposed to elect new church elders, but when Blumer suggested that four elders be elected instead of the usual five, the congregation refused to elect any elders at all.²⁸² Sunday service attendance at the Ilboru church decreased, as many Christians showed their discontent with Blumer by staying at home.²⁸³ The average number of churchgoers, however, continued to decrease even in 1930 – after Leonhard Blumer had left Arusha. This might indicate that the fight also affected people outside church membership and eventually also discouraged them from attending Lutheran services.

who were baptised by Missionary Roth in November 1913 (*Missionsstation Arusha, Verzeichnis der Taufen aus den Heiden* (1913)). The evangelistic endeavours will be discussed in the following chapters.

²⁷⁹ Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (26 October 1929).

²⁸⁰ Pätzig wrote that 'the wrongdoers did not attend Holy Communion, which was good. [Had they come, then] **Blumer would have sent them away.**' (Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (11 May 1929). Translation by author. Emphasis added). Pätzig felt sorry for Blumer and shared some of his criticism of the Arusha Christians, but in his diary, he does not hide the fact that he opposed some of the acts of his colleague's. This, naturally, he did not share with the congregation, nor could he relate to the congregation in the way he wished, partly because of his failure to speak the Maasai language and partly because he did not want to upset Blumer (Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (7 March 1929)).

²⁸¹ Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (17 June 1929). Some of the apostates eventually returned. In 1930, 19 Christians had been readmitted (Pätzig, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1930.*).

²⁸² Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (4 December 1929).

²⁸³ Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1928*. Church attendance at the 13 outposts, on the other hand, was very favourable. This seems to be the explanation why the statistics don't show any obvious drop after 1928 (Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1928*; Pätzig, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1929*).

Table 3.2.*Fund raising in the Arusha-Ilboru congregation 1925-1930 (in Tanganyikan shillings)*

Incomes	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
For congregation work	1,161,66	1,077,92	997,18	1,024,70	790,17	1,084,67
For the poor	165,69	206,46	1,045,64	206	108	110,30
For other purposes				605,65	437,46	1,007,50
School fees	13,50	20	68,50	24	134	78
Labour contributions	240	725	350	150	30	600
Incomes total	1,580,85	2,029,38	2,461,32	2,010,35	1,499,63	2,880,47

Sources: J-ELM 1922-1930.

The church incomes decreased 40 % between 1927 and 1929, partly because members failed to pay collection and church tax and partly because fewer people volunteered to work for the church.²⁸⁴ Whereas people voluntarily worked for an estimated value of 725 shillings in 1926, they contributed with only 30 shillings in 1929. The motivation among the teachers was low and many bush schools suffered from negligence. In general, it was difficult for the missionaries to find workers for any task. Max Pätzig's wife Johanna and their children battled with sickness and desperately needed help with the household. Only after threatening to send his wife and children back to Germany unless the congregation helped them, Pätzig managed to secure a cook and a domestic worker for his family.²⁸⁵

Blumer increasingly handed over the missionary duties to Pätzig and withdrew. He focused, instead, on reconnoitring Maasailand for future Lutheran mission work, teaching in the outpost schools and spending time on translation work. A hymn book was introduced on

²⁸⁴ Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (17 June 1929). The annual church tax was 3 shillings for each adult church member. At the first district meetings in 1929, where missionaries and elected church elders and delegates met in Moshi, Shigatini and Shira respectively, it was decided that the church tax be raised to 4 shillings (Raum, J-ELM 1929, 39-41. See also Smedjebacka 1973, 49-50).

²⁸⁵ Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (26 October 1929, 10 January 1930, 23 January 1930).

Palm Sunday 1929 and a revised version of Luther's small catechism had already been printed. Few Christians, however, seemed interested in buying these books.²⁸⁶

After several failed attempts, Blumer and the Christians at Ilboru did eventually reconcile, but not until in February 1930 when the missionary was about to leave Tanganyika.²⁸⁷ On request of the parish elders, Pätzig teamed up with the Christians and approached Blumer.

Then I stood on the side of the congregation and, as their spokesman, asked for forgiveness, which was also granted. Immediately the congregation joined in: "*Herz und Herz vereint zusammen.*" None of us [missionaries] could keep back the tears. At the same time, I had to ask myself how I would come to terms with a congregation who had treated my colleague the way they did after everything he had done for them and who embraced him upon his return from furlough in 1926 and said "Father, you must stay with us, we'll build a house for you when you get old."²⁸⁸

Spear notes that as the number of Christians in the East-African mission churches grew and became ever better educated in the early 20th century, they accordingly started to challenge the missionaries. They began to question the system and leadership methods of their leaders, resulting in a struggle for control between the indigenous Christians and the European/American missionaries. Fearing a total collapse of their system, the missionaries responded by imposing tighter control.²⁸⁹ This was the case for instance within the Maasai work of the AIM in

²⁸⁶ Pätzig, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1929*; Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (27 March 1929, 17 June 1929). Blumer held baptismal education in several of the 13 outpost schools (Pätzig, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1929*). He had pursued translation work actively for a longer time. The catechism, with more than 400 questions and answers, and a hymn book with 232 hymns (translations of German hymns) were finished and ready for print in 1924. By 1924, he had also translated the four gospels and the Acts as well as two years of epistle texts. Blumer had also written an ABC-book (Blumer, ELMB 1924, 6; ELMB 1924, 136).

²⁸⁷ Pätzig 1975, 52; Blumer, *Mein Abschied vom ostafrikanischen Missionsfelde*, 4 April 1930.

²⁸⁸ Pätzig 1975, 52. Translation by author.

²⁸⁹ Spear 1999, 7.

Kenya.²⁹⁰ In some cases, African Christian leaders broke away from the mission churches and founded new congregations. Those who broke away from the AIM Maasai work in Kenya remained quite orthodox in their teachings and eventually rejoined the AIM. However, it was not uncommon for groups of Christians who left the mission churches to not return, but to develop a theology significantly different from the teaching of the missionaries.²⁹¹ Several of these new denominations accepted circumcision, polygamy, drinking, dancing and quite a liberal dress code, i.e. they deserted vital principles of the mission churches from which they had departed. They acquired a more indigenous character and thus attracted more people than the European mission churches.²⁹²

Did the struggle at Ilboru threaten to break up the congregation and result in a new lay movement or Church? The correspondence between the leadership in Leipzig and the Mission Council in Tanganyika certainly indicates that there was a fear of a split.²⁹³ Two main factors, however, spoke in favour of continued unity. First and foremost, Teacher Lazarus Laiser, who played a key role in the drama, was not at odds with the main principles of the Leipzig Mission. He was drawn into the fight through his wife and he loudly opposed what he deemed as unjust treatment by Blumer. Laiser showed his discontent by resigning from his job as a teacher. His anger with Blumer could potentially have had serious consequences for the Ilboru congregation.

²⁹⁰ Waller 1999, 102-106.

²⁹¹ Waller 1999, 104-106. One example of a movement that deviated quite radically from its origin was the Holy Quaternity Movement in Uganda. This faction originated from the Catholic mission. Its founder, Dosteo Bisaaka, claimed to 'have been taken up to Heaven by God himself in 1983, when he was told that the spirit Obwosobozi, the fourth member of the Holy Trinity (or Holy Quaternity), had possessed him and given him the power to defeat evil spirits with the assistance of an army of angels.' (Kassimir 1999, 263). An example of a movement which remained true to the Biblical message is the African Brotherhood Church (ABC). In 1966, the ABC, as one of four independent churches, became accepted as a member of the All-African Conference of Churches (Sandgren 1999, 169).

²⁹² Spear 1997, 10-19.

²⁹³ *Kollegium* (Weishaupt) to *Missionsrat*, 15 April 1929; *Kollegium* (Weishaupt) to *Missionsrat*, 14 January 1930.

Had he chosen to sidestep the Lutheran Church to hold church services independently it is likely that many of the Christians would have followed him. Laiser decided – reluctantly – not to bring any claim against Blumer for having beaten his wife. Thus, at least in principle, he forgave the missionary. On the other hand, he and many others stayed away from services held by Blumer and thus clearly indicated that they did not want the friendship or company of the missionary.²⁹⁴ Despite prolonged tensions, Laiser does not appear to have had any aversions to the Leipzig Mission and he showed no intentions of planning to leave the Lutheran Church. He was a convinced Lutheran and, in fact, he had an even stricter attitude regarding some African customs than most Leipzig missionaries, including Blumer.²⁹⁵ Laiser was in conflict with Blumer and not with the Lutheran Church or the Leipzig Mission.

Secondly, the missionary replacement helped the Ilboru congregation move forward. Due to Blumer's and the Arusha Christians' refusal to forgive and forget, radical action was taken to reinstall unity in the congregation. Shortly after his arrival in October 1928, Pätzig replaced Blumer and took over most of the responsibilities in the congregation. Had Blumer continued as the only missionary in the congregation, many would surely have continued to stay away. Many more Christians would probably have left the Church. Blumer had played an important role as a Church leader during and after the First World War, and he played an important role in laying the foundations for Lutheran work on the Maasai steppe. As the situation developed towards the end of the 1920s, however, there was clearly no option for him to continue as a missionary at Ilboru. The management feared that the schisms would eventually destroy the congregation. Moreover, Blumer's wife and children had already left Tanganyika and the board in Leipzig

²⁹⁴ Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (9 December 1928, 10 January 1929, 7 March 1929, 11 May 1929, 17 June 1929).

²⁹⁵ I am referring here to the decision of the African teachers to forbid all forms of circumcision. See page 110.

did not want to keep the family separated much longer. Therefore, when the relationship between Blumer and the congregation had not actually improved by the end of 1929, the board decided to call Blumer back to Leipzig to serve as a deputation worker.²⁹⁶ In 1930, only a few days after Blumer had left Arusha, Missionary Pätzig reinstated Laiser to his former job.²⁹⁷

Pätzig played a more significant role as a redeemer in this drama than he perhaps imagined himself. Despite his recent arrival and his inability to speak the Maasai language, he became the missionary-in-charge. His taking over the missionary duties secured unity and continuity on the one side and change on the other. Under Pätzig's leadership, the work was given a chance to continue largely as before and simultaneously to step into a new era. As an experienced missionary, Blumer might have seen the risks and tendencies more clearly than his younger and inexperienced colleague. Yet the Christians in Arusha were numerous, confident and, perhaps, also mature enough to challenge what Ihmels termed as Blumer's autocratic tendencies. To Pätzig, it was clear that henceforth the missionaries could not act as they themselves thought

²⁹⁶ *Kollegium/Weishaupt to Missionsrat*, 8 February 1930; J-ELM 1929, 8; Raum, J-ELM 1930, 43. Regarding the decision to call Blumer home, Mission Inspector Martin Weishaupt wrote the following: 'Nachdem nun Br. Blumer in positivem Sinne geantwortet hat, haben wir uns entschlossen, ihn nach Europa zurückzurufen. Denn wir sind zu der Überzeugung gekommen, daß ein längeres Verbleiben in Afrika nicht ratsam erscheint. [...] Es kann dadurch verhindert werden, daß die innere Spannung, die zwischen ihm und seiner Gemeinde unter den Auswirkungen der neuen Zeit entstanden ist, größer wird und zu einem Riß führt.' (*Kollegium* (Weishaupt) to *Missionsrat*, 8 February 1930). Pätzig was relieved when Blumer accepted to be transferred to Leipzig (Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (4 December 1929)). The word for deputation worker in the Leipzig Mission annual reports is *Werbearbeiter*. The deputation workers travelled around representing and informing about the mission work at a variety of Lutheran gatherings around Germany and Europe. The deputation workers in general were old missionaries or missionaries on furlough. Blumer did deputation work until his death in 1938 (J-ELM 1930-1937/38 (*Missionsarbeiter – in der Heimat – Werbedienst*)).

²⁹⁷ Pätzig, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1930*; Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (6 March 1930).

best but they must increase their consideration of the interest and uniqueness of the African Christians.²⁹⁸

3.2. Maasai Mission; a Joint Effort for the Leipzig Mission and Ilboru Congregation

The organising of an indigenous Church – the *Evangelical Lutheran Church in East Africa* – in 1930 did not mean that the final borders for Lutheran Christianity had been drawn. On the contrary, one of the aims of the founding of the Church was to increase unity among the Christians and to encourage them to look beyond their own needs and congregations and to take an interest in spreading the Gospel to other tribes.²⁹⁹ In this case, Arusha/Ilboru constituted a good example. Once the crisis in the congregation was over, the incomes increased significantly – as did the willingness of the Christians to send teachers and evangelists to the Maasai. Lazarus Laiser, after having been reinstated as teacher and congregation worker in 1930, was one of the first Christians to volunteer as an evangelist. He was as eager as the missionaries to bring the Gospel to the Maasai and he encouraged his fellow Christians to back this work.³⁰⁰

In this chapter, we will see how the Lutheran work in Maasailand began. One vital characteristic of the work was its holistic structure. As

²⁹⁸ Pätzig to Ihmels, 21 May 1929. *„Aber damit kommt auch eine neue Zeit. Die Schwarzen lassen sich nicht mehr ohne weiteres beherrschen. Das haben sie gesagt mit ihrem Tun.“* (Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (5 January 1929)). Pätzig represented a different kind of leadership than Blumer. He handed over many of the responsibilities to Lazarus Laiser as well as to other Christians, and he made it clear that Laiser, after his ordination in May 1934, was on equal footing with himself (Pätzig 1959, 18-19).

²⁹⁹ Some of the congregation were wealthy whereas some struggled. Through the founding of a common church, it was hoped that the Christians would be encouraged to care of each other (Ihmels, ELMB 1930, 348).

³⁰⁰ Pätzig 1959, 15-17. *„Lasaros dachte aber wie sein Missionar nicht nur an die Aruschaleute. Vor ihren Augen lag die weite Steppe mit den dort herunziehenden Masai. Warum sollte das Evangelium nicht auch diesem Brudervolke gebracht werden?“* (Pätzig 1959, 15).

on the rest of the Leipzig field, the Maasai mission was pursued by three means; evangelism, education and health care. All of these were considered important. All of them were intended to be a blessing for the Maasai. All of these working methods served the purpose of stirring an interest in the Gospel. The Lutheran Maasai enterprise was holistic in another sense as well. It was not only Leipzig missionaries who did the work. For the first time on the Leipzig Mission field in Africa, indigenous Christians participated on a grand scale. As we will see, the Arusha Christians made sacrifices both in terms of finances and labour to make sure that the Christian faith was extended to their Maasai brethren.

3.2.1. The First Steps towards Permanent Mission Work in Maasailand

In 1926, the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Donald Cameron, reformed the administration and introduced Indirect Rule. The intention with Indirect Rule was to improve government efficiency by means of bringing a part of the government organisation down to the local level and, as a result thereof, also to increase indigenous interest and participation. Tribal leaders became paid government employees and were given the responsibility for issues concerning their chieftains such as health care, education and infrastructure. A part of the tax collected within the tribes was used for purposes chosen by the people, and ultimately the chiefs, themselves.³⁰¹

In some cases, leaders without any previous political power were included in the political domain through the British reforms. This was the case in Maasailand. Contrary to many African tribes, the Maasai did not have chiefs in a traditional African sense, but political issues were rather settled through discussions between the elders. This made

³⁰¹ Raum, J-ELM 1926, 26-27. For an interesting and critical analysis of Indirect Rule, read *Citizen and Subject* by Mahmood Mamdani.

implementation of Indirect Rule among the Maasai somewhat more difficult. In 1927, Acting Provincial Commissioner Philip Mitchell entrusted the District Officer in Maasailand, H. C. Murrels, with the task of searching for the ultimate authority in the tribe. As Hodgson reports;

In his report the DO characterized the Maasai as having ‘an essentially democratic organisation’ with no office that could be regarded as a ‘hereditary chiefship’. Because of his spiritual and prophetic powers, the *loibon* would always be consulted on important matters, but he was not a chief as such with the power to decide ‘tribal matters’. The report then proceeded to describe three other groups who had legitimate authority to exercise executive and judicial powers among Maasai: the ‘Aigwenak’ (*ilaigwenak*) who served as the designated representative, arbitrators and advisors for each male age-grade; the ‘Aunoni’ (*olaunoni*) who served as the chosen ‘chief of his “age”, in whom executive authority [was] really centred, for his own “age” only’; and finally, elder men.³⁰²

The British authorities established a forum, the *olkiama*, to represent the Maasai from various regions in Maasailand. The *olkiama*, colloquially called the Monduli meeting because of the location where its delegates gathered, consisted of designated influential elders and was commanded by the *loibon*. Thus, the chief diviner, who had previously held more religious than political power, was given explicit political authority. Similarly, the British authorities extended the power of a few elders and, in practice, introduced the role of chief to the Maasai who had not previously had chiefs in the same sense as in many settled tribes.³⁰³

The Leipzig missionaries did not believe in the new concept. The leader of the Leipzig Mission in Tanganyika, Johannes Raum, criticised the policy of Indirect Rule for its tendency to change the roles of the African chiefs and leaders. Instead of standing in the midst of his people,

³⁰² Hodgson 1999, 54.

³⁰³ Hodgson 1999, 54-55. Hodgson writes that the role of the *loibon* was changed into an advisory one in 1938 after the death of *Loibon* Mbeiya (Hodgson 1999, 54). Henceforth, when I use the word chief in a Maasai context I relate to the authorities named on behalf of the Indirect Rule.

the chief now stood above the people. This, according to Raum, was a violation of African tribal customs and the end of chieftains in the old meaning.³⁰⁴ Moreover, the new system did not benefit the mission. Implementation of Indirect Rule implied that the local authorities of a given tribe needed to give their consent before missionaries were allowed to open up permanent work among them. In Maasailand, the missionaries could logically engage themselves in evangelistic endeavours without any particular permit. However, in order to lease land and establish permanent missions they needed the approval of the Monduli *olkiam*. Whereas the British officials predominantly viewed mission work as an asset, tribal leaders tended to view the missionaries as threats – not least to their personal positions. The Maasai *loibon*, for instance, did not want any competition. To the frustration of the missionaries, he was, therefore, prone to use his power and influence against the missionaries in the *olkiam*, making it harder to convince the Maasai elders of the value of their work. This will be dealt with in the next chapter.

In Maasailand, the implementation of Indirect Rule coincided with the initiation of a number of development projects. The British administration undertook mounting efforts to make water available throughout the Maasai District. The district officer in Maasailand between 1925 and 1934 was H. C. Murrels. Murrels was a keen amateur engineer and headed a number of well and dam projects. Some of them were successful, such as a piping project leading water from streams on the Longido and Monduli mountains to storage tanks and drinking troughs on the plains. Other projects failed and boosted distrust between the paying Maasai and the British administration. Motor pumps were installed at Naberera and Makama in the south to pump water from wells into troughs. They proved too slow and unreliable and the Maasai preferred to stick to their old wells instead.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ Raum, J-ELM 1926, 26.

³⁰⁵ Page-Jones 1948, 54-56. Compare Hodgson 2000b, 56-57. The costs of these projects were paid in cattle by the Maasai themselves, and with plummeting cattle prices, the water

It was in this environment of development and Indirect Rule that Lutheran mission work among the Maasai was begun. The idea of mission among the people of the steppe was by no means new. It had been a part of the long-term plan of the Leipzig Mission already before World War I, yet the Leipzig missionaries did not want to set to work before they were convinced that it was in God's plans.³⁰⁶ Until 1927, no Christian Church or missionary society had been engaged in work in Maasailand in Tanganyika. For decades, the Maasai had been considered too dangerous for mission work. The German colonial and, later, British mandate government feared a disaster similar to the Akeri killings in 1896 if they gave the missionaries right of entry to the Maasai Reserve.³⁰⁷ In 1922, when the government began establishing bases in Maasailand, they came to realise that the worst fears of Maasai violence had been exaggerated. Consequently, the decision was made to ease the restrictions and invite nongovernmental organisations to participate in the development of Maasailand. Due to its relevant experience and demonstrated interest in work in Maasailand, the Leipzig Mission was the first to be invited. As the Lutheran society, by reason of shortages both in personnel and finances, hesitated to take any concrete steps, the government instead extended the offer to the Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers. The Catholics did not accept the task either. According to Blumer, they dismissed it as being too difficult.³⁰⁸

In 1926, when Leonhard Blumer returned to Arusha after his furlough, he discussed with the members of the congregation the issue of opening up some kind of work among the Maasai. Both the missionary and the Christians were eager to bring Christianity to the Maasai. Though

projects became an expensive experiment leading to distrust between the Maasai and the administration.

³⁰⁶ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 316; Ihmels 1936, 13.

³⁰⁷ Pätzig 1959, 15; Blumer, ELMB 1929, 316. *„Das Masaireservat war [until recently] ein geschlossenes und ziemlich unbekanntes Gebiet, das man nur mit besonderer Erlaubnis und auf eigene Gefahr betreten konnte. Kein Missionar und keine Missionsgesellschaft hatte das gewagt.*’ (Blumer, ELMB 1929, 316).

³⁰⁸ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 316-317.

judging the congregation with its approximately 350 members far too small for the undertaking, Blumer started to make preparations for a long awaited extension of the Lutheran Maasai work. Blumer wrote in *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt* that he had, on account of the society's bad financial situation, hesitated to bring up the subject of Maasai mission with the board. Without financial contributions from the supporters in Europe, a project of this magnitude would be impossible to implement. At that time, Maasailand in Tanganyika was inhabited by around 38,000 Maasai.³⁰⁹

The First Evangelistic Endeavours

Despite the seemingly poor premises for a mission in Maasailand, several indications, according to Blumer, spoke in favour of advancement. In a letter to the missionary, an apostate Maasai Christian, who was serving as a clerk for the *loibon*, begged the Arusha congregation 'to bring light to the Maasai who are wandering in darkness'.³¹⁰ The response from the government seemed equally promising. In January 1927, the government Director of Education Rivers Smith visited the Ilboru station. Blumer brought up the issue of Maasai work with the director and noted that he greeted the plans with keen consent. Shortly after, Blumer discussed the same issue with Provincial Commissioner Philip Mitchell. According to the missionary, Mitchell likewise warmly welcomed mission undertakings in Maasailand and pointed out that 'the Maasai would without doubt die out without the mission'. The provincial commissioner promised to arrange the permits needed for Arusha evangelists to enter Maasailand.³¹¹ Encouraged by this positive development, Blumer and the Christians at Ilboru believed that

³⁰⁹ Blumer, ELMB 1928; 14-15 Blumer, ELMB 1929, 317.

³¹⁰ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 15; Ihmels 1936, 14.

³¹¹ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 15; Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha* 1926. See also Blumer, ELMB 1929, 319 and Fleisch 1936, 422. The belief that the Maasai was about to die out was common in both Tanganyika and Kenya at the time. The AIM Maasai missionary in Kenya, John Stauffacher, also shared this opinion (See Waller 1999, 90).

God was leading them to the Maasai and they accordingly decided to set to work. When the annual harvest festival was celebrated in the Ilboru congregation in 1927, an offering was collected for work among the Maasai. The Christians demonstrated their determination with admirable contributions. No less than 137 shillings in cash and the equivalent of 320 shillings in goods were collected.³¹²

The congregation chose four men who, in two teams, were given the task to walk around in Maasailand and preach the Gospel. An assistant was later elected to each of the two teams. At the Sunday service on 3 July 1927, the six messengers were blessed. Blumer described this day as one of the greatest days in the history of the congregation. In his sermon, he drew parallels between the sending of the Arusha evangelists and Christ's sending of the disciples in Mark. 6:7-13.³¹³

Then Jesus went around teaching from village to village. Calling the Twelve to him, he sent them out two by two and gave them authority over evil spirits. These were his instructions: "Take nothing for the journey except a staff - no bread, no bag, no money in your belts. Wear sandals but not an extra tunic. Whenever you enter a house, stay there until you leave that town. And if any place will not welcome you or listen to you, shake the dust off your feet when you leave, as a testimony against them." They went out and preached that people should repent. They drove out many demons and anointed many sick people with oil and healed them.³¹⁴

Clearly the biblical-text was chosen because of the topicality of its message. Indeed there were similarities between the first apostles and

³¹² Blumer, ELMB 1928, 15.

³¹³ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 15; Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Aruscha. 1927*. Blumer does not mention who the evangelists were. According to Benson (1974, 29-30), Lazarus Laiser, Lotipoyaki and Eliyahu Meiliari were among the evangelists on the endeavours in 1927 and 1928. As Meiliari, however, was baptised only in 1929 it is likely that he was not among the first evangelists. Anyhow, Meiliari himself does not mention anything about being among the first evangelists (Eliyahu Lujas Meiliari (AHT 8); *Missionsstation Aruscha, Verzeichnis der Taufen aus den Heiden* (1929)).

³¹⁴ Mark 6:7-13, New International Version.

the Arusha evangelists. The Arusha messengers were, like the disciples in the text above, very meagrely equipped. They went on foot and they slept in the homesteads where they arrived.³¹⁵ They tried to follow the example of their biblical predecessors. They preached only where they were welcome – if unwelcome they chose not to ‘throw their pearls to the pigs’ but left in the belief that Christ’s request had been fulfilled.³¹⁶ Max Pätzig later noted how striking the parallel between the Arusha evangelists and the first apostles was.

Who would not be reminded of the time of the apostles? The homemade sandals on their feet, the long Maasai spear for protection against wild animals, and a bundle containing the song book and the biblical storybook, observable by its angular shape. For protection during cold nights they carried a light blanket as a sash.³¹⁷

Due to the duration of the expedition, the evangelists could not be self-sufficient for food, but were dependant on the hospitality of their Maasai hosts. Moreover, after the evangelists had left Arusha, the distances and the lack of infrastructure made it close to impossible for them to keep any contact with their families or fellow Christians. This and a number of potential dangers made the project demanding. The Arusha Christians trusted, however, in the faith that their endeavours were blessed, and the similarities between themselves and the first apostles gave them confidence.³¹⁸

The first evangelists spent two and a half months touring Maasailand. Both teams visited around 115 Maasai homesteads, and it was estimated that a total of 6,000-7,000 Maasai had listened to their

³¹⁵ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 16. Even if the evangelists slept in the villages of the Maasai, they did not want to sleep in their huts. Blumer wrote that, because of the vermin, smoke and heat in these huts, they chose to sleep in the tents that they had brought with them (Blumer, ELMB 1928, 213).

³¹⁶ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 214. The evangelists even tried to preach to the *loibon* Parrit (Varit) and some elders at a drinking bout. When they did not manage to get their voices heard they chose not to ‘throw their pearls to the pigs’ and left (Blumer, ELMB 1928, 214).

³¹⁷ Pätzig 1959, 16. Translation by author.

³¹⁸ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 16.

teaching.³¹⁹ Taken as a whole, the results were positive and the evangelists had generally been welcomed warmly in the Maasai homesteads. The reception had been better in the south than in the north. The chief in Kibaya had even dictated a letter to Blumer where he regarded the evangelists as long-awaited messengers from God, and requested further missions.³²⁰

In many places, mostly in the north, the Maasai had been quite reserved and, in a few cases, the evangelists had been criticised and insulted. Blumer stated that the worst treatment had been received in villages where the ‘men had been coming into contact with European barbarism [*Unkultur*] for a long time’.³²¹ Moreover, the evangelists had met with a total lack of understanding in issues that conflicted with the Maasai way of living. One of these issues was school education. The Lutherans wanted to establish schools and asked the Maasai to let their children be educated. The Maasai, however, hesitated to send their children to school. The reasons were similar to those of the Arusha. Children were needed as workers; either within the homestead or as cattle herders.³²²

Shortly after the return of the first group of evangelists, Blumer and the Christians at Ilboru made the decision to continue preaching in Maasailand. A second group of evangelists was to be sent out in 1928 and more than 500 shillings were collected at the harvest festival that year.³²³ In order to get a better picture of the situation on the plains, Blumer chose to accompany the evangelists. In September 1928, together

³¹⁹ *„Jede der beiden Gruppen hat ungefähr 115 Masaikrale, d.h. Gehöfte, besucht. [...] Die Zahl der Zuhörer schwankte zwischen zehn und sechzig. Im Ganzen haben wohl 6000 bis 7000 Masai während dieser 21/2 Monate das Wort Gottes gehört.“* (Blumer, ELMB 1928, 213). Contrary to Blumer, Fleisch writes that each group visited 6,000-7,000 Maasai (Fleisch 1936, 439).

³²⁰ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 213-215, Raum, J-ELM 1927, 40. Compare Saibull & Carr 1981, 7, 16.

³²¹ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 214.

³²² Blumer, ELMB 1928, 215.

³²³ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 317.

with the Missionary Carpenter Albert Fokken and three evangelists, he visited Lolbene, a mountain some 50 km southeast of Arusha, and less than a month later, Senior Johannes Raum accompanied him to Longido, around 40 km to the north of Arusha.³²⁴ It was apparent that this sudden interest in travelling led to discussions within Catholic circles.

Our journeys to the Maasai did not remain unnoticed. When the Catholics heard that I had personally accompanied the evangelists, they quickly sent their Fathers [to Maasailand] to nonetheless start working. The Maasai, however, refused to accept the Catholics and to be educated by them since they did not know the language or the customs of the [Maasai] people and because their own character was unknown to the people. In spite of this, it was heard that the Catholics had installed themselves in the southern Maasai area while the northern more densely populated district was still free.³²⁵

What kind of role was the congregation at Ilboru expected to play in this project? And above all – how did the Arusha Christians themselves see their roles as carriers of the Christian message? On several occasions in his reporting, Blumer wrote that the Ilboru congregation should not be expected to bear the burden that mission work in Maasailand implied. At the same time, he was aware that the financial situation of the Leipzig Missionary Society was so poor that it hardly would allow a new full-scale mission. During the harvest festivals in 1927 and 1928 respectively, the Christians offered around 500 shillings. This was a substantial sum of money considering that the total annual income for congregational work during the same years was around 1,000 shillings.³²⁶ These harvest festival contributions, however, could not cover much more than the costs for sending out evangelists. The cost for sending an evangelist or a teacher to Maasailand was in the

³²⁴ Blumer to Ihmels, September 25 1928; Fleisch 1936, 439; Blumer, ELMB 1929, 317.

³²⁵ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 317. Translation by author. The fathers sent to Maasailand belonged to the Holy Ghost Fathers, subordinated to the Catholic Diocese of Moshi. (Blumer, ELMB 1928, 116). Compare footnote 59.

³²⁶ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 317. For church income, see table 3.2.

area of 13-14 shillings per month. Assuming that all six evangelists in 1927 were paid 14 shillings, the total costs would have ended at 504 shillings, which is more or less the same sum that the Christians offered during the harvest festivals in 1927 and 1928. It was clear that the Arusha Christians' contributions were sufficient to send a number of Arusha evangelists or teachers to the Maasai, but also that the Ilboru congregation could not contribute with much more than its own workers.³²⁷

The Arusha Christians did not approach their roles as systematically as the missionaries did, but rather followed their hearts and acted in faith. When, for instance, it became known to them that the Leipzig Mission struggled with debts, they started collecting money, and with a noble spirit of self-sacrifice they managed to bring together 230 shillings.³²⁸ This sum had hardly any considerable impact on the Leipzig Mission's financial situation, but it nonetheless illustrates how the congregation members related to their own responsibilities. Judging from Blumer's report, they probably acted in a similar way when they assumed the responsibility for sending evangelists to the Maasai. In true faith the Christians donated money for the undertaking and, in the same faith, the evangelists assumed the tasks assigned to them. If the evangelists were sent by the same Lord who sent the disciples nearly 2,000 years earlier – if they were sent on a journey that was predestined and watched over by the Creator of the universe – then how could they resist? In this context their own roles became extremely marginal. They saw no reason to doubt. Likewise the Arusha Christians had a feeling of

³²⁷ According to Pätzig, the teachers in Maasailand were paid 30 shillings and two tins of maize in 1932 and the evangelists 40 shillings without maize for three months of work (Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (29 October 1932)). In 1932, Jonathan Kidale, an Arusha Christian and certified teacher, was paid 14 shillings per month for working as a teacher at Oldonyo Sapuk in Maasailand (Jonathan Kidale (AHT 7)). For comparison, Lazarus Laiser earned 30 shillings per month when he started working as a pastor in 1934 (Pätzig 1959, 19) and the price for a sheep was around or slightly less than 6 shillings (Ngole ole Njololoi (AHT 4); Jonathan Kidale (AHT 7)).

³²⁸ ELMB 1928, 95-97.

doing something meaningful and unique. Neither the Leipzig Mission nor any other mission society had yet assigned any missionary to Maasailand. Nor had any external money been paid for such an undertaking. Therefore, neither the financial nor the concrete contributions of the Ilboru Christians had to be compared to anything superior. The Arusha Christians were the only ones to preach the Gospel to the Maasai and this fact made their efforts particularly meaningful.³²⁹

From the viewpoint of the Leipzig Mission, the vision was the same as when the Ilboru station was founded. The Leipzig Mission strove to be the first and only mission society to reach the Maasai. In this goal, the Arusha Christians played a crucial role. First, the Ilboru congregation served as something of a training ground and base. Here the missionaries could learn the Maasai language, practice mission work in a Maasai environment and coordinate a Lutheran undertaking in Maasailand. Secondly, the congregation in Arusha could contribute with workers. Due to their kinship with the Maasai, the Arusha Christians were considered to be able to reach the Maasai more easily and naturally than Christians from other tribes. It was also hoped that they would want to bring the Christian message to the Maasai with the same enthusiasm in which the message had been brought to them.

The Leipzig missionaries had a somewhat ambivalent view of their role as carriers of the Christian message. On the one hand, their work in Tanganyika was highly characterised by competition with other denominations, which they fiercely tried to keep away from what they considered to be their own Lutheran field.³³⁰ In 1929, the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa announced its interest in sending missionaries to Maasailand. Blumer did not view the Reformed Church as much of a threat, but contacted them and asked them to stay away

³²⁹ Blumer, ELMB 1928, 14-16; Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1927*.

³³⁰ In 1926, Ihmels criticised the American Adventists and the Catholics for using unjust methods to win over Lutherans on the Leipzig field. He especially criticised the Catholics who, despite an agreement signed in 1900 where both parties agreed not to enter each others' fields, had entered Lutheran areas (Ihmels, J-ELM 1926, 35-36).

from Maasailand.³³¹ The competition with the Catholics was more severe. The Lutheran missionaries bitterly criticised the Catholics for creating unrest, spreading false rumours and using unjust methods in their determination to enter Lutheran fields to spread their version of Christianity. On some locations, the Lutherans even chose to found schools to hinder the Catholic advancement.³³² On the other hand, the Lutherans believed that God had sent them to these fields and that he now was calling them to go to a new field, Maasailand.

Our mission has been, until now, the only society to work in the Maasai language. Is it then not natural that we obey this calling? Also, other signs lead us in the same direction. [...] Now it seems that God wants to assign us to the vast steppe, an area that we can assume without having to invest dearly to establish stations, an area with a diverse assortment of peoples, the steppe with the Maasai tribes.³³³

At the same time as the Lutheran missionaries and local Christians thanked God for having sent them to Maasailand and prayed for their endeavours, they closely followed the movements of the Catholics.³³⁴ The decision of the Lutherans to open up work in Maasailand was taken as a response to God's calling. The timing, however, appears to have been affected by competition from other denominations.

In the eyes of the British authorities, the Leipzig Mission did not hold any unique position regarding work in Maasailand. On the contrary, the authorities recommended the Leipzig Mission give up its aspirations unless it could set to work immediately. Looking for development

³³¹ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 318. The Reformed church had been active around Mt. Meru from the turn of the century when some hundred Afrikaner families fled from the Boer war in what is today South Africa and sought refuge in Tanganyika. The German government welcomed them and virtually gave them land for farming. Some of these Boers settled around Mt. Meru (ELMB 1905, 218; Fokken, ELMB 1906, 89-90; Spear 1997, 88).

³³² ELMB 1928, 198; Blumer, ELMB 1928, 116; Ihmels, J-ELM 1926, 36-37; Pätzig 1959, 20.

³³³ Ihmels, ELMB 1928, 62. Translation by author.

³³⁴ As did the Catholics, who despite their initial hesitations, decided to send priests to Maasailand after the Lutherans had taken the first step (See page 139).

partners for the Maasai District, the British administration welcomed any denomination with sufficient resources and determination to open up school and health work among the Maasai. According to Missionary Pätzig, the British authorities, in particular the lesser officers, had their doubts about the intentions of the Leipzig missionaries. Blumer likewise noted that the British administration became confused by the hesitation of the Leipzig Mission. In a letter to Senior Johannes Raum in 1928, the District Officer for Maasailand, H. C. Murrels, questioned the earnestness of the Leipzig Mission Maasai plans. The Lutherans were given two options; either to place missionaries in Maasailand or to let other churches do it. Blumer defended the Leipzig Mission and assured the authorities and any rival society that the Lutherans were sincere in their plans to set about this job.³³⁵

Decision on Permanent Work

The second group of evangelists got a somewhat different reception in Maasailand than the first. The region had hardly received any rain for the last year and the Maasai were suffering. Whilst the earlier evangelists had, for the most part, been given food in the Maasai homesteads, it was extremely difficult for the evangelists of 1928 to obtain any food at all. In terms of response to the Gospel, however, the situation was more positive. Even the previously critical Maasai in some of the northern villages asked for a permanent mission. Encouraged by the positive news, but also heavily pressured by the British administration and by competition from other societies, the Mission Council decided to set to work. The decision was taken to establish two permanent posts in Maasailand; one in the north and one in the south. In regard to locations for these stations, the missionaries appear to have been most uncertain. It is obvious that the primary goal for the missionaries was to get their feet into Maasailand. The question of exact

³³⁵ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 317-318, 349-350, Pätzig 1975, 54.

locations for the two posts was secondary. The first choice was to place these posts close to the government stations at Lolbene and Monduli. Later, following advice from a British officer, Lolbene and Naberera were chosen.³³⁶ Preparations were also made in Leipzig to send two missionaries to Maasailand, one of whom was to be a medical doctor or a male nurse.³³⁷ Initially, the two stations were to be manned by Arusha evangelists working in shifts of six months. This meant that a large number of workers were needed. Blumer, who was prepared to take only older married men into consideration, noted that most of the able Christians were already working for the chiefs or for the British government. The workers had to be recruited among the local teachers, which in turn would be a disadvantage for schools around Arusha.³³⁸ The situation was made even more complicated by the miserable atmosphere in the Arusha-Ilboru congregation. By the time evangelists were to be sent out on a more permanent basis, the clothing fight at Ilboru had already started, making it difficult for Blumer and the new missionary Max Pätzig to find able men who were prepared to go to the Maasai. The first evangelist to leave was Teacher Abel Sirikwa who, for some reason, had defended Blumer in the fight. He was chosen by Blumer himself for the task. The congregation selected two other men, from which Blumer chose Lotayenokaki to assist Abel Sirikwa during the six month period.³³⁹

³³⁶ Blumer, *Jahresbericht der Missionsstation Arusha 1928*, Fleisch 1936, 439, Blumer, ELMB 1929, 318. J-ELM 1928, 47.

³³⁷ Blumer to Ihmels, 25 September 1928; Ihmels, ELMB 1928, 60-62. The former missionary at Ilboru, Hermann Fokken, was considered and requested for this task. Fokken was willing to serve for a period of one or two years, quite a short time by Leipzig Mission standards. After rather bad medical tests, however, Fokken decided not to accept this task (Fokken 1967, 21, Ihmels to Blumer, 11 July 1928, Blumer to Ihmels, 25 September 1928).

³³⁸ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 318.

³³⁹ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 319; Blumer, ELMB 1930, 284. Most likely it was Lotayenokaki (alt. Lotayenokoki) Kitutu Laiser who accompanied Abel Sirikwa to Naberera. Lotayenokaki Laiser was baptised by Blumer on the 23 September 1923 (*Missionsstation Aruscha, Verzeichnis der Taufen aus den Heiden* (1923)). Contrary to Blumer, Parsalaw claims that a man called Lotayewuokoki Ilmolelian was the assistant evangelist. This is probably incorrect (Parsalaw 1999, 235).

On 24 June 1929, Leonhard Blumer, Eduard Ittameier and the two evangelists departed for southern Maasailand. At Sogonoi, between Lolbene and Naberera the missionaries held a meeting with some of the ruling elders of south Maasai. They explained that they had come to bring the Maasai three things; the Christian Gospel, medical care and education. They also requested that the two evangelists be allowed to stay and carry out these tasks. The endeavour went even better than planned. Clearly impressed by Blumer's fluent Maasai, the elders not only granted their permission but also gave the visitors a bottle of milk – a generous gift under the prevailing circumstances of drought. Upon arrival at Naberera, the housing problem for Sirikwa and Laiser was likewise easily solved when a Muslim merchant welcomed them to live in one of his houses.³⁴⁰

Picture 3.1.

Abel Sirikwa and Leonhard Blumer on a journey in Maasailand



Leipzig Mission Archive, Album 20 (552).

³⁴⁰ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 320-325.

Blumer and Ittameier set up a temporary field clinic, treated a number of patients and instructed Sirikwa and Laiser how to treat some of the most common sicknesses among the Maasai. The evangelists were subsequently left with a medical bag and given the responsibility to continue providing the Maasai with medical care. Blumer noted that this day, 25 June 1929, marked the beginning of permanent mission work among the Maasai. Before leaving Naberera, the two missionaries conducted the first church service in Maasailand. Several Maasai attended the service.³⁴¹

Missionary Blumer's last journey, between the 13th and 31st of January 1930, took him to the northern parts of the Maasai District. He was accompanied by the newly appointed Maasai missionary Johannes Hohenberger³⁴², Missionary Eduard Ittameier and Medical Doctor Kunert as well as a few evangelists, among others the new Naberera evangelists, Lomayani and Titos.³⁴³ The party visited Lolkisale, Monduli, Longido and Engaruka, all of which were within one day's drive from Arusha. Blumer and his colleagues became increasingly convinced that most Maasai welcomed the work of the Leipzig Mission. Only in Monduli, where *Loibon* Mbeiya had his seat, were the missionaries made to feel

³⁴¹ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 324, 342-348. The Muslim merchant also offered the missionaries a plot of land to build a house and a church building. (Blumer, ELMB 1929, 343-344, Buchta, ELMB 1932, 266).

³⁴² Johannes Nikolaus Hohenberger was born on 22 January 1899 in Grubenberg, Germany. He became interested in mission work at a young age. In 1920, he entered the second grade in the Leipzig Mission seminary from where he graduated in 1925. After further studies in tropical diseases and English, Hohenberger was ordained in October 1926 and, seven days later, was delegated as a missionary to East Africa where he arrived shortly before Christmas 1926. Johannes Hohenberger was stationed at Shigatini until January 1930. On 7 December 1929, he was requested to open Lutheran work in Maasailand (Hohenberger 1971; Hohenberger, IAW 1959, 92; *Leipzig Archiv Fiche* 348 1+).

³⁴³ Blumer, ELMB 1930, 285-286, 321. Dr. Kunert was employed by the *Hamburger Institut für Schiffs- und Tropenkrankheiten*. Originally, Dr. Fischer of the Berlin Mission had planned to take part in this journey. The doctors wanted to perform scientific studies among these 'peculiar people that had yet not been affected by the European civilisation' as well as to offer sick people their services. The two evangelists were brought to Naberera to replace Abel Sirikwa and Lotayanokaki Laiser.

unwelcome.³⁴⁴ Of the locations visited, Engaruka impressed the missionaries most. With water throughout the year, Engaruka had attracted a permanent population of various tribal affiliations living off both trade and farming. The Maasai Chief Oletevaya and the local elders welcomed the Lutherans and allowed them to build a house at Engaruka. They did not, however, trust them enough to lease a plot of land to them. No permanent post for evangelisation had yet been established at Lolbene as planned, and the issue of proposing a permanent station in north Maasai was still open. Although Engaruka made a deep impression on the missionaries, no particular decisions were taken regarding a permanent site.³⁴⁵

3.2.2. The First Decade of the Lutheran Maasai Mission

The Leipzig Mission was loyal to its original plans to reach the whole Maasailand and make it a single Lutheran field and, later on, a Church. Within these magnanimous plans there was no need or room for any competition from other mission organisations, although the scarcity of funds and lack of both missionaries and trained indigenous Christians made it difficult for the Leipzig Mission to justify its plans to the British mandate government. Though the first steps of the Leipzig Mission in Maasailand had been promising, the task of bringing the Christian Gospel to various parts of the Maasai District was to become demanding. The new missionary, Johannes Hohenberger, had no previous experience with working among the Maasai. It was necessary for him to learn to speak the language of the Maasai, but also to get acquainted with their culture as soon as possible. If the Leipzig Mission wanted authorization to found missions on the Maasai steppe, direct communication with the

³⁴⁴ Blumer, ELMB 1930, 288-291. Ittameier and Blumer pictured Mbeiya's homestead as a 'devil's nest' and noted that this was the place where the mission would meet the hardest spiritual resistance (Blumer, ELMB 1930, 290).

³⁴⁵ Blumer, ELMB 1930, 285-291, 319; Hohenberger, IAW 1959, 93.

Maasai elders would be crucial.³⁴⁶ The Maasai did not want any foreign elements on their land if they felt that their own ways of living would be jeopardized. If the Maasai did not wish for the involvement of the missionaries, the government would not grant them any land for permanent missions either.³⁴⁷ To the vast majority of the Maasai, the intentions of the missionaries were unknown. Although many were impressed by the medical care that the Leipzig missionaries provided, they had yet not seen enough to be convinced that they would gain more than they would lose. As a result of this uncertainty, the reception that Johannes Hohenberger got during his initial visits in the Maasai District was quite conflicting. At some locations, he was warmly welcomed, and at other places, he was met with suspicion. Most people needed some time not only to acquaint themselves with the Christian messengers but simply to adapt to the idea of being visited by missionaries and evangelists. Thus, the reception usually became warmer with each visit by Hohenberger or any of the evangelists to a Maasai kraal.

South Maasai – Naberera³⁴⁸

In June and July 1930, Hohenberger paid his first extended visit to the southern parts of the Maasai District. Over a period of four weeks, he built a school house at Naberera and visited Maasai homesteads in the surrounding area. Naberera was an arduous place to found a mission station in the early 1930s. Heavy rains made the location difficult to reach as the roads deteriorated and the normally dry riverbeds were

³⁴⁶ Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission bis Ende September 1930*.

³⁴⁷ In theory, the government could have leased plots to the mission, but, in practice, it let the Maasai decide to whom they wanted to grant land. Since the introduction of Indirect Rule and the Maasai *olkiama*, the co-operation between the Maasai and the British authorities – at least nominally – had increased.

³⁴⁸ Naberera lies around 100 km to the south of Arusha. A new road between Arusha/Moshi and Naberera was built in 1930. Until the new road was built in the second half of 1930, Naberera was extremely difficult to reach during the rainy seasons. Due to flooding and damaged roads, Hohenberger's first visit to Naberera was delayed for several weeks (Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission bis Ende September 1930*).

swarming with water. During the dry season, in contrast, the lack of grass and water made the region around Naberera inhospitable, particularly for cattle herders. Therefore, the Maasai preferred to live elsewhere during parts of the year. Before Naberera could be founded, as the first Leipzig mission station in Maasailand, the plans had to be approved by the Maasai. At an *olkiam*a-meeting in September 1930, Johannes Hohenberger, Max Pätzig and Evangelist Abel Sirikwa presented their work to the elders. Both missionaries had the impression that the majority of the Maasai were against the Lutheran mission.³⁴⁹ *Loibon* Mbeiya, the chairman of the *olkiam*a, or Monduli meeting, truly opposed mission work. But although Mbeiya was in charge of the meeting, his mandate was not widely acknowledged among the Maasai. Mbeiya's political authority was a direct result of British Indirect Rule. The Maasai themselves did not recognise him as their political leader. Moreover, as Hodgson writes, Mbeiya had offended a number of elders and his reputation was therefore poor. This might have been an advantage to the missionaries.³⁵⁰ After thorough discussions, the delegates at the meeting agreed not to welcome the work of the Leipzig Mission as a whole, but left it up to the individual chiefs and elders to decide whether they wanted the mission in their vicinities or not.³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ Pätzig 1939, 4-11; Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission bis Ende September 1930*, Pätzig 1975, 56-60. There was a second evangelist apart from Abel Sirikwa (who attended the Monduli meeting), but his name is not mentioned in the sources (Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (10 September 1930)). For *olkiam*a, see page 132.

³⁵⁰ Hodgson notes that a dispute had arisen over *Loibon* Mbeiya's 'preference for the company of warriors and his contemptuous treatment of a delegation of elders bringing him tribute (*olamal*).' (Hodgson 1999, 55). The reports by both Hohenberger and Pätzig suggest that Mbeiya held quite a low profile at the Monduli meeting (Pätzig 1939, 7-11; Pätzig 1975, 56-60; Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission bis Ende September 1930*). As a chairman of the Monduli meeting, Mbeiya had been given more political power by the British authorities than was wished by the Maasai themselves. Hodgson maintains that the British realised this and that the role of the *loibon* was reduced after Mbeiya's death in 1938 (Hodgson 1999, 54). For more about the *loibon*, chiefs and Indirect Rule, see page 132 in this volume.

³⁵¹ Pätzig 1939, 4-11; Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission bis Ende September 1930*; Pätzig 1975, 56-60. Pätzig noted that the speech of Abel Sirikwa made an impression on the elders. Sirikwa addressed the elders with great respect and told them about the

The local chiefs Kuya and Lenoingorie welcomed Lutheran work to Naberera and, with their authorisation, Hohenberger was able to found a station. The work at Naberera proceeded favourably and a school house was inaugurated on 23 November 1930. New regulations, however, required that the Leipzig Mission register the school. In order to get the school registered, the missionaries needed a tenancy agreement with the government. Even though Kuya had given his consent to the work of the Leipzig Mission, it took three months for the government to grant the Lutherans the documents in question, something that Hohenberger saw as a sign of the British not wanting the Leipzig work in Maasailand. In January 1931, the first school lesson at Naberera was held.³⁵²

The Leipzig Mission had no plans to continue doing missionary work in Maasailand on sporadic visits, but the field was, as far as possible, to be permanently peopled by missionaries and evangelists. Before this plan could be put into action, the acute need for a permanent water supply had to be secured. Similarly to the tenancy agreement case in 1930, the local authorities showed little interest in wanting to assist the missionaries. When District Officer Murrels' vague promises to establish a well were abandoned, the missionaries started looking for alternatives. The problem was easily solved when Kuya decided to donate one of his wells at Naberera to the mission.³⁵³ The next step in colonising Naberera

effectiveness of Lutheran health care. One of the elders who spoke in favour of the mission noted that it would gain the Maasai if at least a few children learned reading, writing and arithmetic (Pätzig 1975, 59). Pätzig attributed much of the achievement at the Monduli *olkia* in September 1930 to District Officer H. C. Murrels. He wrote in his diary that '*Moris* [sic] *machte ihnen* [the Maasai participants] *auch klar* [...] *daß, wenn die Leute es wollen* [to join Lutheran schools or Sunday services or to receive health care from Lutheran workers]; *sie nicht gehindert werden würden. So geschah es auch.* [...] *Wir danken Moris* [sic] *sehr. Ohne ihn wäre die Sache schlecht ausgegangen.*' (Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (10 September 1930)).

³⁵² Hohenberger, *Vierteljahresbericht über die Masaimission im IV. Quartal 1930*; Hohenberger, *ELMB* 1934, 104; Hohenberger, *IAW* 1959, 93. For the new school laws and registering of schools, see Fleisch 1936, 422-430. The school house was a simple Swahili-style house. More than 50 people, men and women of all ages, were present at the inauguration ceremony of the school house (Hohenberger, *Vierteljahresbericht über die Masaimission im IV. Quartal 1930*).

³⁵³ Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission, II. Halbjahr 1931*.

was to build a solid stone house. The main problem of the Leipzig Mission was the lack of funds and, as a result of this, the board in Leipzig had to turn down the proposal. For the Tanganyika-based Mission Council, however, it was considered important that a permanent missionary house be built. It was established that Hohenberger and the recently arrived nurse, Deacon Hans Buchta³⁵⁴, should settle down at Naberera without too much delay and, therefore, there was need for a house, but on a smaller scale financially than had previously been proposed. The house at Naberera was built during 1931-1932 by Hohenberger, a group of Christians from Pare and Kilimanjaro as well as the Leipzig Mission Building Contractor Karl Stapff, and in April 1932, Hohenberger and Buchta moved in.³⁵⁵

Due to the absence of people at Naberera during the dry season, the school attracted very few pupils. Hohenberger solved this problem by encouraging the pupils, all of whom were boys, to move permanently close to the mission. This was not an attempt, however, to create a full-scale boarding school. The boys received neither food nor pocket money from the missionary – who was careful not to ‘spoil the pupils’ – but they were to continue depending on cattle herding. Fathers who consented to let their sons be instructed at Naberera gave them cattle to provide them with milk. Moreover, the mission did not provide the boys with living quarters, but encouraged them to build their own dwellings. These measures were not accepted without protest by the Maasai community, where milking and house building was considered the women’s duties. The boys, apparently refusing to build their own homestead, chose to dwell in one of the houses of an Arusha merchant instead.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁴ Buchta, Hans (Johann) (1902-1958), nurse and deacon, served at Naberera between 1931 and 1939. (ULPA Mission Archives Series No. 9, 2000).

³⁵⁵ Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission, II. Halbjahr 1931*; Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Station Naverera-Masai Mission I. Halbjahr 1932*.

³⁵⁶ Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Station Naverera-Masai Mission I. Halbjahr 1932*. Hohenberger does not report on how the problem of milking the cows was solved. He never reported about any women moving to Naberera to help the boys. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that the Maasai community elected a *mother* to move close to

Apart from what Hohenberger was attempting at Naberera – by himself called a cattle-yard [*Viehhof*] – there were since 1931 no longer any boarding schools on the Leipzig field.³⁵⁷ Already in 1904, the Leipzig missionaries criticised these for being ‘un-evangelical ways of doing mission’ [*unevangelische Missionsmittel*]. Not only were they seen as absorbing too much of the time of the missionary, it was felt that these schools had a tendency to become propaganda institutions and to lead the pupils to baptism classes without the necessary inner journey. The boarding schools were regarded as appropriate only at the very earliest stage of missionary work when a given mission had no Christians.³⁵⁸

Though appearing to have shared his colleagues’ criticism of the boarding school practice, Hohenberger did not exclude the possibility of opening a full-scale boarding school at a later date if proven necessary.³⁵⁹ Some older Maasai, for their part, did not consider the Naberera *Viehhof* as good enough. Knowing of the old boarding school in Arusha, they demanded that the missionary at least give food to the pupils. Despite some initial problems, Hohenberger, however, portrayed these arrangements in positive terms. The Maasai boys were not entirely alienated from their traditional ways of living. There were obvious parallels between the mission *Viehhof* and the Maasai warrior *manyattas*. Moreover, the boys could attend school during the day and tend cattle in their spare time. In 1932, twelve boys attended school at Naberera. When

Naberera and help the boys. The *mother and cow* type schools, which became more common in the 1940s, were bush schools primarily intended for Maasai children – usually boys. Each child lived in a separate hut in a communal *boma* together with his mother and a few milk cows. These types of schools were intended to adapt education to Maasai conditions. See Gower 1948, 77.

³⁵⁷ When the girls’ boarding school at Arusha was discontinued in 1931, a home for female catechumens [*Katechumeninnenheim*] was opened in its place (Fleisch 1936, 430).

³⁵⁸ Fleisch 1936, 278, 430.

³⁵⁹ Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Station Naverera-Masai Mission I. Halbjahr 1932*. Pätzig, for his part, thought it necessary for the Leipzig Mission to open two boarding schools in Maasailand; one in the north and one in the south (Pätzig, *Bericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1934*).

a new school building was consecrated in January two years later, the old school house was turned into living quarters for the students.³⁶⁰

At the end of 1933, the Leipzig missionaries fulfilled one of their plans for Maasailand and built a dispensary at Naberera. With the opening of the clinic, the status of Naberera increased significantly. People travelled long distances to be treated.³⁶¹ After the clinic and school house had been built at Naberera, it was time for Hohenberger to go on furlough to Germany. During his absence in 1934/1935, the Leipzig Mission could not afford to send any stand-in to the Maasai field. While Buchta continued to work medically at Naberera and provide at least some continuity, Pätzig was officially in charge of the missionary work. But being fully occupied with the work in and around Arusha, Pätzig could only see to the most acute tasks in the Maasai District. During this period, the field was much in the hands of the teachers and evangelists from Arusha. One of the evangelists visited over 100 Maasai kraals and preached for over 2,500 people during his six months of service. In September 1934, Pätzig conducted the first baptism at Naberera. The two persons, a young Maasai man and an Arusha woman, were the first ones to be baptised in Maasailand. The same year, eleven new candidates signed up for baptismal classes, not only at Naberera but also at Longido and Engaruka.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Station Naberera-Masai Mission I. Halbjahr 1932*; ELMB 1932, 273; Hohenberger, *Halbjahresbericht über die Masaimission vom 1. Juli – 31. Dez. 1933*. Three of the pupils were Kuya's sons. Kuya had welcomed the Lutheran mission from the very beginning. By sending his sons to school he probably encouraged other parents to do likewise (ELMB 1932, 273).

³⁶¹ Hohenberger, *Halbjahresbericht über die Masaimission vom 1. Juli – 31. Dez. 1933*. The dispensary was built with bricks and had a solid concrete floor and foundation. It measured 14×4 metres, had three rooms and a big veranda. The missionaries also built a new solid brick house which would serve as school and church house instead of the old Swahili-style house built in 1930. The health work in Maasailand will be dealt with in chapter 3.2.3.

³⁶² Pätzig, *Bericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1934*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*. See also Ihmels 1936, 18. For statistics, see table 3.3. The young man who was baptised was disabled (Pätzig 1975, 60). The Arusha woman was married to a Maasai man who had earlier been baptised in Arusha. This man had afterwards left the church and returned to the traditional beliefs of the Maasai. On the day

Just before Hohenberger ended his furlough in Germany in July 1935, Pätzig started his. This arrangement gave little opportunity for the work in the Arusha-Maasai field to recover. Until November 1936, Hohenberger was in charge of the church work in and around Arusha as well as of the work in Maasailand. During this time, no major steps were taken regarding any expansion of the work. Hohenberger and Buchta concentrated on maintaining the most crucial work, which at Naberera was medical care as well as school and catechumen education. On 14 June 1936, the second group of catechumens, five men and two women, was baptised at Naberera. After this day, the mission congregation at Naberera had 11 baptised members. The following year two further steps were taken at Naberera; namely the first Christian wedding and the first Holy Communion.³⁶³ In 1937, Buchta went on furlough. Deacon Paul Kutter, who had been intended to deputise Buchta at Naberera, was needed more urgently around Kilimanjaro and, thus, no medical work was done in Maasailand until Buchta's return to Naberera in April 1939.³⁶⁴

of the first Maasai baptism, he was officially received back into the church (ELMB 1934, 340). During Hohenberger's furlough, Buchta was in charge of the baptismal class at Naberera (Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*).

³⁶³ Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1936*; Pätzig, *Jahresbericht 1936 Arusha*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*.

³⁶⁴ Buchta, *Jahresbericht 1937*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1938*; Hohenberger to Küchler, 28 April 1939. Buchta left Naberera on 14 December 1936. That year he had treated more than 7,000 patients (Buchta, *Jahresbericht 1937, Naverera*). Due to the start of the Second World War, however, Buchta's contributions to the work after his return were relatively short-lived. He wanted to return to Tanganyika and Maasailand in 1949. Richard Reusch, who was in charge of the Lutheran work on the former Leipzig field, was in favour of the return of Buchta, whom he considered a good worker with good character (Buchta to [Ihmels], 22 December 1949; Reusch to Ihmels, 15 April 1950). Due to health problems, Buchta and his wife Else were, however, unable to return to Tanganyika (Winkler to Burtenbach, 12 November 1952; Buchta to Ihmels, 17 November 1952).

South Maasai – Kibaya

In July-August 1932, Buchta and Hohenberger, a young warrior and a student from Naberera visited Kibaya. The party wished to make a good impression on the people and, in particular, on Chief Kavurua who, two years earlier, had opposed the work of the Lutherans. The visit resulted in the missionaries being promised a plot of land for a school house. After having managed the necessary lease-agreement with the government, the Leipzig Mission obtained a school registration in January 1933 and started the schooling in July.³⁶⁵ Being a remote place without a proper road, Kibaya was not visited by the missionaries on a regular basis. It is unclear whether the missionaries brought evangelists to Kibaya or if the evangelists travelled there on foot. In 1934, Buchta and Pätzig paid an extended visit to Kibaya, treating sick and evangelising, but on the whole Kibaya remained in the hands of the evangelists. In 1936, the Evangelist Abel Sirikwa permanently moved to Kibaya.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵ Hohenberger, ELMB 1934, 106-107; Hohenberger, *Bericht über das II. Halbjahr 1932. Nawerera Masaimission*; Hohenberger to *Kollegium*, 18 August 1932; Hohenberger, IAW 1959, 93; Hohenberger to *Meine Lieben*, September 18 1932. Kibaya and its surrounding had been visited by Arusha evangelists earlier and Blumer had once visited the area. Although Chief Kavurua (alt. Kapurwa) was impressed by the pupils' ability to read, it seems that he had made up his mind before the missionaries arrived. Hohenberger noted that the welcome that they received by the chief and in the 20 kraals visited was very positive. The Lutherans were even promised financial support for the school building. Hohenberger also mentioned people of other tribes, for instance Nyamwezi, living at Kibaya who asked for a school.

³⁶⁶ Buchta, *Jahresbericht 1934 Naverera Diakonenstation*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1936*. Abel Sirikwa's assistant died suddenly in 1937 (Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*).

*North Maasai – Longido*³⁶⁷

Longido gained its location on the mission map in July 1930, when Hohenberger got the permission of Chief Kaburi and the local elders to build a school house. For the effort of building the house, Hohenberger was promised two heads of cattle. Although this move was not a part of the Leipzig Mission's plans, Hohenberger seized the opportunity, had a school built and, in doing so, made Longido the first mission post in the northern Maasai District. The school house was inaugurated in October 1930 and evangelists from Ilboru were subsequently given responsibility over the station.³⁶⁸

Longido was one of the locations inhabited mainly by Maasai-proper. Similarly to the situation at Naberera, the Maasai at Longido regularly moved elsewhere in search for better pastures. Most of the Lutheran work at Longido during the 1930s was in the hands of the Arusha evangelists, but the missionaries visited the station and its surrounding villages at least twice a year when new teachers were brought there. The progress was slow since Longido had no permanent population. According to Hohenberger, another reason for the slow progress was the fact that Longido was not developed in the same way as Naberera, which was run by missionaries and had both a boarding school and a clinic. Most of those who attended the Lutheran work surrendered to the pressure from their friends or relatives and gave up any thought of baptism once they returned home. The first genuine interest in baptism at Longido was shown by a Maasai boy in 1934. Being the first and only

³⁶⁷ Longido is a mountain approximately 70 km to the north of Arusha. In the 1930s, Longido was already something of a centre to the Maasai. A monthly market gathered Maasai from distant locations. Longido also had a government office, a hotel, a customs station and a veterinary office.

³⁶⁸ Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission bis Ende September 1930*; Hohenberger, IAW 1959, 93. It seems that Chief Kaburi either died or was replaced. According to Hohenberger, the period was turbulent. The Longido house was a simple grass-roofed building measuring 9×4 metres. It was built by Arusha Christians. Later in 1930, it became clear that some elders disagreed with the chief and, in fact, opposed the missionary school (Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission bis Ende September 1930*; Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission. I. Halbjahr 1931*).

candidate, however, he had to move to Arusha where he was baptised two years later.³⁶⁹ The first christening at Longido itself was on 26 December 1937 when a Maasai woman was baptised. The next year, a child was baptised and a group of eight people, most of whom were Maasai *murran*, signed up for catechumen class.³⁷⁰

North Maasai – Engaruka

The start at Engaruka was more demanding than the missionaries had expected during their visit in 1930. Local elders and Chief Oletevaya gave their permission for a mission station and, in theory, it would have been easy for the Leipzig Mission to make a formal contract with the government. A dispute with the government over water access, however, delayed the process. Not even a temporary school house was erected until the dispute was settled.³⁷¹ The permanent work at Engaruka started in June 1933 with the inauguration of a permanent school house and a church bell which had been donated by German mission supporters.³⁷² In 1934, two boys from Engaruka entered a baptismal class at Ilboru and after their baptism in 1936, they moved back to Engaruka. Another sign of progress in the work was that a baptismal class administered by the Arusha teachers was opened at Engaruka in 1935. Four of these catechumens, all of whom were non-Maasai, were baptised at Engaruka two years later.³⁷³

³⁶⁹ Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Station Naverera-Masai Mission I. Halbjahr 1932*; Hohenberger, *Halbjahresbericht über die Masaimission vom 1. Juli – 31. Dez. 1933*; Pätzig, *Bericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1934*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*.

³⁷⁰ Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1938*. Hohenberger did not mention where the eight catechumens were to receive their education. It is reasonable to believe that these people moved to Arusha, since Longido had neither a European missionary nor a boarding school.

³⁷¹ Hohenberger, *Vierteljahresbericht über die Masaimission im IV. Quartal 1930*; Hohenberger, IAW 1959, 93.

³⁷² Hohenberger, *Halbjahresbericht über die Masaimission vom 1. Juli-31. Dez. 1933*.

³⁷³ Pätzig, *Bericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1934*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die*

North Maasai – Loliondo

The Maasai at Loliondo differed somewhat from the other Maasai among whom the Leipzig Mission worked. Whereas most Maasai in the Leipzig Mission sphere belonged to the Kisongo section, the Maasai at Loliondo were Loitai. The Loitai Maasai were not represented at the Monduli *olkiam*a before the Second World War and negotiations regarding mission work among them thus had to be negotiated separately.³⁷⁴ Having natural water flows throughout the year, Loliondo was more or less permanently populated, not only by Maasai but also by other ethnic groups, such as Kikuyu.³⁷⁵ Since 1931, Loliondo was the seat for the assistant district officer and, as such, was something of a centre in the wilderness. These factors made Loliondo an attractive place for a mission, and the intention was to make Loliondo the second station being inhabited by a European missionary.³⁷⁶ The Leipzig Mission tried to settle down at Loliondo during the whole 1930s without result. One of the reasons for this failure was Loliondo's remoteness. Although the British mandate government was represented in Loliondo, the condition of the roads between Arusha and Loliondo during the 1930s was very poor. During the rainy season, the roads were almost untrafficable. In 1932, the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa asked the Leipzig Mission to hand over their work in Loliondo. The ambition of the reformists was to co-operate with the Africa Inland Mission and establish a mission which would be an extension of the AIM Maasai work in Kenya. Reluctant to surrender its plans to establish a permanent mission at Loliondo, the Leipzig Mission turned down the offer.³⁷⁷ The Lutheran evangelists visited the Loliondo area relatively frequently and the missionaries wholeheartedly worked towards an agreement – but

Masaimission für das Jahr 1936; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*.

³⁷⁴ Fosbrooke 1948, 6-10.

³⁷⁵ Hohenberger, ELMB 1934, 106-107.

³⁷⁶ Hohenberger to District Officer, 12 September 1932.

³⁷⁷ Hohenberger, *Bericht über das II. Halbjahr 1932. Nawerera-Masaimission*.

predominantly with the government. As a result of the distance to Loliondo, the personal encounters between the missionaries and the Maasai elders remained few and the Lutherans – probably as a result thereof – did not manage to convince the Loitai Maasai of the value of their work. Another reason why the Leipzig Mission was unable to found a station at Loliondo, as reported by the missionaries, was the passive resistance by local government officials. In 1933, after having been notified by the Maasai of Loliondo that they did not wish the work of the Lutherans on their soil, the government rightly rejected the application of the Leipzig Mission for a plot of land. In 1935, however, during a visit by Pätzig and Buchta, the Maasai changed their minds and expressed their wish for the Lutherans to start working in Loliondo and informed the assistant district officer about their decision. Consequently the missionaries were proposed a plot of land.³⁷⁸ After three further years of waiting, the district authorities finally rejected the Leipzig Mission application for land lease at Loliondo. The government instead granted the Lutherans a plot of land at Arash.³⁷⁹

North Maasai – Arash³⁸⁰

The Leipzig Mission set to work at Arash without delay. An evangelist and an assistant were brought to Arash in November 1938 to visit the area and to preach the Christian message in the region. A month later, Pätzig, Hohenberger, District Officer F. H. Page-Jones and Assistant District Officer Griffith met at Arash to finalise the agreement.³⁸¹ During the months August and September 1939, Johannes

³⁷⁸ Hohenberger, *Halbjahresbericht über die Masaimission vom 1. Juli – 31. Dez. 1933*; Pätzig, ELMB 1935, 137-140.

³⁷⁹ Page Jones to Rother 7 February 1939; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1938*. Compare chapter 3.3.1.d.

³⁸⁰ Arash lies 1,831 metres above sea level, approximately 200 km northwest of Arusha and 60 km south of the Kenyan border.

³⁸¹ Pätzig, *Bericht über die Reise nach Arash zwecks Ermittlung eines Platzes zur Anlage einer Station in dem nördlichen Masaigebiet*, 1938; Page-Jones to Rother, 5 November 1938; Rother to Page-Jones, 14 November 1938.

Hohenberger and his colleagues, Missionary Hans-Wilhelm Blumer, Nurse Paul Kutter and Carpenter Karl Stapff, established a Lutheran station at Arash. A dispensary was built and before long more than 700 patients had been treated. The first Sunday service was held on 27 August 1939 with six Maasai present.³⁸²

Table 3.3.

Lutheran work in Maasailand 1930-1939

		1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Missionaries	Ordained	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1
	Nurses		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Outposts		2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	4
Church service sites			2	2	1	4	4	4	4	5	4
Churchgoers (average)		263	155	150	140	150	150	100	110	110	70
Indigenous teachers		2	2	3	5	5	4	4	4 ^a	4	4
Schools		^b	^b	^b	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pupils	Boys		24	22	51	46	63	53	55	50	37
	Girls						2	4	5	5	4
Catechumens					2	11	14	9	7	13	8
Baptisms	Pagans				2	^c	7 ^d	5	4	4	
	Children				1	^c			1	1	
Number of Christians					4	4	14	19	23	25	
Communicants								11	11	11	

Sources: *J-ELM 1930-1939*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1936*. ^aIn the case of the teachers, there was an apparent mistake in the statistics of 1938, according to which there were four church elders instead of four indigenous teachers. ^bNo data provided. ^cAn error was made in the 1935 statistics. The same numbers for baptisms were reported as for the previous year. ^dAdditionally, three boys from Maasailand were baptised in Arusha.

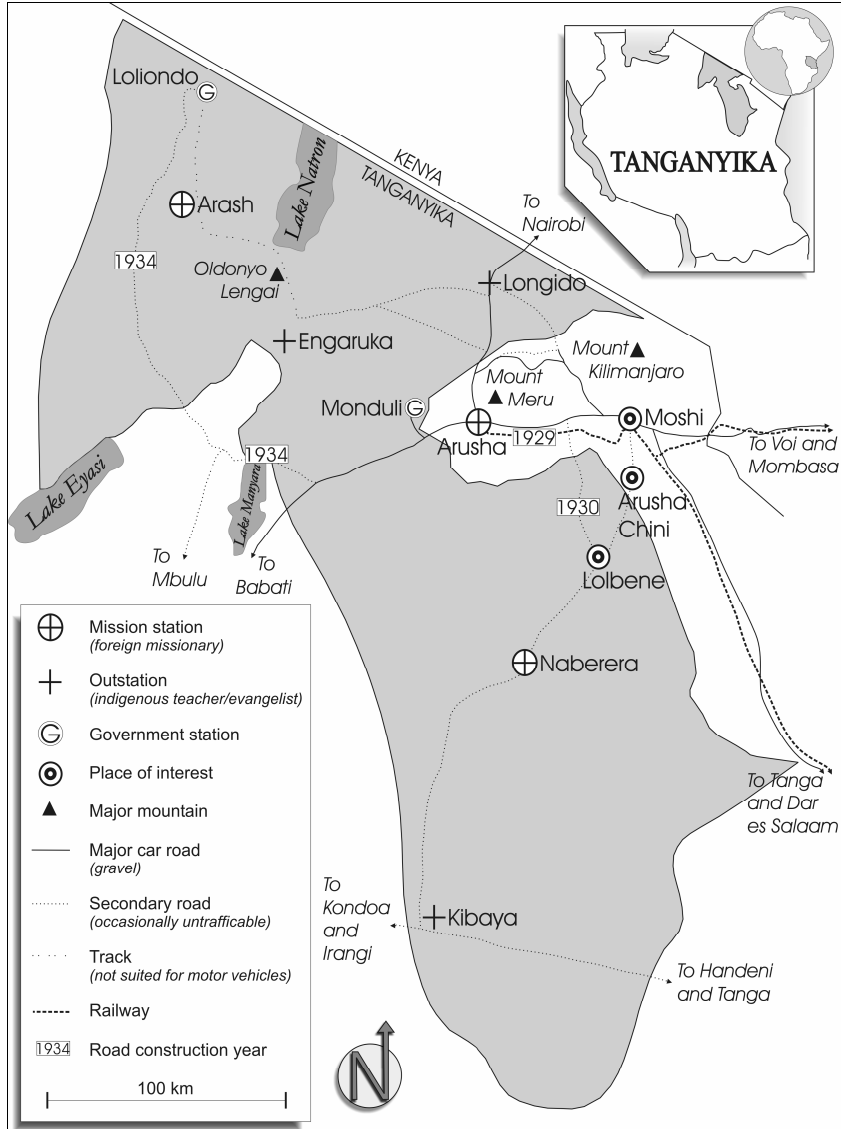
³⁸² Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1938*; Kutter, *Krankenbehandlungen in Arash*; Kutter, *Genauere Daten aus meinem Tagebuch über die Arbeit in Arash*. Hans-Wilhelm Blumer (1912-1984) was the son of Leonhard Blumer. He arrived in Tanganyika in 1938 and served at the stations Marangu and Machame at Kilimanjaro. Paul Kutter (1907-1945) also arrived in 1938. He was to serve at Naberera during Buchta's furlough but instead worked at Mamba, Kilimanjaro (Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1938*; ULPA Mission Archives Series No. 9, 2000).

Many other places were occasionally visited during the period of German-led Maasai mission work. Much of the work, involving plenty of travelling, was done by the many teachers and evangelists from the Ilboru congregation. Most of them served for periods of six months while others, like Abel Sirikwa, resided permanently in Maasailand. In 1936, the Nkoaranga congregation contributed to the work by sending two groups of evangelists to Engare Nairobi and Engare Nanyuki, both relatively close to the Kilimanjaro and Meru mountains. Temporary schools were built and the project looked promising, but the work was terminated due to opposition from *Loibon Mbeiya*.³⁸³

³⁸³ Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1938*. For more about *Loibon Mbeiya*, see Fosbrooke 1948, 12, 17 and Hodgson 1999, 54.

Map 3.1.

Lutheran work and the road network in the Maasai District 1930-1939



Sources: ELMB 1930-1940; Hohenberger and Pätzig, *Maasai Mission Reports 1930-1939*.

In 1939, there were 25 Christians in Maasailand. The statistics do not reveal how many of these were Maasai-proper, but in 1942, just over 40 % of the Christians were real Maasai.³⁸⁴ The most remarkable trend observed in the 1930s is the quite steep decrease in church attendance. While there was an average of 263 churchgoers in 1930, only 70 people came to Sunday services in 1939. This is particularly noteworthy as the number of outposts had increased from two to four and Sunday services were held at four instead of two locations. This seemingly decreasing magnetism is even further paradoxical because a growing number of Maasai came to the mission to get medical help, which seems to suggest an increasing confidence in the Lutheran work.³⁸⁵

The negative trend in the number of churchgoers was nothing new. A similar development had taken place in the early Arusha work between 1904 and 1913. While an average of 380 people visited the services in 1904, the number of people attending Sunday Services nearly ten years later was only 306, although more Sunday services were held and there were 56 Christians at Ilboru.³⁸⁶ Perhaps the main reason for this trend is the simplest one – that people’s curiosity made them attend services when they were new and interesting. Rumours spread rapidly about alleged messengers of *Enkai* who had settled among them. Many men and women became interested and paid the Sunday services a visit. Once this curiosity along with various expectations had faded, most stayed away.

The development in the Arusha landscape is perhaps easier to explain than the one in Maasailand. Yes, people were curious and participated more actively in the beginning. Apart from the generally fading interest in what the mission had to offer, however, the influence of the German officials and the three chiefs on the Arusha people is evident. The ups-and-downs in the Arusha schools and services obviously

³⁸⁴ See statistics, tables 3.3. and 4.2.

³⁸⁵ For statistics on treatments, see page 169.

³⁸⁶ See table 2.2.

correlated with the amount of support given by the officials and chiefs. Since schools and Sunday services were not all too different in the eyes of the Arusha people, the attendance curves for these services followed the same pattern. When few Arusha children came to school, the Sunday services were also quite deserted. Similarly, an upswing in the number of churchgoers also generally meant an upswing in school attendance.³⁸⁷

The direct influence of officers and tribal leaders was not as obvious in Maasailand. In some cases, Maasai leaders reportedly influenced attendance, but on the whole the Lutherans had less to win from nurturing a handful of relations in Maasailand than had been the case in Arusha before World War I. Rather than obeying commands from chiefs and officers, Maasai parents and ruling elders decided for themselves whether or not to attend services or send children to school. The Lutherans had to take this into account and work towards good relations with a large number of elders instead of nurturing their relations to the chiefs and government clerks.³⁸⁸ Yet to claim that individual Maasai in leading positions were unable to shape the outcome of Lutheran work would also be inaccurate. The *loibon* did not have any substantial authority as such, but, in practice, his influence was considerable. Lutheran expansion was not in his interest. Mission schools, Sunday services and dispensaries all implied a potential threat to his position. In fact, in 1938, *Loibon* Mbeiya announced that he did not want any more mission schools in Maasailand. As a result of this, the

³⁸⁷ Blumer, ELMB 1911, 362-364. See also page 86-87 in this research.

³⁸⁸ In 1937, Hohenberger noted that improved relations had resulted in a more positive school attendance (Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht für das Jahr 1937*). Kuya was one of the respected elders who appreciated the work of the Lutheran mission. He showed his appreciation of the mission by donating a well at Naberera. He also sent a number of his sons to the Naberera school (Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission, II. Halbjahr 1931*; Hohenberger, ELMB 1932, 273). Other elders followed suit and, as a result, the school at Naberera was quite well attended (Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Station Naverera-Masai Mission I. Halbjahr 1932*). In Kibaya the Maasai chief, according to Hohenberger, made sure that a few Maasai children attended school. Other fathers followed his example and sent some of their children to be educated (Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1936*).

building of a new school at Engare Nanyuki, between Mt. Meru and Mt. Kilimanjaro, was abandoned. Mbeiya died unexpectedly in October 1938. According to Hohenberger, it was believed that he had been poisoned to death.³⁸⁹

3.2.3. Roles, Methods and Patterns of Expansion

The Missionary

Being the only Maasai missionary, Hohenberger had many duties. As a pastor, he held Sunday services, baptised people and, since 1937, conducted Communion for a few Christians at Naberera. Due to the small number of Christians in Maasailand, he had considerably fewer parish-related duties than most of his missionary colleagues, but as a missionary for a new field, Hohenberger was also a co-ordinator responsible for the quality and growth of the work. This included supervising the work of the teachers and evangelists, but also planning ahead. Owing to the large size of the Maasai field, Hohenberger spent a large part of his time travelling. During these journeys, he actively tried to work towards an expansion of the work by acquainting himself with the people and the region in which they lived and by preaching and promoting the work of the Leipzig Mission to the Maasai. Being in charge of the whole undertaking, Hohenberger was given considerable authorization to shape the work as he found it appropriate.³⁹⁰ He also pleaded the cause of the Leipzig Mission Maasai work with the authorities for the Maasai District – a role in which he does not appear to have felt completely comfortable. Hohenberger did not possess the

³⁸⁹ Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1938*; Fosbrooke 1948, 12, 17.

³⁹⁰ Although the missionaries were largely responsible for shaping the work in their districts themselves, much of the work was discussed and planned with fellow missionaries both on an informal and formal level. Matters of greater importance were discussed and dealt with in the Mission Council, which gathered several times a year. In 1933, for instance, the Mission Council discussed and recommended that work be opened at Loliondo as soon as possible (Fleisch 1936, 440).

authority of his predecessor Leonhard Blumer, who had worked in the field already during the German administration and who, through both his age and Maasai knowledge, had enjoyed considerable respect among the British officers. The growing tensions between Germany and Great Britain further undermined mission-government relations. In several cases, the senior or other respected Leipzig Mission representatives acted as spokesmen of the Leipzig Mission when Hohenberger's communication with the government's Maasai administration had fallen short.³⁹¹ Lastly, Hohenberger represented the Maasai work to the home field. In order to ensure proper backing, it was vital to keep the leadership and supporters in Europe up-to-date regarding the life and development on the mission field. Through articles in the *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt*, various reports and personal correspondence, Hohenberger tried to convince friends and colleagues in Europe of the importance of the Maasai work and of the acute need for money and additional missionary staff.

The Medical Missionary

The medical worker treated the sick at the mission clinic and on his journeys in the district. Health care was considered one of the key means of reaching the Maasai. It was widely believed that by helping the Maasai medically their largely negative attitude to the mission would soften and they would eventually welcome the Christian Gospel.³⁹² Consequently, it was natural that the Leipzig Mission would focus on

³⁹¹ ELMB 1936, 181-182; Rother to Page Jones 14 November 1938. It should also be noted that it was common and sometimes more appropriate that Senior Johannes Raum, as the leader of the Tanganyika missionaries rather than the missionaries themselves, represent the Leipzig Mission in discussions of greater strategic importance with the district officers and provincial commissioner. Moreover, the sometimes poor communication between the Lutheran Maasai mission and the British authorities should not be entirely ascribed to Hohenberger, since the lesser officers' unwillingness to co-operate at times necessitated discussions on a higher level.

³⁹² Hohenberger, ELMB 1934, 107; Pätzig, ELMB 1935, 139-140. The British Authorities also embraced the view that medical work would touch the hearts of the Maasai (Buchta, ELMB 1939, 227).

medical work as far as its resources permitted. In 1930, the director of the Leipzig Mission, Carl Ihmels had discussed with the British mandate authorities the matter of obtaining financial aid for medical work among the Maasai. Due to the worldwide financial depression, the government, however, was unable to support the Leipzig Mission in this task. Nonetheless, in a letter to Ihmels, the Secretary of Native Affairs Philip Mitchell expressed his appreciation over the plans of the Lutherans to help the Maasai medically.³⁹³ The medical work carried out by Hans Buchta since 1931 was highly appreciated by the Maasai. Still, due to fear and respect for the traditional healers, most sick people chose local treatment as the first option and came to the mission clinic only when the medicine men had failed to help. The medical missionary complained that these patients often were in a critical condition because of maltreatment.

Many people have without doubt gone blind after having treated infections in their own primitive way. They namely sprinkle a very strong salt in the eyes of the sick. [...] The pagan medicine men, who in no way are burdened with expert knowledge, work most generously in their operations. With their huge knives, which are used for cattle slaughter and other purposes, they make large cuts in the flesh. If the wound bleeds strongly, a mixture of tree bark and cow dung is applied to it. [...] If, for instance, a child has some pain in the stomach, small cuts are made on the whole belly. The idea is for the sickness to escape through these openings.³⁹⁴

In cases where a disorder was not clearly visible, people generally turned to local medicine. Through discussions with his patients as well as with their relatives and friends, Buchta tried to warn them about the work of the traditional healers. As a Leipzig Mission representative, however, Buchta was expected not only to promote and provide western medical

³⁹³ Mitchell to Ihmels, 20 January 1931.

³⁹⁴ Buchta, ELMB 1932, 266. Translation by author.

help but also Christianity, the ‘medicine for the inner human being’.³⁹⁵ In many ways, Buchta’s combined role as a nurse and missionary was more successful than Hohenberger’s role solely as a missionary. People appreciated the medicinal help that they received and were prepared to listen to the man that had helped them. Many of the early Christians were old patients of Buchta’s.³⁹⁶

Table 3.4.

Medical treatments at the Naberera clinic in 1936 (as reported by Deacon Hans Buchta)

Diseases	Treatments	Diseases	Treatments
Eye diseases	1,331	Ankylostomiasis/other worm diseases	316 ^a
Bronchitis/similar [Erkältungs-] diseases	1,245	Ear diseases	285
Inflammations	1,220	Burns	112
Skin diseases	860	Framboesia (Yaws)	106
Injuries and distortions	622	Chronic boils/ulcers, abscesse	55 ^b
Rheumatic diseases	523	Relapsing fever	21
Intestine diseases	400	Snake bites	10
Malaria	392	Fractures	8
Venereal diseases	350	Total	7,883

Source: Buchta, Naverera - Statistik der Krankenbehandlungen 1936. ^{a)}Meist in Arusha behandelt'. ^{b)}In Buchta's report, this number was missing. The number 55 may also include some treatments of other diseases.

³⁹⁵ Buchta, ELMB 1939, 229, 232. As Buchta stayed most of his time at Naberera, he also spent much time with the patients, their relatives and friends. During this interaction, he befriended many Maasai and, in his own view, became more tolerant towards local customs (Buchta, ELMB 1939, 232).

³⁹⁶ In 1937, Lotasaruaki Marti, the Arusha evangelist at Naberera wrote a letter to Leonhard Blumer where he praised Buchta’s work. He moreover wrote about a woman who ‘was sick for many years, had the evil spirit (was dizzy [Verwirrt]) and was brought to several medicine men, but she did not get well. But when the work of God began in Naverera, simultaneously with the work of H. Buchta, she said, “ I will go there, because my help is there. [...] she has become completely well. When she saw that she had become well, she said: I will never leave the one who has helped me.’ (Blumer, *Übersetzung eines Briefes der Eingeborenen Christen im Masailand – Ev -Luth. Mission Naverera*, 12. December 1937. Translation by author. See also footnote 402).

The opening of the dispensary in 1933 offered more durable working conditions, but also demanded greater commitments from Buchta's side. For three years, during Hohenberger and Pätzig's furloughs in 1934-1936, Buchta seldom left Naberera. As the Maasai learned that the Lutheran clinic was open during the whole year, Naberera soon became an important medical centre in Maasailand. People came from distant regions to be cured. From 1935, Buchta was assisted by indigenous medical dressers [*Heilgehilfe*]. These dressers had completed a short training course at the Machame hospital close to Moshi. They were not trained for independent medical work but provided valuable help as assistants.³⁹⁷

The number of patients treated at Naberera increased year by year. In 1931, Buchta and his assistants treated 3,022 people. In 1934, 6,000 patients got treatment at the Naberera clinic and in 1935 and 1936, 8,384 and 7,883 people, respectively, got medical help at Naberera.³⁹⁸ Almost half of the patients had various kinds of eye diseases, bronchitis or other inflammations, but skin and rheumatic diseases as well as various kinds of injuries were also common.³⁹⁹ Earlier reports by the Leipzig Mission Nurse Friedrich Nüssler⁴⁰⁰ are largely in accordance with Buchta's account. Nüssler treated sick Maasai on several occasions and, in 1931, accompanied Hohenberger to Lolbene and Naberera. He noted that eye

³⁹⁷ Buchta, *Jahresbericht 1935 Naverera: Krankenstation*; Buchta, ELMB 1939, 229.

³⁹⁸ Fleisch 1936, 440; Buchta, *Jahresbericht 1934 Naverera: Diakonenstation*; Buchta, *Jahresbericht 1935 Naverera: Krankenstation*; Buchta, *Naverera Statistik der Krankenbehandlungen 1936*. The reason why less people were treated at Naberera in 1936 than in 1935 was that Buchta was absent between August and December (Buchta, *Jahresbericht 1936*).

³⁹⁹ See table 3.4. Eye diseases are common among the Maasai. Trachoma, the most widespread eye infection, is mainly transmitted by flies (Dobson, Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 2000, 78 (10) 1282).

⁴⁰⁰ Friedrich Nüssler (1900-1988), Leipzig Mission deacon and nurse, worked at Machame (Kilimanjaro), Gonja and Mbaga (South Pare) between 1929 and 1940. It was common that Maasai came to the Leipzig Mission stations in South Pare to get medical treatment. In fact, in 1930, the Maasai, who at the time lived near Gonja, asked for teachers. A school was soon opened (Guth, ELMB 1930, 75-76; Ihmels, ELMB 1931, 227; Ihmels, ELMB 1932, 237).

diseases were the most common illness but that rheumatism, framboesia, scabies, malaria and venereal diseases were also very widespread.⁴⁰¹

The Indigenous Workers

Apart from the few medical dressers who served at the Naberera clinic, a relatively large number of teachers and evangelists were sent to various parts of Maasailand. Most of these were sent out by the Arusha-Ilboru congregation. By 1937, more than twenty Maasai-speaking teachers and evangelists annually were serving the Maasai, either in periods of six months or as permanent residents. Many of these, such as Abel Sirikwa and Lotasaruaki Marti, had been touring Maasailand several times.⁴⁰² The teachers and evangelists had two primary tasks. The teachers instructed children in bush and catechumen schools and the evangelists preached the Gospel to people throughout the Maasai plains. The roles of the teachers and evangelists were, however, not clearly defined and, in practice, teachers often evangelised and evangelists taught. The indigenous workers were often referred to merely as evangelists.

⁴⁰¹ Nüssler, ELMB 1931, 169-171.

⁴⁰² In 1937, teachers and evangelists served at Naberera, Engaruka, Longido and Kibaya. Each of these workers was accompanied by an assistant and served for a period of six months before being replaced. Moreover, teachers and evangelists were sent to Engare Nanyuki and Engare Nairobi in 1936-1938 and, since 1937, a Lutheran teacher served at the government school at Monduli. If we assume that the workers at Engare Nanyuki and Engare Nairobi worked according to the same scheme as elsewhere in Maasailand and that Abel Sirikwa stayed at Kibaya during the whole year where he was accompanied by assistants working for six months, the number of Lutheran teachers, evangelists and assistants in Maasailand in 1937 adds up to 24. This does not take into account the possibility that additional teachers and evangelists were sent out, for instance to Loliondo (Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1936*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1938*). Abel Sirikwa was sent out for six months already during Blumer's time as a missionary in Arusha. Lotasaruaki Marti (probably Lotasaruaki Lemeton Ilmolelian who was baptised by Roth in November 1913) had, by 1937, served five periods as an evangelist (Blumer, *Übersetzung eines Briefes der Eingeborenen Christen im Masailande – Ev -Luth. Mission Naverera*, 12. December 1937. Translation by author).

There were, above all, three reasons why the Arusha Christians acquired such a key role in the Maasai work. First of all, it was, for financial reasons, necessary for the Leipzig Mission to recruit a local ground crew to implement its Maasai programme. On account of the lack of funds and overseas missionary personnel, the Maasai endeavour would not have been viable without help from teachers, evangelists and medical dressers. Appointing local Christians was a comparatively cost-effective way of doing mission work in Maasailand.⁴⁰³

Secondly, many of the teachers and evangelists managed to break cultural barriers and add a necessary Maasai character to the teaching. Coming from the same cultural milieu as the Maasai, the Arusha workers were not only familiar with the Maasai codes but they knew how to contextualise the Christian message appropriately.⁴⁰⁴ Hohenberger noted that, by using the right approach and terminology, they managed to make the Christian tales more comprehensible to the Maasai than he himself did.

They [the Maasai listeners] nearly understood my words, but I still told the evangelist to repeat what I had said. He did it in his own way; “Man consists of two essences, body and soul. Both have to be nourished in order to become strong. You know quite precisely what the warriors do to make their bodies strong and fat!” “They go to the slaughterhouse.” “And what do they do there?” “They eat meat.” “And what do they get from that?” “Oh, they then become big, strong and really fat.” “You see, that is what you must do with your soul [or spirit] too. You must also feed it with meat, not with beef, but with God’s word,

⁴⁰³ Compare page 139-140.

⁴⁰⁴ Eliyahu Meiliari, one of the early teachers in Maasailand, maintained that as long as the Maasai did not know that he too was a Maasai, they were reserved. ‘They treated me as a foreigner (*olmeeki*). They talked about me among themselves, but they didn’t say anything to me. I studied them while I was teaching. I had two *murran* and several boys in the class. One day I decided to make myself known, so I went to ask some *murran* for tobacco even though I did not use it myself. I went to a home and knocked with my stick in the Maasai fashion. The *murran* came out and I asked for tobacco, they were surprised to discover that the *olmeeki* was a Maasai. They gave me tobacco, which I took to an elder and asked for meat. I was welcomed after that and had no trouble getting children to school.’ (Eliyahu Meiliari (AHT 8. Emphasis in original).

because your soul [or spirit] is from God. And where do you have to go to get such food? Here to the church, because that is the slaughterhouse where you'll find meat for the soul [or spirit]. When you come here time and again to listen to the word of God, then you will also get big and strong in your inner being and learn to know and please God.⁴⁰⁵

The evangelists and teachers communicated the Gospel to their listeners in the same way as the Maasai themselves communicated in most of their meetings – by means of a lively dialogue. This appears to have been an effective way to catch the attention of the Maasai. The more the African workers managed to incorporate the listeners, the more concrete responses they also received. This Maasai fondness for dialogue, by contrast, was not always as appreciated by the missionaries, who rather wished to be undisturbed when they delivered a sermon or held a speech.⁴⁰⁶

Thirdly, the practice of involving the Arusha Christians in the work was a means of promoting a new generation of Church leaders. The duty of the Leipzig missionaries was to make disciples of all nations and to found an indigenous Lutheran Church.⁴⁰⁷ In this task, it was crucial to engage local teachers and evangelists and to entrust them with significant responsibility. Many of these workers, in turn, became quite experienced and developed excellent leadership skills, which would prove invaluable later on when the German missionaries were interned. Handing over a

⁴⁰⁵ Hohenberger, ELMB 1931, 179. Translation by author.

⁴⁰⁶ The Christians and churchgoers were taught to be quiet during sermons. The Maasai, however, wanted to interact and often showed interest or objection by laughing or by making comments. *„Meine männlichen Zuhörer waren aus ihren Versammlungen nicht gewöhnt, daß nur einer redet, es müssen auch Gegenreden sein. Ich wurde deshalb öfters unterbrochen [...] aber ein Unterältester, der schon in Aruscha gewesen war und wahrscheinlich einen Gottesdienst besucht hatte, machte seine Landsleute während meiner Predigt darauf aufmerksam, daß hier nur einer zu reden habe, alle andere müßten zuhören, und während der Rede dürfte man auch nicht lachen, wie das in den Masaiversammlungen üblich ist, wenn man seine Zustimmung besonders deutlich äußern will.*’ (Blumer, ELMB 1929, 348). See also Nüssler, ELMB 1931, 172.

⁴⁰⁷ See page 32.

part of the mission work to the African Christians themselves was a natural step in the building of an indigenous autonomous Church.

Leipzig Mission dependence on indigenous workers, however, did not always benefit the work. Although many of the teachers and evangelists were relatively well received among the Maasai, this was not always enough. At times, it seems that the Maasai elders had wished for more active participation from the missionaries themselves. Hohenberger indicated that the reliance on indigenous workers and lack of direct communication between missionaries and Maasai elders sometimes had a negative effect on the work. This was the case, for instance, when the Lutherans did not obtain the much desired permission to build at Loliondo.⁴⁰⁸

The active participation of indigenous workers was necessary in order for the work to thrive, but, at the same time, the work would have benefited from additional European missionaries.

The Road Network

Did the Leipzig Mission strategies coincide with government development plans or did the mission go its own way? Did the missionaries primarily open stations at locations within easy reach by car or were the roads built according to and due to the needs of the

⁴⁰⁸ In 1932, Johannes Hohenberger and Eduard Ittameier visited Loliondo to discuss the opening of Lutheran work with Chief Olianiri and a number of elders. The evangelists were allowed to stay and preach the Christian message in the area, but as regarded the opening of a school, the missionaries were asked to return at a later date for further discussions. In 1933, Hohenberger reported that because of his failure to re-visit the chief and elders at Loliondo, they informed the authorities that they were uninterested in the work of the missionaries. As a result, the government rejected the Leipzig Mission application for land lease at Loliondo (Hohenberger, *Bericht über das II. Halbjahr 1932. Nawerera Masaimission*; Hohenberger, *Halbjahresbericht über die Masaimission vom 1. Juli-31 Dez. 1933*; Hohenberger, ELMB 1934, 106-108). Similarly, according to Hohenberger, people at the Longido station hesitated to sign up for baptismal classes due to the fact that the Longido station – although offering baptismal instruction – lacked boarding facilities and was run by indigenous workers and not by a missionary. Instead, some Maasai warriors moved to Arusha to join a baptismal class (Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masai mission für das Jahr 1935*).

mission?⁴⁰⁹ It was one of the informal principles of the Leipzig Mission not to build missions close to government stations. The Leipzig missionaries in Tanganyika, however, did not completely avoid the government stations although co-operation between the two was quite meagre. Security was vital for the survival of the mission and the government provided security. In the same way that the Lutherans, through the founding of the Nkoaranga and Ilboru stations, had moved into the sphere of influence of the German military in 1902 and 1904, they again, in 1928, considered placing the first two mission stations near but not next to the government stations at the time, at Lolbene and Monduli. After having gained more information and experience, the Lutherans established the first stations at Naberera and Longido instead.⁴¹⁰

In certain aspects, the Leipzig Mission and the British mandate authorities had similar needs and problems. First, while the government administration wanted to be close to the people to govern, tax and assist them, the Leipzig Mission needed to be close to the people to found a Church among them. Second, both the government administration and the mission moved to places with permanent water supplies but, in other respects, with poor or nonexistent infrastructures.

There were very few roads in Maasailand before 1930. One main road reached from Nairobi via Longido to Arusha and further southwest to Babati and Dodoma. The other major road led eastwards via Moshi to Voi and Mombasa in Kenya. From Moshi, a track via Arusha Chini led to Naberera, but this was replaced by a road in 1930.⁴¹¹ Apart from these

⁴⁰⁹ Often, Protestant missionaries did not want to build stations too close to the government stations. In his Doctoral Thesis, Joel Yrliid discusses how the mission stimulated the building of transport systems by founding stations in Belgian Zaire/Congo from 1878 and onwards. When the motor road constructions started in the 1920s, however, the roads were generally placed according to the needs of the missions (Yrliid 1994, 353-355).

⁴¹⁰ See pages 48, 50 and 144 in this study.

⁴¹¹ Arusha – A Brochure of the Northern Province and its Capital Town, 1929; Hohenberger, *Evang.-Luth. Missionsblatt der Neuendettelsauer und Leipziger Mission Juni 1959*, 92; Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission bis Ende September 1930*. In 1932,

roads, a number of smaller tracks existed. In 1930, when the Leipzig missionaries began driving in Maasailand more frequently, they reported a number of roads, some of them new. Blumer mentioned a road from Longido westwards to the Great Rift Valley not far from the mountain Oldonyo Lengai and Engaruka. From there, a very simple road continued to Loliondo, the northernmost Maasai centre in Tanganyika. In 1934, a new road to Loliondo via Ngorongoro was opened. Finally, a road led to Monduli, where the main government station was positioned. The condition of all the roads in Maasailand in the 1930s, all of which were simple gravel roads, deteriorated during the rainy seasons. In general, a driver in Maasailand in the 1930s could not rely on the roads, but had to be prepared to drive off beaten tracks. The missionaries employed local guides when not following the main roads.⁴¹²

With the exception of the main Maasai centres, most of which were connected to Arusha through driveable roads, Maasailand in general was difficult to travel by car. This fact did not hinder the missionaries from conducting work or erecting buildings at locations that were hard to reach by car, such as the far south in Kibaya. Nevertheless, to set up a full-scale station with a registered school, church, dispensary or house for a European missionary, a proper road was essential. Appropriate roads were later built to all the locations where the Leipzig Mission founded stations and carried out some kind of work, with or without the permanent presence of a European missionary. It is hardly correct to claim, however, that the mission played a major role in the emergence of a road network in Maasailand. All Lutheran Maasai mission work in Tanganyika was conducted at already existing centres. Some of these centres were permanently populated – others were deserted during drought. Some were quite easily reached by car in the

the road to Naberera was further improved and a bridge over the Kikoletwa River was built (Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Station Naverera-Masai Mission I. Halbjahr 1932*. See also map 3.1.)

⁴¹² Blumer, ELMB 1930, 316- 322; Blumer, ELMB 1930, 288.

early 1930s, whereas others were close to inaccessible. The task of connecting smaller and larger centres with car roads was not primarily a means of helping the Maasai or the mission, but rather of making the work of the authorities easier and more effective. Moreover, rather than the government providing the Lutheran missions with roads, the Leipzig missionaries happened to settle in Maasailand at the same time as the road network was being built.⁴¹³ Although it did not play a major part in the development of the infrastructure in Maasailand, the Lutheran presence indirectly stimulated it. By opening schools, dispensaries and churches, the missionaries and indigenous workers both contributed to the government Maasai development plans and to the evolving of the centres. Consequently, it sooner or later became necessary and worthwhile for the government to build and improve roads leading to locations with Lutheran mission presence.

The Car

Until the late 1920s, the Leipzig missionaries travelled mainly in three ways; by foot, in a horse or ox-driven wagon or riding on an animal. Supplies were carried by hired porters. As there were few other means of transportation, travel times were long and the delivery of heavy cargo cumbersome. Thus, when cars became readily available during the mid-war period, the mission work was revolutionised.⁴¹⁴ The large distances between the missions became feasible and it became easier to

⁴¹³ Similarly, the inauguration of the railroad between Tanga and Moshi in 1913 and between Moshi and Arusha in 1929 brought changes to the region – changes that also affected the mission work. The opening of the railway had nothing to do with the mission work itself but was rather a part of the development that took place in Tanganyika at the time.

⁴¹⁴ Blumer ELMB 1909, 172; ELMB 1911, 361; Reusch, ELMB 1923, 68; Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (7 March 1929, 27 March 1929). Waller uses a striking expression; ‘Before the advent of motor transport, the Word of God, like that of the government, moved at the speed of a walking man; both were easily avoidable in Maasailand [in Kenya]...’ (Waller 1999, 91). The first car to be mass produced was the Ford Model T, which was introduced in 1908. When the large-scale production of the T Ford started in 1913, it became more affordable and, thus, common. Ford’s methods were soon copied by other car manufacturers (*Bra Böckers Lexikon* Vol. 8 1977, 153).

reconnoitre prospective mission fields. Not long after the first cars were imported to Arusha in the mid 1920s, the missionaries began renting them along with a driver. This, however, was a solution which proved expensive in the long run.⁴¹⁵

With donated funds and substantial personal financial contributions, Blumer and Pätzig bought a car for the Maasai work in October 1929. A large part of the new work consisted of travelling on the vast plains, and it was judged more a necessity than a luxury for the Maasai mission to own a car. The new automobile, a six-cylinder Chevrolet lorry model 1929, was considered a very durable vehicle at the time.⁴¹⁶ The conditions in Maasailand, however, caused frequent problems. Due to its narrow tyres, the car often got stuck in soft sand, despite the use of wheel chains. Fuel consumption was high – more than 30 litres per 100 kilometres in harsh terrain – as was the water consumption for the radiator.⁴¹⁷ The driving difficulties in Maasailand were brought up during a visit by Missionaries Emil Müller and Hans Fuchs at Naberera in 1932. In a report to the board in Leipzig, the two missionaries recommended that appropriate terrain equipment, as well as the most necessary spare parts, be bought. A jack had already been ordered.⁴¹⁸

By 1939, the missionaries had driven 75,000 km with the lorry. The car was exhausted after ten years of service in rough conditions. It became topical to acquire a new car, in particular as Wilhelm Blumer and Paul Kutter were about to open a second station at Arash. Despite the

⁴¹⁵ Blumer, ELMB 1930, 283.

⁴¹⁶ Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (26 October 1929); Blumer, ELMB 1930, 283; Pätzig, ELMB 1940, 101-104. The six-cylinder engine introduced in 1929 was nicknamed the 'cast iron wonder'. (Pagè 1979, foreword; General Motors – History, http://www.gm.com/company/corp_info/history/gmhis1920.html, 13.2.2006).

⁴¹⁷ Pätzig described a journey from Arusha to Loliondo, a distance of 435 kilometres, which lasted almost five days. During this journey, 144 litres of petrol were consumed (Pätzig, ELMB 1935, 136-137).

⁴¹⁸ Müller & Fuchs, *Bericht über die Visitation der Stationen Nkoaranga, Arusha und Naverera, 1932*.

awareness of the approaching war, preparations for purchasing a new car were made. Paradoxically, the Leipzig Mission board had no objections to the plans despite the financial and political crisis which threatened the building plans at Arash. In June-July 1939, a Mercedes-Benz lorry, along with spare parts, terrain equipment and tools, was ordered from Germany. Nevertheless, due to the outbreak of the war the car was never delivered.⁴¹⁹

3.3. Cultural and Political Challenges

At the end of 1939, and after nearly ten years of permanent work, there were 25 baptised Lutheran Christians in Maasailand. Most of these were non-Maasai.⁴²⁰ Although the missionaries, and, in particular, their indigenous co-workers, had made a great effort in the Maasai work, it ended up being anything but successful. The greatest hindrance to effective mission work among the Maasai undoubtedly lay in their nomadic lifestyle. The traditional way of founding mission stations proved to be only partly successful. Maasai indeed came to the mission whenever they were sick and needed medical treatment. On the other hand, few of the Maasai had the possibility or even the desire to attend school or Sunday services throughout the year. The fairly immobile Lutheran setup, with the schools and services being located at the mission station, made it difficult for the Maasai to participate on a regular basis without permanently settling close to Naberera, which in turn was a location with limited grazing. In the following two chapters, we will take a look at the more gloomy sides of the Lutheran work. The key questions asked are why and how. Why, apart from the answer

⁴¹⁹ KÜchler to Hohenberger, 6 March 1939; Hohenberger to KÜchler, 28 April 1939; KÜchler to Hohenberger, 5 July 1939; Hohenberger to KÜchler, 14 June 1939. As late as in August 1939, Hohenberger sent a letter to the Leipzig Mission and discussed technical details and shipping (Hohenberger [to KÜchler], 9 August 1939).

⁴²⁰ See table 3.3.

above, did the Lutheran work not succeed in Maasailand? Of those few Maasai who were christened, why did they take an interest in what the mission had to offer? And finally, how did the political development in Europe affect the work of the Leipzig Mission in and around Maasailand?

3.3.1. Disagreements, Depression and Difficulties

The reasons for the Maasai's relative lack of interest in Christianity were numerous. One, as we have already seen, was the economical, habitual nomadic lifestyle of the Maasai. There were, however, several other reasons why the Lutheran work advanced so slowly. Some of the difficulties originated in the fact that the Leipzig missionaries and the Maasai embraced widely different views on too many issues, whereas others were of an external nature.

a) Significant cultural cleavages made the Lutheran work difficult.

The Maasai were not discomfited by religious discussions. On the contrary, they enjoyed talking about God with whom they believed they had a special relationship.⁴²¹ What most of them were concerned about – like most contemporary Arusha – was the social alienation that a life as a Christian might bring. They feared that if they were baptised they would have to part with elements that were not tolerated by the Church and that they would be despised by other Maasai. Hohenberger was aware of this problem but hoped that at least the risk of isolation would diminish as the number of Christians grew.⁴²² Measures had

⁴²¹ Donovan 1978, 22; Vorshaar 1979, 270.

⁴²² Hohenberger, ELMB 1934, 108-109; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*. *„Bezeichnend ist es, daß die Masai vor allem die Taufe nicht wünschen. Sie haben eben schon genau erkannt, daß durch die Taufe die Betreffenden in einen neuen Lebenskreis gebraucht werden daß sie dann Christen werden, wodurch sie sich von den*

indeed been taken by the Leipzig Mission to diminish cultural cleavages. The decision in 1927 to accept the Maasai male circumcision – at least in principle – put an end to some of the hindrances between the Maasai and the mission. Considering that the Maasai recognised only their own circumcision and that the local circumcision constituted the foundation for the age-sets, the Lutherans had taken a vital step in enabling Maasai to become Christians. As far as the age-sets were concerned, there were – again in principle – no longer any contradictions between Maasai-ism and Christianity.⁴²³ Hohenberger also tried to adapt his work to suit the Maasai better. He presented the Gospel in the Maasai vernacular and he let the Maasai students tend their own cattle at Naberera. The Arusha teachers and evangelists toured Maasailand and provided the work with a much needed indigenous and mobile character. What was it then in the Lutheran work that the Maasai were offended by?

Humanly speaking, for the Lutheran endeavour to encounter success among the Maasai, either the Lutherans or the Maasai (or both) would have had to make significant sacrifices – perhaps not so much on a religious as on a cultural level. The Maasai were not willing to sacrifice any of their customs. Polygyny was the custom that the Lutherans found most incompatible with Christianity, yet it is a tradition that the Maasai have refused to give up still to this day. As for circumcision, the Leipzig Mission had formally accepted it, but only as long as it was not followed by any *indecent behaviour*. This behaviour, including drinking, dancing and sexual liberalism, was considered by the Maasai, however, as a natural and inseparable part of the whole circumcision institution. Therefore, although circumcised warriors were welcomed into baptismal classes, the circumcision custom continued to be an obstacle. Boys continued to run away to participate in circumcision festivities and to get

heidnischen Gebräuchen trennen müssen. Dazu gehört vor allem auch die Vielweiberei. Es will einem Masai schwer eingehen, daß sein Sohn nur eine Frau heiraten soll. Mit einer Frau begnügen sich ja nur die Armen, die die Brautgaben für mehr nicht aufbringen können. (Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*).

⁴²³ See pages 111 and 180-181.

initiated and girls were kidnapped from the mission to be married to men that their fathers had chosen. The Leipzig Mission made efforts to make it possible for Maasai to become Christians without having to reject too much of their Maasai identity, but in the Maasai opinion, this was not enough.⁴²⁴

It was not only the Maasai who found it hard to step out of their social background. The missionaries themselves – despite their criticism of Europeanisation – brought with them a number of cultural elements which they incorporated in their work. The hymns sung during devotions and Sunday services in Arusha and Maasailand were translated versions of the hymns sung in the Lutheran churches in Germany.⁴²⁵ Supporters in Germany compassionately donated church bells to the Maasai field, believing that they made an appreciated contribution. The bells were dedicated even before the first baptism in Maasailand. Needless to say, the Maasai did not understand the meaning of church bells.⁴²⁶ When the people around Meru or in Maasailand were baptised, they were not dressed in accordance with local customs but in white robes. This was not only a German Lutheran tradition but an old Christian practice around the world. This practice had, however, nothing to do with Maasai

⁴²⁴ Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*; Pätzig, ELMB 1933, 245; Hohenberger 1971, 3. During times of circumcision it was common for young Maasai boys to run away from the mission to get circumcised with their contemporaries. Sometimes, warriors who had already been circumcised left the station just before their baptism, after having completed almost two years of catechumen instruction (Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*).

⁴²⁵ Pätzig, ELMB 1930, 167; Saibull & Carr 1981, 108. Compare pages 125-126 (including footnote 286). The local Christians were taught how to play the harmonium and the trumpet and the missionaries set up trumpet choirs (Fokken, ELMB 1920, 201; Blumer, ELMB 1930, 107).

⁴²⁶ Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission, II. Halbjahr 1931*; Hohenberger, *Halbjahresbericht über die Masaimission vom 1. Juli – 31. Dez. 1933*. The bell at Naberera was erected in 1931 and at Engaruka in 1933 (Hohenberger, *Bericht über die Masaimission, II. Halbjahr 1931*; Hohenberger, *Halbjahresbericht über die Masaimission vom 1. Juli – 31. Dez. 1933*). The first baptism in Maasailand was in 1934 (ELMB 1934, 340).

traditions.⁴²⁷ The intention of introducing German hymns, church bells and white robes was purely good, and similar elements were brought into use on other Christian missions in Africa. These components were, however, not fundamental to the Lutheran doctrine, nor were they previously known to the Maasai, but rather were brought to Maasailand in good faith – and for lack of immediate alternatives – by missionaries who were deeply rooted in European Christianity.⁴²⁸

b) Most baptismal candidates were either non-Maasai or embraced Maasai traditions to a lesser degree than the average Maasai.

It is obvious that most of those who were baptised during the first ten years of Maasai work already stood out, in various ways, in Maasai society before they entered a baptismal class. Many of the Christians and baptismal candidates were not even Maasai-proper, but descended from other tribal groups inhabiting the main centres in Maasailand.⁴²⁹ Among

⁴²⁷ Pätzig, ELMB 1932, 46; Blumer, ELMB 1921, 111. The use of white robes was intended to symbolise the large crowd of people in Rev. 7:9-17 ‘who have come out of the great tribulation [...] [and] have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb’.

⁴²⁸ Saibull and Carr cite Pastor Mesiaki Kilevo saying that ‘where my church is concerned, I feel strongly that the German liturgies and hymns written for us by the Lutheran missionaries at the turn of the century don’t really mean much to our congregation. The youth choir we have is effective. Their music expresses the African soul and appeals particularly to the young’ (Saibull & Carr 1981, 108). The missionaries did not want the Africans to accept all European elements (compare the dress fight at Ilboru in chapter 3.1.2.). They nonetheless wanted to introduce some of the European traditions which they themselves considered constructive and beautiful. One could argue that, for instance, Blumer, who opposed Europeanisation in Arusha, could have made more efforts to create new Maasai Christian traditions, such as hymns based on Maasai songs. It should be noted, however, that this closeness between work on the mission field and the missionaries’ home churches was not typical only for the Leipzig Mission (See Anderson 1981, 48 and Bosch 2004, 295-296).

⁴²⁹ Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*. Reusch noted that people from the Kwavi, Ndorobo, Sonjo, Nyamwezi and Sukumi tribes lived in Maasailand. According to Reusch, these tribes quickly adapted Maasai traditions and language (Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 45). At Loliondo, a considerable number of (originally Kenyan) Kikuyu lived. Hohenberger notes that they had adapted to the Maasai way of living (Hohenberger, ELMB 1934, 134).

the Maasai who came to the mission were people who voluntarily parted with their past to follow their Christian relatives, friends or even loved ones whom they wanted to marry. Others, primarily girls, sought the refuge of the mission when escaping from unwanted marriages. Renegade Maasai girls came both to Naberera and Ilboru. Occasionally, some of these girls fell away and returned home voluntarily, but at times they were violently brought home by warriors. Most of those who stayed, however, accepted baptism at some stage.⁴³⁰ Not surprisingly, a part of the Naberera congregation consisted of chronic invalid or handicapped people who, due to their state, were more or less cast-offs in the Maasai society.⁴³¹ Some of these people had come into contact with the Lutheran mission through its medical care, others through its school and church work. The first boy to be baptised at Naberera was physically disabled. In 1934, two women with defective vision signed up for baptismal class, and the old woman who was baptised in 1936 was completely blind.⁴³² As some of these people did not fit into the Maasai civilisation and wanted to become a part of the Christian congregation, it became a responsibility of the mission to let them live close to the mission station. A few of the buildings at the Naberera station were designated as homes

⁴³⁰ Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1936*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1938*; Hohenberger, ELMB 1938, 75-76; Pätzig, ELMB 1933, 244-246. See also ELMB 1934, 340.

⁴³¹ Although the disabled, in most cases, were a burden on Maasai society, they were seldom totally rejected. Vorshaar claims that according to Maasai beliefs the disabled belonged to *Enkai* in a special way and that they were watched over and sheltered by *Enkai* (Vorshaar 1979, 193). As a result, they were an accepted part of Maasai society. Kiel stresses that the Maasai want to be on good terms even with the invalid as these could put a curse upon their wrongdoers (Kiel 1997, 98). Some of the handicapped, such as the deaf and handicapped elders (including old women), were often treated with great respect. Those who were blind, however, were a burden on the society. Mentally ill persons were scarce, as thought by Kiel, because they were not born strong enough or taken care of well enough to survive. (Kiel 1997, 75-78). The lives of many handicapped were logically totally different from those of their fellow Maasai as they could not participate in work and the social life to the same extent.

⁴³² Pätzig 1975, 60; Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (26 November 1934); Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1936*.

for chronically handicapped persons.⁴³³ The majority of the Christians in Maasailand were either non-Maasai or renegades, handicapped and involuntary outcasts of the Maasai society who had sought and found refuge and warmth in the Christian community.

c) The worldwide depression and the resistance from the Nazi party posed financial hindrances to expansion.

The financial depression hitting Europe after the Wall Street crash in 1929 caused problems to most missionary societies. A substantial drop in funding and extreme fluctuations in exchange rates considerably reduced the financial support reaching the mission fields. The situation was even more depressing for the German societies. Hitler and the National Socialist German Workers' party (NSDAP)⁴³⁴, which came to power in 1933, saw no gain in mission endeavours abroad and, therefore, put political and financial restrictions on the overseas work of all denominations and societies.⁴³⁵ The Leipzig work among the Maasai suffered particularly in 1934 and 1935 when no financial aid at all was paid for eight months.⁴³⁶ In addition, Hohenberger was on furlough in Germany and the responsibility, for all but medical care, was handed

⁴³³ Vierhub, ELMB 1937, 97.

⁴³⁴ *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, commonly called the Nazi party.

⁴³⁵ Beidelman, 1982, 81; Ustorf 2000, 139-141. Ustorf claims that the foreign mission never became illegal as such in the Third Reich, and that the agencies could continue their operations. 'However, apart from the stifling foreign exchange procedures, there were numerous other regulations and infringements that were hostile to mission: (1) the Nazi party's monopoly of public collecting and fund-raising deprived the missions of some of their traditional channels of income generation; (2) the centralization and censorship of the media and the different branches of the régime would, here and there, seize attractive properties that were not protected by NS ideology, like mission houses; (4) the overseas missions were under substantial pressure from the Foreign Organisation of the NSDAP and the Government to represent the political interests of Berlin.' (Ustorf 2000, 140-141).

⁴³⁶ Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*; Pätzig, ELMB 1935, 142. 'Freilich brachte das Gesetz vom 5. November 1934 für unsere Arbeit mancherlei Schwierigkeiten mit sich...Es herrschte dann in den folgenden Wochen rechte Unsicherheit über die Möglichkeit des Sammelns, bis dann endlich Ausgang des Winters Klarheit geschaffen wurde. Noch schwerer trafen uns die neuen Verordnungen über den Devisenverkehr...Es kam aber aus Indien und Afrika die tapfere Arbeit: Wir halten aus, so lange es irgend geht.' (Moritzen 1986, 45).

over to Pätzig, who could spare only two months for work in Maasailand. The conditions worsened even further due to the severe drought that tormented the north of Tanganyika.⁴³⁷ In June 1937, a financial crisis occurred when the German Nazi government forbade so-called non-legitimate church collections. As a result, both domestic and foreign missions suffered. Most mission friends in Germany ceased to pay their collection to the mission out of fear of government confiscations. Moreover, the regulations frightened many German pastors from holding mission meetings in their churches altogether. The regulations were modified later that year so that, for some time, church collections for domestic and foreign missions were allowed.⁴³⁸ When money ceased to reach Tanganyika from Germany, two sources of income were crucial for the survival of the Leipzig Mission work, namely the Makumira coffee and papaya plantation and hospital fees. The income from these did not tolerate any large-scale investments but at least kept the most essential work going.⁴³⁹ Maasai work under these conditions was highly difficult and the field did not receive additional personnel until shortly before the internment of the missionaries in 1939.

d) Tensions between Leipzig missionaries and British officers made the establishment of permanent stations difficult.

Carl Ihmels, the director of the Leipzig Mission, criticised the British administration in Tanganyika for causing trouble and making the Maasai elders hesitant. He claimed that British officers often spoiled lengthy negotiations between the missionaries and the Maasai elders

⁴³⁷ Pätzig, *Bericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1934*; Buchta, *Jahresbericht 1934 Naverera Diakonenstation*. See also Buchta, ELMB 1939, 233. Buchta reported that many Maasai, due to the drought, had sought refuge at the Pangani River where, in turn, rinderpest broke out and decimated the cattle herds. At Naberera, water resources were scarce and farming, therefore, impossible. Maasai turned to the clinic not only to receive medical help but also to beg for food. The Lutheran medical workers were unable to help all the undernourished people (Buchta, *Jahresbericht 1934 Naverera Diakonenstation*).

⁴³⁸ Ihmels, ELMB 1937, 334-335.

⁴³⁹ Bernander 1968, 16; Wynn Jones 1941, 2; Moritzen 1986, 84.

regarding permanent missions; an act which made the Maasai eventually refuse missions.⁴⁴⁰ Equally critical was Hohenberger, who often met resistance by the mandate government. He noted that it was apparent that the officers did not want the presence of the mission in Maasailand.⁴⁴¹

Was the Leipzig missionary work in Maasailand unwanted by the British administration? Yes and no. In principle, the British administration encouraged mission work. The better prepared a mission society was, and the better its work and workers fit into the government development plans, the better reception it got – at least in principle. The Leipzig Mission, if any society, had both experience in Maasai mission work and a development programme. As the Leipzig Mission could not be proven unsuited for the task and as the Maasai themselves did not, at least loudly, oppose its work, the administration had no principal objections. That does not change the fact that many officers would have rather seen British than German missionaries in Maasailand.

Then again, the British administration could give the missionaries a hard time by refusing to give them active support, by passively opposing them or even by encouraging other societies. The Leipzig Mission had to defend itself if it wanted to be the only mission body to work in Maasailand. In general, it was more rewarding for the Leipzig Mission to negotiate with the higher officers. The lower officers tended to be more sceptical and thus were more likely to use their influence against the German Lutherans. Whereas the high-ranking officers – at least passively – supported the work of the Leipzig Mission, the lesser officers passively opposed it. The Lutherans had, on several occasions, been assured of the cooperation of the government. Still, due to what the missionaries viewed as inhospitality from the side of the local officers,

⁴⁴⁰ Ihmels 1936, 18.

⁴⁴¹ Hohenberger, ELMB 1934, 104. The AIM missionaries in Maasailand in Kenya also enjoyed very little support from the authorities. The government officers wanted the missionaries to open schools, which the AIM missionaries themselves considered unnecessary. Similarly, the government saw no gain in supporting sole church work (Waller 1999, 94).

most of the expansion was slowed down. This was the case at Loliondo, where the Leipzig missionaries tried to found a mission station for several years. Although the Maasai eventually welcomed the work of the Leipzig Mission, the resistance from the side of the local officers made it impossible for its missionaries to proceed with their plans.⁴⁴² It is difficult to get a clear picture of the relations between German missionaries and British officers based on articles published in *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt*. Being aware of the potential risk of harming the already tense relations by criticising officers, the articles about these relations were probably written somewhat more positively than the truth would allow. Nevertheless, the impression one is given is that Provincial Commissioner Philip Mitchell supported the Leipzig missionaries from the very beginning. Blumer wrote that the provincial commissioner always had been well-disposed towards him as well as towards his work.⁴⁴³ Concerning the relations with the Maasailand District Officer, H. C. Murrels, it appears as if they improved when he saw the resolution of the missionaries to set to work among the Maasai.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² Pätzig, *Bericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1934*; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1935*. The Director of Education, Mr. Rivers Smith, welcomed a closer co-operation between the Leipzig Mission and the Government (Memorandum of conversation between Mr. Rivers Smith, Dr Ihmels and Dr Weichert, January 15th, 1930). In 1935, the Provincial Commissioner for the Northern Province, Captain F. C. Hallier, assured Senior Johannes Raum that the government would not do anything to prevent the Leipzig missionaries to settle at Loliondo. On the contrary, he promised Raum a plot of land at Malambo, Loliondo. After Raum's death the following year, the promise died with him (ELMB 1936, 181-182; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1936*). Some of the missionaries got along better with the officers than others. Leonhard Blumer, due to his knowledge of the Maasai language and culture, was held in quite high esteem among the local officers (Raum, ELMB 1930, 43). Richard Reusch could work quite unhindered even during the Second World War thanks to his friendship with many members of the Higher Administration (Bernander 1968, 64).

⁴⁴³ Blumer, ELMB 1929, 319.

⁴⁴⁴ The acting PC in 1927 was Philip Mitchell and in 1928 G.F. Webster. Blumer did not mention the name of the PC. Probably he was referring to Mitchell. Compare pages 132 and 135.

The resistance from the British authorities is somewhat difficult to understand considering the government aspirations to develop Maasailand; the mission could have contributed to a much higher degree in the development had it been given more freedom. Not only did the mission provide education and health care, but it also played a part in the government aspirations to promote monetisation.⁴⁴⁵ The tensions must, however, be seen in light of the political situation in Europe and the growing tensions between Great Britain and Germany in the second half of the 1930s. There had been a mutual distrust between many Leipzig missionaries and British officers ever since the former had been allowed to return in 1925, and this mistrust grew as the political climate in Europe turned cooler. The British grew increasingly concerned about the political bias of the German missionaries. The missionaries felt increasingly ill-treated and, consequently, became more and more distrustful of the British administration. This suspicion between the German missionaries and British officials slowed down most of the expansion considerably and stopped it altogether in some areas.⁴⁴⁶

In what way were the British authorities of benefit to the Leipzig Mission Maasai work? As much as the British would rather have seen British or American activity in Maasailand, German missionaries would probably have wanted to continue to work under German supremacy. Since one principle of the Leipzig Mission was to dissociate itself from politics, the nationality of the administration was not too much of an issue.⁴⁴⁷ First and foremost, the authorities provided the missionaries with security on account of their mere presence. Although the mission counted many friends and supporters among the Maasai, it still had

⁴⁴⁵ In the 1930s, the government increased its efforts to force the Maasai to trade in money rather than in livestock (Hodgson 1999, 57-60). The mission contributed, although mainly indirectly, in various ways. For instance, medicine and hospital fees were paid in money. By using money themselves, the missionaries and indigenous workers contributed to teaching the Maasai to use money.

⁴⁴⁶ The political situation in Germany and Tanganyika will be dealt with in the following chapter.

⁴⁴⁷ See page 47-48.

critics and even enemies, not least in the *loibon*. He had considerable influence on the *murrans*, who, if worst had come to worst, could have posed a security threat to the mission. Secondly, it is likely that the missionaries benefited from the fact that the Maasai were virtually unaware of the tensions between the Germans and the British. As long as the missionaries had at least some basic co-operation with the authorities, the amount of collaboration was less significant to the Maasai. Most Maasai probably thought that the British authorities supported the German missionaries more than they did in reality. Because of this lack of comprehension, the missionaries were considered greater authorities than they actually were. In this sense, the British thus offered more or less the same conditions as their German predecessors. Had it not been for the growing nationalism and tensions in Europe, the Leipzig Mission would probably have found the conditions under British authority almost as favourable as under German.

3.3.2. Nazi Politics Hampering the Mission Work

The political situation in Germany after the First World War was characterized by unrest. The collapse of the industry, severe inflation, high unemployment and the war debt that Germany was sentenced to through the Treaty of Versailles all led the country into a severe financial depression. In the midst of this hopelessness, the political arena became chaotic. Many Germans put their hopes in Marxism and its promises of a communist revolution. Others turned to the opposite of the political scale, to radical political groups, like the Hitler-led National Socialist German Workers' party (NSDAP⁴⁴⁸). After Germany had survived the most turbulent years subsequent to the end of the war, the Wall Street

⁴⁴⁸ The National Socialist German Workers' party (NSDAP, *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*) sprung out of the German Worker's party founded 1919 in Munich. Adolf Hitler joined the party shortly after its founding and quickly became its leader (Tyrell 1998, 467-468).

crash of 1929 threw the nation back into crisis. In the midst of this new depression, the National Socialist German Workers' party became the second largest party in the German *Reichstag* in 1930 and the largest party two years later. On 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor of Germany.⁴⁴⁹

The situation in the churches and mission societies during the period between the wars was almost equally chaotic. Most of the prevailing political currents were to be found also within the Christian institutions. The fear of communism, 'the red terror', which was seen by many as the ultimate enemy of Christianity, tended to shift the churches and mission societies towards the right.⁴⁵⁰ Additionally, the disappointment with the Treaty of Versailles and the end of colonialism for Germany nurtured displeasure with former war enemies, in particular with France and Great Britain, making it more legitimate for Germans to support the kind of radical change that the Nazi party represented.⁴⁵¹

Within the Leipzig Mission society, representatives of various political views were also to be found. Suspicion towards previous war enemies, in particular towards the British, was common. Most of the Leipzig Mission work was carried out in British colonies, including Tanganyika, which Germany had lost due to the defeat in the recent war. Some of the Tanganyika missionaries were more critical of the British Tanganyikan government than others. This criticism could be noticed well before Hitler's rise to power in Germany. In 1929, a voting took place during a Leipzig Mission conference in Tanganyika. The missionaries were to decide whether or not to expand the co-operation concerning school education with the British government, accept certain new regulations and, in turn, receive financial support. Some of the missionaries were in favour of co-operation with the government. Richard Reusch and Bruno Gutmann both supported co-operation.

⁴⁴⁹ Tyrell 1992, 15-18; Heinemann 1998, 371-386.

⁴⁵⁰ Lehmann 1974, 56.

⁴⁵¹ Ustorf 2000, 129-135.

Others, like the Maasai missionaries Leonhard Blumer and Johannes Hohenberger, voted against increased co-operation. Those who voted against the educational co-operation did it primarily out of refusal to accept British government influence and Anglicisation in the schools.⁴⁵² In 1934, the *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt* published an article titled 'The Foundation of the Third Reich and the Pagan Mission' written by Mission Inspector Georg Hammitzsch.⁴⁵³ The message of the article was very clear. The readers were exhorted to put their trust in Hitler and Nazi rule. Hammitzsch accused the rest of the world of hating the *Third Reich* and distrusting Germans. He furthermore praised Hitler as a leader in favour of the foreign mission and against communism.⁴⁵⁴ This article was written during a time when Hitler's popularity among people in the various Christian institutions was at its highest. Many Leipzig representatives, including Director Carl Ihmels, applauded the rise of Hitler and the Nazis to power in Germany.⁴⁵⁵ Hitler was seen as a true enemy of bolshevism and a person capable of putting Germany back on track. However, for many missionaries of the Leipzig Mission, as well as of other societies, this loyalty weakened as the true character of the National Socialist party became clearer.⁴⁵⁶ Some ex-supporters soon

⁴⁵² Raum, J-ELM 1928, 47-48; Raum, J-ELM 1929, 47-50; Fleisch 1936, 422-427. English was to be taught in the higher classes and Swahili in the lower so-called bush schools. The mission schools traditionally emphasised education in Christianity, praying and hymn singing, and the schools generally had a religious character. According to the new government school regulations, Christianity would have a lesser role. The Leipzig missionaries were afraid of both the anglicisation and the disappearance of the religious dimension in the schools. Those speaking out against the co-operation were Blumer, Eisenschmidt, Winkler, Hohenberger, Fritze and Ittameier. Rother, Gutmann, Raum (Otto), Reusch, Fuchs, Michel and Guth were for co-operation. After voting, the decision was made to co-operate with the British government.

⁴⁵³ *Die Grundlagen des Dritten Reiches und die Heidenmission von Missionsinspektor Hammitzsch*, in ELMB 1934, 4-13. Georg Hammitzsch had served as a Leipzig missionary in Kudalur in India before the First World War, but he served in the management (*Verwaltung*) after the war until 1934 when he was replaced by Johannes Weidauer.

⁴⁵⁴ Hammitzsch, ELMB 1934, 4-9.

⁴⁵⁵ Lehmann 1974, 58.

⁴⁵⁶ For more about Christianity and the Third Reich, see Ustorf 2000. Some missionaries apparently stood behind Hitler and the Nazi party until the war, such as some of the missionaries of the Berlin Mission. A Hitler *shrine* was found in the chapel of the main

became hard critics. Carl Ihmels, who had joined the SS shortly after the rise of the Nazis to power, later became an opponent.⁴⁵⁷

Even if many missionaries were critics of the Nazi regime at the outbreak of the war, they were still filled with patriotism and, in many cases, distrust of the British. The Christians at the missions, who over the years had been primarily told the German side of the story, also tended to become loyal to the Germans and critical of the British.⁴⁵⁸

When Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939, the German missionaries in Tanganyika were offered two options. They could either sign a parole and continue working, with a few restrictions, or refuse to sign and be interned. Those who signed the parole promised that they a) possessed no weapons b) had no radio equipment c) would not leave the mission property d) would not attempt any escape and e) did not pursue any propaganda or any other activities hostile to England.⁴⁵⁹ Five Germans were working in Maasailand and Arusha during the outbreak of the war in 1939, namely Missionaries Max Pätzig, Johannes Hohenberger, Hans-Wilhelm Blumer and the Medical Missionaries Hans Buchta and Paul Kutter. Blumer and Kutter were founding the new station at Arash in northern Maasailand. Paul Kutter

Berlin Mission station in Dar es Salaam (Danielson, *Our Mission and Orphan Missions in Tanganyika* 1945, 8. See also Osborne 1960, 67).

⁴⁵⁷ Lehmann 1974, 58; Plasger 1998 (Ihmels, Carl Heinrich). Ihmels later changed sides and joined the Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*).

⁴⁵⁸ According to Elmer Danielson of the Augustana Synod, the German missionaries had influenced the African congregations in a way that made it difficult for missionaries from other countries to continue their work. 'As I traveled from one Orphan Mission to another, my greatest disappointment was to find that there was no field which had not been influenced by damaging political propaganda on the part of the German missionaries. Our task of supervision has been made more difficult by the heritage some of our German missionaries have left us.' (Danielson, *Our Mission and Orphan Missions in Tanganyika* 1945, 8-9).

⁴⁵⁹ Kutter, *Bericht des Diakon Paul Kutter vom 3. September 1939 bis 26. April 1940*. Bernander's version of the parole was somewhat different; 'I declare on my word of honour that I am not in possession of any arms, 2) that I will take no part whatsoever in operations, 3) that I will refrain from subversive propaganda and 4) that I will immediately obey the directions of Government given from time to time in regard to my conduct and movement.' (Bernander 1968, 19).

initially signed the parole, but later took it back and was subsequently interned. Hans Buchta was also interned. Whether he signed the parole or not is, however, uncertain.⁴⁶⁰ Most Leipzig workers and wives chose to sign the parole and could, under certain restrictions, continue working. Although Hohenberger did so, the British authorities, for some reason, did not allow him to resume his work in Maasailand. As a result, he moved to Arusha where he and Pätzig co-worked until their internment in July 1940. Pätzig, apparently held higher esteem in the eyes of the authorities, was given somewhat more freedom of movement and was allowed, to a certain extent, to supervise the work in Maasailand.⁴⁶¹ It was probably a question of loyalty or even fear of Nazi reprisals rather than direct Nazi sympathies that made some of the Leipzig workers refuse to sign the paper. Their loyalty lay more in their country than in the task of preaching Christianity in Africa. Ironically, those who refused to sign the parole were sent back to Germany after 166 days of imprisonment, whereas the others who stayed on duty until their internment in 1940 were imprisoned for almost seven years.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶⁰ *Bericht des Diakon Paul Kutter vom 3. September 1939 bis 26. April 1940*; Ihmels, ELMB 1940, 94. Paul Kutter and Hans-Wilhelm Blumer both signed the parole when the government soldiers arrived at Arusha on the 3rd of September 1939. Kutter, however, did it against his will only not to let Blumer alone and unarmed at Arusha. After 14 days Johannes Hohenberger brought the two men back to Arusha. On the 23rd of September Kutter took back his parole and was therefore locked up in an internment camp. In this camp were also Albert, Paul and Uffe Fokken (the brother and the two sons of Hermann Fokken) and Otto Fischer (from Nkoaranga). The interned missionaries were one day later sent to Tanga, where the rest of the missionaries who had refused to sign the parole were imprisoned (*Bericht des Diakon Paul Kutter vom 3. September 1939 bis 26. April 1940*; Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (26 August-6 November 1939)).

⁴⁶¹ PC/NP to Rother, 23 November 1939; ELMB 1941, 26; Pätzig 1950, 5. Pätzig was allowed to bring evangelists to Kibaya in 1940. The evangelists to be replaced had already served more than six-month but would, according to the missionary, willingly have stayed on duty as long as needed. These evangelists had heard rumours that all Germans, including the missionaries, had been interned (Pätzig 1975, 75).

⁴⁶² Bernander 1968, 19-20; *An die Angehörigen unserer Missionare Blumer, Kutter und Gemeinholzer*, 14 November 1939. For names on those who were interned, see ULPA Mission Archives Series No. 9, 2000.

After the Leipzig missionaries had been interned, Rev. William Wynn Jones⁴⁶³ wrote a memorandum about their work. Wynn Jones knew many of the Leipzig missionaries in Tanganyika. Missionary Pätzig even entrusted him with the task of preaching at the ordination of the first indigenous pastor of the Meru tribe, even though he was an Anglican. Wynn Jones commented on the Leipzig missionaries, their stands and influence on the Africans in the following terms;

I was asked on behalf of Government to make an enquiry into the political reactions of German missionaries upon the natives through the activities of the Mission. I was able to report that as far as I could find there was in the majority of cases no subversive or political reaction. There were on the other hand some whose political bias was definitely Nazi, and it would have had serious repercussions had this been allowed to continue. [...] The mark of modern Germany was of course evident in most places and had the positions been reversed at the outbreak of the war, the reaction in the German missions would have been pro-German.⁴⁶⁴

Four workers of the Leipzig Mission were refused the opportunity to sign the parole. These four were more under suspicion than the other missionary workers. One of them was Medical Doctor Friedrich Mergner. According to Mission Inspector KÜchler, Mergner was the leader [*Ortsgruppenleiter*] of the NSDAP local branch in Moshi.⁴⁶⁵

Paul Kutter withdrew his parole after returning from Arash to Arusha. Whether it was an act of pure patriotism or a statement in favour of Hitler's politics will have to go unanswered. Hans-Wilhelm Blumer signed the parole but was nevertheless detained for a short period.

⁴⁶³ Rev. William Wynn Jones was the founding headmaster of the Arusha School. In 1943 he became Assistant Bishop and in 1946 Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Central Tanganyika (T. Wynn Jones to Groop, 18 December 2003).

⁴⁶⁴ Wynn Jones 1941, 1.

⁴⁶⁵ KÜchler 1940; Ihmels, ELMB 1940, 93. See also Ihmels, J-ELM 1940/41, 2. 'The *Ortsgruppenleiter* was the [NSDAP] local chapter leader. The area of the *Ortsgruppenleiter* was comprised of one or more communes, or, in a town, a certain district. The *Ortsgruppe* was composed of a combination of blocks and cells according to local circumstances, and contained up to 1,500 households.' (International Military Tribunal Vol. 4, 6).

Eventually, he was allowed to carry on working, and he moved to the Kilimanjaro station Machame to replace missionary Eduard Ittameier who had been interned. Years later, it came to the attention of the board in Leipzig that Blumer had been suspected of Nazi activity. In a letter to Director Carl Ihmels, Richard Reusch mentioned that Blumer's friendship with some of the Nazi leaders in Tanganyika had drawn the suspicion of the authorities. Since he had been blacklisted, he was one of those missionaries who were not welcome back to Tanganyika, although he was not a German, but an Estonian.⁴⁶⁶

The Leipzig Mission work in Maasailand was built up during a time of financial and political turbulence in Germany. This had the result that an expansion of the work was extremely difficult, and distrust between missionaries and British administrators frequently led to setbacks. For the Maasai project, the internment of the missionaries in 1939/1940 was not the only setback. After all, a great deal of the work had been performed by the many indigenous teachers, evangelists and medical dressers – many of whom could continue working without missionaries. Almost equally acute was the virtually total lack of money, which had already claimed its due over recent years. Without or with less money the evangelistic work could nonetheless be maintained – at least to a certain extent. A foundation and structure already existed and some kind of continuation of the work was possible without the guidance of the Leipzig Mission. Effective work in Maasailand, as far as health care, education and church building were concerned, was costly and in order for an expansion to take place, new solutions were needed. Richard Reusch was, by virtue of being an Augustana missionary since 1938, allowed to stay during and after the Second World War. His contribution to the work of establishing a Church among the Maasai will be dealt with later on.

⁴⁶⁶ Pätzig, *Tagebuch* (26 August-6 November 1939); *An die Angehörigen unserer Missionare Blumer, Kutter und Gemeinholzer*, 14 November 1939; Rother, ELMB 1941, 26-27; Reusch to Ihmels, 28 December 1953.

4. A JOINT TASK FOR CHURCH AND MISSION IN MAASAILAND (1940-1963)

The outbreak of the Second World War did not bring as much disaster to the peoples of Tanganyika as had been the case 25 years earlier. Indeed, the enmity between Germany and Great Britain was as fierce as in the previous war. Yet, as Tanganyika was under British administration this time, it did not have to deal with any acts of war. The fear among the British authorities that the German nationals in the colony would pose a threat to local peace was probably exaggerated. On the other hand, strong patriotism and, in some cases, strong Nazi sympathies and ties among the German settlers and missionaries had kept the British authorities on the alert during much of the 1930s.⁴⁶⁷ When the war approached and broke out, little in the view of the British spoke in favour of the German missionaries being allowed to continue in their positions. As the early stages of the war went in favour of the German army, British unease about the German presence in Tanganyika increased. The final blow to the German Lutheran work came in August-September 1940 when the last missionaries were interned. Only two German pastors and their wives were allowed to stay during the rest of the war, both of them from the Bethel Missionary Society. Paul Rother, the leader of the missionaries in Tanganyika, was the last missionary from the Leipzig Mission to be interned.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷ Ustorf 2000, 135-136. There were indications that some of the roughly 3,000 Germans in Tanganyika had plans to overturn the British authorities (See for instance Rweyemanu & Msambure 1963, 85-86).

⁴⁶⁸ Danielson 1977, 53. Compare Bernander 1968, 20. The two Bethel missionaries were Pastor Heinrich Waltenberg, who was desperately needed in his position as caretaker of the Lutindi mental hospital, and Pastor Wilhelm Hosbach, who was already 74 years old and whose wife had a heart disease (Danielson 1977, 53). The Catholic missionaries were

When the Germans left Tanganyika in 1940, very little had been done by the Leipzig Mission in terms of preparations for a possible internment. Consequently, much of the work, including the Leipzig Mission property, was in jeopardy after the outbreak of the war. In January 1940, the Augustana Mission volunteered to administer the former German field. The offer was accepted by the British mandate government, and after a series of negotiations the secretariat in Dar es Salaam confirmed that it 'recognizes the Augustana Lutheran Mission as the sole intermediary between itself and the German Lutheran Missions'.⁴⁶⁹ In reality this was a task far too great for the Augustana Mission, which was already fully occupied with its work in Iramba and Turu in central Tanganyika. Moreover, due to the escalation of the war, it became increasingly difficult to send missionaries to Africa from overseas. The risk of being attacked by German battleships or submarines during the journeys was considerable, and the foreign contribution to the field during the war years remained minimal. Still, in 1944, there were only 20 missionaries on the former Berlin, Bethel and Leipzig fields, whereas there had been 172 missionaries before the war. Only half of these missionaries came from the USA, the rest were Swedes.⁴⁷⁰ The Augustana Lutheran Mission was the main caretaker of

allowed to continue under close supervision of the new Swiss, Dutch and American administrators (Danielson 1977, 55).

⁴⁶⁹ Danielson 1977, 55; Hall 1984, 26-28. In September 1941, the government made the Augustana Mission officially responsible for all the former German missions in Tanganyika (Danielson 1977, 55). When Augustana volunteered for this task, its representatives did not have in mind that Augustana should be the sole provider of missionaries for the former German fields. 'A letter from the President of the Augustana Mission, Pastor Herbert S. Magney (January 23, 1940), formally asked the Government of Tanganyika that Augustana be permitted to serve these orphaned missions, suggesting ways in which this was possible. [...] Augustana's offer was accepted by the Tanganyika Government on 30 April 1940. Some suggestions were not accepted, such as for German missionaries to be released on parole and supported by Augustana funds. Some fields were directed to other missions. Those remaining were Leipzig, Bethel and Berlin fields.' (Hall 1984, 49-50).

⁴⁷⁰ Danielson 1977, 54-56; Danielson, *Our Mission and Orphan Missions in Tanganyika* 1945, 4-5; Swanson, *Report on the Orphaned Lutheran Missions in Tanganyika*, 7-8. Swedish missionaries were allowed by the British Authorities to work as missionaries on these fields as long as they were subordinated by the Americans (Danielson, *Our Mission*

the former German field during the years 1940-1951. Another vital contributor was the American National Lutheran Council (NLC) and its Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions (CYCOM), founded in 1948.⁴⁷¹ From the year 1952, CYCOM took over the responsibility for the work on the three former German fields.⁴⁷²

Table 4.1.

Non-Tanganyikan church bodies and joint committees supporting the Lutheran Maasai work during the years 1940-1956

1940	1952	1956
AUGUSTANA LUTHERAN MISSION in cooperation with / financed by NATIONAL LUTHERAN COUNCIL	COMMISSION ON YOUNGER CHURCHES AND ORPHANED MISSIONS of the NATIONAL LUTHERAN COUNCIL	

Sources: CYCOM-NLC, 14 March 1951; Rolander, Background and Historical Development of the Tanzania Assistance Committee, 9-10 May 1972; Hall 1984, 49-51, 113-114.⁴⁷³

In September 1940, the Executive Committee of the Augustana Mission appointed the previous Leipzig missionary, Dr. Richard Reusch, to take charge of the former Leipzig field as superintendent. Reusch, who since 1938 was on the Augustana Mission payroll, also became

and Orphan Missions in Tanganyika 1945, 9). The Swedish missionaries were sent by two societies; the Swedish Evangelical Mission and Church of Sweden Mission (Bernander 1968, 30-31).

⁴⁷¹ Ohlekopf, The National Lutheran, September-October 1955, 47-56. NLC was the American Lutheran body in which the Augustana Mission was a member. CYCOM was founded as a sub-division under the NLC to assist Lutheran fields that had become orphaned due to the war. Whereas the Augustana Mission was considered the official caretaker of the former German fields, the NLC (from 1948 through CYCOM) was the main financial contributor. Between 1939 and 1947, the NLC contributed with almost 700,000 USD to the Tanganyikan work and between 1948 and 1952 the sum rose to more than 850,000 USD (Ohlekopf, The National Lutheran, September-October 1955, 48-52).

⁴⁷² CYCOM/NLC, 14 March 1951, Minutes.

⁴⁷³ The ALM and NLC (1940-1952) supported the whole former German field and not only the former Leipzig field. CYCOM/NLC (1952-1956) supported the whole Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika. The Maasai field was thus only a part of the work of the ALM, NLC and CYCOM.

responsible for the Bethel Mission work in the Usambara and Uzaramo regions and the Berlin Mission work around Dar es Salaam.⁴⁷⁴

Regardless of a lack of manpower and money, the Lutheran work on the former Leipzig field made progress. In fact, with the exception of the station Shigatini in the Pare Mountains, the number of Christians grew quite rapidly. During the course of the war, the total number of baptised Christians almost doubled from 36,459 in 1939 to 68,000 in 1945. During the same period, the Meru Christians increased from 2,213 to 4,485 and the Arusha Christians from 1,600 to 3,600.⁴⁷⁵ This growth proved that the Lutheran congregations could not only survive but also prosper, even without its founding German missionaries. In fact, in terms of expansion, the local congregations seem to have been more successful on their own. On the other hand this development happened at a time when the Church and its leadership were truly ill-equipped. The pastors and missionaries were few and could not provide the young Christians with the support that they would have needed. As a result, the Church grew larger in members, but, in many ways, took a step backwards in maturity. Church discipline suffered and tribal quarrels entered into the

⁴⁷⁴ Smedjebacka 1973, 59; Danielson 1977, 53. On 28-30 November 1940, a Mission Church Federation (MCF) meeting was held at Kiomboi in Central Tanganyika. At this meeting, which concerned all the previous German-run missions, most delegates were Tanganyikan Christian leaders. Richard Reusch, who represented the Augustana Mission, was elected president of MCF. MCF was established in 1938 as a common organisation for the Lutheran missions under the Bethel, Berlin and Leipzig societies (Smedjebacka 1973, 60-61, 331; Danielson 1977, 53; Bernander 1968, 33). The Usambara and Uzaramo (alt. Usaramo) fields had, at the outbreak of the war, around 10,000 and 2,000 Christians respectively and were served by 30 missionaries. Most of the Berlin work was done in the Southern Highlands with around 20,000 Christians and 40 missionaries (Hall 1984, 50).

⁴⁷⁵ J-ELM 1939, 14-15; Reusch, ALM-AC 1945, 52. In Shigatini, the number of Christians decreased from 1,725 to 916 (J-ELM 1939, 14-15; Reusch, ALM-AC 1945, 52). The Pare field was the weakest field, which was partly due to the strong influx of Islam and the early shortfall of missionaries. Three of the five missionaries had to leave their stations in 1939 (Reusch, Meru – Chagga – Pare Church 1943, 2; Rother, ELMB 1941, 28-30; Smedjebacka 1973, 69).

congregations, especially in the large Chagga congregations around Kilimanjaro.⁴⁷⁶

In spite of the many problems that burdened the Lutheran work during the war, the period was valuable as a time of indigenisation for the Church. This was fully in line with the plans of the Lutheran mission societies who had increasingly striven to prepare the young Tanganyika churches for autonomy – i.e. self-government, self-support and self-propagation.⁴⁷⁷ During the first days of September 1940, shortly before his internment, Missionary Rother called together a number of parish leaders to a meeting in Marangu. At this consultative meeting, the future of the work was discussed and four new leaders were elected; all of them Tanganyikans. Rev. Solomon Nkya from Machame was elected the first and Rev. Lazarus Laiser from Arusha the second vice-leader of the Church. Teacher Stefano Moshi became the supervisor of the educational work in the Church and Asheri Shuma in charge of Church finances. Regional leaders, or district pastors, were also elected. Laiser was chosen as the leader for Arusha and Meru, Nkya for Kilimanjaro and Rev. Andreas Msechu for the Pare region. Two years later, in 1942, the first Church Constitution was accepted. An Executive Council came into being and, in general, the Constitution implied increased Church autonomy for the Lutherans in northern Tanganyika. The name of the new Church became The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika (LCNT).⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁶ Hall 1984, 110. Although this problem was more acute at Kilimanjaro, it also was found in other congregations with a high percentage of young people and second generation Christians. 'We are not deluding ourselves that all is well with the African church. Far too many are weak and faithless and have fallen back into vicious heathendom. We watch this with heavy hearts and tears. Perhaps many of these natives have foundered because they were unready for baptism. Perhaps we have erred in trying to bring in masses of only half converted Africans.' (Olson to Fellow Missionaries, 23 October 1944).

⁴⁷⁷ Smedjebacka 1973, 89-90.

⁴⁷⁸ Moritzen 1986, 95-97; Smedjebacka 1973, 57-58; 63-66. The prior Church Rules had tied the Lutheran parishes closely to the Leipzig Mission. With the Constitution, the Church was separated from the Leipzig Mission, yet not from the foreign mission. For instance, the foreign mission still was to elect the superintendent of the Church. Nothing was mentioned

The roles of the vice-leaders were discussed at a LCNT Pastors' Conference in 1947. Smedjebacka writes that 'the Pastors' Conference now decided that the Church, regardless of what was contained or not contained in the Church Constitution, must also have an African pastor as vice-superintendent'.⁴⁷⁹ The vice-superintendent became the spiritual leader of the Church, and was, as such, in charge of all the pastors and district pastors. Internal congregational concerns as well as problems among the pastorhood should also be settled by the vice-superintendent. The superintendent, who bore the ultimate responsibility for the leadership of the Church, was still to be an expatriate missionary. A new Church Constitution was principally accepted at the General Assembly in 1948 and finally ratified in 1950. In the Church Constitution, the role of the superintendent and vice-superintendent as well as of two more posts in the Church, the secretary and treasurer, was defined. The qualifications necessary for a pastoral candidate, as well as for the role of the pastors, were also included in the Constitution. For the future autonomy of the Church, it was also significant that the Executive Council was developed. The Executive Council was given more authority and was made the main forum where all important matters were settled.⁴⁸⁰

about any vice superintendent or the two vice-leaders assigned in 1940. (Smedjebacka 1973, 65; Moritzen 1986, 96-97).

⁴⁷⁹ Smedjebacka 1973, 92.

⁴⁸⁰ Smedjebacka 1973, 92, 97. The vice-superintendent and the superintendent were, in the Church Constitution of 1948, put on equal footing with the exception that only the vice-superintendent could act as chairman of the pastors' conferences. The vice-superintendent should, hereafter, be elected by the General Assembly, whereas nothing was written in the Church Constitution regarding the election or period of the superintendent. The Church Constitution of 1948 replaced the old one of 1942. It was finally ratified in 1950 after some minor amendments had been made (Smedjebacka 1973, 96-98). For more information about the new Church Constitution and its impact on the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika, see Smedjebacka 1973, 93 ff.

4.1. The Years of Maasai Work without Permanent Missionary Presence

The Maasai work during the war years suffered severely from a shortage of trained personnel, a lack of medical care and reduced maintenance of the stations. When the Leipzig missionaries were interned in 1939 and 1940, work on the Maasai plains was still young and had no more than 25 baptised Christians. Some of these fell off and returned to their old practices. Others remained faithful. Yet, among those who stayed, no one had the competence needed to take responsibility for the work, nor were any overseas missionaries sent to Maasailand deliberately to continue the work of the interned missionaries.⁴⁸¹

Elmer Danielson, the LCNT superintendent, noted in 1947 that the medical work was ‘the most effective avenue into the souls of the Maasai’. In his opinion, the Leipzig Mission had provided excellent medical care. Many of the Christians and those frequenting the church services had come into contact with the Lutheran work through the mission dispensary at Naberera. Since nobody continued to provide medical care at the Leipzig Mission dispensaries after 1939, the overall work suffered badly when the Leipzigers departed.⁴⁸²

⁴⁸¹ Reusch indicated that there were only 10-12 Christians and practically no catechumens in Maasailand at the outbreak of the war. This statement can be questioned since it comes from a memorandum where Reusch tried to emphasise his own contributions to the Maasai work (Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 3). Probably the number of Christians was between 12 and 25. It is not known how many Christians in Maasailand fell off and returned to their traditional beliefs and lifestyles during the war. However, according to a report in *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt* in 1941, the Maasai, due to the pressure from the *loibon*, became more hesitant towards the Christian work after the war broke out (ELMB 1941, 26).

⁴⁸² Danielson, ALM-AC 1947, 73. Danielson became the LCNT superintendent when Reusch went on furlough in 1946. He acted as superintendent during 1946-1950 and 1952-1955. During 1950-1952, Reusch was superintendent. Moritzen writes that the church had not been consulted before Danielson was elected, although the Church Constitution stated that the General Assembly should have the right to accept or reject a new superintendent (Moritzen 1986, 98. See also Smedjebacka 1973, 65).

The rescue came during the decade 1939-1949⁴⁸³ from the Arusha congregation, which sent teachers and evangelists to the Maasai. Workers were sent on the same six-month basis as when permanent work started in 1929. One area that demanded the attention of these workers was schooling. There were five bush schools in Maasailand in 1945.⁴⁸⁴ Apart from the work that the teachers did in the bush schools, the teachers and evangelists embarked on long journeys to preach the Christian message to the people on the plains. The person in charge of the evangelistic work in Maasailand was the Arusha/Meru District Pastor Lazarus Laiser. Being the only indigenous Maasai-speaking local pastor, the co-ordination of much of the work as well as most of the church ceremonies rested on him.⁴⁸⁵ Superintendent Richard Reusch also paid sporadic visits into Maasailand. Although, as superintendent of the LCNT, he was officially in charge of the whole project, his other duties hindered him from participating on a permanent basis.⁴⁸⁶

It was strategically important for the Lutherans to uphold the Maasai work during and after the war. Neither the Arusha congregation nor the overseas missionaries were prepared to leave Maasailand open to other denominations. The strategy was to permanently supply as many as possible of the previous missions and outposts with teachers and evangelists. Those who could not be provided with a permanent worker should at least be visited on a regular basis.⁴⁸⁷ In the northern part of Maasailand, work during the war years was primarily concentrated to

⁴⁸³ Hohenberger and Pätzig were allowed to do very little work in Maasailand between September 1939 and their internment in July 1940. Hence the work was much in the hands of the Arusha congregation from 1939. Pätzig and Hohenberger could naturally, at least to some extent, guide and direct the Maasai work via the Arusha teachers and evangelists until their internment.

⁴⁸⁴ Pätzig 1975, 75; *Bendera ya Kikristo*, May 1949, 6-7. See also table 4.2. in this volume.

⁴⁸⁵ Pätzig 1959, 23-24.

⁴⁸⁶ Reusch did not mention anything about Lazarus Laiser being in charge of any part of the work (Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 1954, 2). This does not imply that Laiser did not have a key role in the Maasai work, but rather that Reusch had a tendency to stress his own importance at the cost his co-workers.

⁴⁸⁷ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2.

Longido and Engaruka. Longido was opened in 1940 and, from there, work spread to Oldonyo Sambu to the north of Mount Meru the following year. Engaruka was visited by evangelists from the beginning of the war and was permanently inhabited by evangelists in 1943.⁴⁸⁸ Monduli became a permanent outpost already in 1941. A plot was obtained soon after, but a proper chapel was not built until 1947. Evangelistic work to the northwest of Lake Manyara, at Oldeani and Mto wa Mbu, was introduced as early as 1940. At some stage during the war years, three African sergeants from the recent British war campaign in Burma began working as evangelists in Maasailand. Owing to their position as former soldiers, these men, according to Reusch, were stationed at ‘the most dangerous outposts’ and they set about their task passionately. By 1946, one of them, based at Oldeani, instructed as many as 76 catechumens.⁴⁸⁹ Permanent work at Loliondo, close to the Kenyan border, started around 1946. In a letter to the Leipzig Mission, the Loliondo evangelists wrote in positive terms about their work. The reception among the local population was encouraging. After a short period of preaching, 15 people had asked for baptismal education. Sunday services were held every Sunday morning and catechumen classes every Saturday and Sunday.⁴⁹⁰ In the south, Naberera continued to be a permanent Lutheran centre – albeit without health care. From Naberera, the work expanded to Landanai in 1945-1946. As per Reusch’s memorandum in 1946, Makama had permanent facilities and a full-time evangelist by 1946. No separate information about the Makama work was provided by the superintendent or the indigenous workers. After having been neglected for some time due to the departure of the German

⁴⁸⁸ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2; Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48. See also Smedjebacka 1973, 85-86. The Engaruka evangelists obtained a part of their food and income from farming (Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48).

⁴⁸⁹ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48; Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2. In 1947, proper chapels were built at Oldeani and Mto wa Mbu (Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2).

⁴⁹⁰ *Aus dem alten Räuberstamm der Masai in Ostafrika*, 1946. See also Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48 and Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2.

missionaries, Lutheran work at Kibaya was reopened and provided with an evangelist in 1942.⁴⁹¹

At these locations and their surrounding homesteads, the teachers and evangelists were preaching the Christian Gospel, either in Sunday services, catechumen classes or during more informal meetings with people. The African workers were, as representatives of the Lutheran Church, given a great deal of responsibility. Their actions and teachings were the things which the people on the plains were likely to remember and associate with the Lutheran Church. Those teachers who instructed catechumens bore a particularly high responsibility. Given that the catechumen instruction provided the candidates with basic knowledge in the Lutheran Christian faith, it also provided the Lutheran mission congregations in Maasailand with a necessary doctrinal basis. There was a fear among overseas workers, that the lack of solid doctrinal foundations, as well as pastors that were deep-rooted in the Lutheran faith, would lead the congregations in Tanganyika to sectarianism.⁴⁹² Previously, the catechumen and confirmation education had been led by a pastor or a trusted teacher. The only Maasai-speaking pastors during and after the war were Richard Reusch and Lazarus Laiser. They were naturally ultimately responsible for this education although personally unable to control everything that was being taught on the many outposts. In most cases, the indigenous messengers appear to have done excellent work. Many of the teachers and evangelists working with the Maasai had served for many years and were, therefore, experienced and trusted. Only in some cases, teachers and evangelists were reported as misbehaving and being lazy. When that happened, the teacher/evangelist in question

⁴⁹¹ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2; Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48. See also Smedjebacka 1973, 86. It was possible for the teachers and evangelists to do farming at Naberera (Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48). Apparently Abel Sirikwa, who had settled at Kibaya in 1936, had moved away (see page 155). On some older maps, Makama is written Makami.

⁴⁹² Swanson, Report on the Orphaned Lutheran Mission in Tanganyika, 13.

was replaced and his successor was given an even higher responsibility to repair any damage done.⁴⁹³

Since no pastor was fully engaged in the Maasai work, apart from Lazarus Laiser serving at Arusha-Ilboru, the work lacked vital components for success. The shortage of trained teachers, medical workers and, above all, well-planned mission strategies made expansion difficult. However, although wartime work on the Maasai plains was considered slow and the venture, in some aspects, was in crisis, the statistics show that there was some progress. During the war, the number of Christians on the Maasai steppe increased fourfold. Many of these belonged to tribal groups other than the Maasai. In 1942, only 16 out of 38 were Maasai-proper. Nevertheless, in 1943, Reusch wrote that he had baptised the first Maasai family. He also noted that the work had been organised more strictly and that the number of catechumens was increasing more than at any time before.⁴⁹⁴ The results of these efforts could be seen in 1945-1946 when the number of Christians in Maasailand grew from 49 to 107. School work was maintained during the whole war. Education was considered one of the best means for the Mission to receive baptismal candidates and, with as many as 120 pupils in 1945, the future looked bright.

Table 4.2.

Lutheran work in Maasailand 1939-1946

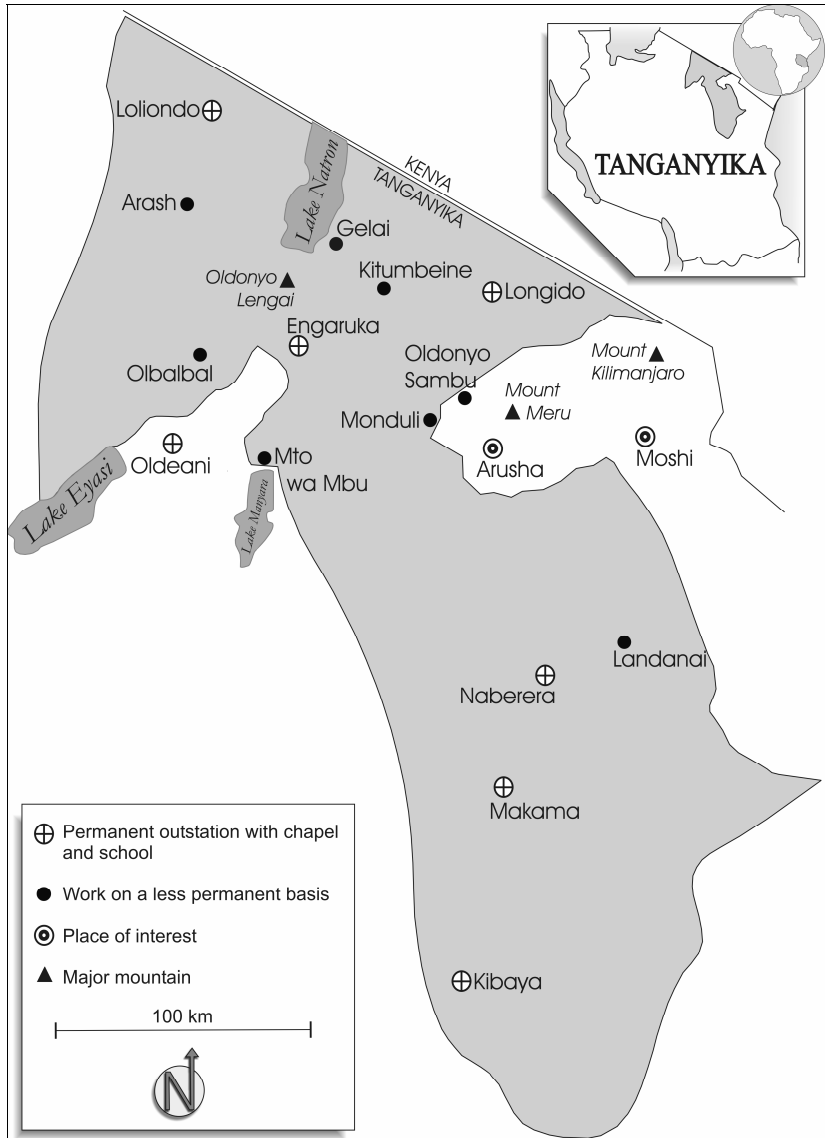
Year	Christians	Catechumens	Confirmands	Bush schools	Pupils
1939	25	8		4	41
1942	38 ^a	14			
1945	49	18	12	5	120
1946	107 ^b				

Sources: J-ELM 1939; Reusch, ALM-AC 1945; Laiser 1942 in Smedjebacka 1973, 86; ALM-AC 1947, 79-80. ^aIncluding 7 children. Of these, only 16 were Maasai-proper. ^bIncluding 19 children.

⁴⁹³ Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 30, 34.

⁴⁹⁴ Reusch, Meru – Chagga – Pare Church 1943, 2; Reusch, Memorandum About the Masai Work, 2.

Map 4.1.
Lutheran work in the Maasai District 1940-1946



Sources: Reusch, *ALM-AC 1946*, 48; Reusch, *Memorandum about the Masai Work*.

Before going on furlough, Richard Reusch wrote a dramatic memorandum on the Maasai mission work. He described the Maasai as the key to the spreading of Christianity in Northern Tanganyika. If the Maasai were converted, the rest of the ethnic groups in the north of the country would follow. Reusch presented a plan for continued mission work, where he brought up three tasks on which he thought the Mission should concentrate.

First, the Maasai should be encouraged to change their views on pastoralism as their only livelihood. Reusch wanted them to settle down and either combine cattle rearing with agriculture and other traditional professions or to completely replace their source for living with new sources. Some of the evangelists and teachers, according to Reusch, were exemplary for the Maasai since they were good agriculturalists and persuaded the Maasai to take to agriculture. The Lutheran Mission, according to Reusch, should play a major role in this transition by teaching the Maasai carpentry, masonry, tailoring and agriculture. Industrial centres for this task were to be opened, one in the north and one in the south.⁴⁹⁵

Second, Reusch emphasised health care among the Maasai. This was the part of the work that had suffered most during the war years. Since the deacons Buchta and Kutter left Naberera and Arash at the end of 1939 practically no medical work had been done. Reusch wished to increase the engagement of African workers in this area. In his view, every larger outpost should have not only an evangelist but also a medical worker. He, therefore, suggested that the mission should educate a number of Maasai-speaking boys, not only to become evangelists but also medical dressers. A more experienced medical worker would be in charge of the others.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁵ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48. See also footnotes 488 and 491.

⁴⁹⁶ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48. Reusch suggested a man named Eliza Marko for the proposed position as head-dresser. For more about medical dressers, see chapter 4.2.3.

Third, the whole Maasai-speaking field should, as said by Reusch, become one unit, a Church Province, separated from the rest of the work. This unit should have an experienced leader of its own; a leader who was to be granted extensive rights as well as his own credit fund. By following this plan, the Lutherans could perhaps prevent other denominations from entering the Maasai plains. More than anything, Reusch wanted to make Maasailand one completely Lutheran field. The words that Reusch used to communicate his vision and plan for the Maasai to supporters in the US and Germany were filled with romanticism.⁴⁹⁷

Any further delay may prove serious. Let us put forth every effort to produce evangelists and teachers, who are “warriors of Christ” and who will fight HIS battles in the same high spirit, which the Masai have had until now. Those of them who are Christians look upon every difficulty and every sacrifice as a part of their duty towards their Lord and heavenly King. – And then when the Cross will stand in the centre of the wide Masai plains and the voice of the bells will call the people of those plains to worship the crucified SAVIOUR, then our Christian Lutheran Church will have an un-shakeable foundation in the northern half of Tanganyika. [...] Then, when some day our King will come to claim HIS own, HE will find among them also a great number of Masai women, children and....warriors, who were faithful unto HIM. And then, my fellow Missionaries, then....our duty, which we received from HIM, will be....fulfilled!⁴⁹⁸

This memorandum marks the end of Richard Reusch’s first term as an Augustana missionary. After this, he went on furlough. When returning in 1949, he would not continue as superintendent but as a full-time Maasai missionary. At this point, it is worth noting that Reusch’s memorandum can be seen from several viewpoints. First and foremost, Reusch was undoubtedly sincere in his devotion to the Maasai. He enjoyed working among them. He truly wanted to see the Lutheran

⁴⁹⁷ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 45-49. A similar memorandum was also sent to the Leipzig Mission.

⁴⁹⁸ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 49.

Church being established on the Maasai plains and he had big hopes that the Church would gain immensely if the Maasai, as a tribe, was converted to Christianity.⁴⁹⁹

Secondly, Reusch made it clear that he was determined to change and develop the mission work, as he himself believed it necessary. Development work, education and health care were key issues in Reusch's mission plans for Maasailand. His plans, however, also included radical changes for the Maasai, as he wanted them to settle down and learn new means of earning their living. Reusch was in no way alone in his critical stand regarding the nomadic lifestyle and cattle economy of the Maasai; this view was shared by government officers and most of his contemporary missionaries.⁵⁰⁰ Reusch appears, however, to have held a unique position in the question. He wanted socioeconomic change because he knew that a sedentary tribe would be easier to reach, and because he believed that the Maasai would suffer increasingly if they remained nomads. Reusch did not, however, give much thought to socioeconomic change unless it walked hand-in-hand with Christianity.⁵⁰¹

Thirdly, Reusch's letter may be seen as a means of campaigning for a project that he believed in. Reusch did not write the memorandum about anything that he regarded as insignificant, but about things in

⁴⁹⁹ In fact, Reusch was not the only missionary to believe that the Maasai tribe was the key to the spreading of the Christian Gospel in northern Tanganyika. In 1932, Johannes Hohenberger wrote two letters to the director of the Leipzig Mission, Carl Ihmels, with quite a similar message. He took it amiss that the funds provided for the Maasai work were insufficient and feared that the Catholics would send workers to Maasailand. He also regretted that the supporters at home had not realised that reaching the Maasai would be the key to the christening of many other tribes and, in turn, preventing the spread of Islam (Hohenberger to Ihmels, 17 June 1932; Hohenberger to Ihmels, 1 November 1932).

⁵⁰⁰ Waller notes that AIM and CMS missionaries at the beginning of the century wanted the Kenyan Maasai to settle on the same grounds i.e. on 'assumptions [...] about the necessary relationship between civilization, sedentarization and the humbling or even extinction of a once proud nomadic peoples' (Waller 1999, 90).

⁵⁰¹ 'Within the next 20 years, the worldly civilization will penetrate into those plains, and with it, the Masai will lose the best sides of their character. Only a civilization with Christ can save those tribes and enable them to become "a tool in HIS hands."' (Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48).

which he had faith and of which he would be personally in charge. By making bold statements and suggestions before going on furlough, Reusch could prepare for a successful comeback in 1949. Reusch did not want to be the leader for an endeavour without proper backing in terms of finance and personnel. He wanted to lead a mission that not only had good chances for success but where he also had the freedom to make the decisions that he himself found appropriate.

In order for Reusch to receive the support which he was asking for, he had to convince the readers of the memorandum that their money would be well spent. In this case, Reusch was probably the right man for the task. He both believed strongly in the project and had some of the leadership abilities that were needed. He also possessed a genuine knowledge of the Maasai culture and had many years of missionary experience. Although Reusch generally did not try to deny his own qualifications or experience, it was apparent that many Maasai respected him and listened to him.⁵⁰² He could also point out some achievements, including the many catechumens at Oldeani and the overall functioning evangelistic and school work on the plains despite the lack of overseas missionaries.

When Reusch presented the number of Christians in the region, however, he included not only the Arusha but also the Meru people. Instead of writing that in 1946 there were 107 baptised Maasai – many of whom were not even Maasai-proper – he mentioned 8,000 Christians including the Ilboru and Nkoaranga congregations. It is most unlikely

⁵⁰² According to Reusch, the Maasai followed a leader who managed to surpass them in physical endurance, strength and courage (Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 46-47). Reusch's point was that he himself surpassed them in these aspects and that the Maasai, as a result, followed him. It is not my intention to make a comprehensive analysis on the personality of Richard Reusch. However, it should be noted that Reusch's way of presenting himself and his opinions sprung from his personality rather than any kind of arrogance. Reusch's bold and energetic personality, in combination with his experience as soldier in the Tsar-Russian army, came in handy from the point when he became a missionary in 1923. Apart from his missionary duties, he served as a medical worker in Arusha and Nkoaranga. See ELMB 1923, 67-68; Reusch, ELMB 1923, 153-157. Pätzig to Ihmels, 15 March 1931.

that Reusch himself believed that the predominantly Chagga-related Meru tribe would ever become a fully integrated part of the Maasai.⁵⁰³ Indeed the Meru tribe had, since around 1881, belonged to the same system of age-sets as the Kisongo and Arusha. Their joining was, however, above all, a result of the contemporary military superiority of the Maasai and Arusha *murran* of the age-set *Talala*. As the influence of these warriors weakened during the European colonisation, so did the need of the Meru to have their sons initiated along with the Arusha and Maasai. In 1926, when the Arusha and Maasai circumcised their sons to become warriors into a new age-set named *Terito*, the Meru joined in the official ceremonies but formed their own age-set under the name *Kisali*. In 1959, the Meru tribe finally broke from the Arusha and Maasai. The Arusha, who, not only in language but also culturally and ethnically, were exceedingly integrated with the Maasai, continued to initiate their boys into the Maasai age-sets.⁵⁰⁴ Although the Meru, at least formally, joined in the Kisongo and Arusha initiations until 1959 – five years after Reusch had retired as a missionary – it is unlikely that a man with knowledge of the Maasai, such as that of Dr. Reusch, was unaware of the Meru's gradual separation from the Maasai. The probable reason why Reusch included not only the Arusha but also the Meru in these statistics might well be that he tried to emphasise the need for a separate Arusha/Meru/Maasai mission area or Church Province, and to stir foreign interest in this work. For Reusch, it made little sense to state the importance of a completely separate, geographically enormous Maasai field with only 107 Christians. A unified Maasai-Arusha-Meru-block, which already had 8,000 Christians was a much safer bet for prospective supporters. Reusch's attempt to bind the three tribes together should, therefore, be seen primarily, perhaps, as an attempt to draw interest in

⁵⁰³ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 46-49. Reusch admitted 'that 66 % of their [the Meru-people] blood is Chagga blood' but also claimed that 'they are becoming more and more "Masai-ized"'. (Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 47-48).

⁵⁰⁴ Spear 1997, 29-30.

mission work among the Maasai and to secure funds, personnel and, thus, a future for the Maasai field.

4.2. A Time of Expansion

The ratification of the new Church Constitution within the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika in 1950 was an important step towards Church autonomy. A further step on this road was taken in 1951 when collective Congregational Rules were ratified by the Executive Council. Through these Rules, the rights and obligations of the congregations within the Church were made clear. According to Smedjebacka, the Rules were entirely designed for independent congregations in an autonomous Church.⁵⁰⁵ Apart from applying to the spiritual life and work in the congregations, the Congregational Rules also included paragraphs concerning congregation workers, both on a salary and volunteer basis. The duties and rights of the primary and bush school teachers were also included in the Congregational Rules. In particular, the ethical responsibility of the bush school teachers was emphasized. Both teacher categories were subordinated to the local congregations.⁵⁰⁶

While the LCNT, as a Church, took significant steps towards autonomy, the work in the Maasai District was still to be considered a mission field. During and after the war, the number of Christians in Maasailand had grown slightly, but none of their congregations even had a pastor. The year 1949 brought significant changes to the Maasai work. In 1949, when Richard Reusch returned to Tanganyika, he assumed the role of a full-time Maasai missionary after having served as superintendent before his furlough. His petition for more support for the

⁵⁰⁵ Smedjebacka 1973, 136-138.

⁵⁰⁶ Smedjebacka 1973, 137-139.

Maasai work had also been successful. The missionary budget rose from 11,500 shillings in 1948 to 31,625 shillings in 1949.⁵⁰⁷ Moreover, for the first time in ten years, a full-time medical missionary, Arthur Anderson from the Augustana Mission, was stationed in Maasailand. According to Superintendent Elmer Danielson's annual report in 1948, the conditions for forthcoming work under the Maasai were favourable. Maasai on several locations had requested schools, hospitals and evangelism. Land plots had been donated for Lutheran work. One church had been built during the year and one was under construction.⁵⁰⁸

The five-year period of 1949-1954 was a time of rapid Lutheran expansion on the Maasai plains. Reusch's main goal during this period was to expand the mission work as completely as possibly in order to make it difficult for the Catholics to enter. The Maasai District, as intended by Reusch, was to become a Lutheran district.⁵⁰⁹ Much effort was put into acquiring plots for schools, chapels and other necessary buildings. These plots could no longer be purchased by foreigners, such as the missionaries themselves or the mission societies, but had to be bought by Tanganyikan nationals or donated to the LCNT by local owners. By 1946, the Arusha congregation and chiefs had already bought several plots where simple chapels and schools had been erected.⁵¹⁰

The holistic approach characterizing the Leipzig Mission Maasai work was to be characteristic also for the Augustana/CYCOM work in the 1950s. Lutheran mission work in Tanganyika was pursued on primarily three fronts; the evangelistic, educational and medical. The key aim was to reach the population with the Christian Gospel, but the methods used could vary. Work in Maasailand was no exception, but was, in so much as possible, pursued on several fronts.⁵¹¹ In many cases,

⁵⁰⁷ ALM-AC 1947, 90; ALM-AC 1948, 98.

⁵⁰⁸ Danielson, R-ALM-FGM, 72.

⁵⁰⁹ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 1954, 2; Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 52; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 52; Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48.

⁵¹⁰ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48.

⁵¹¹ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 82.

the Maasai merely invited the Lutherans to establish schools, thus giving the Christian dimension a secondary role. Nevertheless, it was seen by the Lutherans as a valuable opening and opportunity for the work of the Gospel. Similarly, most of those who sought medical aid were neither acquainted with the Lutheran Church, nor did they plan to become Christians. Nevertheless, many of the early Maasai Christians, as we have already seen, were old patients and medical work was thus considered a valuable method for reaching the Maasai.

After the Second World War, the British mandate administration increased its efforts to incorporate the Maasai into the economic development of Tanganyika. Efforts were made to turn them into full-time cattle producers. Higher taxes were introduced in the Maasai District to force the Maasai to sell cattle in order to acquire money to pay these taxes.⁵¹² The government did not only force the Maasai by means of taxation, but it also tried to create conditions favourable enough for them to be able to become prosperous cattle breeders. This included creating artificial waterholes and dams, opening cattle markets and clearing tsetse infected bush.⁵¹³ Development took place in other spheres in Maasailand as well. Schools and health clinics were opened and travelling was made easier through the implementation of bus services.⁵¹⁴

It was in this context that the Lutheran mission was built up after nearly ten years of relief work by the Arusha-Ilboru congregation. The government welcomed external contributors and, under some circumstances, also promised them financial aid. The Maasai could, as taxpayers, rank the allocation of financial support in accordance with their preferences. Most of the tax funds were redistributed through the Maasai Native Treasury. In 1949, the Native Treasury spent more than

⁵¹² Hodgson 2000b, 56, 62.

⁵¹³ Hodgson 2000b, 55-61. Attempts were also made to persuade the Maasai to feed their cattle with baled hay, something that they, according to Hodgson, refused for fear of disease. The aim with these measures was simply to make Maasailand economically productive.

⁵¹⁴ Hodgson 2000b, 64.

£10,000 on development-related projects such as water development, medical care and education.⁵¹⁵ Richard Reusch's views on the roles of the Lutheran mission went largely hand-in-hand with the plans of the government. He emphasised the role of the mission in the transition of the Maasai from nomadic herders to what many expatriate workers considered to be more functional and sustainable livelihoods. Contrary to the government, Reusch, however, did not stress full-time cattle rearing as the only alternative for the Maasai, but wanted them to take up a variety of professions, including cattle breeding and agriculture. He considered the nomadic lifestyle of the Maasai to be fragile and non-functional, and he wanted to see more diversity among the Maasai – a diversity which he resolutely believed necessitated settling. But he also stressed the importance of evangelism, education and health care, and was determined to see those improvements materialise.⁵¹⁶

4.2.1. Evangelistic Work

Their souls must be helped by bringing the GOSPEL to them with (a) its high ideals of purity of heart and body, (b) of the blessings of manual work (II Thes. 3, 10: "If any will not work, neither may he eat"), and (c) of brotherly love, that they may leave their ruinous customs, use their strength for work and live in peace with their neighbours. This is the duty of the Evangelistic branch of our work.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁵ In 1949, as we will see later, the clinic at Naberera was reopened. The dispensary was largely sponsored by the Native Treasury. Although the Maasai were [at least nominally] the ones to decide which sectors were to be attributed money, it is likely that they had very little to do with what was actually paid from the Native Treasury. For statistics and Native Treasury, see Hodgson 2000b, 64.

⁵¹⁶ Of these three, the Maasai gave priority to health care. Education was not as appreciated, but rather considered a necessity. This was made clear already in 1930 when the Maasai granted the Leipzig Mission the right to begin working in Maasailand. An elder emphasised that it was important that at least **a few children** learn to read, write and count (Pätzig 1975, 59. Emphasis added). This order of preference was also made clear in 1949 when £4,000 was paid for water development, £2,000 to expand the medical program and £1,000 to build primary schools (Statistics from Hodgson 2000b, 64. Numbers rounded).

⁵¹⁷ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 82.

Richard Reusch's evangelistic goals were highly characterised by functionality. He did not only want to see people baptised and changed spiritually, but he also wanted to see fundamental socioeconomic and custom-related changes in people. In that sense, he diverted quite little from his predecessors who had placed high honour in manual work and moderation. Reusch's personal role, when it came to evangelistic work in Maasailand, like Laiser's before him, included the responsibility of guiding, supporting and supervising the many people engaged in evangelistic work on the Maasai field. Among these people were, apart from the evangelists, teachers and health workers also individuals working for the government who were willing to give their contribution to the mission task.⁵¹⁸

Although the primary aim was to reach the Maasai proper, many of the people who came to the schools and Sunday services, entered baptismal classes and became Christians were non-Maasai. Many of the evangelists and teachers, as well as many of the peoples inhabiting the plains, belonged to other ethnic groups. Large concentrations of non-Maasai lived in the outskirts of the Maasai District and in the main centres. Mangola, between the lakes Eyasi and Manyara, was inhabited by both Maasai and by people from several Bantu tribes. In 1953, the evangelists and teachers were working among no less than six different tribes around Mangola.⁵¹⁹ The situation was similar at Loliondo. The Leipzig Mission had not succeeded in establishing a permanent mission in Loliondo. During the war years, only sporadic evangelistic work was done in the region, but from 1946, permanent work including catechumen education was carried out. As a result, the number of

⁵¹⁸ 'At Enduleny the Government teachers are helping our Evangelist to preach. At Arash our dresser is doing splendid Evangelistic work in Olala, Engare-ya-Mbuzi and in the kraals of the Masai. The veterinary guard Nehemia does the same at Lendanai, Seelani etc.' (Reusch, AR-LM1952, 51).

⁵¹⁹ Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 50. One of the reasons why many people had settled at Mangola was its abundance of water throughout the year. According to Reusch, only Arash, Engaruka and Mangola had sufficient water for irrigation (Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51-52).

Christians grew, but mainly among the non-Maasai. In 1950, more than half of these Christians came from tribes other than the Maasai.⁵²⁰

North Maasailand

In the northern sector, Loliondo and Arash were the most important centres. Whereas Arash developed quicker as a school and health care centre, Loliondo, with its mixed population, grew faster in terms of converts. While there were 168 Christians in the whole northern sector in November 1949, there were 236 Christians in Loliondo alone in 1950. At the end of 1953, Loliondo had more than 400 Christians.⁵²¹ The Arash station, which Hans-Wilhelm Blumer and Paul Kutter had been forced to leave in 1939, was re-built under difficult conditions in 1949. Extensive droughts made the Maasai move with their herds to the Arash River. Predators followed and wounded and killed several people. Typhoid and pneumonia epidemics ensued and made the conditions under which the station was built up very difficult.⁵²² The first catechumens receiving their baptismal instruction at the Arash station were baptised in October 1951, after which the number of Christians at Arash was 21. The growth at Maasai-dominated Arash was, however, slow compared to places with a mixed population. In November 1951, Loliondo, together with Arash, was recognized as a congregation within the LCNT. Since no African pastors competent in the Maasai language were available, Reusch took the role as pastor for Loliondo-Arash.⁵²³

⁵²⁰ Reusch, IAW 1950, 121; Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2; *Aus dem alten Räuberstamm der Masai in Ostafrika*.

⁵²¹ Reusch, IAW 1950, 133; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 49. In March 1953, no less than 52 people were baptised at Loliondo (Masawe, *Bendera ya Kikristo*, May 1953, 14).

⁵²² Reusch, IAW 1950, 133; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 86-87.

⁵²³ Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 34. 'In November 1951, the question of their future position was taken up by the Executive Council [of the LCNT]. The result was that the first four congregations in Masailand were recognised as independent, and were put on an equal footing with the other established congregations within the LCNT. This applied to Naberera-Kibaya in the south, Monduli-Longido in the northeast, Loliondo-Arash in the northwest, and Oldeani-Mangola in the west. In effect from 1 January 1952, these congregations were subjected to both the Church Constitution and the Congregational

From Loliondo and Arash, the teachers, evangelists and medical workers visited the nearby locations of Engare ya Mbuzi, Olala, Oldonyo Orok and Wasso. The Lutheran standing among the Loitai Maasai in the north had improved significantly and, in 1951, ole Mbatian, the *loibon*, personally donated a plot at Wasso to the Church. Ole Mbatian, who had previously opposed the mission, now wanted a chapel to be built and was, himself, interested in entering a baptismal class together with his ten wives.⁵²⁴ As a result of this acknowledgement, many people gathered to catechumen classes and Sunday school at Wasso and nearby Sakala in 1953. That same year, Olala and Engare ya Mbuzi, which together had more than 20 Christians and as many catechumens, got a mutual evangelist.⁵²⁵

Mbulu⁵²⁶

The Lutheran Maasai field in the west had Oldeani as its centre. Since this area was on the outskirts of the Maasai-steppe, it had a high percentage of non-Maasai. As a matter of fact, Reusch did not see this area as a fully integrated part of the Maasai field but as a new and separate field. Therefore, he wanted someone else to take separate responsibility for this work while still in full co-operation with the rest of the Lutheran Maasai work.⁵²⁷ The lack of reports suggests that there was

Rules. They would have to pay three per cent of their income to the central treasury, they would belong to the district of Arusha/Meru, and they would have the same liabilities and rights as other congregations.' (Smedjebacka 1973, 186). Reusch's wish was that Teacher Elikana Masawe would later become a pastor for Loliondo-Arash (Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 34). Masawe, who belonged to the Chagga tribe, was ordained in 1957 (Smedjebacka 1973, 322).

⁵²⁴ Reusch to Schiotz, 7 March 1951; Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 34. For more about the Loitai, see page 158.

⁵²⁵ Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 49-50.

⁵²⁶ The Mbulu or West Central Maasai area should not be mixed with what today constitutes the (government) Mbulu District in the Manyara Region. Rather the Lutheran Mbulu area examined in this study corresponds to what is today the Karatu District and the southern half of the Ngorongoro District in the Arusha Region. Much of the so called Mbulu-work was within the borders of the Maasai District whereas some was in the Mbulu District. See maps 4.2. and 5.1.

⁵²⁷ Reusch to Ihmels, 15 April 1950.

no mission activity in the Mbulu region during the period of Leipzig Mission work. This, naturally, does not exclude the potential work of evangelists in this region. Evangelistic, catechumen and bush school work was, however, begun during the war and chapels were built at Mto wa Mbu and Oldeani in 1947-1948.⁵²⁸ The work expanded favourably and was, from November 1949, handed over to Pastor Nahum Mrema, who settled at Oldeani. In 1950, there were more than 100 Christians at Oldeani and over 120 catechumens including Mto wa Mbu and people coming from Karatu and Mangola.⁵²⁹ In November 1951, the congregation Oldeani-Mangola with its close to 300 Christians, was officially recognized by the Executive Council of the LCNT.⁵³⁰ The work at Endulen, the furthest post in the west, constituted quite a typical example of how church work advanced in Maasailand. Evangelistic work began in 1950 by a government school teacher. A year later, work, including catechumen classes, was officially opened under Evangelist Ndevoya. A chapel was built in 1952 and, in 1953, there were around 40 Christians as well as a large catechumen class at Endulen.⁵³¹ By 1953, Mangola Juu, Endamaga, Nainokanoka, Olpiro, Manyara, Jangwa and Kitete had been opened as outposts. Some of them already had schools, a Christian population and catechumen classes. At some of these, bush schools were opened and chapels erected. Evangelist Zakaria got the responsibility for the work at the outposts Manyara, Jangwa and Kitete

⁵²⁸ Danielson, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 72; Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2. Hohenberger and Buchta visited the Ngorongoro area in 1937. The visit did not, however, result in any permanent work (Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*).

⁵²⁹ Reusch, IAW 1950, 121; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83. All the evangelists and teachers, Pastor Mrema included, were Reusch's old pupils (Reusch, IAW 1950, 121). Pastor Mrema, who belonged to the Chagga tribe, was ordained in 1942 (Smedjebacka 1973, 320). The Oldeani-Mangola Congregation was deprived of its pastor in 1953 when Mrema left (Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 50).

⁵³⁰ Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35.

⁵³¹ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83; Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35; Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 50. Money was donated by a local Lutheran for the building of the Chapel (Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51). Some of these 40 Christians had probably received their baptismal instruction and been baptised elsewhere.

near Lake Eyasi. An evangelist was also placed at Nainokanoka and a house was built for him.⁵³²

Central Maasailand

The Church work in Maasai-east, or central Maasailand as it was commonly called, was begun at Longido as early as 1930 by Missionary Hohenberger. Longido was predominantly inhabited by Maasai and had, during and after the Second World War, been one of the permanent positions for evangelistic work managed by the Arusha congregation.⁵³³ From Longido, the work expanded in several directions. Lutheran evangelistic work at the slopes of Oldonyo Sambu had been performed already during the war. In 1949, a bush school was opened, and, in 1950, the Christians at Oldonyo Sambu were given a plot where a stone church was later built in 1951.⁵³⁴ Extensive evangelistic work was done by the Longido workers, in particular by Evangelist Eliahu. In 1952, Lairiboro, to the south from Longido, and Namanga, on the Kenyan border, were opened as preaching places.⁵³⁵ Monduli, the administration centre of the Maasai, was one of the places where the Germans had been refused permission to build a permanent mission. According to Reusch, some

⁵³² Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 50. The plot at Nainokanoka was donated by locals convinced by the work of Evangelist Ndevoya.

⁵³³ Reusch, ALM-AC 1943, 65 et seq. According to the National Lutheran Council, there were, in 1958, 1,850 Maasai and only 150 non-Maasai around Longido (National Lutheran Council Masai Map, 1958). In May 1951, Longido Evangelist Elisa S. Akyoo reported that 17 had been baptised and one couple married in March. It is unclear how many of these were Maasai-proper. The Baptism service, however, was not only visited by Maasai but by people from various tribes. In the registered school, 36 out of the 49 pupils were Maasai-proper (Akyoo, *Bendera ya Kikristo*, May 1951).

⁵³⁴ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 86; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83; Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35. The church at Oldonyo Sambu was financed by the La Grange congregation in the USA (Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83).

⁵³⁵ Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35; Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 50. Some kind of work was also done at Ol Molog and Tinga Tinga in the northeast between Longido and Kilimanjaro. The question of work at these locations was brought up already in 1949. Reusch did not want to 'leave a corner open'. The population at Ol Molog wanted a dispensary (Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 86; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83). Probably the only Lutheran work at these places during Reusch's time as district missionary was sporadic evangelistic visits.

evangelistic activity took place there from 1938. After the Germans had left, the Lutherans were given access to Monduli and evangelists worked there on a permanent basis from 1941. The work expanded favourably and, in 1948, a stone church was built.⁵³⁶ Monduli, Longido and Oldonyo Sambu, with a combined total of around 300 Christians, became a congregation in November 1951. Naftali Laiser, one of the four new Maa-speaking pastors educated at the Lutheran seminary in Lwandai, became its pastor.⁵³⁷ Although active work was done at Monduli and there were more than 200 Lutheran Christians at the location, fear of competition from other denominations proved true. In 1953, it was reported that the Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers made their first efforts to open up work at Monduli.⁵³⁸

This sector of Lutheran Maasailand also included Engaruka, one of the Maasai centres with permanent evangelistic presence during the war. The Engaruka evangelists were keen agriculturalists and tried to persuade the Maasai to settle and learn to farm. This partly succeeded and, in 1946, there were 11 kraals with Maasai who had become farmers.⁵³⁹ It is difficult to say whether the Maasai at Engaruka chose to settle after the example of the evangelists or for other reasons. It is probable that the evangelists played a major role in this transition. Until the end of Reusch's five-year term in 1954, Engaruka was organizationally considered to belong to the central area. However, when Monduli, Longido and Oldonyo Sambu were recognised by the LCNT as

⁵³⁶ Danielson, R-ALM-FGM 1948, 72; Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2. In 1950 Longido had 126 and Monduli 86 Christians. Both had a large number of catechumens (Reusch, IAW 1950, 121).

⁵³⁷ The Lutheran Seminary in Lwandai, a three year programme (1947-1949), served all Lutheran missions in Tanganyika. It was the second pastoral training to be held in Tanganyika. The first course was the two-year programme held by Reusch during 1942-1944 (Hall 1984, 115). Naftali Saicire Laiser was baptised by Missionary Blumer on 21 July 1929 (*Missionsstation Aruscha, Verzeichnis der Taufen aus den Heiden* (1929)).

⁵³⁸ Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35; Pätzig 1959, 24; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 50. A Catholic congregation was founded at Monduli in 1958 (Catholic Directory of Eastern Africa 1968-1969, 158).

⁵³⁹ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48.

one congregation, Engaruka did not figure into this scenario, but Reusch planned to have Engaruka registered as a separate congregation. Therefore, Engaruka did not belong to the work district of Pastor Naftali Laiser either, but was served by the missionary. Engaruka, perhaps, developed more as a school centre than as a congregation. This notwithstanding, the situation in 1950/1951 showed a growing number of Christians as well as catechumens, and Sunday service attendance was promising. In the reports, no statistical details are given, but in 1953, in particular, the congregation was reported to have grown under Evangelist Yohanes and his assistant Solomon. Engaruka also served as a base for evangelist endeavours northwards to Gelai and Kitumbeine. At both these locations, catechumen classes were opened in 1953.⁵⁴⁰

Naberera

Naberera was the Lutheran centre in the southern sector and, thus, also the location where the newly ordained pastor, Ojungu Saingova Meshuareki, was located in 1950. Since 1949, Medical Missionary Arthur Anderson was also stationed at Naberera. The work at Naberera which had been carried on throughout the war was considered promising, and Teacher Losioki Lendapa was praised for his ability to inspire his students to become Christians. In 1950, all his pupils wanted to be baptised.⁵⁴¹ From Naberera, work expanded to Landanai and Engassumet in 1949, to Seelani in 1950 and to Simanjiro in 1952.⁵⁴² At Landanai and Engassumet, school and catechumen classes were opened. The Lutheran work at Naberera, Landanai and Engassumet was linked together in

⁵⁴⁰ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83; Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 50.

⁵⁴¹ Reusch, IAW 1950, 133; Reusch, R-ALM 1950, 83. Ojungu Saingova Meshuareki was one of the four Maasai-speaking pastors who got their pastoral education at the second theological school in Lwandai (Pätzig 1959, 24).

⁵⁴² Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35; Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 52; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51; Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2-3. The secretary of CYCOM, Dr. Fredrik A. Schiøtz baptised the first two converts from Simanjiro during his visit to Tanganyika in August 1952. This baptism took place at Naberera (Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 3).

several ways. They belonged to the work district of the same pastor and were, together with Kibaya, recognised as one congregation in November 1951. Lutheran health care was carried out on all three locations and additionally, the bush schools at Landanai and Engassumet functioned as feeder schools for the assisted school at Naberera. The pupils who showed the best results in the two bush schools were allowed to continue their education at Naberera. In 1953, chapels were finished at Landanai and Engassumet and living quarters for the teachers at Engassumet. The same year, Lengijabe, near Naberera, was included in the Lutheran work as an outpost.⁵⁴³ Evangelistic work was also pursued at Ruvu Remiti, the furthest eastern Lutheran outpost in Maasailand. The work there, including some medical work, was quite sporadic until 1954.⁵⁴⁴

At the end of November 1949, there were 41 Christians and 47 catechumens in the region which, until 1952, was called the Southern Area and which included Kibaya. Two years later, there were more than 180 Christians and over 140 catechumens. In 1953, Naberera and its outstations had a combined total of more than 300 Christians.⁵⁴⁵ People contributed to the work in various ways. Veterinary Guard Nehemia at Naberera volunteered as an evangelist at the outposts. Money for the buildings at Engassumet was donated by one of the government clerks and Medical Missionary Anderson. Even the district commissioner at Monduli contributed by donating a much needed well to the work at Naberera.⁵⁴⁶

The Far South

In 1950, Reusch reported that there were a few Christians and catechumens at Kibaya and that the Christian Gospel was being preached

⁵⁴³ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 86; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83-84; Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51.

⁵⁴⁴ Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35; Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 52; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51; Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 2.

⁵⁴⁵ Reusch, IAW 1950, 133; Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51.

⁵⁴⁶ Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51.

by the evangelists as far as Kijungu in the east and Mpwapwa in the south.⁵⁴⁷ Until 1952, Kibaya and the outposts in the southern part of Maasailand were a part of the Naberera mission area. When work expanded and new locations in the far south were included in the Lutheran work, the previously called southern sector became too large and Kibaya came to form a separate sector.⁵⁴⁸ Reusch emphasised the strategic importance of Kibaya, which he saw not only as a mission field but also as a bridge to the Swedish Lutheran Ubena-Konde fields in the south.⁵⁴⁹

Despite Reusch's big plans concerning the work in the far southern sector of Maasailand, Kibaya and its outposts appear to have been the part that advanced the slowest in terms of congregational work.⁵⁵⁰ Kibaya was also one of the parishes that was served by Reusch himself. Although a man of big plans, Reusch naturally could not give Kibaya and its outposts the same kind of attention as, for instance, Pastor Meshuareki could at Naberera. In 1953, a new church and a new house for the evangelist were built in Kibaya. There was a small but active unregistered congregation and a baptismal class. Evangelistic work was done in the neighbouring homesteads and the bush school was well-attended. These achievements did not, however, convince the Holy Ghost Fathers, who were looking for suitable locations for missions. In 1953, Reusch reported that the Catholics had already entered Kijungu and tried to open up work in Kibaya with the help of the Catholic head teacher of the government Native Administration school.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁷ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 84. Due to a lack of statistics, the number of these Christians and catechumens is not known.

⁵⁴⁸ Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 50.

⁵⁴⁹ Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 52.

⁵⁵⁰ This is difficult to prove, since very little was reported statistically. The assumption is based on the reports and what Reusch wrote in them.

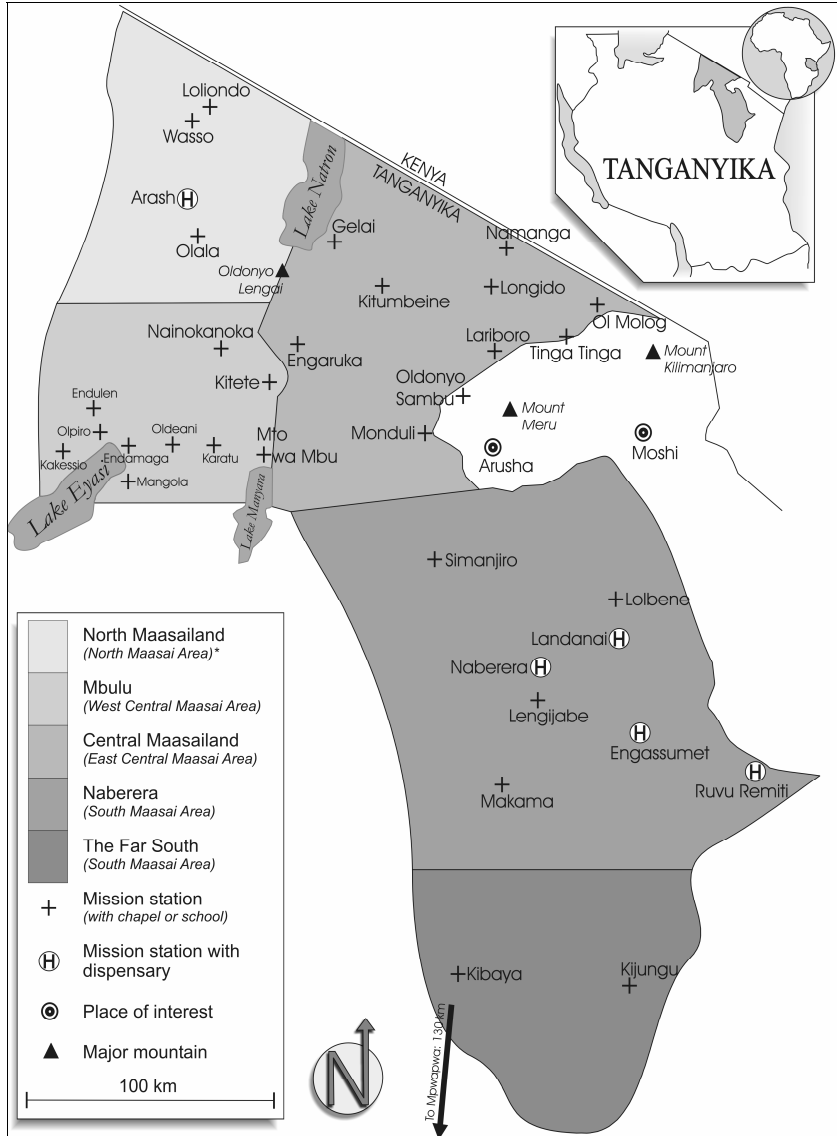
⁵⁵¹ Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51. The Native Administration schools were equivalent to the advanced Lutheran schools. No Catholic congregation was founded at Kibaya in the 1950s, but, in 1962, one was established further east in Kijungu (Catholic Directory of Eastern Africa 1968-1969, 157-159).

Apart from the work that was described in the various reports, many other locations were sporadically visited by the missionary and the Arusha workers. Teachers, evangelists and volunteers made widespread journeys from their home bases and, in doing so, tried to awaken an interest in Christianity among people outside the permanent Lutheran positions. As a general rule, teachers and evangelists were positioned at all populous places where they were welcomed and where people wanted schooling or baptismal instruction. The Lutheran map of Maasailand was ever changing, much because of the mobility of the people embraced by the Lutheran work. Many people attended baptismal classes and were baptised at a different location than where they later participated in congregational work. In the early 1950s, baptisms were held with relatively short intervals. As non-ordained lay workers, the evangelists were not allowed to baptise people. This task was incumbent upon the pastors and the missionary. Whereas the African pastors baptised primarily catechumens and children in their own congregations, Reusch baptised people when visiting locations without a pastor.⁵⁵²

⁵⁵² ‘The number of Christians is about 1,500, of the Catechumen – about 800. But during every one of my safaris a group is baptized as, for example, when I was with Dr. Schiotz at Naberera or a week ago at Engaruka. Therefore the numbers are constantly growing, and I can never give the exact numbers.’ (Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51).

Map 4.2.

Lutheran work in Maasailand 1949-1953



Sources: R-ALM-FGM 1949, 84-87, 94-95; R-ALM-FGM 1950, 77, 82-85, 95-96; R-FGM 1951, 30, 34-36, 52-53; AR-LM 1952, 50-53; AR-LM 1953, 49-52; Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work. The names in brackets are the names of the sectors according to the National Lutheran Council Maasai map, 1958.

Maasai Contextualisation under Dr. Richard Reusch

Reusch attempted to present the Christian Gospel in a way that would make it relevant to the Maasai. In order to do this, he particularly seized upon two aspects which he saw as vital in Maasai religious views; the monotheistic and the heroic. In Reusch's view, the monotheistic aspect of Maasai religious beliefs was a great advantage for the Lutheran work, and similarities between Lutheran Christianity and Maasai beliefs were numerous. Simultaneously, Reusch saw Maasai monotheism as a disadvantage to the Catholics. He claimed that the Maasai could not understand Catholic teaching where Mary and the saints were given a major status.

They scorn the Catholic teachings, because in their opinion the Catholics have placed a number of Divinities beside God, "the Engai Magilani" (=The Allpowerful), namely the Saints, and even a female Divinity, i.e. Mary. They are confirmed Monotheists. In their opinion there is One God, one Leader. HE gives orders, bur HE does not receive any! No one can be placed beside HIM, except that HE would have a Son!⁵⁵³

Interestingly, Reusch tried to integrate Christ in Maasai beliefs. He wrote that the son could be placed besides *Enkai*, although he concurrently admitted that the Maasai acknowledged only one God.⁵⁵⁴ This is hardly a concept that every Maasai would accept, but rather something influenced by Reusch himself. It appears as if Reusch's observations were the results of loaded questioning, aimed more at identifying Maasai loyalty towards *Enkai's* son, if he had one, than discovering whether the Maasai, in fact, believed that *Enkai* had a son.

Reusch's admiration for the Maasai spirit of bravery and readiness for self-sacrifice is evident in most of his reports. When writing to the

⁵⁵³ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 46. It is notable that when Reusch wrote this, the Catholics had yet not entered Maasailand. He did not know how the Holy Ghost Fathers, would later present their message to the Maasai. In fact, the message that some of the Catholic pastors presented to the Maasai was at least as plain and straightforward as the message of their Lutheran counterparts (See Donovan 1978).

⁵⁵⁴ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 46.

Augustana supporters, Reusch would attempt to demonstrate the bravery, fierceness and truthfulness of the Maasai by comparing them to the Vikings.⁵⁵⁵ In order to stir the interest of the Maasai, Reusch was of the opinion that the Christian Gospel had to be presented to them within their own framework, the key factors of which, in his opinion, were heroism and bravery.

They take to the heroic side of Christianity, and only from this side they can be approached and won over. Presenting CHRIST to them one has to remember this! The only way to bring them the suffering and death of CHRIST is the following: HE, who could heal every sickness, who could quieten the raging sea and the storm, who could feed thousands with a few loaves and whose orders were obeyed by the evil spirits, HE could have smashed the Roman troops with one word; but HE **chose** by his free will the way of suffering and death without being forced by anyone! – This heroic side they will understand. And they are willing to follow HIM and HIS teachings from this point of view. Free will, self-sacrifice are something in their life and agrees with their warrior-ideals!⁵⁵⁶

Their religious reasoning is: CHRIST is the almighty LORD & SAVIOUR! The obedience to HIS Commandments no more destroys our freedom than the laws of grammar restrict our speech. If you are ready to sacrifice yourself for HIM, you belong to HIM, can be sure of HIS forgiveness & permanent grace, if you repent!⁵⁵⁷

Maasai response to Christ's self-sacrifice, as claimed by Reusch, is also filled with heroism. The Maasai had a better comprehension of obedience rather than grace, and instead of undeserved forgiveness, they preferred sacrifice. As an admirer of Maasai bravery, Reusch did not only willingly present the Christian Gospel in a heroic way; it was, in Reusch's view, *the only* way in which the Gospel could and should be presented to the Maasai. Therefore, he also held lessons for the Maasai

⁵⁵⁵ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 82.

⁵⁵⁶ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 46. Emphasis and capitalisation in original.

⁵⁵⁷ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 7. Capitalisation in original.

teachers and evangelists where he taught them how to communicate the Christian Gospel in a heroic way. Appropriate pictures with valiant motives were given to the Lutheran teachers and evangelists ‘to illustrate their preaching & teaching’.⁵⁵⁸ It could be argued that the grace so essential in Luther’s teaching was given a subordinated role in Reusch’s teaching to the Maasai. Reusch chose the more heroic episodes in the Bible and left out others, episodes of a more merciful nature which he considered unsuitable in the Maasai context. Since Luther tended to focus more on grace than on bravery, one might question how well the evangelists’ message corresponded to the average teaching in the LCNT parishes. It is unclear which specific motives the pictures used by the teachers and evangelists were supposed to illustrate. Reusch, however, gave us a few examples of stories understood by the Maasai. He mentioned Jesus’ ability to heal the sick, quiet the raging sea, feed thousands with a few loaves and to have authority over evil spirits. All these images of Christ could be considered heroic. He also mentioned an episode outside the Bible, namely the one where Luther stood in Worms accused of heresy and uttered the words, ‘Here I stand, I cannot act differently! GOD help me’. In Reusch’s view, Luther showed the kind of bravery and readiness for self-sacrifice that the Maasai valued.⁵⁵⁹

Reusch maintained that the Maasai looked upon themselves as warriors of Christ rather than as brethren in Christ. The reason was simple; brothers can refuse God’s orders – warriors can’t.⁵⁶⁰ The Maasai, even those who were Christians, wanted to distinguish themselves from the Lutheran mainstream – from tribes which the Maasai traditionally saw as their inferiors. Reusch also shared their views. He made radical and even quite racially biased distinctions between the Maasai and the Bantu.

⁵⁵⁸ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 3.

⁵⁵⁹ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 7.

⁵⁶⁰ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 47.

The Bantu is meek, when poor; easily overbearing when rich; lamenting in distress, very much afraid in danger; he is shrewd, cautious & suspicious, likes to escape punishment. The Masai is straightforward, not afraid of punishment; does not hide his guilt, but confesses it openly; he is very brave, suffers silently, but strikes violently. [...] The Bantu is inclined to be very legalistic (the Wachagga, Wa-Arusha etc.), namely in disciplinary & legal matters. This attitude is strange to the Masai. Either he does not understand their rules, then they are a dead letter to him; or he thinks their ways to be effeminate & mambo leo (sophisticated, over refined), then he scorns them, because he does not want to imitate the ways of his former inferiors on the battle-field.⁵⁶¹

Evangelistic work under Reusch's guidance advanced favourably. In the beginning of 1954, the missionary reported that there were around 2,000 Christians in Maasailand. Most of these were boys and young men. Approximately 900 persons received baptismal instruction to be baptised within one to two years.⁵⁶² The previously, sometimes severe, tensions between the Maasai Christians and Maasai traditionalists seem to have eased considerably under Reusch's management in the early 1950s. As a growing number of people of the plains got enrolled and baptised into the Lutheran Church, the entrance for the rest seemed to become more open. This is not to say that a great percentage of the Maasai-proper considered baptism. On the contrary, although the Maasai in general were no longer as hostile to the mission as before, they remained notably uninterested.⁵⁶³ The greater part of the Christians in most Maasailand congregations belonged to non-Maasai tribes populating the larger centres and the peripheral areas of the Maasai District. Reusch's preference to refer to

⁵⁶¹ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 7.

⁵⁶² Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 4. Reusch wrote that 'at the beginning of 1954 some 2,000, mainly boys & warriors, were baptised & some 900 were under instruction'. Naturally this could also mean that the parishes received 2,000 new members at the beginning of the year, which is unlikely. However, these numbers have to be compared with 872 Christians at the end of 1955 (page 277-278 in this research).

⁵⁶³ Many men, however, still despised conversion. On one occasion, a group of Maasai *murran* threatened to spear Reusch and a number of recent converts. 'Only my threat to empty my cartridge-belt into their crowd stopped them.' (Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51).

the heroic aspects of *maasainess* was profitable in many aspects. Yet, because of this bias, he found most immediate reception among young boys and the warrior age-sets. The receptiveness among women and girls was significantly smaller. He was respected by the elders, but interest in baptism and Church membership among them was nonetheless close to nonexistent.⁵⁶⁴

The doors did not open wider on the Maasai field alone, but the Lutheran Church grew rapidly in the northern part of Tanganyika in general. Though this was much desired by the Church leaders, the expansion caused problems in the inner life of the Church. Reusch was acting as superintendent for the whole LCNT during Elmer Danielson's furlough in 1951-1952. In a letter to the Director of the General Administrative Committee, Dr. George N. Anderson, he criticised the younger generation for 'lacking discipline, courtesy and a sense of duty towards the Lord and his church'.⁵⁶⁵ Reusch believed that one of the most effective ways to change peoples' attitudes was to introduce Sunday schools and, through these, 'hammer' biblical morals into the hearts of young people. The introducing of a Sunday school in all the congregations within the LCNT had been on the agenda for about three years and the slow progress frustrated Reusch. He, therefore, chose a

⁵⁶⁴ Although Reusch himself stressed the importance of working sensibly in order to reach the whole tribe and not only individuals or individual groups, he also admitted that most of the Maasai baptised were boys and warriors (Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 82; Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 4-5, 7). As he failed to attract the women and girls, he also failed to attract the elders. Fischer stresses that baptism and church membership could become topical for the elders only after the warriors and their mothers are Christians (Fischer 2001, 110-111). The Maasai elder, Ngoilenya Wuapi, similarly explained that he would join the church if his wives went first (Ngoilenya Wuapi, AHT 5).

⁵⁶⁵ Reusch to Anderson, 8 April 1952. 'Yet on the other side of the field one finds plenty of greed, drunkenness, ungodly ambition, immorality, divorce, wild marriages, spiritual immaturity, incredible egoism, a strong inclination to take advantage of the Mission and Church. Many are spiritually asleep and weak. Among the more or less educated young generation one finds a strong inclination to mix politics and religion. Many even try to involve the Church and its influence into their nationalistic policy.' (Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 31). The General Administrative Committee (GAC), called the General Committee of Former German Missions (FGM) prior to 1944, handled financial and missionary strategic matters on the previously German Lutheran mission field in Tanganyika.

group of what he called ‘actual leaders’ and, together with them in 1952, made the necessary preparations. These Sunday schools were also introduced in the Maasai congregations.⁵⁶⁶

4.2.2. Educational Work

They must learn to know the blessings of Christian civilization, become agriculturists and learn handicrafts to be able to obtain their daily bread in sufficient measure and not to live six months in abundance and six months in semi-starvation. This work is the duty of our Educational branch, whose duty is also to help to produce a good Christian literature in Kimasai which will reach the very heart of this tribe.⁵⁶⁷

Once again the tie between Reusch’s mission goals and radical change is demonstrated. It is apparent that education, according to Reusch, was not chiefly seen as a foundation from which the Maasai were expected to determine their own future. He considered Christianity, education and civilisation as interconnected. Reusch worked in close co-operation with the government and the Lutheran educational system in Maasailand – as well as the health care system – was developed in close co-operation with the same. As the government plan primarily sought to incorporate the Maasai into modern economic ways of living, its plan, as far as the educational sector goes, was logically to educate the Maasai in order to include them in the food production and monetisation system.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶ ‘We agreed on the basic principles, i.e. discipline, faithfulness, blessing of work, love to GOD etc., formulated a short Liturgy, chose the Hymns for the 1st year & outlined the basic way of instruction for the 1st and 2nd year.’ (Reusch to Anderson, 8 April 1952). Sunday schools (sometimes referred to as Sunday Services for youth and children) were being planned in Loliondo, Oldeani, Monduli and Naberera already in 1950. The teachers and evangelists would do the work and friends of Reusch’s in the USA would contribute financially (Reusch to Ihmels, 15 April 1950).

⁵⁶⁷ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 82.

⁵⁶⁸ It was not only among the Maasai that the Tanganyikan government wanted to build schools. A large scale government educational program was underway and the missions had been welcomed to participate. The Augustana Lutheran Mission alone was expected to

Whereas the government wanted to develop the Maasai livelihood for the benefit of Tanganyika, Great Britain or at least the officials themselves, Reusch's plans were perhaps somewhat nobler. He wanted to develop the Maasai livelihood in order for the Maasai to survive, and Maasai survival in Reusch's mind implied socioeconomic change. The mission, in his view, could and should encourage the Maasai through its development work, wherein education played an important part.⁵⁶⁹

Like his forerunners, Reusch also wanted schools for the sake of promoting the Christian Gospel. Education was a powerful tool of the Lutheran Church and mission in helping to reach those who had not been reached. In Maasailand, about half of the catechumens in 1950 came from Lutheran schools.⁵⁷⁰ Although not Christian institutions as such, the Lutheran schools were permeated by Christianity. Christian prayers, stories and values were a natural part of the daily school milieu. Those who became interested in Christianity were welcomed to a baptismal class, often held by the same teacher.⁵⁷¹ A good teacher, as far as the mission was concerned should, apart from having good teaching skills, also manage to awake an interest in Christianity among his students. In this aspect, Teacher Losioki Lendapa at Naberera was a good model. His whole class asked for baptism in 1950.⁵⁷² The Lutheran teachers working in government schools naturally had somewhat less freedom of

build and equip 77 government-registered primary schools by the end of 1956 (Anderson 1952, 6-7).

⁵⁶⁹ Hodgson thoroughly examines the government development plans in Maasailand in 'Taking Stock: State Control, Ethnic Identity and Pastoralist Development in Tanganyika, 1948-1958', 2000. Reusch's cooperation with the government will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter.

⁵⁷⁰ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 85.

⁵⁷¹ *'Was ist nun das Ziel der Missionsschule? Haben die Missionare nicht in erster Linie den Auftrag, das Wort Gottes den Leuten nahe zu bringen? Muß da so viel Schularbeit eingefügt werden? Kommt es darauf an, daß die jungen Burschen im Lesen, Schreiben und Rechnen gut ausgebildet werden? Auf einer Erziehungskonferenz in Daressalaam stellte ein Regierungsmann die Frage nach dem Lehrziel. Der Vertreter der Mission gab zur Antwort: "Unser Ziel ist es, die Schüler so weit zu bringen, daß sie die Bibel, die Heilige Schrift, lesen und verstehen können."'* (Pätzig 1959, 11).

⁵⁷² Reusch, IAW 1950, 133.

movement in this sense. Nevertheless, most of these teachers were proud representatives of Lutheran Christianity and were happy to bear witness to their faith whenever an opportunity arose. Schools were ideal institutions to ‘influence the future generation in Christian living and thinking’.⁵⁷³

Bush Schools

In the years after the government-administered School Conference in Dar es Salaam in 1925, a series of talks were held between the government and the mission organisations in Tanganyika. The purpose of these discussions was to unite and increase the effectiveness of the various education systems in Tanganyika. The British mandate government was open to co-operation with the mission societies. Yet, in order for co-operation to be possible, common rules and regulations had to be applied. As has been seen previously, the Tanganyika-based Leipzig missionaries had different opinions about whether the mission should increase its school co-operation with the British authorities or not. The missionaries had aversions both to the attempts of the government to make the school system more British and to the profane curriculum. They wanted the bush schools to remain indigenous Christian schools. In 1929, after more than four years of negotiations with the colonial authorities, as well as lengthy internal discussions, the Lutherans voted in favour of co-operation with the government.⁵⁷⁴ Despite this agreement, the Lutheran bush or village schools remained outside the curriculum. The curriculum concerned those Lutheran schools which became advanced schools and received government funding. The bush schools were nonetheless accepted as a part of the education system in

⁵⁷³ Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83, 85.

⁵⁷⁴ See page 190-191. The American Africa Inland Mission working among the Maasai in Kenya (as well as among other ethnic groups) declined a similar offer of co-operation with and financial support from the colonial authorities in Kenya. Its missionaries only wanted to educate people to grow spiritually and spread the Gospel (Waller 1999, 119, footnote 77).

Tanganyika. In fact, as long as the co-operation went smoothly, the government willingly handed over most of the responsibility for the elementary education to the mission organisations and concentrated, for its own part, on the higher education.⁵⁷⁵

The bush or village school was a rather informal school providing education to every child who wanted to learn reading, writing and arithmetic. Though being an increasingly important part of the primary education in Tanganyika, the bush school education was not strictly bound to any curriculum but could be shaped quite freely. When comparing it to the registered schools, the bush school corresponded to the standards I and II and the registered advanced schools either to I-IV or III-IV. The instruction language in the bush schools was either Swahili or any of the many local languages. In Maasailand, the children were taught in Maasai.⁵⁷⁶

If Lutheran Maasai work – as done predominantly by the Arusha-Ilboru congregation – was something of a lay movement, then the bush school – at least as it was administered in Maasailand – was its equivalent in the school world. Although both the Leipzig Mission and, later, the Augustana Lutheran Mission recognised the importance of educational work, the limited number of trained teachers as well as the growing number of schools made it impossible to provide all schools with trained teachers. Thus most bush schools were not headed by an educated teacher but by an evangelist with a licence to teach in Standards I and II. The government issued licences to those teachers recommended

⁵⁷⁵ Fleisch 1936, 422-427. Although the bush schools remained the way they were, the purpose of the Leipzig Mission was to improve their standard and provide them with competent teachers. In 1932, the Leipzig Mission had 13 schools run by first-grade teachers, i.e. teachers who had passed the government certificate. In 1934, there were 165 schools within the framework of the Leipzig Mission. 60 % of the teachers were either first-grade or second-grade teachers (Fleisch 1936, 429). According to Fleisch, the whole elementary school system was put into the hands of the Mission (Fleisch 1936, 427).

⁵⁷⁶ Rother 1939; Fleisch 1936, 422-429; Hall 1984, 110-11; Reusch, Memorandum About the Masai Work, 5. Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51.

by the Lutheran Church.⁵⁷⁷ There was a clear religious undertone in the Lutheran bush schools. Christian songs were sung, Christian prayers as well as biblical tales were taught, and the Bible was used as a reading book. The bush school, in its own way of combining classic school education and Christian evangelism, constituted one of the most important components of the Leipzig and, later, the Augustana and CYCOM work. For this reason, many of the Leipzig missionaries had been afraid of tying the bush school to the profane British curriculum.⁵⁷⁸

In Maasailand, there were five bush schools in 1945 and seven in 1946. These schools were located at the old outposts Naberera, Engaruka, Longido, Kibaya, Loliondo, Makama and Oldeani.⁵⁷⁹ As with the evangelistic branch of the Lutheran work, the year 1949 was a milestone. During this year, 11 new bush schools were opened. The number of bush schools increased from 14-15 in 1950 to 19 two years later.⁵⁸⁰

It was fairly easy to open bush schools in Maasailand. The crucial components were land plots, money and work force. Land plots were, as has already been noted, often bought by indigenous Christians or congregations. Ever more often, plots were donated by friends of the Lutheran work who wanted schools, chapels and dispensaries in their vicinities.⁵⁸¹ Since most school houses that were built were also intended to function as chapels, they were either made big and sturdy from the beginning or had to be enlarged or rebuilt at a later stage. This made the erecting of bush schools quite costly. The necessary funding was often provided by friends of Reusch's and therefore did not always have to

⁵⁷⁷ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work; Reusch, ALM-AC 1945, 52.

⁵⁷⁸ Fleisch 1936, 425-427.

⁵⁷⁹ Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48.

⁵⁸⁰ Reusch to Ihmels, 15 April 1950; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 84-85; Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 50. More than 250 children were taught in the Maasailand bush schools in 1950 (Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 85).

⁵⁸¹ Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 49; Reusch R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83.

burden the mission budget.⁵⁸² More complex was the task of finding suitable teachers and evangelists for the growing number of bush schools. The workers who taught Maasai children had to be able to teach in Maa, which limited the number of candidates quite drastically. During Reusch's time as missionary, there were yet no teachers who were Maasai-proper. The problem of finding competent teachers, however, does not seem to have troubled Reusch too much. He simply noted in his 1953 report that the mission has to be aware of the fact that it had to educate, mainly through Mwika Bible School, as many Maasai-speaking evangelists as it could.⁵⁸³

In 1953, Reusch agreed to open 16 new bush schools before the end of 1956 with the help of the government. This was a strategic decision done primarily to incorporate the whole Maasai bush school system into the Lutheran work. In doing so, Reusch could also exclude the Catholics, who had yet not opened any bush schools in Maasailand.⁵⁸⁴ It is obvious that Reusch had no financial plan for the opening of these bush schools, but he had been quick to respond to the government call. Stanley Benson,⁵⁸⁵ who arrived in 1953 and succeeded Reusch, was

⁵⁸² There were numerous cases where the school-chapel buildings had to be enlarged or rebuilt, mostly due to the growing number of pupils or Christians. See Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 35; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 50-51. As a matter of fact, the larger part of the work during Reusch's time was paid for outside the budget. The La Grange congregation in the United States donated money for the stone church at Oldonyo Sambu and the land plot where it was built was also a donation (Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83). Even Reusch's car was a donation, paid for by an Augustana congregation in Minnesota (CYCOM, 8 December 1950, Agenda, 3).

⁵⁸³ Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 52. The National Lutheran September-October 1955, 40-42, 53-54, 57-58. Mwika Bible School was founded by Pastor Walden Hedman in 1952. The purpose was to provide Lutheran education to young people who, due to the government quotas, did not qualify for further education. Mwika Bible School prepared students for evangelistic work and provided refresher courses for pastors and teachers (Hall 1984, 14). In the year 1953, a total of 32 teachers and evangelists worked on the Maasai field (1953 Statistics, AR-LM 1953, 65).

⁵⁸⁴ Reusch to Ihmels, 28 December 1953; Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 5.

⁵⁸⁵ Stanley Benson (born 11 January 1928, B.A. in 1951, B.D. in 1959 and S.Th.M. in 1974) served as a missionary teacher in Malaysia, Singapore and Borneo from 1951 until 1953 when he was called to Maasailand in Tanganyika. Stanley and Marie Benson got married in 1956 and retired in 1992. Apart from other responsibilities, Benson served as a pastor in the following congregations; Loliondo, Oldonyo Sambu, Longido, Kitumbeine,

given the responsibility for the administration and building of these schools. The uncertainty of the financial side of the whole project made itself heard in Benson's Christmas letter to his friends.

The coming year will be a year of much work. There are many places that need schools, houses of worship, and most of all they need Christian leaders. I might build these buildings. I say "might" because I don't know if the shillings that have been granted us for next year will be enough. [...] The mission depends upon the friends it has. So with all these "dependings" I don't know how many buildings can be built. Yet, if God has it in His plan, I'm sure they will be built next year.⁵⁸⁶

Advanced Schools/Boarding Schools

Although the bush schools at the time were considered the backbone of the educational system in Maasailand, there was a need both for education that was organised better and for higher standards within the elementary education. This was offered through the advanced schools. The first advanced Lutheran schools provided education in standards I-II and, later on, in standards III and IV.⁵⁸⁷ The difference between the Lutheran and government Native Administration schools was minimal, especially since the government often employed Lutheran teachers. The education in the advanced schools usually was better than in the bush schools. Its education was based on the government curriculum and the teachers had graduated from either Marangu Teacher's Training College or other similar educational institutions. The easiest and most natural way to open advanced schools was to upgrade a bush school. This was done by providing the bush schools at the best suited locations with trusted and competent teachers, incorporating the government curriculum and registering them. The first bush school to be

Monduli, Mara and Salei (LCA - Biographical data - J. Stanley Benson, 3/87; Benson to Groop, 8 April 2002)

⁵⁸⁶ Benson to friends, Christmas 1953.

⁵⁸⁷ In Maasailand the Lutherans opened the first standard IV in 1953 (Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51). Education in Standards I and II was discontinued when nearby bush schools (equalling St I-II) were turned into feeder schools for the advanced schools.

registered was the school at Naberera, which became an advanced school in 1949. The next year, the schools at Arash, Engaruka and Longido were also registered and turned into advanced schools. Mangola received an advanced school in 1952.⁵⁸⁸ The language of instruction in standards I and II in the advanced school was the same as in the bush school, Maasai. In standards III and IV, the common language Kiswahili was used. Due to the limited number of advanced schools, not all children could enter. Therefore, the Lutherans began to use the bush schools as feeders for their advanced schools. Those children who showed the best results in the bush schools were welcomed into the advanced school. This practice proved effective and the government decided to use the Lutheran bush schools as feeders as well.⁵⁸⁹

In 1950, the advanced schools at Engaruka and Arash were turned into boarding schools. The students lived in dormitories at the school and obtained a significant part of their food through cultivation. Each student brought a number of cattle to provide him with milk. A woman was also elected by the Maasai community to act as something of a stand-in-mother for the schoolboys and to make sure that they were well fed. This *mother and cow*-type boarding school proved to be a well-functioning system.⁵⁹⁰ The locations that were best suited for establishing boarding schools were those with rivers that had water throughout the year. This was the case at Arash and Engaruka. However, in other locations, a

⁵⁸⁸ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 86; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 84; Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 50. It is noteworthy that the school in Longido was allowed to become a registered school although its teacher did not have the grade one government certificate (Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 83). In 1951, this school had 49 pupils, 36 of whom were Maasai-proper (Akyoo, *Bendera ya Kikristo*, May 1951, 5). In 1948, about half of the 15,000 pupils in the (former Leipzig Mission) so-called *Northern Area Church* were educated in registered and assisted schools, which numbered 42. There were more than 200 teachers with either a grade two licence or the higher government certificate (Danielson, ALM-AC 1948, 73).

⁵⁸⁹ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 5; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 84-85.

⁵⁹⁰ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 84, Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 5; The National Lutheran September-October 1955, 58. Although the *mother and cow* system had its advantages, it was a temporary solution and should, in Reusch's view, be abolished with time (Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51-52).

school could be turned into a boarding school simply with the addition of a proper well. The key issue was to have enough water for irrigation.⁵⁹¹

The practice of boarding schools in Maasailand was not entirely new. Already in 1932, Johannes Hohenberger opened a *Viehhof* at Naberera. This solution made it possible for boys – with a number of cattle – to live at the mission, although their parents moved elsewhere to find better pastures.⁵⁹² Five years later, the government opened a full-scale boarding school at Monduli.⁵⁹³

Despite the early Lutheran criticism of boarding schools as ‘un-evangelical ways of doing mission’, the system was considered necessary on the Maasai field where most people lived as nomads.⁵⁹⁴ Having the pupils at the school location on a permanent basis was seen as the only way to make sure that they attended the classes regularly. Moreover, since the boarding schools provided the children with food, they did not have to suffer from hunger and lack of concentration as a result, which was common on the plains during periods of drought. For the Lutheran Maasai work, the boarding school served more or less the same purpose as it did in Arusha at the beginning of the 20th century.

To Reusch, boarding schools were excellent means for implementing his own plans, which included ‘Christian civilisation’.

Our boarders learn agriculture to an extent, which will never be possible for day-students. Besides, they can be taught handicrafts far better than day-students.

They begin to honour manual work, begin to look upon callouses [sic!] as signs of honour and they are under continuous Christian influence.⁵⁹⁵

Turning the advanced schools into boarding schools also enabled Reusch and the teachers to develop the Lutheran school system. As the school system took root in Maasailand, a growing number of children got

⁵⁹¹ Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 50-51.

⁵⁹² See page 151.

⁵⁹³ Gower 1948, 77; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*. Hohenberger criticised the government for stealing pupils from the mission school.

⁵⁹⁴ See page 152.

⁵⁹⁵ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 85.

educated in the many bush schools. Consequently, there were more and more children who qualified to the advanced schools. There was an increasing need both to establish more advanced schools and to educate more people in the already existing bush and advanced schools. It was naturally hoped that the parents would accept the fact that their children lived away from their families for parts of the year. In 1952, the government asked the Lutheran Church to open four more advanced schools or to make the advanced schools at Arash, Engaruka, Longido and Naberera double-streamed. Reusch, who was in favour of the expansion, responded that all five advanced Lutheran schools, Mangola included, could become double-streamed. Yet, from his point of view, it was not worthwhile to expand these schools without first increasing the services. Naberera and Longido must first be developed into boarding schools and a dispensary had to be opened at Mangola.⁵⁹⁶

Both the government and the Lutherans gained from the improved co-operation. The government did not have to establish schools where the Lutheran Church did. Similarly, the Lutherans founded schools only at places where there were no government schools. With an increasing number of competent Lutheran teachers educated at Marangu Teacher's Training College, as well as evangelists educated at Mwika Bible School, the government often employed Lutherans. Though most teachers in the Maasai schools in the 1950s were Lutherans, the government did obviously not exclude teachers from other denominations. The head teacher at the government Native Administration school in Kibaya was a Catholic.⁵⁹⁷ With the exception of the growing but still quite insignificant Catholic competition, the Lutherans still experienced something of a monopoly position and Reusch did his best to keep it that way. By making sure that there were enough competent teachers available, he and his co-workers could work towards making Maasailand a genuine

⁵⁹⁶ Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 50-52.

⁵⁹⁷ Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51.

Lutheran block also with regards to education. By further nurturing relations with the British authorities, Reusch could also make sure that Lutherans were chosen as teachers and not Catholics.

In many aspects, the Lutheran mission under the leadership of Richard Reusch was a forerunner regarding the education system in Maasailand. Much of the primary education was either a product of many years of Lutheran school experience or took shape through co-operation between the Lutheran workers and the government. Three times Reusch wrote memoranda about Maasai issues. In one of these, sent to the government in Dar es Salaam in 1953, Reusch discussed the future of the Maasai and the possibility of convincing the Maasai to settle. In order for the Maasai to profit from settling down, he saw that water holes and veterinary resources would have to be provided. Most of all, the school system in Maasailand had to be improved.⁵⁹⁸ Reusch and the Maasai commissioner, Colonel Fraser-Smith, worked out a plan for developing the school system. Three new points were made. First, the majority of the bush schools were to become mobile. The teachers would follow the Maasai from their summer to winter pastures. School huts were to be erected at each location. Second, the advanced schools at permanent water sources were to become boarding schools. At these schools, special emphasis was to be placed on animal rearing and related handicrafts. Third, Maasai traditions and the authority of the Maasai elders were to be acknowledged. Each school was to have a school committee of Maasai elders. Furthermore, discipline was to be exercised in accordance with Maasai traditions.⁵⁹⁹

With this plan, Fraser-Smith and Reusch tried to make the school system more effective. Simultaneously, they incorporated the Maasai elders as school committee delegates, although hardly any of these men

⁵⁹⁸ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 4-5; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51.

⁵⁹⁹ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 5. As examples of handicrafts suitable to the Maasai, Reusch mentioned ghee preparation, hide tanning, the improvement of the grass and grazing conditions and finally hay making (Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51-52).

had any educational background whatsoever. In this way all three parts would gain. The government and the Lutheran mission expanded their educational system in full mutual cooperation. The Lutherans were to do most of the work, but a large part of the funding would come from the government's Native Maasai Treasury. The Maasai, for their part, would let their children attend Maasai-biased bush schools close to where they lived at the time. A child was only required to live away from his family if he joined an advanced school. The Lutherans would probably benefit the most from this system. In 1953, they essentially held the whole bush school system in their hands. Reusch also worked hard to supply the growing number of advanced Lutheran schools and government Native Administration schools with competent teachers. As a result, the Lutherans were to be the ones to provide most of the children in Maasailand with primary education. Equally important to the Church and mission was the fact that the teachers and evangelists working in the bush schools would be able to live closer to the Maasai. In doing so, they would be able to communicate and share the Christian Gospel with them on a daily basis. Finally, the decision to take steps towards a Maasai-centred school system would ultimately reward the mission work in a cultural sense. From the Lutheran beginnings at Arusha in 1904, most of the problems between Christians and mainstream Maasai had been related to tradition. The fear of losing children and heritage had been the main reason why most Maasai resented Christian schools as well as Christian work in general. This is not to say that what Fraser-Smith and Reusch planned was a school that was totally based on Maasai traditions. The government had an agenda. Its goal regarding the Maasai was to teach them to be of use not only to themselves but to the rest of the Tanganyikan population – primarily through cattle rearing and trade.⁶⁰⁰ The Lutherans, on the other hand, still denounced polygyny, and Maasai

⁶⁰⁰ Through the Maasai Development Plan (1951-1955), the government put a great deal of effort into forcing the Maasai to become focused cattle breeders. Taxes were raised, tsetse infested bush was cleared and water holes were created. See Hodgson 2000b, 55-78.

circumcision continued to be a source of conflict in the young mission churches.⁶⁰¹ This was an attempt to create an opportunity for the Maasai to receive education in their own milieu. The proposed Maasai bush school would still be a mission-run school, but, simultaneously, also a school deliberately for the Maasai, with education in the Maasai language and with minor but important elements from the Maasai culture.

4.2.3. Medical Work

They must be helped physically through hospitals and dispensaries, that diseases may stop. This is the duty of the Medical branch of our work.⁶⁰²

It was hoped, in the Augustana and Leipzig camps, that the British government would assume the responsibility for the dispensary at Naberera after the internment of the Germans in 1939-1940. Because of the acute lack of resources, this did not materialise and the Naberera clinic remained closed until 1949. Surely it was in the interest of the government to pursue medical work on the plains, but dispensaries were founded at other locations instead.⁶⁰³ The lack of Lutheran dispensaries

⁶⁰¹ During the circumcisions of 1948, a conflict arose between Christian and non-Christian Maasai and Arusha. The non-Christians demanded that the Christians fully accept the Maasai circumcision or they would be expelled from the tribe. Reusch was requested to write a memorandum to the government about these problems. In this memorandum he noted that the Maasai circumcision had two sides, a political and a religious. The political aspect of the circumcision was vital to the whole class structure of the Maasai and Arusha and the religious aspects were unaccepted among the Christians. 'It was recommended: Since we have nothing to replace the circumcision, it has to be recognized as an internal political factor. If the tribes would be Christian, the Confirmation at the age of 16-17 could replace it to some extent. – The religious meaning, however, is binding only for the adherents of the paganism, who are obliged to follow its rites. Since every Christian is free to follow his own religion, no Christian is under obligation to follow pagan rites! Both recommendations were accepted, the Christians being allowed to be circumcised in hospital.' (Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 4). Underlining in original.

⁶⁰² Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 82.

⁶⁰³ Olson, ALM-AC 1943, 63 cited by Smedjebacka 1973, 87. Only the biggest hospitals in Tanganyika were placed under government control. Three Lutheran hospitals received doctors during the war. These were, according to Bernander: Machame (in 1940), Ndolage (in 1943) and Bumbuli (in September 1944). Due to lack of personnel, medicine and

was as disadvantageous to the Lutheran mission as to the people that needed treatment. The work in the Lutheran clinics had been highly appreciated by the Maasai, and many had come in contact with the Lutheran mission work through the medical mission work at Naberera and for a brief while at Arash. The Maasai also continued to receive medical care after 1939, although those who lived close to Naberera or Arash had to walk longer distances than before. The Mission, for its part, lost a valuable means of evangelising when the medical work had to be closed down.⁶⁰⁴

There were a few mission-run dispensaries in the former Leipzig field operating during and immediately after the war. One of them, serving some 3,000 people from the Meru tribe and a small percentage of the peoples on the steppe, was the dispensary at Engare Nanyuki to the northeast of Mt. Meru. In 1947, 1,723 treatments were given here and an in-patient ward was opened. Due to the choice of the government to turn the Engare Nanyuki area into land for white settlers, its local population was, in 1951, forcibly evicted. The dispensary was closed and moved to Kingori.⁶⁰⁵

In 1949, the dispensary at Naberera was reopened under the management of Augustana Medical Missionary Arthur Anderson. The clinic had undergone a thorough renovation since Hans Buchta was in charge, but was still equipped only for non-surgical treatments. All surgical cases needing extra attention were done at the hospitals in Moshi, Arusha or Monduli. The Naberera clinic served both outpatients

equipment, the number of smaller dispensaries in Tanganyika declined (Bernander 1968, 24, 62). In Maasailand, Lutheran dressers served in the government dispensaries (Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48).

⁶⁰⁴ See page 202.

⁶⁰⁵ Olson 1943, 3; Rolands & Anderson, ALM-AC 1947, 78. The dispensary at Engare Nanyuki was managed by Sylvanus Kaaya and was the only dispensary for many miles in each direction (Danielson 1977, 144). For some reason, quite few people sought aid at Engare Nanyuki and, consequently, the finances suffered. It was hoped that the transfer of the dispensary to Kingori would be an advantage (Peterson, R-FGM 1951, 52).

and inpatients, but relatively few needed extended treatment.⁶⁰⁶ Apart from Anderson, two Tanganyikan medical helpers or dressers served at Naberera. As was the situation before the war, these workers – who had received their training at the Lutheran hospital in Machame – did not have the same skills as nurses, but were rather seen as assistants. Some dressers with more experience, however, were entrusted considerable responsibility, such as the task of running a dispensary.⁶⁰⁷

Lutheran medical work was also carried out at other locations in Maasailand. Under Anderson's leadership, medical stations were opened at Engassumet and Landanai to the south and northeast from Naberera in 1949.⁶⁰⁸ The dispensary at Engassumet was smaller than the one in Naberera but fairly well-equipped. Anderson paid regular visits here, but most treatments were given by a dresser. No inpatients were treated at Engassumet.⁶⁰⁹ The dispensary at Landanai started as a field clinic in September 1949. The assistant dresser from Naberera visited Landanai two days every second week and Anderson himself somewhat less regularly. Early treatments were given either in the schoolhouse or in the car, but, in 1951, a clinic and quarters for the medical worker were built.⁶¹⁰ Some medical work was also done at Ruvu Remiti, in the southeastern Maasai District. The visits were, however, only occasional and, in most cases, the patients had to walk to Engassumet to be treated.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁶ Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 94; Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 95-96.

⁶⁰⁷ Compare page 169.

⁶⁰⁸ Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 95. For locations, see map 4.2.

⁶⁰⁹ Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 95; Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 95; Anderson, R-FGM 1951, 52-53. Initially, the Engassumet dresser worked part time. From 1950, he worked full time and a house for him was built in 1951.

⁶¹⁰ Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 95; Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 95; Anderson, R-FGM 1951, 53.

⁶¹¹ Anderson, R-FGM 1951, 53.

Table 4.3.*Medical treatments in south Maasailand 1949-1951*

Year		Naberera	Engassumet	Landanai	Ruvu Remiti
1949	Outpatients	4,730	2,154	^a	
	Inpatients	260			
1950	Outpatients	5,139 ^b	4,285	2,368	
	Inpatients				
1951	Outpatients	5,680	4,946	3,941	2,809
	Inpatients	1,206			

Sources: Anderson, R-ALM-FGM, 1949, 94-95; Anderson, R-ALM-FGM, 1950, 95-96; Anderson, R-FGM, 1951, 52-53. ^aNumber of patients unknown. ^bOnly the total number of patients reported.

In August 1949, the Lutheran dispensary at Arash was reopened. Arthur Anderson bore the responsibility for equipment and medicines. The main responsibility for the dispensary was, however, entrusted to a Tanganyikan medical dresser, Eliza Marko. As in the south, the Native Maasai Treasury paid for all medicines as well as for Marko's salary.⁶¹² The work at Arash started under difficult circumstances. Drought and epidemics caused death and sickness and many people were killed or wounded by predators. There are no statistics on the number of patients treated at Arash, but according to Reusch, the dispensary developed very well under the circumstances. People came from far away preferring the Arash dispensary to the government hospital at Loliondo. In 1951, Eliza Marko was employed at the government dispensary in Loliondo and the work at Arash dispensary was handed over to one of the other Lutheran dressers.⁶¹³

In 1950, there were a total of eight dispensaries in Maasailand half of which belonged to the LCNT. In 1952, the total number rose to

⁶¹² Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 95; Danielson, CYCOM, 20-21 September 1950, Reports. Reusch had, already in his 1946 memorandum, suggested that Eliza Marko should become the head dresser in Maasailand (Reusch, ALM-AC 1946, 48).

⁶¹³ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 86-87, 89; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 84; Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 34. See also page 218 in this volume. The new dresser at Arash, for whom no name was given, was also a keen evangelist, and, together with the teacher, visited neighbouring kraals regularly (Reusch, R-FGM 1951, 34; Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51).

11. Nine Lutheran dressers were working in all of these clinics. There were also a few non-Lutheran dressers, probably Catholic – whom Reusch noted that he wished to replace with Lutherans.⁶¹⁴

The roles within the Lutheran health care programme resembled the roles within the school programme. Most of the physical work was done by the Lutheran workers, but most of the funding was provided by the Maasai themselves through the Native Maasai Treasury. Whereas the Augustana Mission paid Anderson's salary and the car used within the work, the Native Maasai Treasury paid for all medicines, the medical workers' wages and most constructions. This constellation made the Lutheran medical work in the Maasai District quite independent from the LCNT, but dependant on good relations with government officials, who were in the position to favour either Lutheran or Catholic work or medical workers.⁶¹⁵

The collaboration with the government did not make Lutheran health care any less Lutheran. As with educational work, the Lutherans viewed their work among the sick as a way of bringing the Christian Gospel to the people. As with Buchta in the 1930s, Arthur Anderson was sent to Tanganyika not only as a nurse and administrator but as a missionary in the medical field. From the viewpoint of his supporters, he was expected to be a Christian witness and to look after the spiritual life in the dispensaries. Lutheran hospitals and dispensaries were, to a great extent, evangelistic centres.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁴ Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51. In 1950, the government dispensaries were located at Loliondo, Kibaya and Sonjo. The government had a hospital at Monduli. There were plans to open government dispensaries also at Engaruka, Mto wa Mbu and Longido, and the Lutheran Mission was requested to start medical work at Ol Molog and Mangola (Danielson, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 77; Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 84).

⁶¹⁵ Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 95-96; Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 96.

⁶¹⁶ Danielson, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 77. Superintendent Elmer Danielson comments on the Lutheran work in the medical branch as follows: 'A medical center, where the spirit of Jesus is working is a strong witnessing center as well as a healing center. The Church should do as much medical work as possible wherever it is called.' (Danielson, ALM-AC 1948, 74).

The Lutheran dispensaries predominantly served the Lutheran task in three ways. Firstly, the relative effectiveness of the treatment often made a positive impression on the patients. Western health care was, to many Maasai, a new experience as they were more familiar with the practices of the traditional healers. As more and more Maasai patients were cured at the mission and government dispensaries, the influence of traditional healing decreased. This was obviously in the interest of the Lutherans. Secondly, the Lutheran work with the sick was liable to remove some of the patients' prejudices towards Christians. Many of the patients had surely never had a conversation with a baptised person, especially not with a baptised Maasai, and, therefore, logically had many prejudiced views about Christians. Through the Lutheran dispensaries and the Lutheran dressers who worked in government dispensaries, Christians and non-Christians were offered the opportunity to meet and learn about one another. These meetings were important bridge-building opportunities for both sides. These encounters were particularly valuable to the Lutheran Church, which was given a magnificent opportunity to introduce itself to the non-Christian majority. Thirdly, the Lutherans got a chance to bring the Christian faith to the people. Daily devotions and prayers were held by pastors, teachers, dressers, or church elders.⁶¹⁷ As has already been noted, many of the Christians in Maasailand had come into contact with the Lutheran Church through its health care. Some of these were chronic invalids and fit quite badly into Maasai society. Others had caught an interest in Christianity for other reasons. Whatever the reasons were, the hospital environment provided an opportunity for everyone to come and participate in the work of the Church.

At the end of 1951, Anderson was called to work at the Lutheran hospital in Nkoaranga. As a result of his departure, the destiny of the Lutheran dispensaries in the south became uncertain. He regretted that

⁶¹⁷ Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 95; Anderson, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 95; Anderson, R-FGM 1951, 53.

the work in southern Maasailand once again had to be put in jeopardy and that the lack of competence among the dressers had made the work largely dependant on him.

As I have expressed to Dr. Reusch and others, I do not believe that we should entirely neglect the Masai Medical work which seems to be going so well. If we had thoroughly trained personnel (native) it might be possible for a short time, but such is not the case as yet. Are we satisfied to let a new work falter when we know others are watching for a chance to step in and take over the seed that we have planted? We need to consider this very seriously. Our prayers are that very soon this work may be resumed.⁶¹⁸

The work at the four Lutheran medical stations continued in 1952, under the passive supervision of Anderson. In 1953, the Arash dispensary was still running, but all of the Lutheran dispensaries in the south were closed.⁶¹⁹

In 1951, 17,376 outpatients and 1,206 inpatients had been treated at the four Lutheran dispensaries in the south. This was more than twice as many as under Deacon Hans Buchta's management in 1936 and 1937 – when a total of around 7,000 treated patients was considered satisfactory. The need for medical care among the Maasai may not have grown. In any case, the population had not increased noticeably. As the reputation of western medicine improved, however, an increasing number of Maasai chose the clinics instead of traditional healing. It is difficult to draw any conclusions about the popularity of the Lutheran dispensaries compared to the government dispensaries without proper statistics from various areas. Closing the work at the four dispensaries in

⁶¹⁸ Anderson, R-FGM 1951, 52-53. In the same report, Anderson complained about a tendency of the government to replace the dressers at Naberera frequently. As a result, the dispensary at Naberera had a rather inexperienced crew.

⁶¹⁹ Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 51; Medical statistics, AR-LM 1953, 67; Danielson to Pedersen, 8 December 1954. As for Arash, no figures were given in the medical statistics for 1953. The dispensary was temporarily handed over to the government in 1953-1954 and reopened as a Lutheran clinic in January 1955 (Benson, AR-LM 1955, 49-51; Rudert, AR-LM 1955, 66-67).

southern Maasailand was, nonetheless, a disadvantage to the people in southern Maasailand who, from then on, had to travel long distances to get medical care.

Medical reports written by Augustana medical missionaries point at the importance of financial and evangelistic efficiency. Logically, medical achievement was measured by the number of treated patients. Since the economy of most dispensaries was, however, dependant on paying patients, the post-war Lutheran medical care became increasingly dependant on these patients for financial survival at the expense of its duties to help people in physical need. One trend, following the war, was that dispensaries with few patients were either quickly closed or moved to another location. The question did not necessarily concern the issue of where medical care was most needed, but, rather, where more people could be treated and consequently reached with the Christian Gospel.⁶²⁰ A reason for this development was the acute lack of medical personnel around and after 1950. This, in turn, had its origin in the uncertainties as to who would support the LCNT in the future. It was hoped that German medical missionaries and doctors would soon be allowed to begin working in Tanganyika. The American Lutheran bodies hesitated to send new missionaries until the destiny of the near future of the Lutheran field was clear.⁶²¹

⁶²⁰ In April, the dispensary at Kirua was closed due to low number of patients. The work was moved to Uchira even before a new dispensary had been built and, for four months, people were treated in an old church building. 'The work here was an immediate success, three times as many patients being treated here as at Kirua. Income has increased accordingly also. At this dispensary more than the others, many non-Christians come for treatment, so there is more opportunity to win souls for Christ through the medical work.' (Peterson, R-FGM 1951, 52). Although many people could be treated at populous places, this did not necessarily mean that the treated people were the ones that needed it most. The Maasai plains had a very sparse population, but the medical needs of the people inhabiting it could nevertheless be considerable. This is not to say that the chiefly American health personnel working under the LCNT did not do their absolute best to help people in physical need, rather that obtaining money from the home field put pressure on the missionary medical workers in terms of efficiency on several levels.

⁶²¹ Peterson, R-FGM 1951, 52; Smedjebacka 1973, 104-107. Nurse Liddy Dörr was, as the first person from the Leipzig Mission, sent to Tanganyika in April/May 1952 (See footnote 674).

The situation concerning the Lutheran health sector in Maasailand was similar. As the government had, since the war, opened several dispensaries and a hospital on the plains, the exclusiveness of Lutheran health care had declined. The Lutherans could still play a major role in Maasai medical work through the provision of competent dressers to the government medical programme. Providing Maasailand with Lutheran work and workers became more important than assisting the people themselves. This order of precedence became obvious in all disciplines due to the fear of competition from the Catholics.⁶²²

4.2.4. Challenges in the Maasai Work

In his annual report of 1953, Richard Reusch noted that the Lutheran expansion in Maasailand was almost complete. Only Kakessio [*Kakesha*], in the west, needed to be occupied. The next task for the Lutheran Mission was, thereafter, to be 'expansion in the already occupied districts'.⁶²³ During the years 1930-1953, the Lutherans were privileged to stake out the borders of their work almost without any competition from other denominations. Even so, the fear of competition during these years made the Lutherans push harder than was sometimes in their capacity. This concerns, in particular, the work between 1949 and 1953 when the Lutheran determination to occupy new territory in Maasailand was at its highest. Most of the challenges during this period were related to the rapid expansion and the lack of funding and staffing.

Problems due to Rapid Expansion

As a result of the fervent Lutheran determination to advance, some parts of the work could not be given enough attention and suffered. The Maasai work was rather characterised by shortages on various levels.

⁶²² The competition with the Catholics will be discussed later on.

⁶²³ Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 52.

Firstly, there was a continual lack of funds. The Lutheran Maasai work covered a vast area, and mission work in this region was, therefore, expensive. Between 1949 and 1952, 37 new buildings were built and 13 already existing buildings were repaired or reconstructed.⁶²⁴ Many of these buildings were erected and repaired rather ad-hoc as opportunities and needs arose, and the funding could therefore seldom be applied for in the normal mission budget. Similarly, the expansion increased the need for teachers and evangelists, but it became increasingly difficult to find money for their salaries.

Table 4.4.

National Lutheran Council Maasai mission budget 1949-1954 (in Tanganyikan shillings)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
General	31,625	38,000	27,760	27,100	43,600	38,600
Medical			2,300	2,900	3,100	
Expansion						7,900
Total	31,625	38,000	30,060	30,000	46,700	46,500

Sources: ALM-AC 1948, 98; R-ALM-FGM 1949, 121; R-ALM-FGM 1950, 121-122; R-FGM 1951, 90-91; AR-LM 1952, 96-97; AR-LM 1953, 92-93.

The funds budgeted from the National Lutheran Council saw a general increase. However, less money was given in 1951 and 1952. As this did not correspond to the activity on the field, which was considerable in 1951 and 1952, the Maasai mission became highly dependant on overseas congregations and private donors. Contributions from friends were, naturally, highly appreciated, but the uncertainties regarding funding posed a real challenge to the Maasai mission.⁶²⁵

⁶²⁴ Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 50.

⁶²⁵ Some of Reusch's friends also paid for the salaries of the bush school teachers (Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 3). Everyone was under budgetary constraints. Stanley Benson writes that 'Dr. Reusch had world wide contacts so he was in a position where he could through his communication ability line up independent funding for the Maasai. This also freed other budget funds for LCNT. Expansion funds for the Maasai work came from independent organizations and individuals to Dr. Reusch personally. The

Secondly, the Maasai work persistently suffered from a lack of workers. Generally, there seem to have been enough teachers, evangelists and medical dressers, but a lack of pastors, missionaries and nurses. In fact, with the exception of the year 1939 when the Arash station was being built, there was, until 1953, never more than one full-time missionary and nurse working on the vast Maasai field. The lack of pastors eased considerably in 1950 when the first Maasai-congregations received ordained pastors, but, in general, there was a constant lack of educated personnel.

Thirdly, the shortage of literature in the Maasai language became increasingly problematic in the post-war years as the Maasai churches grew and more people learned to read. Christian literature was a vital means of helping the young Christians to grow spiritually.⁶²⁶ The literature in Maa was limited to a few works, the most important being the catechism, a biblical story book and a hymn book. The writing of literature in the Maasai language was problematic in the sense that the terminology and orthography of the Maa spoken in Kenya differed from the one spoken in Tanganyika. All books published by the Leipzig Mission were translated and written primarily for the Maasai speaking population in Tanzania and were thus difficult to use in Kenya. Similarly the Maasai-books printed by the Africa Inland Mission in Kenya were not used in Tanganyika.⁶²⁷ Attempts were made by Reusch, among others, to create a common simplified language that would enable the use of the same Maasai books both in Kenya and Tanzania. Hohenberger and

funds were mainly for dispensaries, schools and chapels. Therefore, the development wheels could be kept moving.' (Benson to Groop, 26 February 2004).

⁶²⁶ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 86. LCNT printed tracts on various themes in Swahili. The purpose of these was to confront misbehaviour in the church and to teach the Christians how to live worthily. In 1950, four tracts were printed or about to be printed. These bore the following themes; 'stewardship, young peoples' marriage problems, drunkenness and drinking and the growing evil of selfishness and individualism due to the rapid breaking down of clan and tribal life, and the rapid introduction of money into the life of the people.' (Danielson, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 79).

⁶²⁷ Books published by AIM were probably used to a greater extent among the Kenya-related Loitai Maasai around Loliondo.

Pätzig both opposed these plans in view of the fact that the two languages, in their opinions, were too dissimilar. As a result of this disagreement, few books were published and reprinted. Shortly after Reusch's departure, the attempts to create a simplified Maasai language were abandoned. In 1968, the decision was made to print the New Testament and reprint the catechism in the *Tanganyikan* Maasai dialect.⁶²⁸

Fourthly, the Maasai mission suffered from gender imbalance. Most of those who approached the Lutheran Church were boys and young men. They went to mission or government schools and were mostly educated by Lutheran male teachers – for the most part the same teachers who held the baptismal classes. There were no female teachers in the Maasai District before or during Reusch's period. Furthermore, very few girls in Maasailand were allowed to go to school. Instead they were kept at home to work. The young boys and warriors had considerably more freedom. Many parents thought it wise to send at least some of their sons to schools, but they were reluctant to do the same with their daughters. Similarly, many of the teachers appear to have preferred

⁶²⁸ Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1949, 86; Pätzig, *Mein Eindruck von der Kirche in Nord-Tanganyika*; Hohenberger to Kimme, 13 February 1967; Schatte to Hohenberger, 24 January 1968; Hohenberger to *Missionsdirektor*, 9 March 1968; Moshi, Danielson, Hohenberger, 5 March 1968 (application and confirmation for printing of 3,000 copies of the Maasai New Testament and a revised edition of the catechism). The hymns in the hymn book were translated mainly by Leonhard Blumer (some were translated by Hermann Fokken). The catechism and biblical story book were translated and written by Leonhard Blumer and the New Testament was translated mainly by Hohenberger (Pätzig to *Inspektor*, 5 July 1962; Pätzig, *Mein Eindruck von der Kirche in Nord-Tanganyika*. Compare page 126 (including footnote)). Reusch wrote a Maasai-dictionary with 6,000 words and, together with the Naberera teacher, Losioki Lendapa, he wrote some literature in what probably was simplified Maasai. (Reusch, R-ALM-FGM 1950, 85; Reusch to Ihmels, 28 December 1953). Hohenberger pursued literature studies during his captivity in South Africa 1941-47 (Hohenberger to Küchler, 14 July 1947). In 1959 he published his research under the title *„Semitisches und hamitisches Sprachgut im Masai – mit vergleichendem Wörterbuch – eine sprachvergleichende Untersuchung unter Berücksichtigung von rund 50 semitischen, hamitischen, nilo-hamitischen und anderen afrikanischen Sprachen“* (Kellermann, IAW 1959, 125).

teaching boys rather than girls.⁶²⁹ Reusch and his co-workers reacted slowly to this problem. They were so occupied with outward growth that they failed to evaluate and modify their methods to attract girls. They also fell short in persuading parents to let their daughters attend school and catechumen classes.⁶³⁰ Richard Reusch's wife Elveda wanted to begin some kind of work among girls at the main Maasai centres. Due to the distances between Nkoaranga, where she and Richard lived, and the locations in question, her plans were difficult to put into action and did not materialise properly.⁶³¹ For young Christian men, this gender disproportion had the negative consequence that it became difficult to find Christian wives. It was not desired that the young Christian men should marry pagan girls. Some men who dated non-Christian girls brought them to baptismal classes. Yet others with weaker connections to the Church fell off and got married traditionally. Judging from the statistics in the 1950s – which suggests a quite dramatic decrease in church members in the mid-late 1950s – it appears that many of these young male Christians left the Lutheran congregations.⁶³²

Co-operation with Government – Dispute with Church and Mission

Where Hohenberger and his contemporary missionary colleagues failed to establish close connections with the British authorities, Reusch succeeded. During the period 1949-1954, the co-operation between the Lutherans and the mandate administration regarding development issues deepened considerably. Although Reusch's personal contributions in this transition can't be denied, the improvement should not be fully ascribed

⁶²⁹ Loingoruaki Meshili (AHT 6). Reusch wrote that the total number of girls in all schools in Maasailand in 1954-1955 was 5-6 (Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work).

⁶³⁰ Only in 1954, after having retired as a missionary, did Reusch address this problem and admit that the Lutherans had paid too little attention to women and girls (Reusch, Memorandum about the Maasai Work, 4).

⁶³¹ Reusch to Ihmels, 15 April 1950.

⁶³² Benson to Groop, 26 February 2004. See also pages 231 and 277-278 (including footnotes).

to him. The trust that the British administration put in the Augustana Mission and the National Lutheran Council was simply on a different level from their trust in the Leipzig Mission. This was clear from the beginning of WWII when Augustana was made responsible for the former German field.⁶³³ Nonetheless, several of the highest-ranking British officers were Reusch's personal friends. This friendship did not only make co-operation more natural, but, above all, Bernander notes that Reusch managed to avoid some of the pointless frictions bound to take place between a former Leipzig missionary and the British authorities in the 1940s and early 1950s.⁶³⁴ Reusch also managed to convince the administration that no mission other than the Lutheran mission was needed in Maasailand. He did his utmost to prove himself right by offering as much co-operation with the government as possible. As a result of this, the Lutherans had a virtually monopoly over mission work during Reusch's period of influence.

After having convinced the British administration of his loyalty, Reusch also dared to get involved politically. Government expropriation of fertile land around Mount Meru and on the Maasai plains had severely inflamed the relations between the affected Africans and the British authorities.⁶³⁵ Reusch acted as mediator in the quarrel. In a memorandum to the government, he protested against the land alienation for European farms. His criticism was backed by Colonel Fraser-Smith and was met with at least some measure of understanding in the government. It is not known how decisive Reusch's contribution was in this drama, but some of the planned land alienation schemes were abandoned.⁶³⁶ Reusch also

⁶³³ See page 246.

⁶³⁴ Bernander 1968, 64; Reusch to Ihmels, 28 December 1953; Hall 1984, 50.

⁶³⁵ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 6. Large parts of Maasailand had been given to European settlers during and after the Second World War. See Hodgson 2000b, 58-59, 75. The Arusha and Meru were likewise deprived of large pieces of land in western Meru. See Spear 1997, 220-235.

⁶³⁶ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 5; Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 52. Hodgson writes that 'at Olkiama after Olkiama, the government requested permission to alienate Maasai land. Maasai elders refused permission, and the government alienated the land

took a stand on questions of Maasai livelihood. The government tried to develop Maasailand into a 'ranching country' and to compel the Maasai to become professional cattle breeders. The Maasai were not encouraged to take to agriculture, but the government was willing to give away fertile land to farmers who were more likely to benefit Tanganyika's economy.⁶³⁷ Maasai animal husbandry was completely in line with Reusch's thoughts. He had himself, on government request, submitted a memorandum wherein he suggested that the Maasai 'should be helped to become the beef producers of Tanganyika'.⁶³⁸ Yet Reusch wanted the Lutheran mission to be more versatile than the government. The Lutheran mission schools were to place special emphasis not only on cattle breeding, but also on agriculture as well as on craftsmanship pertaining to animal husbandry, such as ghee making, hide tanning and hay making.⁶³⁹

On the one hand, Reusch worked hand-in-hand with the government. On the other hand, he dared to criticise government policies. Reusch defended the Africans wholeheartedly, yet he was careful not to challenge his own standing among the British officials. Unless the Maasai missionary is a 'trusted friend of Gov't', he argued, 'we are placed in the same category of unfriendly citizens...& many applications are turned down & the work suffers'.⁶⁴⁰ As he shared the fundamental views of the government and was himself consulted in various Maasai matters, his divergent views did not jeopardise his relations with the administration. Probably, Reusch was much more of a diplomat when

anyway, making a mockery of the consultation process'. All this was done 'in the interest of the 'economic development of the Territory'.' (Hodgson 2000b, 68). According to Reusch, in the 1950s, the government had planned the alienation of the land around Lolkisale, Esimingor, Ngorongoro and Tinga Tinga (Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 5).

⁶³⁷ Hodgson (2000b, 55-78) discusses the 'Masai Development Plan' (1951-1956), a plan which aimed at turning the Maasai into full-time cattle producers. The programme failed for several reasons, such as lack of competence among the project co-ordinators.

⁶³⁸ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 5.

⁶³⁹ Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 51-52; Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 4-5.

⁶⁴⁰ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 6.

negotiating with the government than when pursuing more explicit mission work. To a certain degree, Reusch opted for government co-operation in order to facilitate his own mission work. He also had an agenda of his own, wherein he tried to work for what he thought was best for the Maasai – and they, he believed, needed christening, education and handicraft skills if they were to survive in a new world.

The Lutheran work did not only benefit from the able work of Richard Reusch, but also from the work of several officers within the British administration. District Commissioner Fraser-Smith had, as Reusch's friend, been of much help to the Lutheran mission. In fact, he was, in 1954, criticised by his successor H. St. J. Grant for having co-operated too closely with the Lutherans and for having neglected the Catholics.⁶⁴¹ Likewise, some lesser officers were of valuable help to the mission after the war, such as Donald Flatt, who became the LCNT education secretary in 1949 after having served as a district official in the British administration.⁶⁴²

In terms of missionary methods, however, Reusch's was autocratic. Having extensive experience in mission work, he thought he knew best how to reach the Maasai. Not only was he given but he took a generous amount of freedom to shape the work, and he chose his colleagues himself. Most of the Tanganyikan workers were long-time friends of Reusch's – people that he trusted and knew would do their best. His philosophy was that only the best workers were good enough for the Lutheran Maasai work. The rest of the field was given a secondary role. Similarly, Reusch complained that Maasailand was given a secondary role within the LCNT and that the work on the plains received merely leftovers after the rest of the Lutheran work had been provided.⁶⁴³ The Maasai work did not either receive enough funds from

⁶⁴¹ Flatt, LCNT-Minutes of the Masai District Education Committee, 23 October 1954.

⁶⁴² Bernander 1968, 63; Hall 1984, 109.

⁶⁴³ Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 6. Most of the meagre funds were allocated to schools, salaries etc. Very little was budgeted for the kind of evangelical or ad-

CYCOM to cover the costs of the rapid expansion. Just as the LCNT congregations and the Church leadership favoured their own work in Sonjo to the largely foreign-dominated work in Maasailand, the American Christians tended to donate money rather to their own mission projects than to the many young African churches financed by CYCOM.⁶⁴⁴ The salvation for the Maasai work came from personal friends of Reusch's. Just like he made his Tanganyikan friends partners – and nurtured his friendship with the higher government officers – he turned to friends in America and Europe to acquire funding for numerous projects. This did not necessarily impress the LCNT leadership, and it tended to distance the Maasai work from the rest of the Church. Yet, the expansion in Maasailand was a costly task and Reusch chose to face conflicts with colleagues rather than to pursue work without a proper budget.

Reusch's methods and goals came increasingly in conflict with the goals of the LCNT. He had very little faith in the wholeheartedness and capacity of the young indigenous leadership in the LCNT – in particular as leaders for the mission endeavour in Maasailand. Already in 1946, Reusch made it clear that he did not believe the Maasai field could be well attended as a fully integrated part of the LCNT. He worked wholeheartedly towards making Maasailand a separate field, with its own superintendent and budget – and thus eventually towards making Maasailand a separate Church Province or District.⁶⁴⁵ In general, it seems that Reusch's plans stirred more disapproval than approval in mission

hoc expenses that pioneer work implied. Thus, it was difficult for the missionary to secure funding for the Maasai work in the LCNT budget.

⁶⁴⁴ Danielson, CYCOM, 21-22 December 1954, Minutes, 82-84. See also footnote 689. Reusch complained that the CYCOM funds were far too meagre (Reusch, Memorandum about the Masai Work, 6). The work among the Sonjo tribe close to Arash and Loliondo in northern Maasailand was started as a mission project of the LCNT in 1948. Christians throughout the Church eagerly donated money to the project but, with the exception of the Arusha Christians, tended to forget about the work in Maasailand, apparently because they felt that their contributions would drown in the foreign mission budgets. For more about the Sonjo mission, see Smedjebacka 1973.

⁶⁴⁵ See page 209.

and Church circles. From the side of the Executive Council, the message was clear – the unity of the Church had to be preserved and, therefore, the Maasai field should not be developed separately but under the supervision of the LCNT. The African leaders did not want to let go of Maasailand.⁶⁴⁶ Although, within the foreign mission, it was generally agreed that Maasailand did not get enough attention, Reusch's colleagues, on the whole, resisted Reusch's petitions. While Reusch wanted to secure the Lutheran work in Maasailand, his expatriate colleagues and the LCNT leadership, in particular, wanted to secure the well-being and unity of the whole Lutheran Church. These differences of opinion eventually caused quite serious frictions.⁶⁴⁷ Probably because of these frictions, Reusch resigned from his duties as a district missionary of the Arusha/Meru part of the Arusha-Meru-Maasai District in order to work exclusively for Maasailand.⁶⁴⁸ In his expression of thanks in the annual report in 1952, Reusch mentioned his co-workers in Maasailand, the government and his friends at home. He did not mention the officers of the LCNT and his missionary colleagues.⁶⁴⁹ Finally, due to the argument over the status of the Maasai work, Reusch decided not to return to the Maasai work after his furlough in 1954-1955 despite keen encouragements by CYCOM to do so.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁶ LCNT – For the Meeting of the Executive Council with the Rev. Dr. Fredrik A. Schiotz, to be held at Machame, August 18-20, 1952; CYCOM, 21-22 December 1954, Agenda, 17.

⁶⁴⁷ In a CYCOM report, it was stated that 'there has been some tension within the Church Council of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika, which has restricted Dr. Reusch's activity considerably' (CYCOM, 21-22 November 1952, Agenda, 33). Even Max Pätzig considered a separation of the Maasai work from the LCNT to be wrong. He emphasised the need for Lutheran unity and saw it as necessary that Maasailand remain a fully integrated part of the LCNT (Pätzig to *hochwürdige Kollegium*, 14 October 1952).

⁶⁴⁸ It was claimed that this was done 'in order that he might give more concentrated effort to the Masai work' (Northern Area Mission Regional Conference, 31 October – 3 November 1952, Minutes).

⁶⁴⁹ Reusch, AR-LM 1952, 53.

⁶⁵⁰ CYCOM, 21-22 December 1954, Agenda, 16-17 and Minutes, 87. In 1955 he considered returning for a short time, but later changed his mind (Telegram, Reusch to Hall, 9 September 1955).

4.3. Church Development on the Maasai Field

The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika grew rapidly in the 1950s. Between 1954 and 1958, the number of Christians increased from 99,509 to 132,731. The leadership grew accordingly. In 1958, there were 74 Tanganyikan pastors – 31 of whom had been ordained in the last five years.⁶⁵¹ As the Church grew in size and maturity, the readiness and willingness to take on more responsibility also grew. In the second half of the 1950s, rapid steps were taken towards autonomy. In 1955, the LCNT was accepted as a member of the Lutheran World Federation and, in 1958, a new Church Constitution was accepted. The 1958 synod was a milestone in several ways. For the first time, a Tanganyikan pastor was elected head of the Church. With an overwhelming majority, Stefano Moshi from the Chagga tribe was elected the first president of the LCNT. Secondly, some of the duality that had existed between mission and Church was tackled, as the work of the foreign mission was integrated into the work of the Church. Overseas missionaries became colleagues with Tanganyikan pastors. Moreover, the new Constitution stated that mission property should become Church property. In brief, most work within the LCNT was henceforth subordinated by the General Assembly, Executive Council and president of the Church.⁶⁵²

⁶⁵¹ Danielson 1977, 172-174. Smedjebacka 1973, 320-322. The financial contributions within the church also rose. While the Christians, in 1954, gave an average of 10.67 shillings per adult member, the sum had increased to 12.91 in 1958.

⁶⁵² Danielson 1977, 182-183; Smedjebacka 1973, 209-219. According to Smedjebacka the Constitution and by-laws, although still being a proposal, gained legal force through the General Assembly of 1958. Stefano Moshi was installed as president of the LCNT on 1 February 1959. The General Assembly named Donald Flatt as vice president. During Flatt's furlough, the General Assembly requested Elmer Danielson be acting vice president. The title of president was changed to bishop in December 1960 (Smedjebacka 1973, 209-216, 220, 262-263). The property issue was not instantly solved at the General Assembly of 1958. The former German property remained under the National Lutheran Council until the church was accepted by the government as a registered body with the right to administer property. Moreover, the education and health work was subordinated to the government (Smedjebacka 1973, 271, 281-282). Finally, it would be incorrect to claim that the duality between the church and mission workers disappeared through the new Church Constitution. The missionaries continued to hold separate conferences dealing exclusively with

With the new Constitution, the Maasai field was also more firmly incorporated into the LCNT. This is what Reusch had tried to avoid, as he feared that the work on the Maasai plains would suffer from negligence if it became a fully integrated part of the LCNT. Whereas the period 1954-1963 in the history of LCNT was marked by expansion, consolidation and increasing autonomy, the Maasai work was put to the test. Through the departure of Reusch, the field not only lost a competent missionary, but the question of the future funding and staffing of Maasailand was left open. In the following two chapters, we will take a closer look at the development in Maasailand – a development which was clearly marked by uncertainty, not least due to the decision of the Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers to make Maasailand one of their fields.

4.3.1. Competition with the Catholics

When the Second World War broke out and most Lutheran missionaries had to leave Tanganyika, most Catholic missionaries, including Germans, were allowed to stay.⁶⁵³ This caused both frustration and worry among the Lutherans, who faced hardships due to an acute lack of workers and funds. There was also frustration over the seemingly extraordinary ability of the Catholics to focus on their work. While the Protestants fought over who should do the work, the Catholics simply set about doing what needed to be done. The worry over the expansion of the Catholics would not have been as acute had the two churches been

missionary matters (Danielson 1977, 182). As expatriates, the foreign missionaries also enjoyed more privileges than their Tanganyikan partners, such as higher salaries, private education for children etc.

⁶⁵³ Langford Smith 1942, 2. Due to the stricter organisation of the Catholics as compared to the Protestants, the former had a more favourable ground for negotiations with the British colonial office in London. There are also a few examples of weaker nationalism among German Catholic missionaries. Sundkler reports about a missionary who managed to produce 'an official document from 1870 showing that he had opted for French nationality'. Thus his mission did not have to close down (Sundkler 2000, 876). Pätzig claimed that several of his Catholic fellow prisoners during his captivity in South Africa were set free after having acquired Swiss passports (Pätzig 1959, 22).

closer to each other. The Catholics did not, however, accept the Lutheran missionaries as true Christian messengers and the Lutherans had clear aversions against the Catholics. Missionary Neville Langford Smith criticised the Catholic mission for preaching and teaching not to win converts *to Christ* or to ‘impart knowledge to encourage growth of individual Christian personality’ but to ‘teach conversion and allegiance- [...] and win converts *to the [Catholic] Church*’. He also claimed that the Bible in the Roman Catholic Church ‘is given no prominence’ – nor was it given to the people or were the people encouraged to read it.⁶⁵⁴

In Maasailand, the Lutherans had, for all intents and purposes, enjoyed a monopoly until the early 1950s. These conditions, however, were to change radically. In 1954, the Maasai District Commissioner Fraser-Smith was on furlough and was deputised by H. St. J. Grant. Accusing Fraser-Smith of having been pro-Lutheran, Grant tried to equalise the balance between the Catholics and Lutherans in the Maasai District. This was bitterly criticised by the Lutherans, who accused the Catholics of trying to reap what the Lutherans had sown. With Reusch’s departure, the Lutheran mission lost both impetus and a father role. This benefited the Catholics. Flatt accused the Holy Ghost Missionary Egbert Durkin for using unjust methods, exploiting the absence of Reusch and making people think that he was Reusch’s successor.⁶⁵⁵ The disputed methods of the Catholics were brought up at a Maasai District Advisory Education Committee meeting in October 1954, where, for the first time,

⁶⁵⁴ Langford Smith 1942, 4. Emphasis added. Father Brian O’Rourke agrees on one point, as he writes that the Catholic students at the joint Theological Education by Extension (starting in 1974) had a very minimal biblical knowledge. ‘In contrast to the Lutherans who grow up with an easy familiarity around the family Bible, the Catholic students didn’t even know the setup of the Bible, where to find what. But they learned.’ (O’Rourke 1994, 15).

⁶⁵⁵ Flatt to Danielson, 23 October 1954; LeClair 1993, 60. After the Holy Ghost Fathers had been entrusted by the British administration with the task of opening a bush school in Ruvu Remiti, Flatt wrote the following. ‘I gather from Pastor Ojungu [Meshuareki] that the Ruvu [Remiti] people, for instance, do not really know which Mission it is that they have invited in. A classical remark ascribed to Father Durkin that “Now that Dr. Reusch has gone away, I am your missionary” just about sums up the attitude.’ (Flatt to Danielson, 23 October 1954).

both Lutherans and Catholics were represented as co-operating with the government to promote the educational system in the Maasai District. Durkin was required to give an explanation and, after hesitating to promise not to undermine Lutheran work, had to provide reassurance ‘that such activities would cease in the future’.⁶⁵⁶

With the departure of Reusch and Fraser-Smith and the arrival of three new British officials, among them two Catholic district officers, the positive expansion trend turned.⁶⁵⁷ There was enough work to be done in Maasailand for two churches. Yet, Reusch’s dream of Maasailand as an essentially Lutheran field vanished. The Holy Ghost Fathers founded two congregations in Maasailand in the 1950s; at Loliondo in 1956 and at Monduli two years later.⁶⁵⁸ The tension between the Lutherans and Catholics is noticeable in most documents from this period. What was it, apart from a dream of a Lutheran Maasai District, that made it so difficult for the Lutherans to accept the Catholics?

First of all, there was, before the Second Vatican Council⁶⁵⁹, not much space for tolerance between Catholics and Protestants. Both churches showed little acceptance of the other. In Maasailand, this lack of respect materialised into a fierce competition, wherein the Catholics were the new contenders. The Holy Ghost Fathers founded stations not only where there was no Lutheran work but also where there was. This

⁶⁵⁶ Minutes of a Meeting of the Masai District Advisory Education Committee held at Monduli on 7/10/50; Flatt to Danielson, 23 October 1954; District Office, Masai (Grant) to Education Secretary, LCNT (Flatt) 3 December 1954.

⁶⁵⁷ Benson to Hall, 5 November 1954; Budke to Hall 12. December 1954. The district officers in the 1950s should not be mixed up with the district officers before WWII. The highest ranking officials in the Maasai District in the 1950s were the district commissioners, followed by the district officers.

⁶⁵⁸ Catholic Directory of Eastern Africa 1968-1969, 158.

⁶⁵⁹ The Second Vatican Council was announced by Pope John XIII in 1959, opened in 1962 and closed by John XIII’s successor Pope Paul VI in 1965. The council dealt with issues topical in the modern world and resulted in four constitutions; ‘On the Sacred Liturgy’, ‘On the Church’, ‘Divine Revelation’ and ‘the Church in the Modern World’. High on the agenda was renewal and reunion, and, through the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church moved closer to the other Christian churches and made ecumenism between the Catholic Church and other Christian churches possible.

indicated that the Catholics did not consider the work of their rivals of any worth from a Christian perspective.⁶⁶⁰ There was no space for co-operation or ecumenism. Similarly, the Lutherans spoke about the Catholics in very negative tones.⁶⁶¹ Benson stresses the importance of Pope John XIII and the differences in co-operation between Catholics and Protestants before and after him.⁶⁶²

Secondly, the missionaries serving the LCNT in Maasailand complained that the Spiritan Fathers used unchristian methods to gain influence among the Maasai. Not only did Father Durkin claim to be Reusch's successor, but, on several occasions, Lutheran missionaries reported that Catholic missionaries had bribed Maasai elders to win them over to their side. The gifts did not only include blankets, honey and meat but also beer and brandy.⁶⁶³ At the same time, the LCNT missionaries fought against the increasing use of alcohol in the Church; a habit which forced them to threaten to fire even evangelists.⁶⁶⁴ Thus, during periods when the Lutheran work suffered from inadequate funds and inexperienced leaders, the strict rules of the Lutherans made it tempting for people to favour the Catholics.

Thirdly, the Lutheran missionaries were disappointed to see that the Spiritan missionaries were proceeding to reap what the Lutherans had sown.⁶⁶⁵ One may understand the aversions of the Lutheran missionaries when it comes to some of the methods of the Catholic missionaries. Defending the determination to make the Maasai field a sole Lutheran block is, however, another issue. There is no doubt that the Lutheran

⁶⁶⁰ The Catholic Christians were even taught that only Catholics will go to heaven. One example of this: when David Simonson's wife Eunice discussed her deceased mother with a Catholic nurse and expressed that she is in heaven now, the Catholic nurse was convinced that the mother had not been a Lutheran but a Catholic (Klobuchar 1999, 115).

⁶⁶¹ Expressions such as the 'Evil Ones' and missionaries who are 'allying with the forces of darkness' were used. In these cases, I choose not to supply any footnotes.

⁶⁶² Benson to Groop, 17 July 2002.

⁶⁶³ Jacobson, AR-LM 1957, 76; De Lany to Jackson, Jacobson and Simonson, 18 September 1957.

⁶⁶⁴ See pages 280-281 in this study.

⁶⁶⁵ Flatt to Danielson, 23 October 1954; Flatt 1957, 105.

mission had paved the way for the Christian message to Maasailand. Similarly, however, there apparently was not enough capacity within the LCNT to pursue mission work effectively – nor were there any overseas missions or churches ready to bear the burden. The insistent Catholic tactics might be seen in light of the political situation. Sundkler discusses the advances of the Catholic mission in Tanganyika and tries to view it in terms of the approaching independence. He stresses that the Catholics tried to create a strong indigenized Church as fast as possible in order to survive the day when Tanganyika became a sovereign state. In order for this to be possible, emphasis had to be put not only on expansion but, in particular, on education so that an indigenous clergy and episcopate could be formed.⁶⁶⁶

Fourthly, the advancement of the Catholics looked threatening, also because their resources seemed to be so much larger than those of the Lutherans. The Holy Ghost Fathers did not enjoy the same confidence among the Maasai as the Lutherans did. Nor did they have the same indigenous Church backing as the LCNT had in the many Arusha workers. This problem, however, was partly solved through the employment of Maasai from Kenya as teachers in Tanganyika.⁶⁶⁷

As attitudes changed within the Catholic Church through the reforms in the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), the relations also changed between the rivalling missionaries in the Maasai District in Tanganyika, later Tanzania. Lutheran and Catholic missionaries living in remote areas were driven to co-operate and interact. In some cases, missionaries from the different churches became friends. Discussions were held, informally at first, and something of a mutual understanding arose. In 1959-1963, for instance, Stanley Benson served as a district missionary in north Maasailand. Living at Loliondo, Stanley and his wife, Marie, befriended one of the Catholic missionaries with whom they

⁶⁶⁶ Sundkler 2000, 874-875.

⁶⁶⁷ Flatt, AR-LM 1955, 58; Benson to Groop, 17 July 2002.

occasionally discussed a number of problems. The Catholic missionary later became bishop of the Arusha Catholic Diocese and took the co-operation with the Lutherans further.⁶⁶⁸ The increased co-operation implied, at first, that the two churches systematically avoided an overlapping of each other's work. The Catholic Church concentrated its health care to the northern areas while the Lutheran did the same in the central and southern sectors. The same was done in other development areas such as dairy, forestry and even fish projects.⁶⁶⁹ Later on, in 1974, the co-operation would go even further and include mutual theological training for both Catholic and Lutheran evangelists.⁶⁷⁰

4.3.2. Disagreements and Development in the Maasai Work

While the Holy Ghost Fathers increased their attempts to get a firm foothold in Maasailand in the mid-1950s, the Lutherans failed even to pursue the tasks that they had planned years before. Clarence Budke complained that Reusch's promise to the administration to build 16 schools was impossible to fulfil. In fact, the Catholics had already utilized the weakness in the Lutheran camp and built six of these schools.⁶⁷¹ Also, the situation was gloomy regarding missionary staffing. Budke, one of the two Augustana missionaries assigned to Maasai work in 1954, was appointed principal for the Arusha secondary school shortly after having begun working in Maasailand. With short notice, Donald Johnson, also an Augustana missionary, agreed to take Budke's place and, in December, he moved to Naberera with his wife and four children.⁶⁷² Being unfamiliar with the Maasai work, Johnson, logically, could not provide any instant relief to the Maasai work. Until Johnson

⁶⁶⁸ Benson to Groop, 8 April 2002; Benson to Groop, 17 July 2002.

⁶⁶⁹ Benson to Groop, 17 July 2002.

⁶⁷⁰ O'Rourke 1994, 14-16.

⁶⁷¹ Budke to Hall, 12 December 1954. See also page 238.

⁶⁷² Larson 1977, 60; Benson to Hall, 5 November 1954; Danielson to Pedersen, 8 December 1954; Budke to Hall, 12 December 1954.

got acquainted with the work or further reinforcements arrived, Benson was practically in charge of the whole Maasai field. Then again, Benson, who by the end of 1954 had acquired some experience in the work, was yet not ordained and could thus not conduct any church services that required a pastor.⁶⁷³

In German Lutheran circles, the frustration over the situation in the 1950s was apparent. In the mutual periodical of the Leipzig Mission and the Neuendettelsau Mission, *In alle Welt*, the Leipzig Mission expressed its frustration over the fact that old German missionaries were denied entrance to Tanganyika by the British interim government. It was noted that the Maasai field was desperate for workers – workers that the Leipzig Mission was willing, but not allowed to send. Moreover, the author hoped that the British authorities would soon change their minds and realise that the war had come to an end many years ago.⁶⁷⁴

According to Superintendent Elmer Danielson, it was not only the situation regarding funding and missionary staffing that was gloomy, but the conditions in the Maasai parishes were also poor. The indigenous staff had received very scant teaching or spiritual counselling, and the four congregations were immature and weak members of the LCNT. Danielson felt that three proper mission stations had to be established; one in the north, south and central sector. A ‘witnessing medical work [program]’ had to be built up in connection with these stations and the planned itinerant evangelism work had to be developed. Finally, the

⁶⁷³ Budke to Hall, 12 December 1954; CYCOM/NLC, 21-22 December 1954, Minutes, 83-84; Benson to friends, 14 December 1955. Benson left for the United States in March 1956 to enter theological training (Danielson, AR-LM 1955, 44).

⁶⁷⁴ *IAW-Ruf in die Welt* 1/1954, 8-10. In 1952, the Leipzig Mission sent its first German workers to Tanganyika since the war. These were Nurses Liddy Dörr and Jenny von Stebut (IAW 1952, 34-35). Dörr would later take up work in Maasailand and run a mobile medical unit. The same year as the nurses Dörr and Stebut were sent out, the Leipzig Mission also wanted to send one or two missionaries to Maasailand (Tanganyika Sub Committee – Commission on World Missions of the Lutheran World Federation, Minutes, 4 October 1952). In 1956, Hans-Wilhelm Blumer again showed interest in returning to Maasailand. For unknown reasons, he was not sent out (Ohlekopf to Flatt, 9 August 1956; ULPA No. 9 (2000)).

schools had to receive proper guidance. Danielson noted that the school work was essential in producing future Maasai Christian leaders – leaders that the congregations in Maasailand desperately needed. In December 1954, practically all work was done by non-Maasai.⁶⁷⁵

Different Recipes for Maasailand

The poor situation in Maasailand was discussed in the General Assembly of the LCNT in November/December 1954, and a list of recommendations was made as to how the Church leadership thought the work should continue.

- 1) the Masai chiefs should be invited to attend Church festivals and ceremonies, in particular baptisms, confirmations and similar events, to see how the Church was advancing within other tribes. Furthermore, to the extent possible, they should be invited to the Executive Council meetings, and thus gain an insight into the comprehensive activity of the Church.
- 2) those congregations in Masailand who were planning major festivals, and were willing to invite Masai chiefs to them, should in due time inform the Church superintendent of their plans.
- 3) congregations in Masailand who were planning festivals should invite representatives from other sections of the Church, especially those from neighbouring areas.
- 4) in future, all the congregations in Masailand should attempt to grow together with the Arusha/Meru district, so that in fact an Arusha/Meru/Masai district came into being.
- 5) all the congregations in Masailand should be called to attend District Meetings, in the same way as the Arusha/Meru congregations.
- 6) Stanley Benson, the district missionary, should send a list to the Church central office with details of all the places in Masailand that were in need of evangelists.

⁶⁷⁵ Danielson to Pedersen, 8 December 1954.

This list could later be distributed to all the congregations within the Church, but first of all to the congregations within the district concerned, that of Arusha/Meru.

7) Church workers in local congregations who were willing to serve in Masailand should accordingly inform their Congregational councils. Before anybody was sent to the Masai area he should first be blessed in the home congregation before departure.

8) the Executive Council should create opportunities for travelling evangelists among the Masai, and should take up this question at the beginning of 1955.

9) all questions and problems that arose in the Masai congregations should first be dealt with at pastors' meetings before they were sent to the Executive Council or to the General Assembly.⁶⁷⁶

The Lutheran leaders tried to raise the awareness of the Christians in the LCNT of the work in Maasailand. Attempts were also to be made to present the Lutheran work to the non-Christian Maasai. Henceforth, Maasai chiefs should be welcomed to Christian festivals and ceremonies and even to the Executive Council meetings to learn about the Lutheran work in and around Maasailand. The need for indigenous workers was observed and congregations were to be made aware of this need. All Maasai congregations were, in the future, to be called to the meetings of the Arusha/Meru District and all problems in Maasailand should be discussed at separate pastors' meetings before being brought to the Church leadership.

To the Maasailand workers, these recommendations were not entirely new. In fact, Maasai chiefs had participated in church services and festivities since at least 1929, and Arusha elders had done the same more than twenty years earlier. Evangelists from Arusha-Ilboru had regularly been sent to Maasailand since 1927 and had been blessed in their home congregations before departure. As a result of this active involvement, the ties between Maasailand and Arusha – and Meru to a

⁶⁷⁶ Smedjebacka 1973, 191; 327.

lesser extent – were already quite strong.⁶⁷⁷ Nonetheless, the General Assembly recommendations signalled a change of attitude towards the Maasai work. Certain problems were observed and some fresh measures were taken. Smedjebacka remarks that the General Assembly had been influenced by Reusch's views. Reusch's opinion was that Maasailand, due to the failure of the Church to evince the same interest in the Maasai area as in the Sonjo mission field, 'should officially be given as a field for foreign missionaries, or at least form its own district within the Church'. Smedjebacka further stresses that the recommendations, on the whole, 'showed that the Maasai area was no longer forgotten, but was to be cared for almost in the same way as the Sonjo mission field'.⁶⁷⁸ Apparently, the General Assembly had been made aware of the situation in Maasailand. Yet, although some of Reusch's pleas had been recognized, the Church leadership was not willing to grant special status to Maasailand. The standing of the Maasai field as a part of the LCNT was made clear. Maasailand was to be increasingly integrated in the work of the LCNT, but the work was to be done predominantly through the Arusha/Meru congregations. Although Danielson, as superintendent, was the chairman of the Executive Council, it is clear that he hesitated to go against the will of the majority of the African delegates. He judged that Maasailand could not become a separate mission area as 'African opinion is very strong in this matter'. Thus, the acknowledgement of the problems in Maasailand should perhaps not be seen as insufficient but rather as a step in the right direction.⁶⁷⁹

CYCOM did not challenge the determination of the General Assembly to keep Maasailand, nor did it have any radical propositions as to how the work should expand. At its last meeting in December 1954, those present once again admitted 'that the support for the Masai area has

⁶⁷⁷ Fokken, ELMB 1904, 452; Blumer, ELMB 1924, 152-153; Blumer, ELMB 1930, 284; Hohenberger, *Jahresbericht über die Masaimission für das Jahr 1937*. For the first evangelists, see chapter 3.2.1.

⁶⁷⁸ Smedjebacka 1973, 192. See also pages 209 and 261 in this study.

⁶⁷⁹ Danielson, CYCOM, 21-22 December 1954, Agenda, 17.

been entirely inadequate'. Yet, due to 'heavy commitments elsewhere', the American body could not afford an expansion in northern Tanganyika. A possible solution to the dilemma, as far as CYCOM was concerned, was that a mission society assumed responsibility for the whole Maasai project, but with the understanding that Maasailand should remain a part of the LCNT. When, in 1954, the leadership of the LCNT tried to include the work on the steppe into the rest of the Church by engaging the Lutheran congregations in the Maasai case, CYCOM concurred, but did not consider the LCNT strong enough to carry the responsibility. CYCOM wanted the LCNT leadership to consider giving the responsibility for Maasailand to a foreign mission society. To provide some relief to the Maasai work, delegates at the December meeting decided that special emergency funding should be allocated for the Maasai work for 1955 – a sum of no less than 105,000 shillings to be used for capital expansion. In the same meeting, CYCOM expressed that it would be 'highly desirable' that Reusch returns for another term of work.⁶⁸⁰

In 1955, the work in Maasailand saw some change. First of all, CYCOM made a few quite radical suggestions. It appears as if the foreign mission had decided to sidestep the slow grinding mills of the LCNT. In a CYCOM meeting in April, it was stated that,

⁶⁸⁰ CYCOM/NLC, 21-22 December 1954, Agenda, 16-17 and Minutes, 81-82, 87; CYCOM/NLC, 1 April 1955, Agenda, 19. The total budget for the Maasai work in 1954 was 109,000 shillings. Of this sum, only 46,500 was requested from the CYCOM/NLC. The government contribution – mainly for building schools – was 37,100 and the rest was to come from the Christians themselves and friends of the mission (CYCOM/NLC, 29 September 1953, Agenda, Exhibit A, 2-7. See also table 4.4. in this study). Thus, the emergency funding that NLC/CYCOM allocated for the Maasai work in December 1954 was considerable. CYCOM ceased to exist in 1956 when the NLC created the Department of World Missions Cooperation (DWMC), as a sub-department of its Division of LWF Affairs. The task of the DWMC was primarily to administer assistance to three churches in Tanganyika; the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika, the Usambara-Digo Lutheran Church and the Uzaramo-Uluguru Lutheran Church. Financial aid and personnel no longer came only from the American churches but from a number of European mission societies (Rolander, Wuppertal Workshop, 9-10 May 1972, Exhibit D, 1. See also table 5.1. in this study).

The ultimate goal of our arrangements must be the building up of one Lutheran Church in Tanganyika. The work within the Masai mission area must therefore aim to serve the purposes of all Lutheran groups interested in the Masai evangelization with freedom to form whatever local fellowship organizations which might develop according to the needs of a temporary and secondary basis; that is, temporary until the unity of the Lutheran Church of Tanganyika becomes a reality.⁶⁸¹

Instead of fully supporting and encouraging the work of the LCNT with the Maasai, CYCOM was now planning Maasai work within a larger context; a future united Lutheran Church in Tanganyika. Particularly emphasised was the necessity for increased co-operation between various Lutheran groups working with Maa-speaking peoples. In fact, a new Maasai Mission Area Council was proposed. This council would administer all Maasai-language work, not only within the LCNT but throughout Tanganyika. It would work in close relationship with the LCNT and other existing Lutheran churches, but it would have full autonomy.⁶⁸² These plans of the foreign mission – to reorganise the Maasai work in order to make it more productive – did not meet much understanding among the LCNT leadership. The proposals were presented at the Executive Council in September 1955, but it was decided that no radical changes were needed. It was apparent that CYCOM and LCNT had different agendas and goals.⁶⁸³

Perhaps more important to the Maasai work of 1955 was the advent of much needed reinforcements in terms of personnel and funds.

⁶⁸¹ CYCOM/NLC, 1 April 1955, Agenda, Exhibit E, 1. Emphasis added.

⁶⁸² As Maasai-speaking people inhabited not only the traditional Maasai District of the LCNT but also areas surrounding it, CYCOM saw it as realistic and necessary to include Lutheran bodies in these regions as well. The Maasai work within the LCNT, it was suggested, should no longer be tied exclusively to the LCNT but to the proposed Maasai Mission Area Council which was to 'serve the Masai speaking people, and counsel the Masai congregations, and [...] maintain a close relationship with the larger church groups involved'. The existing Maasai parishes should remain in the LCNT, but the Mission Area Council should also 'have the freedom to organize the churches into conferences or districts for fellowship and administration.' (CYCOM/NLC, 1 April 1955, Agenda, Exhibit E, 2).

⁶⁸³ Smedjebacka 1973, 195.

Apart from Donald Johnson, who already resided at Naberera, three new mission workers were placed in Maasailand. Elder Jackson and William Jacobson, both Augustana missionaries, took up work in Oldeani and Loliondo respectively.⁶⁸⁴ Liddy Dörr, from the Leipzig Mission, took up work in Oldeani as a nurse, whereas Stanley Benson returned to the United States to enter theological training. The money allocated by CYCOM the previous year was well spent. A missionary house was erected at Loliondo and a dispensary was built at Oldeani. In addition, a car for mobile medical work was purchased.⁶⁸⁵

In general, the enlarged work force and budget improved the situation in Maasailand in 1955 and 1956. As Reusch had planned, the registered primary schools at Naberera and Longido were brought up to full boarding school status. The government's mobile schools, which had been planned by Reusch and Fraser-Smith, were opened in both South and Central Maasailand, and many evangelists volunteered to become teachers. These schools were not restricted to the Lutherans alone; the Catholics also employed young Maasai-speaking men as mobile school teachers. The primary school in Arash, under Head Teacher Emanuel Ilmolelian, saw a positive increase in pupils in all four standards. The Arash dispensary, which had been run by the government in 1954, was reopened as a Lutheran clinic under Medical Assistant David Rehema. Repairs were made and new constructions were planned and completed. The work was appreciated by the Maasai and, in 1955, 2,824 outpatients were treated. Except for the struggle to find qualified Maa-speaking personnel, the overall situation at Arash looked promising. The new dispensary at Oldeani under Liddy Dörr likewise proved necessary. On the first day, some forty patients were treated and there was an average of sixty outpatient treatments carried out on the subsequent days. After

⁶⁸⁴ CYCOM/NLC, 1 April 1955, Agenda, 20; Jackson to Groop, 30 July 2003; Benson to Groop, 8 April 2002.

⁶⁸⁵ CYCOM/NLC, 16-17 September 1955, Agenda, 22-23; CYCOM/NLC, 1 April 1955, Agenda, 19-20; Danielson, AR-LM 1956, 44; Danielson to Fricke, 9 April 1956.

the initiation of the mobile medical unit towards the end of 1955, Liddy Dörr made regular journeys to the northeastern parts of the Maasai District to provide health care in Ol Molog, Engare Naibor, Kitumbeine and Gelai.⁶⁸⁶

The plea of the General Assembly to the congregations for more evangelists bore at least some fruit and the number of evangelists increased. In total, 28 evangelists toured the Maasai plains in 1955. Not all of these were competent in independent work, however, and in some areas harm was done. To improve the situation – above all through equipping and strengthening the teachers and evangelists – refresher courses were held. At these courses, the essentials of the Christian faith were studied and the participants received training in teaching. Most importantly, however, was the opportunity for the participating teachers and evangelists to discuss mutual challenges and problems. On the whole, the Maasai work within the LCNT proceeded in a positive spirit. Some reports were made about setbacks, particularly apostasies, the closing of schools and the lack of motivation among the Christians to take the Gospel to their people. In general, however, the work seemed to have stabilised due to the new attention the work had received. The work done by the pastors Yonazi Kikuji, Ojungu Meshuareki and Naftali Laiser in Monduli, Naberera and Oldeani/Longido, respectively, was especially commended.⁶⁸⁷

The number of baptisms in 1955 amounted to 92. The Monduli-Longido congregation appeared to be the fastest growing with over half of the total baptised that year. About half of the baptisms were conducted

⁶⁸⁶ Benson, AR-LM 1955, 49-52; Rudert, AR-LM 1955, 66-67; Flatt, AR-LM 1955, 58; Statistics, AR-LM 1955, 69; Jacobson, AR-LM 1956, 52-53; Jackson, AR-LM 1956, 54; Schüz, AR-LM 1956, 86; Jackson, AR-LM 1956, 54. Medical Assistant David Rehema was replaced with a Maasai-speaking man from Arusha in 1956. His name is not mentioned (Schüz, AR-LM 1956, 87). For more about the mobile medical work, see page 282.

⁶⁸⁷ AR-LM 1955, 70; Benson, AR-LM 1955, 49-52. Pastor Naftali Laiser moved, in October 1955, from Oldeani to Longido, where much evangelistic work was needed. Probably this move was prompted by the arrival of Missionary Jackson in Oldeani (Benson, AR-LM 1955, 51).

on children. The four congregations in Maasailand had a total of 872 Christians, of which 75 % were adults. Another 144 had been enrolled in catechumen classes. In a comparison of these statistics with the numbers given by Reusch in 1953 and 1954, it is evident that many Christians had left the Church. Compared to the year 1953, the congregations Naberera-Kibaya and Loliondo-Arash had lost more than two thirds of their members. The situation in Monduli-Longido and Oldeani-Mangola was somewhat more positive. These congregations had roughly as many Christians as in 1953 – possibly even a few more.⁶⁸⁸

Although the Maasai field had been secured and some of the most acute problems had been solved, it was apparent that more permanent solutions had to be sought. The superintendent of the LCNT, Dr. Elmer Danielson, considered the present conditions quite favourable and wanted the Lutheran Maasai work to continue as a joint effort between the LCNT and CYCOM for some years to come.⁶⁸⁹ As for the rest of the LCNT leadership, the main concern was that the Maasai work not be

⁶⁸⁸ AR-LM 1955, 69-70; Johnson, AR-LM 1956, 55-56; Palm, AR-LM 1956, 69. See also page 231 in this study. According to Reusch, Loliondo had, in 1953, more than 400 Christians, Endulen 40, Oldeani-Mangola-Karatu far more than 400, Monduli over 200 and Naberera far more than 300 baptised Lutherans (Reusch, AR-LM 1953, 49-51). The next year, Reusch indicated that the number of Christians had increased considerably. There are no reliable statistics for 1954 and 1955, but it is possible that the number of Christians had decreased even more than I have assumed above. As for the decrease in Loliondo, there was a reason other than backsliding. Due to the *Mau Mau* movement in Kenya, all members of the Kikuyu tribe were, in 1954, forced to leave Tanzania and return to Kenya. The Tanganyikan government feared that the rebellion would spread from Kenya to Tanzania through Kikuyu dwellings in Tanzania. Many of the Christians around Loliondo were Kikuyu and, consequently, the Loliondo parish lost many members as a result of the eviction. See Smedjebacka 1973, 190. Compare Hodgson 2000b, 66.

⁶⁸⁹ Danielson, in CYCOM/NLC, 16-17 September 1955, Agenda, 23-25. This does not indicate that Danielson was entirely satisfied with the situation, but rather that he regarded it as an acceptable compromise. In fact, in 1954, he regretted the tendency of CYCOM's supporting member societies to prefer to donate money to the work of their own organisations. It was not as tempting to give money to work somewhere where they could not see the direct result of their offerings. Danielson complained that this tendency resulted in meagre funding for the Maasai work. 'I have also increasingly felt that the constituent Churches of the National Lutheran Council do not have as much concern for the CYCOM missions as for their own missions, and it does not seem to me that anything has been done to remove this weakness.' (Danielson, in CYCOM, 21-22 December 1954, Minutes, 83).

separated from the mother Church. Where the support came from was of secondary interest.⁶⁹⁰ Many representatives of the foreign mission, however, wanted an overseas Lutheran body to take over the work. In the mid 1950s, the American Lutheran Church showed serious interest in assuming Maasailand as their field. This was largely accepted by the LCNT leadership, as long as the work was to remain a part of the Church. The Danish Missionary Society likewise showed some interest. Yet, for some reason, none of these interests materialized. The Americans chose Ethiopia as its new field and the plans of the other societies likewise halted. Why did this foreign interest not lead to more commitment? Evidence is meagre and we are partly left to speculation. Some foreign churches and societies might not have dared to commit themselves to the seemingly impossible task of christening the Maasai, but rather chose to work effectively among smaller and more easily reached tribes. Other bodies might not have had the same faith in the Maasai work as Richard Reusch had. Perhaps even Reusch's sustained influence over the Maasai work scared off some of the interested parties. In September 1955, Reusch was still considering returning to Maasailand.⁶⁹¹

The emergency funding from the National Lutheran Council provided improved work in a few areas, but could not improve the situation on the whole. The missionaries' annual reports in 1957 were gloomy. David Simonson was a new missionary from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELC) who had taken up work in southern

⁶⁹⁰ CYCOM/NLC, 21-22 December 1954, Agenda, 17; CYCOM/NLC, 21-22 December 1954, Minutes, 83-84; *H Kuu*, 23 November 1955, in Hall, Memorandum, 24 January 1956.

⁶⁹¹ CYCOM/NLC, 16-17 September 1955, Agenda, 23; Danielson, AR-LM 1955, 44; Hall, Memorandum, 24 January 1956; Fricke to Hermann, 15 May 1956; Flatt 1957, 105; Fricke to Hermann, 15 May 1955; Rolander to Birkeli, 29 April 1957. Reusch to Hall (telegram), 9 September 1955. Smedjebacka notes that the Church of Sweden Mission and the *Schleswig-Holstein Ev. Lutherische Missionsgesellschaft zu Breklum* had considered assuming the responsibility for the Maasai work (Smedjebacka 1973, 244). Even the Leipzig Mission had discussed the possibilities of reassuming Maasailand as their field. Due to the weak financial situation, the Leipzig board, however, had to decline (Ihmels to Ohlekopf, 12 May 1956).

Maasai after the sudden departure of Donald Johnson.⁶⁹² Simonson reported about stagnation.

Due to sickness and lack of sufficient funds, the work has not been able to continue – even to the point of holding our own. Both government and native leaders have lost confidence in us and until that is restored we will be making progress backwards.⁶⁹³

Despite a relatively large number of evangelists, the Lutheran work in Maasailand was restricted to the upkeep of the work at the main centres. The work at the outstations suffered the most. With an increased number of Christians, the demand for indigenous leaders increased accordingly and, when enough competent teachers and evangelists were not found, the work suffered. Recent converts and young Christians did not receive the support that they needed and temptations among the church members to ‘fall back into paganism’ appeared to have increased. It was also little help that 1956-1957 were years of initiation for new Maasai warriors – years when temptation was at its highest for the Christians to return to their roots.⁶⁹⁴ From Loliondo in the north, William Jacobson reported about destructive drinking. Alarming, the Christians were also frequent visitors at local bars.

I grieve to report that the majority of our “Christians” frequent its [the local *kalabu*] premises and many of them can be found drunk every week-end. Repeated warnings from the pulpit against this evil have had little effect on the

⁶⁹² When Simonson, together with his wife Eunice and their three children, arrived to Tanganyika in 1956, he was assigned to Marangu, where he taught at the Teacher’s Training College. Shortly after his arrival, Simonson had to move to Naberera to replace Donald Johnson who suffered from heart problems (Klobuchar 1998, 53, 60-61; Rolander to Birkeli, 29 April 1957; Missions Co-ordinating Committee Meeting, 18 January 1957). The Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELC) was, until 1946, the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. In 1960, it unified with a number of other church bodies to form the American Lutheran Church (TALC) which, in turn, united with other Lutheran bodies to become the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) in 1988 (Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, <http://www.elca.org/archives/churchbodykey.html>, 31.5.2005).

⁶⁹³ Simonson, AR-LM 1957, 73.

⁶⁹⁴ Johnson, AR-LM 1956, 55; Hohenberger, IAW 1959, 103.

hearers. One of our evangelists has been warned for the last time to leave strong drink alone or be removed from his post. As a result our witness before the rest of the community is weak and without meaning.⁶⁹⁵

The LCNT Education Secretary Milan de Lany confirmed that the situation was critical. Even Naberera, the previous pride of the work, was in bad condition. De Lany regarded the school at Naberera not only as dying, but as a disgrace to the Church. The education secretary had been warned by the district commissioner and the provincial education officer that the Lutheran days in Maasailand would be ‘numbered unless an unusual awakening takes place’. De Lany was reminded that the Lutherans had had the field to themselves for many years without achieving much, whereas the Catholics had entered the area ‘with terrific zeal and cunning and are producing results’.⁶⁹⁶

In the middle of this crisis, the Lutheran Maasai work was struck by tragedy. On 3 September 1958, the Arusha district pastor and vice president of the LCNT, Lazarus Laiser, died in a traffic accident on his way to Sonjo.⁶⁹⁷ Laiser had been a catalyst both for the mission endeavour among the Maasai and Sonjo, not least by encouraging the Arusha Christians to participate in the work. With Laiser’s death, the Church, as well as the work in Maasailand, lost a faithful servant and an able administrator.⁶⁹⁸

Within the ups-and-downs in Maasailand, there was, however, positive development as well. In 1958, a second German Leipzig Mission worker was sent to Maasailand. Rev. Hans Dietrich Caspary took up work in Karatu after Jackson went on furlough. Caspary became the

⁶⁹⁵ Jacobson, AR-LM 1957, 75-76.

⁶⁹⁶ De Lany to Jackson, Jacobson and Simonson, 18 September 1957.

⁶⁹⁷ *Bendera ya Kikristo*, October 1958, 2.

⁶⁹⁸ Shortly after Laiser’s death, the Arusha Christians wrote to Max Pätzig and asked him to return to Ilboru. They wanted the *apostle* back now that the *father* had died. According to Pätzig, several parishes wanted the old Leipzig missionaries back, such as the 80-year-old Eduard Ittameier. In 1960, Pätzig returned to Tanganyika where he spent some four months (Pätzig to Küchler 5 March 1959; Pätzig to Ihmels, 22 March 1960; Pätzig 1961).

district missionary for the Mbulu area the next year.⁶⁹⁹ The work of Nurse Liddy Dörr and Medical Worker Elisa Marko was also reported about positively. Dörr toured east central Maasailand and offered medical treatment whereas Marko provided medical care at Arash in the north. Medical work continued to be highly appreciated on the plains and a strong means of evangelism. In 1960, a second nurse from the Leipzig Mission, Deacon Friedrich Schneider, took up work in Maasailand. When a second Land Rover mobile clinic was launched in 1961, a considerably larger area could be covered. Schneider was responsible for health care in the south, east and northeast, whereas Dörr treated patients in the northern and central parts of Maasailand.⁷⁰⁰ In Loliondo, Renee Jacobson, William's wife, had begun holding sewing classes for women with an encouraging attendance. These classes were not only visited by members of the Lutheran parish but also by Catholics, Muslims and women without any religious affiliation.⁷⁰¹

New Plans are Made

When it became clear that no overseas Lutheran body wished to take the main responsibility for the Maasai work, new plans had to be made. Smedjebacka writes that the NLC Mission Secretary Oscar Rolander and Arne Sovik, the director of the Department of World Mission, discussed the Maasai issue during a visit in Tanganyika in 1957.

⁶⁹⁹ IAW 1958, 173-174; Hohenberger, IAW 1959, 103; Jackson to Groop, 30 July 2003. Elder and Renee Jackson did not return to Maasailand after their furlough. Renee suffered from breathing problems, supposedly due to an allergy to the volcanic dust in the Mbulu area (Jackson to Groop, 30 July 2003).

⁷⁰⁰ IAW 1962, 79. Schneider, later also Wilhelm Bieringer, regularly visited Ol Molog, Msitu wa Tembo, Landanai and Kisongo south of Naberera. Dörr's unit visited Engare Naibor, Oltinga, Gelai and Kitumbeine (IAW 1962, 79; Schneider, IAW 1963, 35-38; *Umoja*, March 1962, 3; IAW 1966, 56; Jaeschke 1968, 226). Schneider returned to Germany in 1972 and Dörr in 1981 (ULPA No. 9 (2000)). In 1961-1962, William K. Pertsch, a lay missionary from the *United Lutheran Church in America* (ULCA), also served in Maasailand, at Naberera (Benson to Groop, 8 April 2002; Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, <http://www.elca.org/archives/missionaries/tanzaniamiss.html>, 6.6.2005).

⁷⁰¹ Jackson, AR-LM 1957, 75; Jacobson, AR-LM 1957, 76.

Rolander and Sovik came to the conclusion that the Maasai work should continue as an integrated part of the LCNT work.⁷⁰² Shortly after, Missionary Elder Jackson was entrusted with the task of leading a team to examine the needs of the Maasai work and to draw up a five-year plan for the work. After assessing the field, Jackson wrote a report, which included a thorough evaluation of the work of both the government and the Lutheran Church in Maasailand as well as a plan for continuation of the mission enterprise. The Catholic work was not included in the report.

Table 4.5.

Lutheran and government work in Maasailand according to the Five-Year Plan, 1958

		North	West Central ^b	East Central	South
Centres		5	7	7	11
Population		8,000	12,000	11,000	15,000
Lutheran workers	Missionaries	1	^c		^e
	Pastors			1	1
	Evangelists	4	4	4	8
Places of worship	Churches	1	2	2	2
	Chapels	2	2	2	6
Schools	Mission	1	1	1	5 ^f
	Government	1	4	2	2
Medical work ^a	Mission	0/1		0/4 ^d	
	Government	1/0	2/3	1/1	1/4
Other (government)	Cattle market/auction	2	4	3	6

Source: Jackson, Report on National Lutheran Council Mission Work in Masailand and Plan for Continuation. ^aHospitals and well-supplied dispensaries (grade A) / Simpler dispensaries (Grade B) and other medical work. ^bLocations outside the Maasai District such as Oldeani, Karatu and Mangola excluded. ^cMissionary living at Karatu, outside the Maasai District. ^dVisited by a mobile unit. ^eMissionary living at Ilboru, outside the Maasai District. ^fFour of these were bush schools. There were probably a number of bush schools which are not included in the five-year report. In 1955, there were four registered schools and 33 bush schools in Maasailand (The National Lutheran, September-October 1955, 57).

⁷⁰² Smedjebacka 1973, 245. The Department of World Mission was subordinated to the Lutheran World Federation.

There were, at that time, two full-time African pastors and twenty evangelists serving both Maasai and non-Maasai in seven churches and twelve chapels. Jackson stated that the hitherto 30 years of Lutheran work in Maasailand had led to relatively small visible results. It had approached the Maasai ‘through the mission station with a program of direct evangelism as well as utilization of the secondary means of schools and medicine’. As this approach primarily focused on the individual, there had been problems with the rejection of converts from their tribal culture. The evangelistic work was carried out mainly by Arusha evangelists. Less than five of the evangelists were Maasai-proper. The methods had been fairly unsuccessful, in particular among adults, but even children who had been baptised had been lost upon returning to their families. Jackson did not judge the existing methods as unnecessary, but thought it important that they were complemented by a “community approach”.⁷⁰³

This is what is meant by the term “Indigenous evangelism” [...] This involves an approach to the individual in his society with the aim to convert him with his group. There would be a more positive attitude toward tribal customs. The objective would be to baptise groups rather than the isolated individual.⁷⁰⁴

Jackson’s report in 1958, and in particular his notes about past and future mission approaches, reveals what kind of thoughts were prevailing among the Lutheran missionaries in the mid-late 1950s. The Lutheran mission stood at something of a junction. The financial situation was far from secured, competition from other denominations had increased considerably and the results of the Lutheran work had been far from convincing. In this situation, it was necessary for the missionaries to plan ahead, and plan bravely. One of the thoughts that occurred was that of indigenous evangelism. Jackson suggested eleven

⁷⁰³ Jackson, Report on National Lutheran Council Mission Work in Masailand and Plan for Continuation, 1958.

⁷⁰⁴ Jackson, Report on National Lutheran Council Mission Work in Masailand and Plan for Continuation, 1958, 6. Underlining in original.

locations where indigenous evangelism should be attempted. Nine of these were locations without any present Lutheran work and two were locations where a Lutheran mobile medical unit had recently begun regular visits. In general, the report suggested that plenty of effort should be put into reviving the education work.⁷⁰⁵

The five-year plan was accepted by the NLC and welcomed by the LCNT. Simonson and Benson were entrusted by the Church to implement the plan. Work was done to improve the work in line with Jackson's suggestions. In the report, Jackson acknowledged the lack of linguistic and anthropological knowledge among the Lutheran workers. Therefore, more effort was, in the subsequent years, put into learning to know the Maasai language and culture. Above all, increased efforts were put into indigenisation of the work. Visitations and teaching in the Maasai *bomas* became more frequent and an increasingly important component of the Lutheran Maasai work. Increasing efforts were also put into educating Maasai and Maa-speaking pastors, teachers and evangelists – efforts that did not materialise within the five years as planned, but indeed in the 1960s. These Maasai-speaking workers were later assigned to positions in Maasailand.⁷⁰⁶ The poor quality of the primary education in Maasailand continued to be a problem for many years. It was difficult for Maasai students to gain entry into secondary schools as there were only a limited number of secondary schools, and pupils from other regions generally showed better results and, thus, had priority to secondary education. In the mid to late 1960s, more efforts were put into building registered primary schools aimed at improving the education situation. A number of buildings for medical work were also constructed.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁵ Jackson, Report on National Lutheran Council Mission Work in Masailand and Plan for Continuation, 1958, 1-6.

⁷⁰⁶ Jackson, Report on National Lutheran Council Mission Work in Masailand and Plan for Continuation, 1958, 8; Jackson to Groop, 30 July 2003; Benson to Groop, 8 April 2002.

⁷⁰⁷ Benson to Groop, 8 April 2002; Johnson to Lundgren, 28 December 1965; Johnson to Lundgren, 6 April 1966.

The mission during 1954-1963 suffered from inadequate funding and constant uncertainty regarding the continuation of the work. The National Lutheran Council was constantly looking for a possible sponsor for the field, but was unable to find one. Therefore, the missionaries were forced to live in uncertainty as to whether they would continue their service in Maasailand or elsewhere. It seems that the first years after Reusch's departure were the hardest. The Maasai were suspicious of the new missionaries and the co-operation with the government temporarily changed for the worse. Moreover, the Catholic competition increased shortly after Reusch had left and at a point when the Lutherans were the least prepared. The Lutherans were not only shocked to see how energetically the Holy Ghost Fathers set to work, but, above all, they had serious doubts regarding some of their methods. Despite many uncertainties, the work slowly picked up and the hopefulness increased accordingly. After 1955, the expatriate staff in Maasai increased. The northern, central and southern areas received a district missionary, and nurses took up work at the new dispensary in Oldeani as well as with the new mobile medical units. The year 1958 appears to have been something of a turning point. The five-year plan was a sign of hope and belief in the future. This was also proven by the fact that, during the same year, the missionaries passed an exam in the Maasai language. Much attention was drawn to the needs of the Maasai work, which was probably necessary to prevent the work from being forgotten. As no overseas Church or mission body dared or wanted to take the responsibility for the work on the steppe, the funding continued to be a problem. Yet, although the Lutheran Maasai budget was probably quite small in comparison to the Catholic one, it increased no less than fivefold from 46,500 shillings to 236,785 between 1954 and 1963. Most of the funding came from the NLC.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁸ NLC/CYCOM Budgets 1953-1957; Budgets and Financial Reports in Smedjebacka 1973, 282.

Table 4.6.*Church growth in the LCNT/ND, Maasai/Mbulu District 1960 and 1963*

Congregation	1960	1963
Monduli - Longido	385	645
Naberera - Kibaya	391	467
Loliondo - Arash	199	221 (1962)
Karatu - Kilimamoja		
Karatu - Ngorongoro	1,364	2,597
Oldeani		
Magugu ^a	172	461
Sonjo ^a	150	251
Total	2,661	4,642

Sources: ELCT/ND statistics 1960-1966. ^aMagugu and Sonjo had no Maasai population and are included only as a part of the Maasai/Mbulu Church District.

As in previous years, the congregations Monduli-Longido, Naberera-Kibaya and Loliondo-Arash had a relatively large number of Maasai members, but they grew the slowest. The Christians in these three congregations amounted to only 37 % of the total number of Christians in the Maasai/Mbulu District in 1960 and less than 30 % in 1963, even though these congregations were the oldest. The most significant church growth took place in areas with small or no Maasai population, particularly around Karatu and Oldeani in the west and in Magugu south of Lake Manyara.

5. TOWARDS A SEPARATE ARUSHA-MAASAI SYNOD (1963-1973)

After more than 70 years of German and British rule, Tanganyika gained independence on 9 December 1961. Julius Nyerere, a former Catholic secondary school teacher, became the independent Tanganyika's first prime minister. During the following year, when the country adopted a republican constitution, Nyerere became its president. In 1964, Tanganyika united with Zanzibar and the name was changed to Tanzania.⁷⁰⁹

In many ways, the preparation for Lutheran Church autonomy preceded both the independence movement and independence itself. Already before the Second World War, preparations for Church autonomy had been made. As early as in 1937, LCNT and the six other Lutheran churches in Tanganyika had been unified in the Mission Church Federation (MCF). In 1952, this association, with a changed constitution, took the name Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika (FLCT). Between 1960 and 1963, the work for Church autonomy was taken further as a new Church Constitution for a united Lutheran Church in Tanganyika was being formulated and, on 19 June 1963, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanganyika (ELCT) came into being. In February 1964, the LCNT ceased to exist and became a diocese within the ELCT – the Northern Diocese.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁹ Iliffe 1979, 566-576; Schatte 1968, 41-43, 47-48; Sundkler 2000, 1011-1012.

⁷¹⁰ Smedjebacka 1973, 154-155, 309-312; Danielson 1977, 223-227. The name later changed to Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT). In practice, the LCNT continued to co-exist with the ELCT until it was turned into a diocese at the ELCT General Assembly in February 1964 (Smedjebacka 1973, 312).

Work in the Northern Diocese was pursued in five separate districts, two of them being Maasai/Mbulu and Arusha/Meru. Maleaki Lukumai became the first district pastor in Maasai/Mbulu.⁷¹¹ Although a fully integrated part of the Northern Diocese and the ELCT, the Maasai work continued to depend on foreign support – both in terms of money and assistance from missionaries. Consequently, the foreign mission continued to have a great deal of influence in this work.

Table 5.1.

Non-Tanzanian church bodies and joint committees supporting the Lutheran Maasai work during the years 1952-1973

1952	1956	1966	1973
COMMISSION ON YOUNGER CHURCHES AND ORPHANED MISSIONS of the NATIONAL LUTHERAN COUNCIL	DEPARTMENT OF WORLD MISSIONS COOPERATION of the NATIONAL LUTHERAN COUNCIL		TANZANIA ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE

Sources: CYCOM-NLC, 14 March 1951; Rolander, Background and Historical Development of the Tanzania Assistance Committee, 9-10 May 1972; Hall 1984, 49-51, 113-117; Lindqvist 1982, 36-38, 50-54.⁷¹²

After 26 years of financial aid from the National Lutheran Council in the USA, the foreign support to Maasailand and the rest of the former German and American field was, from 1966, channelled through the Tanzania Assistance Committee (TAC). TAC was not a joint committee only for the American Lutheran bodies. In fact, more and more money and missionaries were sent from European societies as the financial situation there brightened. Between 1966 and 1973, TAC co-

⁷¹¹ *Umoja*, August 1969, 2. The districts within the Northern Diocese were Pare, East Kilimanjaro, West Kilimanjaro, Arusha/Meru and Maasai/Mbulu (Rolander, TAC, 27 July 1971, 5-6; TAC, 21-22 April 1967, Agenda, Exhibit N; *Umoja*, December 1963).

⁷¹² CYCOM/NLC (1952-1956) supported the whole LCNT. DWMC/NLC (1956-1966) supported not only the LCNT but also the Usambara-Digo Lutheran Church and the Uzaramo-Uluguru Lutheran Church. TAC (1966-1973), as noted in the text above, coordinated the assistance for the Northern Diocese, the Eastern and Coastal Synod, the North Eastern Diocese and the Central Synod. The Maasai work was only a part of the work of these departments and joint committees.

ordinated all support to the work in the Northern Diocese, Central Synod, North Eastern Diocese and Eastern and Coastal Synod, commonly called the 4 S/D. When TAC was dissolved in 1973, its functions were taken over by the Lutheran Coordination Service (LCS) – a new joint committee that was to support not only the former German field but the whole ELCT.⁷¹³

The period 1963-1973 was characterised both by nationalism and tribalism. The aims of President Nyerere and TANU, the ruling political party, were to unite the country with its more than 120 tribes through a number of national programmes, laws and state centralisation. Whereas most people in the young republic had greeted national independence with joy and proudly called themselves Tanzanians, their affinities were still very much with their ethnic groups – perhaps even more than with the nation.⁷¹⁴ This was the case within the ELCT and the Northern Diocese. We will see, in the three last chapters of this study, how Church unification and tribal awareness walked side by side and caused tensions which, in the case of the Arusha and Maasai, would eventually lead to the founding of a new Church Synod, the Synod in Arusha Region. We will also take a look at some of the most typical features in the Lutheran work in Maasailand, in particular, the emphasis on indigenisation and the battle against spirit possession.

⁷¹³ Hall 1984, 117; Lindqvist 1982, 32-40; Rolander, Background and historical development of the Tanzania Assistance Committee, 9-10 May 1972, Exhibit D. From 1969 all synods and dioceses within the ELCT apart from the 4 S/D were supported by the Lutheran Coordination Service-Tanzania (LCS-T), through which all societies and churches channelled both funds and missionaries. In practice TAC and LCS-T coordinated closely and shared both staff and localities during the four years that they coexisted. Lindqvist notes that only the North Western Diocese in 1973 resisted the tendency towards one large joint committee. In 1977, its supporting agency, the Tanzania Committee, joined the LCS which, thereafter, was the only committee supporting the ELCT (Sinram to Moshi, 19 December 1968; Rolander, Background and historical development of the Tanzania Assistance Committee, 9-10 May 1972, Exhibit D; Lindqvist 1982, 39-40). See also tables 4.1 and 5.1. In 1998 LCS was renamed as the LMC – Lutheran Mission Cooperation.

⁷¹⁴ Iliffe 1979, 511-512; Schatte 1968, 76-92; Nass 1971, 57. Compare Nangoro 1998, 57 and Jerman 1997, 270-271, 327-329. TANU: Tanganyika African National Union. For more about the political situation in Tanzania in the 1960s, see for instance Schatte 1968, 43-50, 76-92.

5.1. Patriotism, Tribalism and Indigenous Evangelism

The rising patriotism, Tanzania's independence and its socialist rule was not merely a source of joy to the various tribes in the country. For instance, the different lifestyle of the Maasai was seldom encouraged. During the 1960s, the Tanzanian government imposed a series of new rules which curbed and damaged Maasai social structure and culture.⁷¹⁵ One of these was to promote Kiswahili as the vernacular. The intention with Kiswahili was not to oppress any ethnic group but to unify the language and, thereby, also the people. In theory, many Maasai also considered a common vernacular beneficial. Yet, as they generally spoke little else than Maa, the growing use of the Swahili tongue alienated many Maasai from the rest of the country.

In the Lutheran Maasai work, the Swahili language became more widely used as well, at the cost of Maa. Already in 1960, after a visit in Tanganyika, the former Arusha and Maasai Missionary Max Pätzig reported that the use of the Maasai language in the schools was on the decline. Swahili was even used in standards I and II in many parts of Maasailand. Above all, Pätzig took it amiss that much of the voluntary teaching in Christianity was conducted in the Swahili language.⁷¹⁶ There were several reasons why the Lutheran workers more often failed to pursue work in Maa. First, it was still difficult in the 1960s to find competent workers. Not all of the Lutheran pastors, evangelists and teachers in Maasailand were Maa-speakers. Most missionaries had only basic knowledge, at best, in Maa.⁷¹⁷ They had indeed passed a language exam, most of them as early as in 1958. Yet, the language exam did not prove that a person was fluent in the language. Simonson, for instance,

⁷¹⁵ The forming of *manyattas*, separate huts for the *murrans*, was forbidden. A large number of Maasai (as well as people of other tribes) were bound to national service far away from home. Even the customary Maasai dress was forbidden (Flatt 1969, 2-3). Compare Hodgson 2004, 153.

⁷¹⁶ Pätzig, *Mein Eindruck von der Kirche in Nord-Tanganyika*.

⁷¹⁷ Hohenberger to Bernewitz, 17 July 1968.

only started preaching in Maa in 1960 – two years after having passed the exam in the Maasai language.⁷¹⁸ Second, the larger centres in Maasailand – or the Maasai/Mbulu Church District – had considerable permanent populations of non-Maasai. These people were, in general, more willing to participate in the Lutheran work than the Maasai, most of whom did not even live in close vicinity to the centres – at least not permanently. Consequently, it was often felt that the use of Swahili instead of Maa as a medium for instruction was more relevant. The instruction language was Swahili since so few Maasai turned up and, in turn, the Maasai were increasingly distanced because of the use of Swahili.⁷¹⁹ Third, neither the government nor the Church leadership encouraged the use of the Maasai language.⁷²⁰ The Maasai, it was generally considered, should learn to speak Kiswahili for the sake of the unity of the republic and Church. Yet, the Maasai were proud of their language and did not want to succumb. Moreover, very few older Maasai had any school education and were fluent in Swahili.

The Maasai five-year plan was engineered before independence and it was written and chiefly implemented by foreign missionaries. In the 1960s, however, Tanzanian patriotism and political principles tended to be in confrontation with issues like indigenous evangelism and the use of lesser languages. Whereas the foreign mission wanted to promote the use of grass-root methods, Nyerere's rule pronounced *ujamaa* (oneness, familyhood) – an ideology which saw little value in the use of different methods and languages in different parts of the country.⁷²¹ In a way, the Lutheran leadership found itself in a paradox situation. Bishop Moshi surely wanted to offer the Christian Gospel to the Maasai in a way that they could comprehend. At the same time, he was caught up in patriotic

⁷¹⁸ Pätzig, *Mein Eindruck von der Kirche in Nord-Tanganyika*.

⁷¹⁹ Hohenberger to Bernewitz, 8 August 1967.

⁷²⁰ Bernewitz to Hohenberger, 8 December 1967; Hohenberger to *Ev-Luth Mission (Leipziger Mission) Erlangen*, 31 January 1968.

⁷²¹ For more about *ujamaa* and Nyerere's thoughts, see Nyerere 1968. Compare Hodgson 2004, 151-154; 182-183.

ideals where the use of Tanzania's vernacular was taken for granted. Since the goal of the Tanzanian government was to make Swahili the unifying language which everyone in Tanzania could speak, the Maasai were seen as rebels and anti-Tanzanian rather than as a minority with rights.⁷²²

When it was Johannes Hohenberger's time to return to Tanzania in 1967, he too complained about the poor status of the Maasai language in Tanzania. Hohenberger was fluent in Maa and he had translated the New Testament into the language. Having been given considerable freedom to shape his work during his almost two year stay in Tanzania, Hohenberger decided to offer a language course for the missionaries. Yet he claimed that Bishop Moshi and the leadership in Moshi had little understanding of his zeal regarding the use of the Maasai language. The language course could be held, but on the condition that the German mission paid the expenses. During three months, nine Maasai missionaries and wives received training in Maa.⁷²³ In several ways, Hohenberger's stay in Tanzania turned into an awareness-raising campaign in favour of the Maasai language and culture. Apart from teaching missionaries, he brought language issues forth both with the Church leadership and those directly involved in the Maasai work. Through reports about the language situation in a number of letters and articles, Hohenberger also brought the issue to the forefront outside Tanzania. Moreover, he printed 3,000 copies of the New Testament which he had translated into Maa a few years earlier. Blumer's catechism was also reprinted.⁷²⁴

Apart from the discussions on language issues in the Lutheran Maasai work, the period after independence was largely characterised by

⁷²² Nass 1971, 57; Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 20 May 2005.

⁷²³ Hohenberger to *Evang-Luth Mission (Leipziger Mission) Erlangen*, 31 January 1968; Hohenberger to Kimme, 9 March 1968. Seven of these fulfilled the course (Hohenberger to Bernewitz, 17 July 1968).

⁷²⁴ Schatte to Hohenberger, 24 January 1968; Hohenberger to Kimme, 9 March 1968; IAW, 1966, 56.

increasing indigenisation. More and more work was being done to attempt to implement methods to attract the Maasai to the Church. As the Maasai were unwilling to come to the Lutheran venues and services at the main centres, where the instruction language was often Swahili, the church workers and missionaries made increasing efforts to teach people in their homesteads.⁷²⁵ By bringing the Gospel into the Maasai *bomas* instead of focusing solely on mission station work, the workers were also able to reach the influential elders. As the Christian faith was brought straight to the Maasai – in their own language and milieu – they gained more interest.⁷²⁶

In a paper on indigenous Maasai mission methods, Stanley Benson evaluated the Lutheran work. He noted that the Lutheran Church, in the past, had made wide contacts in Maasailand and that the people identified the Lutheran work as ‘being beneficial and in unity with their aspirations’.⁷²⁷ He described the present Lutheran Maasai work as bi-focal, with penetration as the first aim and integration as the second. Lutheran penetration implied that the workers approached selected *bomas* where they held scriptural lessons. The aim was to reach the whole kraal and not just individuals. Instead of the people having to come to the churches in the main centres, more and more instruction and worship had started taking place inside the Maasai homesteads. Benson stressed that the work was increasingly being aimed at the elders, but the message was such that it was applicable to the whole group.⁷²⁸ Various forms of music and art were used. Art with motives familiar to the Maasai turned out to be valuable sources for discussion, and traditional Maasai songs were used to communicate the Christian message in a new way. Even the stoles used by the pastors were redesigned to be more

⁷²⁵ Hohenberger to Bernewitz, 8 Aug 1967; Benson 1971, 70-75.

⁷²⁶ Benson 1974, 145-151.

⁷²⁷ Benson 1971, 71.

⁷²⁸ As it was traditionally the male elders who gathered for discussions and decision-making, many naturally viewed it with suspicion when women and children joined in the Lutheran teaching and worship.

Maasai-like.⁷²⁹ The use of images and artwork had been attempted already during Richard Reusch's time as a missionary. Yet, the work during the 1960s was not as focused on heroism as it was under Reusch, but rather on Maasai religious myths.⁷³⁰

The previously cold relationship between the Lutherans and Catholics in Maasailand was improving and a certain degree of interdenominational co-operation took place. This time, it was the Lutherans' turn to gain from Catholic pioneer work. One of the Holy Ghost missionaries, Eef A. H. Nass, had made a compilation of scriptural lessons that tied in with Maasai myths. This work was offered to the Lutheran missionaries and found good use. Both denominations had realised the importance of indigenisation.⁷³¹

With the integration phase, Benson suggests that the Maasai are 'brought out of their social isolationist tendency into a unification or incorporation into the life of the whole Church and the world'.⁷³² Once again the closeness to Reusch's thoughts can be discerned. Like Reusch, Benson wanted the Church to play a part in a transition of the *old* Maasai economic and religious lifestyle into new ones. He did not want to remove Maasai focus on cattle, but did not see nomadic life as sustainable in the long run. Instead, he proposed that the Church and mission could teach and help the Maasai to take cattle tending further, for instance into co-operative ranching.⁷³³

In 1966, the Lutheran work in the Maasai/Mbulu Church District was grouped in eight congregations and was carried by seven pastors and 67 evangelists. The three congregations in more distinctive Maasai areas, Naberera-Kibaya, Monduli-Longido and Loliondo-Arash, had somewhat

⁷²⁹ Benson 1971, 70-72; Benson 1974, 152.

⁷³⁰ Benson 1971, 71.

⁷³¹ Benson 1971, 71. See also Nass 1971, 56-67.

⁷³² Benson 1971, 73.

⁷³³ Benson 1971, 73; Benson 1974, 170. Compare pages 208-209, 216 and 259 in this study. Once again, the aspirations of the government and Lutheran church and mission went hand-in-hand. The Tanzanian government was trying to introduce co-operative ranching schemes at Monduli Juu and on the Ardai plains in Maasailand (Flatt 1969, 3).

more than 1,200 members.⁷³⁴ The hitherto relative lack of interest among the Maasai in the Lutheran work was considered closely related to the lack of Maasai pastors. Until the end of the 1960s, none of the parishes in Maasai/Mbulu had been cared for by a Maasai. Most pastors belonged to the Arusha or other ethnic groups. The emphasis on the education of Maasai leadership, which was pointed out in the five-year plan of 1958, started to bear fruit towards the end of the 1960s when a number of young Maasai men entered the Makumira Theological Seminary. In 1968, the first Maasai pastor, Moses Kasoi, was ordained. Between 1968 and 1974, six more Maasai were ordained to become pastors in the Maasai congregations.⁷³⁵

The Christian health care was the issue that still made a particular impression on the Maasai. Between 1963 and 1973, this means of work was further expanded. There were eight permanent dispensaries in Maasai/Mbulu. In addition, two mobile medical units with nurses and medical dressers provided health care in areas without dispensaries. The health care budget rose from just over 110,000 shillings in 1967 to around 250,000 shillings in 1970. Only eight per cent of the running costs were paid by foreign mission funding. The rest was covered by patient fees and government grants, such as salaries for the medical workers.⁷³⁶ Education had been a key instrument in reaching the Maasai

⁷³⁴ ELCT/ND, Statistics, 1966; IAW 1968, 71. See also Hohenberger, IAW 1959, 101 and table 4.6. in this volume. Some of the pastors were foreign missionaries.

⁷³⁵ Benson 1974, 32; Jackson 1958, 7. The foreign mission workers serving in Arusha and Maasai/Mbulu in 1967/1968 were Rev. Walter Völkner (South Maasai, Kibaya), Rev. Hans-Joachim Müller (Mbulu, Karatu), Rev. Stanley Benson (Central Maasai, Oldonyo Sambu), Rev. David Simonson (North Maasai, Loliondo), Rev. Johannes Hohenberger (Arusha), Rev. Klaus-Peter Kiesel (Arusha), Rev. Raymond Hagberg (Oldonyo Sambu, on furlough 1968), Nurse Friedrich Schneider (Karatu), Nurse Wilhelm Bieringer (Nkoaranga), Nurse Liddy Dörr (Oldonyo Sambu) and Nurse Christine Bohne (Karatu) (TAC, 17-21 Aug 1968, Agenda, 4; Jaeschke 1968, 224; Hohenberger, *Bericht über unsere missionarischen Aufgaben in der Arushchalandchaft und im Masai/Umbulu-Distrikt*, ULPA No. 9 (2000); Hohenberger to *Evang-Luth. Mission*, 31 January 1968; Benson to Groop, 8 April 2002).

⁷³⁶ TAC, Approved Budgets 1967 and 1970. Between 1965 and 1973, financial aid from the NLC and TAC was given to eight dispensaries in Maasai/Mbulu. These were Arash, Kitumbeine, Kisongo, Shambarai and Engassumet in the north, northeast and south and

ever since the first Maasailand schools were opened in Engaruka and Naberera in 1930-1931. Church responsibility for schools, however, came to an end in March 1970, when all non-government primary schools in Tanzania were handed over to the government. The Lutheran Church had managed 133 schools in the Northern Diocese. In practice, Lutheran work in the schools could continue more or less as before through the many Christian teachers, and the Lutheran Church continued to co-operate with the government in the building and developing of schools in the country. Yet, within the ELCT, there was some concern regarding the future of Christian teaching and a fear that many Christian teachers would be hesitant to work with an evangelistic emphasis as their working environment turned more secular.⁷³⁷

5.2. The Spirit Possession – a Catalyst for the Lutheran Work

This period (1963-1973) in the Lutheran Maasai work was also marked by a phenomenon commonly called the spirit possession. A large number of Maasai, almost exclusively women, claimed or were claimed to be possessed by spirits. My aim is not to do a deeper analysis of the phenomenon itself as Hurskainen, Hodgson and Benson have already shed some light on its character.⁷³⁸ My interest lies primarily in the impact of the demon possession on the Lutheran work.

Karatu, Endalah and Kilimamoja in the west (TAC, 18-21 October 1967, Agenda, Financial, Exhibit F; LCS, List of Subsidy Requests 1974; TAC, Approved Budgets 1967 and 1970).

⁷³⁷ Rolander, TAC-EC, 3 May 1971; Rolander, TAC, 27 July 1971.

⁷³⁸ Hurskainen, *The Epidemiological Aspect of Spirit Possession of the Maasai of Tanzania*, 1989; Hodgson, *Engendered Encounters: Men of the Church and the "Church of Women" in Maasailand, Tanzania, 1950-1993*, 2002; Benson, *A Study of the Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Maasai Tribe and the Implications on the Work of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania*, 1973. Different words are being used for the spirit possession in Maasailand; demon possession, devil possession, *pepo*-illness or the Maa word *orpeko*. I will, hereafter, refer to the allegedly possessed as possessed, without any knowledge of their real status.

The Maasai conception of spirits and ancestors, as we have already seen, is considerably weaker than among most Bantu groups.⁷³⁹ It is, therefore, understandable that spirit possession was a largely unknown phenomenon to the Maasai when it became common in the southern parts of Maasailand in the 1960s. Hurskainen claims that the epidemic first reached those who lived in the outskirts of the traditional Maasai area, in particular in south, southeast and east Maasailand. Interestingly, it was only the southern parts of Maasailand that were seriously affected by spirit possession. Benson states that, by 1974, the epidemic had not spread further north than Simanjiro. The significant spread of possession took place in Engassumet and Naberera in the 1960s, the most intensive years being 1967-1970. As spirit possession was something imported from neighbouring tribes rather than something Maasai-typical, the Maasai traditional healers did not know how to cure the possessed people. Consequently, in numerous cases, healers from other tribes were engaged to try to cure the possessed. Frequently, the Maasai healers, however, directed the possessed persons to the Christian churches.⁷⁴⁰

What is particularly interesting is the fact that nearly all who were affected were women. Both Hodgson and Hurskainen discuss the possible links between possession and the Maasai social order, i.e. 'the relative deprivation of females as a group in relation to men'. The women lack many of the rights of the men in terms of rights to own or inherit property, or to move outside their limited home area, but the

⁷³⁹ See pages 27-29.

⁷⁴⁰ Hurskainen 1984, 242; 1985, 162-163, 167-168; 1989, 141-144, 147-148. Benson 1974, 171; Peterson 1985, 175-176. Hurskainen notes that people were possessed both by animal spirits, human spirits and spirits without a clear identification. Whether a person was possessed by the spirit of a dangerous animal or a human spirit, she or he acted like the animal, person or figure which had possessed her or him. Possession could, in some cases, lead to trance, in other cases not. Common animal spirits or spirits of nature, according to Hurskainen, were dangerous animals such as lions, leopards, elephants, rhinos or snakes. Regarding human spirits, different ethnic groups are mentioned. People, however, did not seem to be possessed by spirits of ancestors from the same clan. As spirits without clear identification Hurskainen gives a few examples from the Arabic world, such as *pepo*, *shetani* and *ruhani* (Hurskainen 1985, 165-167; Hurskainen 1989, 145-147).

women are also more restricted than men in terms of behaviour.⁷⁴¹ As discussed by Hodgson, one reason for the possession epidemic might be the unwillingness of the men to allow their wives and daughters to join the Christian churches. Thus, unwilling to challenge the men directly, the ‘women resorted (whether intentionally or not) to an indirect means of overcoming their objections – orpeko [spirit possession]’. In fact, Hodgson goes so far as to claim that the spirit possession was linked to the expansion of the Catholic and Lutheran churches. When missionaries began activities in new areas, the spirit possession followed.⁷⁴² Hurskainen notes that spirit possession ‘may serve as a channel for expressing aggression and allows the woman to exert control over her husband in ways not possible in ordinary conditions’. Spirit possession, according to Hurskainen, offers the women a kind of outlet and a means to help them to ‘join a church or simply to get out of the kraal compound’.⁷⁴³

Despite the psychological dimensions discussed above, the spirit illness was a reality for the Christians called to help those who were possessed. Benson portrays an occasion where he and a party of pastors and evangelists went to pray for a possessed woman. The woman had been in trance for thirteen hours when they came to her. She had a normal pulse rate, but could not be awakened. The small group of Christians began praying and singing Christian hymns.

⁷⁴¹ Hodgson 2000a, 770-771; Hurskainen 1989, 147-149. Spirit possession was also common among the Parakuyo section, but, surprisingly, not among the Arusha. Hurskainen notes that among the Parakuyo in the Mindu Tuleni village area ‘probably at least half of the mature female population has experienced possession phenomena.’ (Hurskainen 1984, 241-242).

⁷⁴² Hodgson 2000a, 770. Compare Hurskainen 1985, 168.

⁷⁴³ Hurskainen 1989, 147-149. Hurskainen also points at a theory linked with the opposition of sexes. He notes that ‘the different life course of the Maasai women becomes apparent from the early marriages, while young men continue to live unmarried as warriors for a number of years’. Only in stories and in spirit possession can the women behave like a warrior (Hurskainen 1989, 148-149). Gabriel Kimirei believes that there were a number of women who pretended to be possessed in order to be allowed to join a Christian congregation and break the monotonousness in their lives (Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 21 March 2003).

Four of us sat on the bed with the woman while the others, together with the two Christian ladies who called us, sat around the hut wherever they could find room. The whole group started to sing hymns in both Maasai and Swahili. After about three hymns, she began to have uncontrollable contortions of the body. The group continued singing hymns. Evangelist Joeli asked her in Swahili if she liked the hymns we sang. The voice answered in Swahili even though the woman knew no Swahili that it did not. The group continued to sing interspersed with simple prayers. During this time, she threw off her beads, earrings, while still in violent bodily movements. Joeli asked her if she wanted tea or water in Swahili. The voice answered in Swahili that it did not. As we continued singing and praying, the body became very violent, with the head getting into positions that seemed impossible. As the body violence increased, the voice and cries coming from the body progressed higher in the body and higher in pitch. Finally the body movement subsided, and a stillness and a sense of release prevailed throughout the entire hut. Pastor Naiputi said a prayer in Maasai thanking the Lord for his release of the demon. He, for my sake, asked her the questions we had asked the voice in Swahili but she did not understand a word.⁷⁴⁴

This episode, which took place in the Naberera area, is but one of many similar cases. Christians were called when the traditional spiritual leaders failed to help. In fact, it became common that the diviners directed the people to the Church for help. In 1973, even Shuaka, the *loibon*, was baptised into the Lutheran Church after several of his wives had been cured from possession.⁷⁴⁵ Episodes like these naturally increased the reputation of the Lutheran Church in Maasailand. Benson notes that out of sixteen possessed persons, ten had later received baptismal instruction and been baptised. None of these were repossessed,

⁷⁴⁴ Benson 1974, 210. This and other similar episodes are briefly mentioned also in Benson 1980, 54-58.

⁷⁴⁵ Interview with Joel Nangole, 1 April 2003; Benson 1974, 112-114; Benson to Groop, 17 July 2002. At the baptism, Shuaka took the name Lazarus. Lazarus Shuaka, however, found it increasingly hard to live by the church rules instead of living a wealthy life as a *loibon* and eventually left the church (Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 26 May 2005).

whereas the remaining six were.⁷⁴⁶ He further maintains that all attempts to heal the possessed – modern medicine included – besides the one given by the Christian Church had limited success or ended in repossession.⁷⁴⁷ Hurskainen similarly writes;

The majority of the Maasai people affected by the possession phenomena claim that the only effective way of coping with possession is the cure given by the Church. In practice it means that a person gets instruction given by the Church and then is finally initiated into the community through the rite of baptism.⁷⁴⁸

Then how did the phenomena affect the Lutheran work?⁷⁴⁹ In an article in the *Africa Theological Journal*, Benson lays out some of his reflections on the spirit possessions in Maasailand and its impact on the Lutheran work. He points out the significance of two institutions; baptism and the Christian congregation. As for baptism, Benson draws attention to Luther's views on a baptism that 'works forgiveness of sin, delivers from death and the *devil*, and gives everlasting salvation to all who believe'.⁷⁵⁰ He admits that as people who had received baptismal instruction and been baptised were not repossessed, there was a tendency among Christians to believe in baptism in a magical sense. There was a sense of belief in baptism as something of a fast curing injection. Despite pressure by many Christians to perform the emergency baptisms of possessed people, the pastor at Naberera, Gideon Sombe, repeatedly refused, believing that baptism without faith or prior instruction was of little help. Yet, when Sombe decided to perform the emergency baptisms

⁷⁴⁶ Benson 1974, 172. Benson here refers to a research done by David Peterson in 1971. Peterson made sixteen case studies of possessed people. Peterson's research has not been published.

⁷⁴⁷ Benson 1974, 172.

⁷⁴⁸ Hurskainen 1989, 147. Peterson also writes that 'Modern medicine has also had its chance to alleviate the pain and correct the behaviour. The Maasai insist that no one is ever cured of a 'pepo' in a hospital. The medicine men were sometimes able to give temporary relief but not healing – the hospitals were even less effective.' (Peterson 1985, 176).

⁷⁴⁹ I am aware that the spirit possession also concerned the Catholic work. My interest, however, lays not so much in the way the various denominations coped with the phenomenon but in how the Lutheran work in Maasailand was affected.

⁷⁵⁰ Benson 1980, 60. Emphasis in original.

of three possessed women, after consulting with his colleagues and the families of the women in question, they were immediately healed. The women were subsequently taken into baptismal instruction.⁷⁵¹ Dean Peterson maintains that it was not only the Christians who tended to see baptism as a magical cure. The relatives of those who were possessed were prone to view baptism ‘as medicine for a given illness’. Peterson warned against focusing too much on the problem itself, which could lead to the ‘danger of reducing the sacrament to therapy for a given crisis, hence forfeiting the life-long significance of baptism for growth and service’.⁷⁵² The pastors were to play an important role as leaders in this mysterious drama. As for the significance of the Christian parishes Benson notes;

In our experience in Maasailand, we have seen no individual given the power of exorcism of demons but that this gift has been given to the congregation of believers. It has established in my faith that God can use the corporate whole for his healing ministry. It confirms the fourteenth chapter [in I Corinthians] that all gifts of the Holy Spirit are given to the church in order to build up the church. This has been confirmed in our experience; the healing ministry with possessed people has built within the congregation an uplift of Spirit and power. [...] The Maasai, being a herding tribe, have a strong communal and social organization life pattern. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Christians have adopted this communal practice of healing.⁷⁵³

Pastor Sombe’s response to the Christians’ plea that he perform emergency baptisms on possessed people was negative. He ‘encouraged

⁷⁵¹ Benson 1980, 58. As for baptism and possession, Benson notes that ‘it must be noted here, that during this period of [baptismal] instruction, a person who had been possessed by the “demon” might become repossessed. If such happened, the Christian community would gather around again and seek God’s help. The instruction continued until the person was ready for baptism. Those who were thoroughly instructed in the baptismal faith and the Word of God, then baptized in the Name of the Triune God, never became repossessed after their baptism. On the other hand, of those who were baptized without thorough instruction or faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, many became repossessed.’ (Benson 1980, 57).

⁷⁵² Peterson 1985, 176.

⁷⁵³ Benson 1980, 59-60.

them to continue to come to the aid of those in need'.⁷⁵⁴ The congregational response to the spirit possession phenomenon implied togetherness, collective praying and singing rather than individual acting and emergency baptism.

Pastor Gabriel Kimirei characterises the spirit possession epidemic in southern Maasailand as a catalyst for the Church. The Church became needed in Maasailand. A large number of women came to the Lutheran Church to receive help. These people were cured through prayer, hymns and Bible reading, but, above all, through baptismal classes and baptism.⁷⁵⁵ For the first time in Maasai history, Christianity became interesting to a greater number of Maasai-proper. The congregations in southern Maasailand – by earlier standards – grew in size with remarkable speed. By 1974, there were 920 Lutheran Christians in Naberera and 1,052 in Kibaya. Together these two parishes had grown more than fivefold in just over five years. What is particularly extraordinary, however, is that more than 90 per cent of the congregation members were women. Naberera had 850 female Christians compared to only 70 males. The corresponding numbers for Kibaya were 973 and 94. By sharp contrast, the congregations in the north – where little or no spirit possession had taken place – grew quite insignificantly. The Loliondo-Arash congregation, for instance, had, by the turn of the 1970s, only 232 members – just 11 more than in 1962. The Christians at Longido counted 550. In all parishes – as far as statistical records go – the women outnumbered the men.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵⁴ Benson 1980, 57.

⁷⁵⁵ Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 21 March 2003. See also Benson 1980, 52-58.

⁷⁵⁶ I am very much indebted to Pastor Gabriel Kimirei for this information which he, after looking through a large number of church documents, obtained from the mission and evangelist director of the Diocese in Arusha Region, Isaya Solomon. In Loliondo-Arash, there were 138 female and 94 male Lutheran Christians and in Longido 303 and 247, respectively (Kimirei to Groop, 28 October 2005). Compare with Hurskainen (1985, 168), who notes that out of 97 women in the Engassumet area who had been possessed only four had resisted baptism. Hundreds of women had entered baptismal instruction in the southern Maasai area. See also table 4.6.

In the early 1950s, due to the relatively large enrolment of young Maasai men in Lutheran baptismal classes, the Maasailand congregations became male dominated. Very few of the young Christians managed to withstand societal pressure, not least in their struggle to find wives, and the majority left the Church within a few years.⁷⁵⁷ At the turn of the 1970s the situation was, to a certain extent, quite different. Many of the women who approached the Lutheran Church were married and they had the approval of both their husbands and the society to become Christians. Yet even this coin had another side. While acknowledging the help that the Christian Church was providing, many Maasai men began to frown upon the Lutheran Church as a 'church of women'. They brought only sick wives to church, not healthy ones, nor did they feel any need to come themselves. As many of the recently baptised women became active church members, and the men followed the trend with scepticism and distanced themselves from the Church, this reinforced the sex ratio imbalance.⁷⁵⁸

Finally, due to the large percentage of women in the Maasai congregations, the Lutheran Maasai work came to remain highly dependant on foreign funding. The women did not have money or cattle to the same extent as the men did and the church collections thus remained meagre. In 1968, for instance, almost 80 per cent of the operating budget of the Loliondo-Arash, Naberera-Kibaya and Monduli-Longido congregations came from the Tanzania Assistance Committee. The poorest congregation was Naberera-Kibaya. The Arusha parishes, by comparison, were self-sufficient.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁷ See pages 231-232, 256-257, 277-278 and footnote 562 and 688.

⁷⁵⁸ Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 21 March 2003; Peterson 1985, 177.

⁷⁵⁹ TAC, 18-21 October 1967, Agenda, Financial, Exhibit F; Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 21 March 2003. Compare page 315.

5.3. The Struggle for More Local Control

Work in Maasailand was, above all, dependant on local pastors, teachers, evangelists and foreign missionaries. In many ways, it was these – not the diocesan leadership – who were in the position to see the needs of the field. The growing workload of the diocesan leaders hindered them from actively engaging themselves in the needs of the remote areas. As a result, the workers in some of these areas felt that their leaders did not really care about their work and did not offer them enough support. The Maasailand workers wished more attention from their leaders than they were given. Maleaki Lukumai, the district president for Maasai/Mbulu, complained that the diocese failed in its evangelistic responsibilities in the Maasai/Mbulu District.⁷⁶⁰ Likewise, the Tanzania Assistance Committee (TAC) delegates, who co-ordinated the funding to the Northern Diocese including Maasailand, seemed to have their doubts regarding the competence and willpower of the diocesan leadership to direct the Maasai work. They criticised the Northern Diocese for focusing on the wrong things. Too much attention was put on building work and car purchases – a kind of expansion that demanded substantial financial contributions from the foreign mission. Instead, TAC tried to encourage the Northern Diocese to focus on evangelistic work in Maasailand, something that demanded more contributions from the Northern Diocese, its members and leadership.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁶⁰ Lukumai to Pedersen, 2 July 1971. On behalf of the diocese, Lukumai had, in 1967, drawn up the schedule for five years for the Maasai/Mbulu District. A mission society, or at least a few missionaries, were called forth to help to implement the five-year plan. Lukumai stated that the diocese did not defend and work hard to get foreign attention to Maasailand. Nor did the diocesan leadership want many foreign missionaries, as they were too expensive. If the diocese did not have foreign missionaries, they received the equivalent sum of money for other spending instead. It is not clear whether Lukumai drew up the original five-year plan or the revised plan which the TAC considered more realistic. For the five-year plan, see next footnote.

⁷⁶¹ TAC, 18-21 October 1967, Agenda, 25-28 and Minutes, 17; TAC, 17-21 August 1968, Exhibit F, 1. In 1967, the Northern Diocese presented a five-year Maasai plan involving 4,604,184 TSh, mainly in building work and capital investment. After meeting with criticism, the budget was revised and became a four-year plan instead, involving 605,600

Bishop Stefano Moshi, for his part, criticised the TAC for trying to control and administer the churches and for not giving enough freedom to the dioceses.⁷⁶²

As the Maasai congregations grew and became better organised – and did so within the Tanzanian political context of *ujamaa*, acquiescence and submission – the feeling of unequal treatment grew accordingly. For the most part, the missionaries tried to stay outside tribalism, and the co-operation was predominantly good between the foreign mission and the leadership of the Northern Diocese. Yet, often the missionaries sympathised with the people among whom they worked the closest. Although most missionaries had actively supported both Tanzania's independence and Lutheran Church autonomy, the foreign missionaries sometimes found it hard to accept decisions made by the leaders of the Church. In some cases when opinions divided, tensions were unavoidable. In 1964, for instance, Missionary Simonson defended the Arusha Christians when they felt that the Christians of Chagga were favoured economically at the cost of the Arusha. Bishop Moshi took the claims of favouritism of his own tribe personally and threatened to dismiss Simonson from his missionary duties. He finally chose not to send the missionary back to the USA but to place him in remote Loliondo instead.⁷⁶³ In Arusha and Maasailand, it was increasingly felt that the work in these areas was being neglected. Although TAC does not seem to have been all too concerned about the issue of favouritism, its

TSh, this time excluding buildings for education and medical work. The GAC Executive Secretary, Elmer Danielson, called the new plan 'a radically new plan' and recommended that it 'be given very serious consideration.' (Danielson, ELCT-Northern Diocese, New 4 Year Masai Plan, 24 July 1968).

⁷⁶² Moshi to Danielson, 22 February 1967.

⁷⁶³ Interview with David and Eunice Simonson, 2 March 2006. See also Klobuchar 1999, 88-91. According to Klobuchar Simonson, after having been fired, returned with Elmer Danielson and an Arusha elder named Petro. Petro threatened Bishop Moshi with the division of the Northern Diocese, unless Moshi reinstated Simonson (Klobuchar 1999, 90-91). Some missionaries were also claimed to have encouraged districts to seek to become separate synods and dioceses in order to obtain more financial support (Rolander, TAC-EC, 3 May 1971).

General Secretary, Oscar Rolander, questioned some of the spending of the diocesan money on the building of expensive churches in the Kilimanjaro region. The diocesan leadership pointed out that the congregations in question were working very hard for the evangelistic work in the diocese and that Maasailand and Pare, the districts that complained the most, were, in fact, the districts receiving the most money.⁷⁶⁴

The first ten years after Tanzanian and Lutheran Church independence was primarily a time of transition. The leadership was young in its role as directors of the many congregations, and funds were relatively scarce. Stanley Benson concurs that there was favouritism of certain tribes and areas.⁷⁶⁵ Yet, overall he wants to pronounce the positive side of the work.

I felt the leadership of the church tried very hard to balance the needs and opportunities with their limited financial support of local and mission. Yes, there were voices raised concerning favouritism but overall the mission spirit always became the greatest concern. Cooperation by overseas mission and the leadership of the church gave us good direction and help.⁷⁶⁶

The co-operation between Arusha and Maasai, on the one hand, and the diocesan management, on the other, turned for the worse towards the end of the 1960s, and steps towards separation were taken. On 30 September 1969, the General Meeting of the Maasai/Mbulu District made the recommendation that ‘this District should be a separate and independent Synod under the direction of the ELCT’.⁷⁶⁷ The General Meeting mentioned five reasons why the district should become an independent synod.

⁷⁶⁴ Rolander, TAC – Executive Committee, 3 May 1971.

⁷⁶⁵ Benson to Groop, 17 July 2002.

⁷⁶⁶ Benson to Groop, 17 July 2002.

⁷⁶⁷ Recommendations of the Masai-Mbulu District (Relating to the recommendations of the General Meeting of the District on September 30, 1969).

A. This District is very large in geographical area. If compared to other Districts this area has many tribes who are yet in need of the Gospel and many are calling for help. The present set-up does not allow them their just due.

B. The special character and conditions that obtain with respect to the people in this District are different from those in other Districts. Their spiritual care requires a different orientation.

C. The history of this District is different from that of others in that the big task for them has been the care of Christians. However in this District the big task is in mission. For this reason it is difficult to have these different Districts in one Diocese where the thinking as to how the work should be carried out is so different.

D. The centre for the care of these who are so backward as regards the Gospel will be closer and therefore the means by which the care can be supervised will be easier. The object and goal of that which is mentioned here must be implemented immediately without any devious delaying.

E. We would be able to train workers who would be more in line with our peculiar situation rather than to have limits placed upon us the way it is now.⁷⁶⁸

The arguments above concerned mainly the spiritual dimension of the work. For unknown reasons, the holistic needs were not mentioned. Gabriel Kimirei and Mesiaki Kilevo, who were actively involved in the preparing for an independent synod, however, highlight educational inequality within the Northern Diocese as one of the most important reasons why the Maasai/Mbulu District sought independence. In terms of education, the Maasai/Mbulu Christians could not match their brethren in the rest of the diocese. As those with better education had priority when college scholarships were granted and leadership positions were shared, the Christians in Maasai/Mbulu were often left out altogether. They felt that the Chagga parishes were unfairly prioritised, and that their own

⁷⁶⁸ Recommendations of the Masai-Mbulu District (Relating to the recommendations of the General Meeting of the District on September 30, 1969).

parishes did not get enough opportunities to train an indigenous leadership.⁷⁶⁹

In general, the *five reasons* were the same reasons as Richard Reusch had stressed more than fifteen years earlier. The key point was that the work in the Maasai/Mbulu District was very different from the rest of the work in the diocese and that this work could not flourish under the present conditions. The work would be more vital and flexible as an independent synod. It is worth noting that nothing was mentioned about finances. The leaders of the Maasai/Mbulu district were confident that they would gain financially as a separate synod, but this was not the main reason why they sought independence. They had a sincere wish to increase the evangelistic efforts and reach both Maasai and non-Maasai with the Gospel. When the diocese failed to truly realise the particular needs in Maasai/Mbulu – and to some extent in Arusha – the district leaders became frustrated.⁷⁷⁰

A separation was, in itself, not fatal as far as the Northern Diocese or ELCT was concerned. Districts that became separate synods or dioceses would still remain within the ELCT. What concerned Bishop Moshi more was that relationships suffered. There was a great deal of bitterness and suspicion between the leadership of the diocese and of the Maasai/Mbulu which made the process unconstructive.⁷⁷¹ Early in 1971, the General Synod of the Northern Diocese accepted the requests by the Maasai/Mbulu and Pare Church Districts to become separate synods. It was also agreed that all districts of the diocese should be given more

⁷⁶⁹ Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 26 May 2005 and with Mesiaki Kilevo, 1 March 2006. Mesiaki Kilevo was the first pastor from the Maasai/Mbulu district who got a scholarship to study abroad. The Northern Diocese, however, gave him only a part of the sum needed and only after Tanzania Farmers Association had promised to assist him financially (Interview with Mesiaki Kilevo, 1 March 2006 and with Gabriel Kimirei, 2 March 2006).

⁷⁷⁰ Interview with Mesiaki Kilevo, 1 March 2006 and with Gabriel Kimirei, 2 March 2006.

⁷⁷¹ Rolander, Memorandum on visit by O.R. Rolander to Tanzania, July/August 1972.

authority and responsibility.⁷⁷² After ratification in the General Assembly of the ELCT, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod in Arusha Region came into being in January 1973. Not all congregations previously belonging to the Maasai/Mbulu Church District became a part of the new Arusha Synod. Oldeani, Karatu Kilimamoja and Sonjo remained within the Northern Diocese. As did Nkoaranga, from the Arusha/Meru Church District. Rev. Mesiaki Kilevo was elected Synod President and Rev. Gideon Sombe Assistant to the President.⁷⁷³

More than 45 years after the first Arusha evangelists had been sent to the Maasai, Arusha and Maasai/Mbulu united to become one synod separate from the Northern Diocese. Over the years, the Arusha congregation had provided Maasailand with hundreds of teachers, evangelists and medical dressers. Without the Maa-speaking Christians around Mt. Meru, the Maasai endeavour would have been close to impossible. During the course of this extensive project, strong ties had been built between the Arusha and Maasai/Mbulu congregations and, for these same reasons, local leaders considered a unification and separation from the Northern Diocese not only justified but the only right thing to do given the circumstances. Organizationally, the five Arusha congregations came to constitute a separate district within the synod.⁷⁷⁴

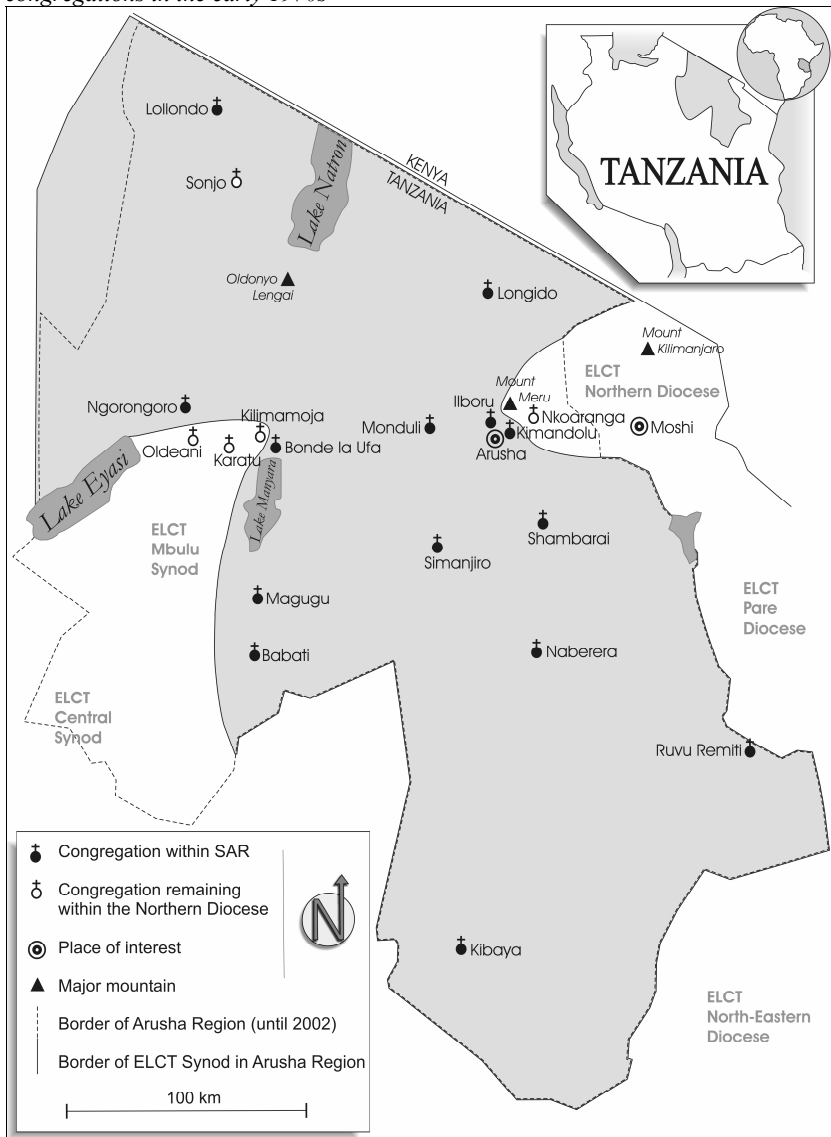
⁷⁷² *Mk Mkuu* – ND, 20-26 March 1971 in Rolander, TAC-EC, 14 June 1971. The matter was referred to the General Assembly of the ELCT where the final decision was to be taken in June 1972.

⁷⁷³ Kilevo, AR-SAR 1973, Exhibit N, 1; Kilevo, AR-SAR 1975, Exhibit 5.10.7, 1. Interview with Mesiaki Kilevo 1 March 2006 and with Gabriel Kimirei 2 March 2006. For congregations and their synodal affiliations, see map 5.1.

⁷⁷⁴ Kilevo, AR-SAR 1973, Exhibit N. Pätzig reported in 1962 that the Ilboru congregation had been divided into Ilboru and Kimandolu (Pätzig to *Inspektor*, 5 June 1962). By 1973, there were five Arusha congregations; Ilboru, Kimandolu, Salei, Selian and Arusha town. The Arusha town congregation, however, held something of a different position. Sunday services were held in Swahili and the parish had already, in the 1950s, been cared for by the Nkoaranga Pastor Stefano Kaaya rather than Lazarus Laiser (Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 20 May 2005).

Map 5.1.

The Arusha Region, the Lutheran Synod in Arusha Region and the main congregations in the early 1970s



Sources: Lukumai to Pedersen, 2 July 1971; ELCT-DAR, Map of Diocese in Arusha Region; ELCT (map), 1970.

Table 5.2.

NLC and TAC budgets for the Lutheran work in the Maasai/Mbulu Church District 1965-1973 (in Tanzanian shillings, school and health work excluded)

Area	Expenses	1965	1967	1970	1973
Maasai	Operating	55,307	76,582	96,325	112,330 ^a
	District missionaries' own budget	22,100	21,200	16,290	25,750 ^b
	Capital	52,000	14,000	20,000	^c
	Total	129,407	111,782	132,615	138,080
Mbulu	Operating ^d	93,435	94,275	88,180	146,590
	Capital	31,000		15,000	^c
	Total	124,435	94,274	103,180	146,590
District administration				15,220	50,505
Total budget for Maasai-Mbulu		253,842	206,056	235,795	335,175

Sources: NLC/DWMC, 6-7 October 1965, Agenda, Exhibit 3-B; TAC, Approved Budgets 1967 and 1970. LCS, List of Subsidy Requests 1974. Note that the synod that was founded in 1973 included also Arusha and that the Lutheran Maasai/Mbulu District was not the same as the Maasai and Mbulu Government Districts.

^aIncluding the Sonjo mission (22,810), which was a separate non-Maasai field within Maasailand. ^bIncluding Mbulu and Arusha missionaries. ^cCapital budget unavailable. ^dIncluding the district missionary's own budget.

In the first annual report of the Synod in Arusha Region, President Kilevo noted that the synod was 'serving the districts of Arusha, excluding the Meru area, the districts of Masai/Monduli and the district of Hanang'.⁷⁷⁵ All of these districts had been previously covered by the former districts Maasai/Mbulu and Arusha. The new synod covered an area with 600,000 inhabitants and 30,000-35,000 Christians, of whom approximately 15,000 were Lutherans. The Lutheran Christians were divided into eight districts with a total of 27 congregations. Nine of these were working with the Maasai, and the number of adult Christians in these congregations was 1,350.⁷⁷⁶ As the synod had only a total of

⁷⁷⁵ In terms of diocesan and synodal affiliation, the Mbulu area is rather divided. A separate synod, the Mbulu Synod (MS), emerged in 1963 to the south of the Mbulu area in the Maasai/Mbulu District (See Jaeschke 1968, 168-170).

⁷⁷⁶ Kilevo, AR-SAR 1973, Exhibit N; Benson 1974, 32-33. Before the creation of the Synod in Arusha Region, the area consisted of two districts (Arusha/Meru and Maasai/Mbulu) and had 14 congregations. After the new synod was formed, the same area, now with 27 congregations, was divided into eight districts. (Kilevo, AR-SAR 1973,

twenty-three pastors, the decision had been taken to ordain so-called lay pastors. Congregations without a pastor were encouraged to choose among their members a faithful and, in terms of leadership, competent person as their leader. These leaders would be ordained and allowed to serve as pastors in their home congregations.⁷⁷⁷ The term evangelist was also changed. Those who had previously been employed as evangelists would hereafter be called deacons or assistants to the pastor, whereas the term evangelists would be used for every Christian who wished to volunteer for the evangelical work within the synod. The deacons had obtained new duties as congregational workers, with responsibilities as instructors in baptismal and confirmation classes, as assistants at church services and, in general, as assistants to the pastors in the congregations.⁷⁷⁸ Training possibilities would be offered to the lay pastors, their assistants and to the evangelists. The evangelists would be welcomed to evangelism seminaries once a year. Extension seminary courses were being planned for the lay pastors and some of the assistants. The participants were to receive instruction three to four weeks twice a year in a new education programme called Theological Education by Extension (TEE). Between these courses, which were held at Oldonyo Sambu, the students would serve in their own parishes, pursue home

Exhibit N, 2). According to other sources, there were, in 1971, 16 congregations in Maasai/Mbulu (Lukumai to Pedersen, 2 July 1971). In 1975, the number of organised congregations had increased to 36 (Kilevo, AR-SAR 1975, Exhibit 5.10.7, 2). Benson notes that the boundaries of the Synod in Arusha Region were, 'roughly speaking those of the government boundaries for the Arusha region, excluding the Mbulu District which is Mbulu Synod by itself.' (Benson 1974, 32). Today, the Diocese in Arusha Region consists of five districts; Arusha East, Arusha West, North Maasai, South Maasai and Babati (Kilevo, AR-SAR 1973; ELCT-DAR, Map of Diocese in Arusha Region).

⁷⁷⁷ Kilevo, AR-SAR 1973, Exhibit N. Lay pastors are no longer ordained. Although no longer conducting the sacraments, evangelists still carry a major share of the work in the parishes, such as leading Sunday services. (Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 21 March 2003 and 26 May 2005). In 1975, there were 27 African pastors, eight missionary pastors and as many as 122 deacons in the synod (Kilevo, AR-SAR 1975, Exhibit 5.10.7, 2).

⁷⁷⁸ The term deacon was used only for a short period. Due to language reasons (the word deacon, it was thought, was unfitting in Maa) the title for these ex-evangelists changed to assistants to the pastor or evangelists assisting the pastor (Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 2 March 2006).

studies and meet with teachers and fellow students on a regular basis. The whole education was to last for three years, and the students who graduated would obtain a certificate of theology. The TEE program was groundbreaking not only because it provided lay pastors and evangelists with a theological education, but also as it was planned to assist both Catholics and Lutherans. The course started in 1974.⁷⁷⁹

Synod President Kilevo pointed out three particular problems which the Synod in Arusha Region confronted. Firstly, he saw the rapid urbanisation in Arusha Town as a problem. The Lutheran work would have to be developed in the sense that it could reach secularised people, ‘discover those who sneak into the town and invite them to participate in the life of the Church’. Secondly, the Maasai were persuaded by the government to settle down. The Lutheran Church shared this goal with the government and would continue to co-operate in order to make it possible for the Maasai to settle down. Kilevo deemed it necessary that the synod look for ways to speed up settling and ranch schemes, in particular by means of creating or locating permanent water resources. Thirdly, Kilevo brought up the issue of polygyny. In the past, polygyny had been strictly prohibited and Maasai men could only be baptised if they dismissed all but one wife. The standing of the Lutheran Church regarding polygyny had to be reconsidered – or as asked by the synod president, ‘Does Christ call a person to come out of his culture, or does he reach a person where the person is in his culture?’⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁹ Kilevo, AR-SAR 1973, Exhibit N, 1-2; Prospectus, TEE, Oldonyosambu, ELCT – Arusha Synod August 1976. The TEE started in 1974 and was a co-project between the Synod in Arusha Region and the Catholic Church. Rev. Dean Peterson and Rev. Gabriel Kimirei were in charge for the education.

⁷⁸⁰ Kilevo, AR-SAR 1973, Exhibit N, 3-4. The Catholic view on polygyny had softened considerably already in the 1960s, and the Maasai were considered ready for the Gospel while living their traditional lives, which had previously been considered un-Christian (Donovan 1978, 56; Hodgson, *Engendered Encounters* 2000, 766-767). Today, the ELCT accepts Maasai polygynists, but only those who had several wives before becoming Christians. Marrying a second or third wife after baptism is not accepted (Interview with Joel Nangole, 1 April 2003).

The Synod in Arusha Region would continue to be supported by the foreign mission, both in terms of money and missionaries. Foreign missionaries would be needed for years to come, both as co-workers in the establishment of the synod and to strengthen and train the Christians in order that they may soon carry more responsibility for the work. The congregational incomes covered approximately 25 per cent of the synodal expenses. It was hoped that within a few years the congregations would become self-sufficient, i.e. able to pay the salaries of their pastors and workers. As for other costs, such as extensive projects, the synod would continue to be dependant on external donors.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁸¹ Kilevo, AR-SAR 1973, Exhibit N, 3. Compare page 304.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have tried to portray the way in which Christianity was planted among the Maasai-speaking peoples from the beginnings in Arusha in 1904 to the founding of the Synod in Arusha Region in 1973. Between 1904 and 1940, the work was pursued by Leipzig missionaries, first under German colonial rule and, after the Treaty of Versailles, under British mandate governance. During this period, a congregation was founded in Arusha and work on the Maasai plains was started.

The first ten years around Arusha-Ilboru were marked by challenges and meagre results. Missionaries Hermann Fokken and Leonhard Blumer had to learn a new and very different language and take a stand in a number of cultural issues. Maasai customs and traditions which were considered incompatible with Leipzig Mission rules were forbidden. The Arusha, for their part, viewed the Lutheran rules as strange and unfair and objected when their friends, sons or daughters sought entrance in mission schools or baptismal classes. However, some Arusha became interested in the Christian teaching. Many of them became interested through the bush schools. Others asked for enrolment into baptismal classes after having received medical care at the mission clinic or after having lived at the station for some time. World War I brought considerable difficulties to the Lutheran work in the colony, which was pursued solely by German mission societies. The work of the Leipzig Mission was hampered at first due to fund shortages and the internment of a number of missionaries, but, in 1920, all Germans – missionaries and settlers alike – were ordered to leave Tanganyika. Two Leipzig missionaries with non-German citizenship were allowed to stay; Heinrich Pfitzinger as missionary-in-charge for the work around

Kilimanjaro and Pare and Leonhard Blumer around Meru. Although the lack of resources hindered the work, the Arusha survived the war quite well and few Christians left the mission. In 1919, the Leipzig Mission upgraded the 88-member strong Arusha-Ilboru mission to a congregation. As the Ilboru congregation grew in age, strength and confidence, the Christians started to question some of the missionary methods and principles. A seemingly trivial conflict regarding the Christians' new fondness for European fashion in the mid 1920s degenerated and eroded the hitherto good relationship between Missionary Blumer and the Arusha Christians. At the end of 1929, the Leipzig Mission leadership decided to recall Blumer and leave the work to his younger colleague, Max Pätzig.

Shortly before the quarrel in the Ilboru congregation got underway, Blumer and the Arusha Christians initiated work among the pastoral Maasai. The Ilboru congregation collected money and sent out evangelists, and the missionary reconnoitred the district in the hope of laying foundations for more permanent work. In 1930, Johannes Hohenberger was called as Maasai missionary and, shortly after, a medical missionary, Hans Buchta, was sent out. Hohenberger and Buchta moved to Naberera, where a house and a dispensary were built. The Ilboru congregation provided an important indigenous aspect to the work by sending teachers and evangelists. When the Second World War started, the Lutheran workers pursued permanent work at five locations. Two of the stations had European missionaries and nurses and three were maintained by Arusha workers. Remote locations were visited either regularly or occasionally by the missionaries and the evangelists. In 1939, Maasailand had 25 Christians.

With the Second World War, the Leipzig Mission permanently lost its positions in Tanganyika. Mission workers were sent to the old fields afterwards, but were subordinated to other Lutheran bodies and, after 1958, were subordinated to an indigenous leadership. The

missionary to shape the Maasai work after the war was Richard Reusch. After 15 years as a Leipzig missionary, Reusch was, since 1938, serving the American Augustana Mission. Like his predecessor Blumer more than two decades earlier, Reusch was allowed to work in Tanganyika during the war owing to his Russian nationality. Together with a large number of Arusha Christians, Reusch opened numerous schools and chapels, and together with Nurse Arthur Anderson and Medical Worker Eliza Marko, a much appreciated medical work was built up. Due to the size of the Maasai District, the work was expensive. Being chiefly financed by the American National Lutheran Council and the Augustana Mission – both engaged in work on several locations and having quite limited resources – the Maasai work did not expand as Reusch wanted in order to fulfil his dreams of an entirely Lutheran Maasai District. Reusch's departure from Tanganyika in 1954 coincided with the entrance of the Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers into Maasailand. A fierce Lutheran-Catholic competition followed and not until in the mid-sixties were the relations to improve.

The 1950s and 1960s saw an increasing indigenisation of the work. Ever since the first evangelists were sent out in 1927, the Ilboru congregation – as well as a few other Lutheran congregations – had sent teachers, evangelists and medical workers to Maasailand. Arusha Pastor Lazarus Laiser had engaged himself and his fellow congregation members in the Maasai work during and after the war, and a few Tanganyikans had served as pastors in Maasailand since the 1940s. Yet, of the ordained workers, only Laiser and Reusch were fluent Maa speakers. With Laiser's death in 1958, the Maasai work lost a valuable role model. After a thorough assessment of the work in 1958, more emphasis was laid on indigenisation, particularly on the education of Lutheran Maasai leaders, and between 1968 and 1974, seven Maasai men were ordained to become pastors in congregations in Maasailand.

With Lutheran Church autonomy in Tanzania, the new LCNT Constitution in 1958 and the founding of the ELCT in 1963, the Maasai work was subordinated to the indigenous Church and the Northern Diocese. This was, for the most part, seen as a step in the right direction and a crucial move for the sake of Lutheran unity in the country. On the other hand, this was what Reusch had already tried to prevent in the 1940s, explaining that the Maasai field could not prosper unless it was treated as a separate unit and had a separate funding. The young Tanzanian Church struggled to find an identity and funding was scarce. Work in Maasailand demanded a substantial workforce, considerable financial support, but, above all, a clear vision. When the local Arusha and Maasailand pastors felt that their diocesan leadership did not have the determination or competence needed to lead the work efficiently, the relationship between the two parts deteriorated. In the last years of the 1960s, preparations were made in the Arusha/Meru and Maasai/Mbulu Church Districts to break away from the Northern Diocese and, in 1973, the Synod in Arusha Region was founded.

The first seven decades of Lutheran Maasai work encountered many changes and challenges. It was started by the Leipzig Mission, interrupted by two wars and developed by an array of Lutheran entities and workers. The Leipzig missionaries started off with good relations with the colonial authorities, but with quite poor relations with the Arusha. Many Arusha showed respect for the missionaries and participated in Lutheran ventures, to a limited extent, but when their relatives or friends were baptised, they made angry objections. Compared to work at the other Lutheran stations, the work around Arusha was slow and was considered the hardest of the Leipzig Mission fields. With time, however, the relationship between the mission and the people improved. Arusha fear of losing their sons and daughters when these were baptised decreased and Christians enjoyed ever more respect. Conversely, the mission-government relationship took another turn. Co-operation

between the British authorities and the Leipzig missionaries degenerated considerably during the 1930s – while work in Maasailand was developed – and ended in the internment of all but two missionaries in 1939/1940. Under the leadership of the Augustana Mission and the National Lutheran Council after the Second World War, mission-government relations improved significantly and the Lutheran mission enjoyed quite a good reputation among the Maasai. Then, again, work was hampered by rivalry with the Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers expanding in the Maasai District. Following the improving relations between the Lutherans and Catholics in the mid 1960s, the relations between the leadership of the Northern Diocese and the Lutheran Maasai/Mbulu and Arusha/Meru Districts deteriorated and eventually led to a separation.

As for the Maasai themselves, very few were interested in Christianity. The majority of those who were baptised belonged to other ethnic groups. In the early 1950s, many Maasai boys and young men were baptised, but they failed to live faithfully as Christians upon returning home to their families and friends. A decade later, most Maasai interest in Christianity was shown among the women. Many women entered Christian congregations, particularly during the widely spread spirit possession in the southern half of Maasailand. When the Maasai men, in turn, cast doubt on the Christian Church as ‘a church of women’ and stayed away themselves, the sex ratio imbalance incurred was reinforced.

I believe that we have seen that holism, indigenisation and contextualisation have run like a main thread throughout the seven decades of Maasai work concerned in this study. The traditional meaning of holism, in terms of mission work, is accentuation not only on evangelisation but also on education and health care. These were the areas where Christian missions had much to contribute. Lutheran work among the Arusha included all these aspects. Chapels were built both for

school education as well as for Christian services, and basic medical care was provided. Still, the work in Arusha between 1904 and 1930 was somewhat more biased towards evangelism than towards education and health care. Later, work in Maasailand was to lay stronger emphasis on health care and education. In 1939, there were two medical missionaries and a number of indigenous Lutheran medical workers in Maasailand. In 1951, there were five Lutheran clinics in the Maasai District and, in 1955-1960, the medical field was further pioneered as two mobile medical units were opened. Medical work was highly appreciated by the Maasai and many of those who eventually became Christians had come into contact with the Lutheran Church through its health care. School education came to assume an even greater role in the Lutheran Maasai work. In 1933, there were four bush schools in the Maasai District. This number came to increase drastically after World War II through active co-operation with the British mandate government. In 1952, the number of bush schools had risen to 19 and, in 1955, the Lutheran work in Maasailand included 33 bush schools and four registered primary schools. Lutheran trained teachers and medical workers, moreover, served in a large number of government schools and hospitals. In 1970, the whole education system was taken over by the government.

Holism in Maasailand was also highly characterised by African participation. Indigenous Christians were involved in Lutheran work on all fronts. Numerous Arusha teachers and evangelists served important roles due to their kinship with the Maasai. With so many workers sent out, the Maasai work was constantly an integrated part of the life in the Ilboru congregation. Finally, holism in Arusha and Maasailand also came to involve practical life. The more the Lutheran workers engaged themselves in the daily life of the Maasai and Arusha, the more acceptance they found from the local population. Missionary participation included everything from showing interest in Arusha and Maasai customs to pleading the peoples' cause in front of government

authorities or settlers, and from killing harassing beasts of prey to caring for the sick.

Indigenisation and contextualisation in the early Lutheran mission work in Arusha was restricted mainly to the use of the Maasai language and expressions that the people could understand. In the post WWI work in Maasailand, the Arusha workers provided a much needed indigenous stamp, often managing to gain the interest of the Maasai when the missionaries fell short. Indigenous participation started through travelling endeavours in the late 1920s. In the 1930s, most settlements in the Maasai District were visited by teachers and evangelists, and three locations were under the permanent care of Arusha Christians. Owing to the early participation of Arusha workers in the Maasai work, the Ilboru congregation had the know-how to take over after the Leipzig missionaries during and after the Second World War. By 1946, seven locations had permanent Lutheran work. In the early 1950s, under Richard Reusch, indigenisation and contextualisation took a great leap forward. A large number of teachers and evangelists took up positions as teachers and evangelists in Maasailand, emphasis was put on the appropriate means of expressing the Christian faith to the Maasai, and some of the bush schools were adapted to suit Maasai nomadism and traditions. In the five-year plan of 1958, the need for indigenous evangelism was stressed and, over the subsequent decade, a number of changes took place. Attention was aimed at attracting whole families and homesteads rather than at converting individuals. Interestingly, the spirit possession epidemic hitting the south of Maasailand in the 1960s – although not a typical Maasai phenomenon – added a new context in which the Church and mission could work, and increased Lutheran impetus in Maasailand. Finally, the 1960s involved new national political and church political realities. While national – and Church – emphasis was on unification and standardisation rather than on individualisation

and tribal indigenisation, the Maasai work took a diverging route and founded a separate synod in 1973.

It appears that it was the teaching and healing ministry of the Lutheran Church rather than the increased focus on indigenisation and contextualisation that caught the attention of the Maasai. Children became interested in Christianity in schools, and people of all ages decided to become Christians after having been treated medically by Lutheran workers. During the spirit possession epidemic in southern Maasailand, a large number of Maasai – predominantly women – also became Christians.

Lutheran emphasis on holism, indigenisation and contextualisation grew over time. The first decades of work around Arusha involved pioneering in many aspects but the work was quite traditional in its setup. The missionaries developed the work under difficult circumstances and tried to adapt their work to the local culture and the needs of the Arusha. Yet, overall, the mission was largely station-centred, focusing on church services, boarding schools and catechumen classes. As work extended to the Maasai plains in the period between the wars, the means had matured and the political and environmental realities demanded a more practical approach. Education and health care were increasingly integrated into the work and indigenous participation became increasingly necessary. In the decades after WWII, more weight was put on contextualisation – or indigenous evangelism, as it was then called, and the indigenous contribution developed from participation to leadership, as more and more Maasai became pastors and Church leaders.

ABBREVIATIONS

AHT	Arusha Historical Traditions
AIM	Africa Inland Mission
ALM	Augustana Lutheran Mission
ALM-AC	Augustana Lutheran Mission – Annual Conference
AR-LM	Annual Report - Lutheran Missions
AR-SAR	Annual Report of the Synod in Arusha Region
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CYCOM	Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions
DAR	Diocese in Arusha Region
DC	District Commissioner
DO	District Officer
DOAG	<i>Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft</i>
DWMC	Department of World Missions Cooperation
ELC	Evangelical Lutheran Church
ELCA	Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
ELCT	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanganyika/Tanzania
ELMB	<i>Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt</i>
FGM	Former German Missions
FLCT	Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika
GAC	General Administrative Committee
H Kuu	<i>Halmashauri Kuu</i> (Executive Council)
IAW	<i>In Alle Welt</i>
J-ELM	<i>Jahresbericht der Evangelisch-Lutherisches Mission zu Leipzig</i>
LCNT	Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika
LCS	Lutheran Coordination Service
LCS-T	Lutheran Coordination Service – Tanzania
LMC	Lutheran Mission Cooperation
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MCF	Mission Church Federation
ND	Northern Diocese/ELCT
NLC	National Lutheran Council
NP	Northern Province
NSDAP	<i>Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei</i>
PC	Provincial Commissioner
R-ALM-FGM	Reports of the Augustana Lutheran Mission and the Former German Mission
R-FGM	Reports of the Former German Missions

SAR	Synod in Arusha Region
S/D	Synod/Diocese
SS	<i>Schutzstaffel</i> /NSDAP
TAC	Tanzania Assistance Committee
TALC	The American Lutheran Church
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TEE	Theological Education by Extension
ULCA	United Lutheran Church in America

GLOSSARY (sg/pl)

<i>Adiaphoron/adiaphora</i>	Indifferent thing (Greek)
<i>Boma</i>	Fort, German administrative post; also used by Europeans to describe Maasai homesteads (Swahili)
<i>Emurrata</i>	Circumcision of boys (Maa)
<i>Enkai (Engai)</i>	God; also rain, rain-clouds (Maa)
<i>Eunoto</i>	Age-set ceremony in which junior <i>murr</i> an become senior <i>murr</i> an (Maa)
<i>Mangi</i>	Meru chief; also applied by the Germans to Arusha (Kiro)
<i>Manyatta</i>	Homestead or ceremonial village of Maasai <i>murr</i> an (Maa)
<i>Olaigwenani/ilaigwenak</i>	Age-set spokesman (Maa)
<i>Olkiama</i>	Maasai meeting; established by the British within the Indirect Rule system; also called the Monduli meeting (Maa)
<i>Olmal</i>	Ritual delegation to diviners (Maa)
<i>Olmurrani/ilmurr</i> an (<i>murr</i> an)	Young circumcised man, warrior (Maa)
<i>Olngesher</i>	Unifying ceremony for the right and left hand <i>murr</i> an in an age-set and promotion to elderhood (Maa)
<i>Oloiboni/iloibonok (loibon)</i>	Diviner or prophet (Maa)
<i>Orpeko</i>	Spirit, spirit possession (Maa)
<i>Ujamaa</i>	Unity, familyhood (Swahili)

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In *With the Gospel to Maasailand* Kim Groop studies the Lutheran mission among the Arusha and Maasai peoples in Tanzania. The book provides interesting insight into nearly 70 years of mission work. It takes the reader from the initial pioneer efforts of the Leipzig Mission in 1904, through two world wars and the end of colonisation, up to 1973 when the Arusha and Maasai founded their own Church Synod. The author examines various aspects of the Lutheran work, which was characterized by significant challenges, a solid determination and – under the circumstances – quite satisfying results. Kim Groop's book is a valuable contribution not only to the history of the Lutheran Church in Tanzania, but also to European, American and African mission history in general.

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