Sisters in Spirit

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Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Beatrice was reported as “13 or 14” in 1893. “Beatrice of Mbweni,” African Tidings 6, no. 91 (May 1897): 54.


4. There is some discrepancy regarding the Kilekwas’ movements. In his autobiography, which was written in 1937, Petro Kilekwa writes, “After my marriage I did not want to go back to Masasi, for after many talks with Nyasa students, I felt strongly drawn to Nyasaland.” The memoir does not include any reference to the Kilekwas’ work in Masasi after their marriage. However, several mission sources authored at the time of the events indicate that the Kilekwas spent a short time in Masasi working with the Mtaulas before going to Nyasaland. It is very possible that this stint was short and unremarkable, and did not fit with Kilekwa’s carefully crafted narrative of himself, so he left it out of the book. The mission-authored sources are clear, however, to place Beatrice and Rose
together in Masasi, and to track the Kilekwas’ journey through Lindi to Masasi, and then onward to Likoma. Perhaps the missionary writing about Beatrice was confused, but the preponderance of evidence suggests that their stint at Masasi was short-lived, a stopover on the way to Nyasaland. Petro Kilekwa, *Slave Boy to Priest: The Autobiography of Padre Petro Kilekwa* (London: Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, 1937).


8. Ibid.


10. Ibid.


12. The missionary’s description of the “race” under construction—of a “race of intellectual Christians”—is one of a community defined by a shared culture rather than by geographical origin or biological heredity, as it is regarded today. This missionary’s statement was in line with UMCA thought specifically and with nineteenth-century British thought more generally, and represents but a single moment in the long history of racial thought. Race, as Jonathon Glassman argues, was neither “invariably hierarchical nor invariably built around a core of biological theory.” Far more influential in the construction of racial thought, he argues, “was the anthropological concept of clearly bounded ‘cultural monads,’” a concept that refers to the insurmountability of cultural differences. This belief in cultural differences was most expressed in terms of “‘barbarism’ and its foil, ‘civilization,’ from which modern race thinkers inherited the project of comparing all humanity according to a single, universal standard.” Jonathon Glassman and James Brennan discuss this transformation at length, but essentially it wasn’t until the 1920s in East Africa when “race” began to suggest geographical origin rather than culture. By the 1920s, however, racial thought in colonial Tanganyika and Zanzibar began to shift, contributing to the development of an understanding of “civilization” and “race” that was based on geographical origins rather than on culture. Race, we now know, much like nation and ethnicity, is a mode of thought in which groups are “subjectively presumed to be authentic cultural wholes that define themselves by metaphors of shared descent.” Indeed, as we will see in subsequent chapters, the racial category “African” is a mode of thought rather than a fixed element of social structure. As such, the racial category “African” has a history. See especially the introduction in Jonathon Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar*.
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17. Kilekwa, Slave Boy to Priest, 43–45.

18. Ibid., 46–47.


23. Ibid.

24. Kathryn de Luna has illustrated that attending to affect allows us to probe the boundary between individual and collective affective subjectivities. De Luna’s analysis of the debates about the meaning of one of the best-known Bantu reconstructions, *-kúmú, for example, suggests ways to conceptualize collective affective subjectivity. She illustrates that matters of the emotion of honor, which Jan Vansina has described as something granted to the person experiencing it, “concerned not only individuals, but also the wider family or other social group.” Defilements and conveyances of one’s honor thus “activated emotional subjectivity to all members of that individual’s group.” Honor that followers granted to the *-kúmú was “honor experienced by all members of his following.” Kathryn de Luna, “Affect and Society in Precolonial Africa,” International Journal of African Historical Studies 46, no. 1 (2013): 139.


26. Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of

27. There was, of course, what Anderson has called “a double aspect to the choreography” of the UMCA’s religious pilgrimages: evangelism was focused on a seemingly infinite number of non-Christians, of which only a small number would ever inquire about, or affiliate with, the UMCA and eventually become integrated in the sacred geography of the mission; the work itself was undertaken by a much smaller number of “native” evangelists who embodied and performed Christianity, forging a community through their shared definition of Christianity, their emotive and real ties to each other and to Zanzibar, and their movement between stations. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 54.


38. Both scholarly and popular histories argue that it was the work of these men in formal governmental, social, and cultural institutions that developed and spread the social norms of bourgeois respectability, “supra-tribal” unity, and Christian modernity, cultural values that underlaid the earliest expressions of modern nationalist political culture in Tanzania. John Iliffe’s characterization of the underlying tenets of nationalist expression in Tanzania is generally accepted by historians of Tanzania. Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.


41. Allman, “The Disappearing of Hannah Kudjoe,” 15. While Susan Geiger’s monograph on TANU women does chart the contributions of Muslim women, it does so within the framework of an established anticolonial nationalist organization. Monographs by Gracia Clark and Elizabeth Schmidt, for example, showcase the contributions of women to nationalism, but do not explore how everyday work and embodied performance generate discourses and modes of thought that were adopted and improvised upon by later generations of political innovators. Gracia Clark, *Onions Are My Husband* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Elizabeth Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939–1958* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2005).


43. Paul Landau usefully interrogates the use of the term and category “religion” in the


53. Scholars studying precolonial Africa have sought to understand emotions as a way to bridge the experiences of their subjects and their audience. This empathetic approach, Kathryn de Luna has argued, often “project[s] our modern, Western sensibilities onto the experiences of our subjects,” and “pays little attention to the culturally variable emotional standards that might have shaped relationships and actions of past peoples.” To better understand emotional and affective registers of the past, precolonial historians
have attended to the long histories and shifting meanings of words, oral traditions, and archeological and climatological data, all of which "resonate with affectivity." Work on early Africa has further illustrated that the emotional and material are connected, that people experience great emotions through inanimate things. Circulating objects also helps to create affective bonds. De Luna, "Affect and Society in Precolonial Africa." For affective histories of the more recent past, historians have turned toward a wide complement of written sources, as well as toward the "semiotic and performative," toward understanding figures, objects, and symbols as “meaning-making apparatuses in their own right,” whether in newspaper columns, songs, dress, or cinema. Work on letter writing and letter writers has been crucial to the development of work on the affective, and allows historians to consider the intellectual lives of their subjects. Barber, *Africa's Hidden Histories*. The collection of emotionally vivid letters in Shula Mark’s *Not Either an Experimental Doll* was one of the first to assert the benefits of foregrounding the affective lives of Africans. Shula Marks, *Not Either an Experimental Doll: The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). Recently, Wendy Urban-Mead used contextualized life histories to parse gendered piety in a mission community in Zimbabwe. Urban-Mead, *The Gender of Piety*.

56. Tanzanianists, such as Jim Brennan, Kelly Askew, and Mohamed Said, have begun the process of looking to history’s “losers” in an attempt to avoid the teleology of earlier literature. Largely revisions of Iliffe’s narrative, however, these approaches work within the boundaries of Tanganyika Territory and aim to show how “women, peasants, and other marginal groups experienced and participated in the making of Tanganyika’s nationalism.” Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival*, 153. See also Allman, “The Disappearing of Hannah Kudjoe”; Brennan, *Taifa*; Kelly Askew, *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Mohamed Said, *The Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes (1924–1968): The Untold Story of the Muslim Struggle against British Colonialism in Tanganyika* (Richmond, VA: Minerva Press, 1998); Geiger, *TANU Women*.
58. Ibid., 281.
59. Ibid., 282.

62. The UMCA was not the only mission organization to focus on ex-slaves, a population that was often quite ethnically diverse. For example, Yorubaland recaptives in Sierra Leone and the congregation at the CMS Freretown Mission in Kenya were ex-slaves. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*; Morton, *Children of Ham*.

63. The UMCA missionaries’ embrace of Kiswahili was in stark contrast to other mission organizations in Tanganyika, which “considered the supra-tribal language of Swahili as a threat to their own efforts to Christianize individual ethnic groups.” Kiswahili was useful to the UMCA because it was a single language that had the theoretical power to strip adherents of a belief in the supremacy of their old identities and to create new means of unification. African clerics and others who adopted Christianity through Kiswahili used it, rather than any single ethnically linked vernacular, as the language of mission on Zanzibar and the mainland. Adding to the homogenizing influence of Kiswahili was the fact that the mission’s first cohorts of adherents at Zanzibar, particularly the young mateka (“captive” or “booty,” slaves freed from dhows), were already unmoored from whatever social organization (ethnic or tribal) gave birth to them, and thus were socially impressionable. Frieder Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania* (Boston: Brill, 1999), 21.

64. Kelly Askew makes a similar argument about the performance of Swahili music and cultural forms in *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania*.

65. This is not to say that UMCA missionaries’ efforts to translate scripture into Yao or Kibondei were not decisive in the development of a Yao or Bondei identity, for indeed they were. Rather, the missionaries’ ultimate preference for Kiswahili and English, and their calling to rebuild Zion in East Africa contributed to adherents’ sense of a supra-ethnic identity.


67. Ibid., 339.

68. Hunt is not the only scholar to lament the lack of attention to women’s thought and thinking, and to gender equity in intellectual histories of Africa. Judith Byfield, for example, has observed that the contributions of black women in Africa or the diaspora to intellectual histories, their thoughts, and their writings and intellectual ideas are rarely considered. Byfield, “Finding Voice, Giving Voice: Gender, Politics, and Social Change,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 109, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 362. This, of course, is not
a lacuna restricted exclusively to women of color. Hilda Smith noted in the *Journal of Women’s History* that in emphasizing the importance of women’s bodies to their pasts, scholars have consistently framed those bodies “from the shoulders down.” This is especially true of women from non-Western regions of the world, Smith continues, because the study of them has been tied to Western or elitist postcolonial and subaltern theorists; the core of those theories emerged from male theorists “little concerned with women, whose insights have had to be reformulated to include gender.” Smith’s analysis of why intellectual histories of women or women’s organizations exist is damning, suggesting that this derives not from a “purposeful avoidance” or lack of interest in women’s intellectual history, but rather from a set of assumptions that include the idea that “women have not offered fundamental and lasting analyses of broad social, intellectual, and political phenomena that characterized an age or a society.” Hilda L. Smith, “Women’s History as Intellectual History: A Perspective on the Journal of Women’s History,” *Journal of Women’s History* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 26.


70. Previous scholarship has traced the development of racial thought through more traditionally “intellectual” venues, such as newspapers and textbooks, books published by evangelical presses and revivalists’ testimonies and autobiographies, and the cartographies and spatial demographics of urban Dar es Salaam. I am thinking here especially of Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones*; and Brennan, *Taifa*.


75. David Gordon argues that the bias toward the symbolic study of religion is not evident in all scholarship. Given the clear role of missionary Christian discourses in creating colonial hegemonies, many scholars have discussed them as sources of power. Jean and John Comaroff, J. D. Y. Peel, Elizabeth Elbourne, and Paul S. Landau, for example, engage the influence and African appropriations of colonial Christian missionary discourses, “although they generally conceive of power in a Foucauldian disciplinary sense. Efforts to discuss spirits, Christian or otherwise, as sources of power have not been as frequently or as effectively carried out.” Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, 5.


CHAPTER 1. TRACTARIAN BEGINNINGS: THEOLOGY AND SOCIETY IN BRITAIN AND EAST AFRICA, 1830–1865

5. Ibid.
6. As contemporary thinking went, “It was not enough to send a missionary into the country to teach him [the African] that he was a child of God. It was also necessary that they be taught to trade. He would sell human bodies until he learnt how to use those bodies in selling something else. He must therefore be shown how to farm according to the best methods, how to grow crops like cotton or coffee of which Europe had need.” Owen Chadwick, Mackenzie’s Grave (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2009), 15.
7. Ibid., 31.
9. Ibid.
17. Ibid., 353.


19. Ibid., 80.

20. Ibid.

21. Jonathon Glassman argues “it is misleading to describe as a coherent system something so fraught with conflict and change as the relationships between masters and slaves . . . slavery was “absorptive” only in those instances where masters lacked the interest or the ability to whole-heartedly resist those demands, where masters failed to put into practice their ideal vision of the slave as a permanent outsider.” Ibid., 81.


27. Ibid., 22–23.


32. Ibid., 22.


34. Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship in the Church of England: From the Sixteenth*
Century to the Late Twentieth Century (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 123–24.


36. Ibid., 36–37.


48. Ibid., 207.


52. Ibid., 89.


58. H. M. Smith, *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar: Life of Frank Weston, D.D., 1871–1924* (London: Macmillan, 1926), 30. By 1860 many among the High Church Anglican congregations at home and abroad were becoming disillusioned by the extravagance of what was required to maintain the European “civilized” lifestyle overseas, especially in the face of falling worldwide enrollment of missionaries and proselytes alike. Even David Livingstone, the
man whose very name is synonymous with British exploration in central and southern Africa, began to question the wisdom of formally linking Christianity and civilization: the Tswana, he admitted, were nomads and “retailers of news” who lived lives that were “very favourable to the spread of the Gospel, although . . . opposed to the spread of civilization.” Porter, “An Overview,” 54.


62. Ibid., 218.


64. Morton, *Children of Ham*, 61.


69. C. Orelli, *The Prophecies of Isaiah* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895), 8. Commentaries cited here and below are all of an Anglican persuasion, and were published at the time of the mission's work by the same publishing houses that published the UMCA's recruitment and devotional materials in Oxford, Cambridge, and London. Further, they fall under the category of “widely read” as described by Nigel Cameron, *Biblical Higher Criticism and the Defense of Infallibilism in 19th Century Britain* (New York: Mellon, 1987), ch. 6 (especially).


74. Ibid., 109.
85. Tim Jeal, *Livingstone* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 224. The bishop’s deacon, Henry Rowley, was an intellectually intimidating and hard-working man who tended toward needless combativeness. Lovell Procter and Horace Waller, both twenty-seven years old, were traveling outside England for the first time. Both Procter and Waller were spirited romantics—one for the cause itself, and the other for young women. Waller fell in love on the passage from England and was engaged to be married even before his feet hit dry land again. Finally, there was the Reverend H. C. Scudamore. Records do not detail Scudamore’s role in the mission, and he was unique among the party for not keeping a diary. He was, apparently, exceedingly calm and was most popular with the UMCA’s African dependents. There was Alfred Adams, listed as an agricultural laborer; we know little else about him. Sources differ on whether the bishop’s devoted spinster sister Anne left England with the rest of the party. She would have been one of but a handful of European women to travel to the African mission field to date; although it appears that she had intentions to join the party at some point, she never made it past the Cape. Landeg White, *Magomero: Portrait of an African Village* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 10–15.
89. Ibid., 14.
90. For the most comprehensive coverage, see White, *Magomero*.
91. Ibid., 64.
92. Ibid., ch. 1.
94. White, Magomero, 67.


96. “Speech Delivered by Bishop Steere at Oxford,” August 1875, R10, F825, AUMCA.

97. Bishop Tozer, entry for 10 October 1864, “Bishop Tozer’s Letters and Journals, Book IV,” CB1–1C, ZNA, UMCA.


100. Ibid., 148.

CHAPTER 2. FROM SLAVES TO CHRISTIAN MOTHERS: DEVELOPING A DOCTRINE OF FEMALE EVANGELISM, 1863–1877


6. “First Quarterly Statement of Bishop Steere,” August 1875, R10, F815, AUMCA.

7. Ibid.


9. “Extract of Dr. Kirk’s Dispatch of 22 September 1871; Sent to the Bishop of Winchester,”
“CB1–4: Bishop Tozer and Steere,” CB1 Collection, number 4, Zanzibar National Archives [hereafter CB1–4].

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
17. Letter of Edward Steere, 2 June 1875, R9, F39, AUMCA.
18. Ibid.; Letter of Edward Steere, 19 October 1881, R9, F558, AUMCA.
21. Letter of Edward Steere, 19 October 1881, R9, F558, AUMCA.
22. In addition to providing productive and reproductive labor, slaves also functioned as material commodities. Particularly in the status-conscious culture of nineteenth-century Zanzibar, East Africa historian Jeremy Prestholdt tells us, slaves were socially valuable “for their ability to represent the interests of those who sought to control them.” For slavers and redeemers alike, slaves were “symbolic social capital” who functioned as “screens onto which concepts of civilization were projected.” Jeremy Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 116–18.
24. Given that Kate was given to the UMCA in the Seychelles, she may well have come to the coast through the southern route to Kilwa or Lindi, rather than the central route depicted above. The central routes were known for their high degree of Arab control, however, and had a close association with the routes that terminated at ports directly opposite Zanzibar. Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 56.
25. Gareth Griffiths, “Trained to Tell the Truth: Missionaries, Converts, and Narration,” in
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28. Griffiths analyzes Panya’s particular story in depth as an example of the “process by which the paradigmatic narratives of the tracts were produced through a controlled transmission of story from ‘subject’ to ‘author.’” While Panya’s life story printed in *African Tidings* was certainly not an unmediated “true” account, it does offer certain facts about Panya’s life that we can take as true, or true enough for the purposes of this analysis, in that they reinforce general trends of the period. To Griffiths, and despite the mediation of the translator, transcriber, and amanuensis—the UMCA’s missionary Alice Foxley—Panya’s is “one of the most revealing accounts of the personal life and narrative of an African convert and of the processes by which it was recorded.” Griffiths, “Trained to Tell the Truth,” 163–65.

29. Indeed, although the horrors of the long-distance trade that brought slaves, such as Fayida, Panya, and Kate, from the interior are well documented, it is important to remember here and elsewhere that the accounts of their journeys were animated by abolitionist zeal and are naturally subject to exaggeration. In addition to the sources cited here, see Alpers, “The Story of Swema,” 185–99; Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women*.


35. Ibid., 43.


40. Ibid., 122.
41. Ibid.
42. “Speech delivered by Bishop Steere at Oxford,” August 1875, R10, F815, AUMCA.
52. Semple, Missionary Women, 187.
153. Emphasis in original.


64. Thackeray, “The African Woman of the Future.”

65. “Women’s Work’: Addresses by Mrs. Creighton and Miss Thackeray, Delivered at the Women’s Meeting Held in St. Martin’s Town Hall on Thursday, June 12, 1898,” Central Africa 16, no. 188 (August 1898): 133.


67. Letter of Caroline Thackeray, Mbweni, 26 September 1887, R16, F775, AUMCA.


71. Letter of M. Forbes Capel, 5 April 1877, R11, F85, AUMCA.

72. Letter of M. Forbes Capel, 2 May 1877, R11, F69, AUMCA.

73. Heanley, A Memoir of Edward Steere, 111.

74. “Leaflet No. 2: Present Work,” R10, F810, AUMCA.

75. “Leaflet No. 2: Present Work”; “First Quarterly Statement of Bishop Steere.”

76. “First Quarterly Statement of Bishop Steere.”

77. Ibid.


79. Thorne, Congregational Missions, 95.

80. Steere, “MA Extracts from Reports about Released Slaves.”

CHAPTER 3. INDUSTRIALS AND SCHOOLGIRLS: BONDS OF PERSONAL DEPENDENCY AND THE MBWENI GIRLS’ SCHOOL, 1877–1890

1. The same rate of growth, though due less to the spoils of the slave trade than to intentional expansion on the mainland, could be seen elsewhere in the mission. By 1880, the mission had expanded to several stations on the mainland, including Magila, in the Usambara Mountains of northeastern Tanzania, and Masasi, in southern Tanzania. The UMCA also had several stations on Zanzibar itself, including the Christ Church cathedral, a hospital, the main mission house, and a small school in a quarter of Stone Town called Mkunazini, the settlement at Mbweni, a seminary at Kiungani, and a boys’ school at Kilimani. “The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa: Present Work,” dated “Lady Day” (25 March) 1881, R10, F809, AUMCA.

3. Personal communication of N. Forbes Capel, 26 March 1877 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), R11, F79, AUMCA.

4. Ibid.

5. Personal communication of N. Forbes Capel, 2 March 1877 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), R11, F69, AUMCA.


8. Ibid., 63.


11. Personal communication of E. Randolph, 7 April 1877, R11, F45, AUMCA; Personal communication of E. Steere, 8 February 1878, R9, F457, AUMCA.

12. Personal communication of M. Allen, 24 August 1877, R11, F67, AUMCA.

13. Personal communication of N. Forbes Capel, 5 April 1877 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), R11, F85, AUMCA.

14. Personal communication of N. Forbes Capel, 6 February 1877 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), R11, F65, AUMCA.

15. “1876,” *Central African Mission Reports*, CB1–6, ZNA, 1; Personal communication of N. Forbes Capel, 20 January 1877 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), R11, F60, AUMCA.

16. Personal communication of D. M. Thackeray, 2 June 1881, R11, F425, AUMCA.


18. Personal communication of N. Forbes Capel, 30 January 1877 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), R11, F60, AUMCA.

19. Personal communication of N. Forbes Capel, 2 March 1877 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), R11, F69, AUMCA.
20. Steere was architect of much of what constituted the mission, including the now-famous Cathedral Church of Christ in Mkunazini—the altar of which is thought to have been built on the very site of the old slave whipping post. Missionaries claimed that the high altar of the “Slave Market Church” was erected on the very spot where the market’s whipping post had once stood. As Jonathon Glassman points out, this placement draws an “eloquent analogy between the sufferings of the slaves and those of ‘He . . . by Whose stripes we are healed.’” (Indeed, missionaries frequently drew such analogies between their congregants and God’s chosen people.) It seems that in this case, however, the analogy has been taken too far. It seems unlikely that slaves were publicly flogged before sale, or that slave children were randomly killed, “their throats slit where the church’s baptismal font now stands.” Among other absurdities, as Glassman argues, it “flies in the face of logic to imagine businessmen routinely destroying most of their merchandise in this way.” If that were not enough, few of the historic slave chamber narratives dating to the years before the church’s construction so much as hint at the kinds of details later abolitionists claim, and there is not one mention of a whipping post. Jonathon Glassman, “Echoes of Abolition in Twentieth-Century Zanzibar,” in Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic, ed. Derek Peterson (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 178–79.


22. The same rate of growth, though due less to the spoils of the slave trade than to intentional expansion on the mainland, could be seen elsewhere in the mission. By 1880, the mission had expanded to several stations on the mainland, including Magila, in the Usambara mountains of northeastern Tanzania, and Masasi, in southern Tanzania. The UMCA also had several stations on Zanzibar itself, including the Christ Church cathedral, a hospital, the main mission house, and a small school in a quarter of Stone Town called Mkunazini, the settlement at Mbweni, a seminary at Kiungani, and a boys’ school at Kilimani. “The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa: Present Work,” dated “Lady Day” (25 March) 1881, R10, F809, AUMCA.


25. As Smythies understood it, among Africans “the women are the menials, and among the natives are kept in a very subordinate position, not eating with their husbands, or even
in some cases sitting down with them in public.” Therefore, he said, “in educating our girls we need [to take] the greatest care, as having been more educated perhaps than their husbands, and having been the object of the ladies’ care for so long, they are apt to be conceited, and not to give their husbands that obedience which is the custom here to exact from them.” African women needed to be married, missionaries argued, because it kept them from “innumerable and nameless mischiefs,” and because the nuclear families that marriages produced were the bedrock of the mission’s evangelical model. Alan, “A Letter from the Bishop.”

26. Personal communication of N. Forbes Capel, 2 March 1877, R11, F60, AUMCA.
30. Ibid.
32. Personal communication of C. D. M. Thackeray, 11 May 1885 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), R16, F761, AUMCA.
33. Ibid., 8.
35. Personal communication of C. D. M. Thackeray, 26 September 1887 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), R16, F775, AUMCA.
37. Ibid., 371.
38. Ibid., 371–72.
41. Ibid., 373.
42. Glassman, Feasts and Riot, 108.
43. Ibid.


52. 17 March 1919, CBI–8, ZNA.
53. 4 May 1919, CBI–8, ZNA.
54. 2 June 1919, CBI–8, ZNA. Though the groom’s name suggests he was Muslim, he was likely a Christian freed slave who kept his name, or a convert without a Christian name—it would have been uncharacteristic for the church to have invested so many resources in preparing Fibi for marriage, only to turn her over to an unknown Muslim man.
55. 21 August 1918, CBI–8, ZNA.
56. Saint Augustine’s, a theological college started by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in Foreign Parts, was a college intended to “train men for service in the mission field.” It opened in 1848 to the students of the SPG-sponsored schools throughout the world and was soon sending out “a stream of ordinands of many races.” See Rev. H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701–1950* (London: SPCK, 1951), 112–13. At the time of the Industrial Wing dedication, Cecil was a deacon, working at Mbweni before departing for England. Cecil had previously been living at Chitangali, near Masasi in southern Tanzania, at a station he had planted and managed almost alone—except, that is, for the help his wife could offer when she was not tending to their three small children.
59. Ibid.


63. Personal communication of C. D. M. Thackeray, 26 September 1887 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), R16, F775, AUMCA.


74. Ibid., 50.


78. Kathleen’s childhood home was along one of the oldest trading routes on the mainland,
which stretched inland from Kilwa to the dense populations around Lake Nyasa. In the sixteenth century, Portuguese and Yao traders began using a regional trading network to move gold, ivory, and cloth between the coast and the hinterland. As the plantation economies of the Mascarenes and in the New World became more significant in the eighteenth century, demand for slaves from the region began to rise. In the late 1770s the French began to export great numbers of slaves acquired by Yao traders along this route. A century later, slave exports through Zanzibar continued at an estimated 20,000 per year. Most still came from the south, where Kilwa's exports increased between 1862–63 and 1866–67 from 18,500 to 22,038. Although Sultan Barghash's 1876 decree against the transport of slaves overland stifled some of this trade, both smuggling and an overland trade to northern coastal ports flourished for several years. Illicit slaving dhows kept British cruisers, and by extension the mission, busy for decades. These patterns meant that many of the UMCA's Zanzibar congregants had lived in this area prior to being kidnapped or otherwise enslaved. In fact, this is the very same area to which fifty former Mbweni slaves were repatriated in 1876 as part of the mission's efforts to establish a second mainland mission station. Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 49.

84. “Women’s Work’: Addresses by Mrs. Creighton and Miss Thackeray, Delivered at the Women’s Meeting Held in St. Martin’s Town Hall on Thursday, June 13, 1898,” *Central Africa* 16, no. 188 (August 1898): 125–37.
88. “Women’s Work,” 125–37. It is not clear from the sources why Rome was a destination for African pupil-teachers and their European escorts, but it is likely because exposure to church history and culture was an important component of the girls’ education. Other sources suggest that the furloughs on which pupil-teachers accompanied European teachers were mixed with vacations to such places as the Italian seaside; Rome may have been part of a learning vacation for the girls.
89. “Mama Kate,” 75–78; “In Memoriam: Kate Mabruki,” 143.
90. Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century
91. Profession of holy orders was not in the late 1800s an option for the UMCA's African women, nor would it be until 1926. Devoted spinsterhood was also something that missionaries frowned upon, believing that the “native” was bound for moral ruin if he or she remained single.


96. “Women’s Work,” 133.


98. Ibid.

99. The deep red hills still host a vibrant, welcoming Anglican community today, and villagers swear that, if well equipped with a four-wheel drive in the dry season, you can ascend to the top of one of the ridges that provides shade to the crops and see Mount Kilimanjaro in the distance.

100. Thackeray, “Our Native Female Teachers,” 206.


CHAPTER 4. NETWORKS OF AFFECTIVE SPIRITUALITY: EVANGELISM AND EXPANSION, 1890–1930

1. Mission sources refer to Limo interchangeably as "Petro" and as "Peter." To distinguish Petro Limo from Petro Kilekwa, who appeared in this book's introduction, I will refer to Limo as "Peter" from this point forward.


3. Justin Willis argues that Limo’s near-meteoric rise within the church in Bonde was due
to the fact that as a young boy, Petro lacked patrilineal kin; in the context of complicated local politics, his “lack of alternatives” led him to devote himself wholly to the mission, eschewing other communities and patrons. Mission officials rewarded this singular devotion to the church with a quick ascendance through the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Alternatively, early converts who were eager to maintain claims on several communities found themselves subject to public humiliation by church officials and stagnation in the church hierarchy. Willis, “The Nature of a Mission Community,” 149.

4. “C.D.M.T.,” “Blandina Limo: An African Priest’s Wife,” Central Africa 32, no. 380 (August 1914): 155. This article, presumably written by Caroline Thackeray, is an obituary published in the mission’s monthly circular. Of course any obituaries, but particularly in the colonial/missionary context, are besetting sources. In her analysis of the rhetoric of nineteenth-century female evangelical obituaries, Cheryl M. Cassidy argues that readers at home were captivated by obituaries of missionaries and their “heathen” converts. Obituaries were part of the rhetoric or propaganda of missionary life, “glorifying and eulogizing lives spent fruitfully.” Despite “similar salvific achievements,” Cassidy continues, “missionary and heathen convert deaths were reported differently.” The obituaries of “converts” served to validate “not the dying person but the missionary purpose.” Obituaries of missionaries, on the other hand, were “extended eulogies to service, duty, and self-sacrifice, repositioning the missionary with an essentialist model of womanhood.” In other cases, obituaries served a romanticized ideal of mission life. As sources, however, they are often one of the only ways to get at particular biographical information, and offer a unique lens into the nature of the memories certain individuals left. Cheryl Cassidy, “Dying in the Light: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Female Evangelical Obituaries,” Victorian Periodicals Review 35, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 206–7.

8. Ibid., 62.
14. Ibid.
15. Thank you to Alecia Shannon for the biblical reference here.
22. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 215.
32. Ibid., 480.
36. Ibid., 120–21.
37. Ibid., 125.
38. Ibid., 231.
39. Ibid.
40. The German Defense Force included 218 Europeans and 2,542 askari (African soldiers), as well as more than two thousand police and countless potential African recruits. The force's reputation worried the British missionaries, especially now that the Germans found themselves surrounded by likely enemies. More than two thousand askari in Kenya, Uganda, and Nyasaland; an equal number of European civilians; and eight hundred police in Northern Rhodesia constituted the British King's African Rifles (KAR). Troops potentially sympathetic to Britain were also stationed nearby in the Belgian Congo and Mozambique, although their allegiances were fickle. Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 240–41.
43. Ibid., 4.
44. Ibid., 12.
45. Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 255; Personal communication of Peter Limo, 2 April 1922, Box A5, UMCA/USPG Collection, Rhodes.
49. Ibid., 16.
55. Personal communication of Caroline Thackeray, 28 September 1885 (Mbweni, Zanzibar), Reel 16, Folio 766, [hereafter noted as R16, F766], Archives of the Universities’ Mission to
Central Africa from the Archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
“A” Series, Center for Research Libraries CAMP Microfilm [hereafter AUMCA].

57. “Women’s Work”: Addresses by Mrs. Creighton and Miss Thackeray, Delivered at the
Women’s Meeting Held in St. Martin’s Town Hall on Thursday, June 12, 1898,” Central
59. Ibid., 160.
61. Entry for 1 December 1938, Logbook of St. Cyprian’s Theological College, 1910–1953
[hereafter St. Cyprian’s Log], Diocesan Secretary’s Office at St. Nicholas Church, Buguruni,
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania [hereafter StNC]. For examples of religious instruction, see
Entry for 22 November, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC; Entry for 1 December 1941, St. Cyprian’s
Log, StNC; Entry for 7 December 1941, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC. For examples of instruction
and coursework, see Entry for 25 May 1945, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC; Entry for 18 June 1931,
St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC.
62. Entry for 21 April 1932, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC; Entry for 18 June 1931, St. Cyprian’s Log,
StNC.
63. For “Miss Wisdom,” see Entry for 1 December 1938, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC; Entry for 1
December 1941, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC; Entry for 7 December 1941, St. Cyprian’s Log,
StNC; Entry for 25 May 1945, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC; Entry for 27 May 1945, St. Cyprian’s
Log, StNC.
65. For “Quiet Days” and retreats, see Entry for 8 August 1932, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC; Entry
for 30 October 1940, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC; Entry for 22 November 1941, St. Cyprian’s Log,
StNC; Entry for 22 November 1941, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC.
66. Entry for 28 April 1932, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC.
67. For “rashia,” see Entry for 22 December 1932, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC; for the shipment
from Chidya, see Entry for 24 December 1932, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC; for “mudding,” see
Entry for 27 February 1931, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC.
68. Entry for 3 June 1938, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC.
69. Entry for 28 February 1932, St. Cyprian’s Log, StNC.
72. Elizabeth Prevost, The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and
the British Metropole (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 36.

73. Ibid., 39.


78. Thackeray, “Our Native Female Teachers,” 204.


82. Ibid., 258.


88. Ibid., 25.

89. Thackeray, “Our Native Female Teachers,” 204.


91. Ibid., 47–48.

92. Ibid., 47.

93. The extant letters, which are in Kiswahili and in translation, are deposited at Rhodes House. The letters appear to have been dictated by Agnes in Kiswahili to an amanuensis, who then translated the letters into English. “Letters from Africans,” Box A5, UMCA/USPG Collection, Rhodes.

94. Personal communication of Cecil Majaliwa, 22 August 1895, letter no. 25 (Chitangali, Tanzania), UMCA, Rhodes, Box A5; Personal communication signed Canon, 13 September 1897, letter no. 35 (Masasi, Tanzania), Box A5, UMCA, Rhodes.

95. Russell and Pollock, News from Masasi, 51; Personal communication of Margret Woodward, 16 February 1900, letter no. 35, Box A5, UMCA, Rhodes.

97. Personal communication of Agnes Achitinao (Ajanjuili), 15 March 1898, letter no. 31 (Chiwata, Tanzania), Box A5, UMCA, Rhodes; Russell and Pollock, *News from Masasi*, 51.

98. Personal communication of Agnes Sapuli, 14 September 1909, letter no. 119 (Mwiti, Tanzania), Box A5, UMCA, Rhodes.

99. Personal communication of Agnes and Francis Sapuli, 20 September 1912, letter no. 71 (Luwatala, Tanzania), Box A5, UMCA, Rhodes.

100. Personal communication of Agnes and Francis Sapuli, 20 September 1912, letter no. 71 (Luwatala, Tanzania), Box A5, UMCA, Rhodes.


102. Personal communication of Agnes Sapuli, 14 September 1909, letter no. 119 (Mwiti, Tanzania), Box A5, UMCA, Rhodes.


105. Elizabeth Prevost has explored this community at length in *The Communion of Women*. The monograph offers a compelling analysis of the global Mothers’ Union organization, which is outside the scope of this book.

106. Personal communication of Agnes Sapuli, 2 December 1911, letter no. 115 (Chilimba, Tanzania), Box A5, UMCA, Rhodes; Personal communication of Francis Sapuli, 16 October 1919, letter no. 99 (Chilimba, Tanzania), Box A5, UMCA, Rhodes.

107. It may have been Augustino’s skill as a footballer and his status as a head teacher at Kiungani that allowed him to build a reputation as the head of the Zanzibari Christian community, and from there to be appointed to head the Zanzibar branch of the AA. “REB,” “Mbweni Girls’ School: The New Industrial Wing,” *Central Africa* (1888). As Laura Fair argues, football skill allowed Zanzibari men to “build their personal reputations and to become recognized as important team, neighbourhood and nationalist leaders.” Sports in general, but football in particular, also provided a field for the political conflict and for the expression of “class and neighborhood rivalries and for strengthening communal identities” and was thus an incredibly influential facet of life. Laura Fair, “Kickin’ It: Leisure, Politics and Football in Colonial Zanzibar, 1900s–1950s,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 67, no. 2 (1997).
CHAPTER 5. OF MARRIAGES AND MIMBAS: MINDING THE BORDERS
OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY, 1910–1930


6. Because of the intimate nature of this story, I have used pseudonyms and changed immediately identifying details. In all cases, I have tried to remain faithful to the original nature of the names and have drawn replacements from those commonly used in the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa communities during the period.


11. Indirect rule was intended to preserve social stability and increase administrative efficiency by integrating the “traditional” indigenous political system into the colonial
apparatus so that there would be only one set of rulers. The policy was based on a historical fallacy, however: that there was something that resembled a “traditional” indigenous political system. Britain’s official stance was that ethnicity, tribe, and race were fixed categories with discrete customs and beliefs that endured, relatively unchanged, to the contemporary period, and that ritual chiefs led these “traditional” communities.


14. Fair, Pastimes, 27.

15. In the early 1900s in Gusiiland, Kenya, for example, men who discussed and wrote about the trend of women eloping or otherwise avoiding marriage completely ignored the women’s motivations. Their language “often denied women any role in illicit unions whatsoever. Women did not elope but were carried off, senior men insisted; they did not desert their husbands, but were caused to desert. Runaway wives, in turn, explained why their marriages were illegitimate.” Rather than go through accepted channels of complaint, women simply took matters into their own hands, forging their own (albeit informal) marriages. Shadle has argued that the prevailing literature has attributed too much explanatory power to male conflict, intergenerational and otherwise, and has inadvertently put scholars in a position of denying women agency. Women, he argues, “sometimes appear only as things over which men fought.” Shadle, “Girl Cases,” xxvi, xxx.


22. Scholars have observed that missionaries’ compulsive need to keep records was a method of gaining control over adherents’ conduct. By maintaining “catalogues of decisions made, sins disavowed, and judgments rendered,” the authors of record books “reached outside the archives’ walls and reformed Africans’ real-life relationships.” The entries in church registers, diaries, and logbooks served as evidence of the promises that
parishioners had made to the church, and as a means to call “errant parishioners before the [church] courts, asking them to live up to the promises they had made on paper.” With this evidence, church officials “invited adherents to conform their lives to the book, to orient their behavior to accord with the mode portrayed in the record.” And Africans often played into Europeans’ archetypes, signing their names to registers and confessing sins. They also recast their characters when they used the very legal categories missionary judges had authorized in order to reframe arguments about property, marriage, or work to their own advantage. Just as often, however, Africans jettisoned this theater altogether and sought to keep their private affairs out of reach of the arm of the church. Pels, “Creolisation in Secret,” 18.

25. In 1905 Miss Stevens took over from Miss Mills at Kilimani. Though the letter that provides evidence of this scandal did not include the year in which it was written, the chronology arranged by the UMCA archivist Ian Pearson indicates that it was written on 4 October of 1908 or 1909. He indicates that folios 477–98 (this letter is numbered f. 495) were from 1908–1909. Ian Pearson, “Guide to the Archives of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa from the Archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” available from the Center for Research Libraries; accompanies UMCA microfilm series. A. E. M. Anderson-Morshead, The History of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, 1859–1898, vol. 1 (London: Office of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, 1905).
33. The payment of mahari here is one example of the ways in which the church tolerated the incorporation of longer-standing African practices into the practice of Christianity.
38. Further, in 1920s Kenya, for example, if a muthaka (circumcised, unmarried Meru man) got a girl pregnant, he was expected to arrange the abortion. Thomas, *Politics of the Womb*, 123–28.
40. There is little evidence on the “success” rates for abortions in general, much less for the precolonial period in Africa. Abortions are rarely public events, and the procedure, as well as the events that led to the abortion, are controversial and subject to moral debate. In contemporary Tanzania abortion is illegal and punishable by fourteen years in prison for the person administering the abortion, seven for the woman receiving the abortion, and three for anyone who knowingly supplied materials. Therefore, today—in a period in which records exist and interviews can be conducted—abortion rates remain only “best guess” calculations. Hospital admission records exist only for women with complications resulting from incomplete abortions, such as hemorrhage and sepsis. In nonhospital settings women often underreport induced abortion for fear of disapproval, or legal or religious sanctions. Precocial abortion techniques were both dangerous and of unpredictable efficacy; the techniques that remain today, however, have likely been maintained because they provide a moderate rate of success. M. L. Plummer et al., “Abortion and Suspending Pregnancy in Rural Tanzania: An Ethnography of Young People’s Beliefs and Practices,” *Studies in Family Planning* 39, no. 4 (December 2008): 281–82.
41. For a comprehensive explanation of this, see Thomas, *Politics of the Womb*, chapter 1. For abortion as a tool to deal with a pre- or extramarital pregnancy, see von Waldow as cited in Lloyd W. Swantz, *The Zaramo of Tanzania: An Ethnographic Study* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1956), 65; Charles William Hobley, *Ethnology of a-Kamba and Other East African Tribes* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1910). Schapera also notes that in the latter half of the nineteenth century, children born as a result of premarital pregnancies “were often killed to avoid their bringing evil upon the community.” Isaac Schapera, “Premarital Pregnancy and Native Opinion: A Note on Social Change,” *Africa* 6, no. 1 (1933). For abortion as a means to deal with pregnancies understood to have the potential to harm the well-being of the community, see Emil Torday and Thomas Joyce, “Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 36 (1906): 288, 92; H. S. Stannus, “Notes on Some Tribes of British Central Africa,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 40 (1910): 285–335; John Caldwell


46. Stambach, “Kutoa Mimba.”


49. Even today, East African women continue to employ abortifacients to deal with undesirable pregnancies. They procure *dawa* from local herbalists; they attempt to
convince medical students-in-training to perform free or lower-cost abortions; they self-administer concoctions of strong black tea, soda bicarbonate, wood ashes in solution, high doses of chloroquine, a solution of the laundry detergent “Blue,” aspirin, and/or antibiotics as abortifacients; and they attempt to induce abortions manually. Abortion also remains an option in family planning across the continent, and it continues to be a tool used by women and couples throughout Africa seeking to negotiate socially tenuous situations. For example, Amy Stambach has found, perhaps unsurprisingly, that women in the Chagga region of Tanzania often resort to abortion in order to remain in school. They do so, however, not solely because of the burden of raising a child or the challenges it poses to their ability to continue their educations, but because they are seen to have deviated from expected processes of social development. Women also seek abortions—and make decisions about their partner’s involvement in the procedure—based on an idealized future relationship with the father. By helping to procure and fund an abortion, men assert their intentions for a future relationship with the woman, and declare a stake in her reproductive future. Stambach, “Kutoa Mimba.”


59. Isaiah 1:4, King James Bible.
60. Barnes, Notes, 76.


63. It is not evident from the administrators’ records what views, if any, the African congregants held of Danieli’s “illegitimate” children. It may well be that Danieli suffered little in the minds of the African congregants; women, more than men, suffered harm to their reputations as a result of out-of-wedlock pregnancies. This is another point on which the church administrators and congregants may have disagreed. Entry for 12 August 1929, “Central Africa Mission Diary: 1922–1932.”


65. Susan’s age at the time of the alleged “sale” is unknown, but we can presume from the circumstances that she was in her early teens.

66. Entry for 10 October 1929, “Central Africa Mission Diary: 1922–1932.” The records merely indicate that the priest-in-charge spoke on “God can from these stones to raise up children unto Abraham,” which is a verse that appears in Matthew 3:9 and Luke 3:8, both of which are recitations of John the Baptist preaching to the Jews in Jordan. Although the record of John the Baptist’s preaching is nearly identical to Matthew 3:7–12, contemporary theologians held that the version of the speech recorded in Matthew “seems to be nearer to the original source.” Because of their similarities, and because of contemporary theologians’ faith in the version from Matthew, I have chosen here to focus on that version. Alfred Plummer, An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew (London: Elliot Stock, 1909), 28.


69. Scholars imagine John pointing to the stones of shingle that lined the banks of the Jordan and saying, “Do not delude yourselves with the idea that God needs you,” for “out of the most unpromising material He could make subjects who in the Kingdom would be equal to the children of Abraham.” Plummer, An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew, 21; Morison, A Practical Commentary, 35.
70. Conversely, Glassman argues, “slave status connoted an ancestral background of barbarism, which is to say ancestral origins in the African interior, outside the world of Islam.” Glassman, “Racial Violence,” 187.

71. Ibid., 178, 187.

72. Illustrating the fluidity of these racial concepts is ustaarabu, the Swahili word for “civilization,” which literally connotes the process of becoming like an Arab. Glassman, War of Words, War of Stones, 4–5.

73. UMCA missionaries shared in a general set of assumptions that motivated Western abolitionism in East Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century. Both secular and evangelical abolitionists believed that humanity is naturally broken into “peoples,” “races,” or “nations” that remain more or less discrete over time. Behind the contemporary adage “Three Cs,” or “commerce, Christianity, and civilization,” was the idea that “civilization” must be spread by supposedly “advanced” nations or races to those that are less so. Both variants—the secular and the evangelical—held that “abolition was a necessary step in the direction of moral and economic progress” in Africa. Ibid., 17.


75. Fair, Pastimes, 54.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid., 32–52.

78. As an extensive literature on bridewealth payments or exchanges in much of precolonial Africa illustrates, bridewealth was not a “sale” but rather a transfer in resources that was intended to symbolically compensate the bride’s lineage for the labor, knowledge, and unique individual capacities they lost upon her marriage.

79. Memories of the period of slavery were fresh in the minds of Mbweni’s Christians, many of whom had once been slaves themselves or were descendants of freed slaves, and the abolitionist rhetoric promulgated by the Western evangelicals by whom many adherents were taught perpetuated these differences. As one woman recalled in 2007, her childhood playtimes on the Mbweni shamba were often overshadowed by warnings from elders who urged her and her playmates to stay close to home lest Arabs waiting in the bush should “steal” them, and who reprimanded bad behavior with threats to sell children to Arabs. Bibi Miriam, interview with the author, 10 January 2008, Zanzibar.

80. As the classical study on slavery in Africa explains, however, “If the debt was never paid, the pawn remained permanently and totally transferred to the creditors. The pawn was not a hostage to insure good behavior but an object of equivalent value to the loan, and the whole transaction was a pecuniary one.” Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives (Madison: University of Wisconsin
84. Ibid., 201.
85. Elisabeth McMahon has argued that former slave women in nineteenth and twentieth century Unguja and Pemba were more likely to be able to remarry if she had proven her fertility by bearing children. Elisabeth McMahon, “The Value of a Marriage: Missionaries, Ex-Slaves, and the Legal Debates over Marriage in Colonial Pemba Island,” in *Gendered Lives in the Western Indian Ocean: Islam, Marriage, and Sexuality on the Swahili Coast*, ed. Erin Stiles and Katrina Daly Thompson (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015).
86. Thank you to Emily Callaci for helping to clarify my thinking here.
87. Many former female slaves living on neighboring Pemba at the turn of the century sought to overcome similar vulnerability with a range of strategies that improvised upon this inherent slippage in East Africans’ conceptions of marriage and slavery. These refugees and ex-slaves used a serial-marriage pattern to secure their daily existence. Women generally viewed marriage as a temporary enterprise that allowed them access to social and material capital. On both Unguja and Pemba, women were found to have “had little compunction about leaving husbands if they found a suitor whom they liked better or who could better fill their needs.” Emancipation offered women the opportunity to control their sexuality and to reduce their vulnerability through a choice of marital partners, but it did not fundamentally alter their view of marriage. As we saw earlier, tensions thus arose between Christian missionaries, who advocated long-term companionate marriages between autonomous individuals of the same religious faith, and their former-slave congregants. McMahon, “The Value of a Marriage.”


2. Concerned that their unmarried girls would be conscripted into manual labor or worse, congregants had begun to arrange marriages under “heathen rites.” In December 1915, for example, a young girl named Masingano caught the eye of a German official stationed locally. Afraid of Herr Fischer, her relatives acquiesced and allowed him to pay 80 rupees in exchange for her. She remained with Fischer until he fled at the end of the war. “Samwil Mwenyipembe’s Journal (English translation) with a note by Archdeacon Woodward dated 6 December 1917,” Box D1(2), Folios 316–75, UMCA/USPG, Rhodes, 5, 16.


8. Ibid., 206, 208.

9. Ibid., 204.

10. Ibid., 209–10.

11. Ibid., 209.

12. Ibid., 216.

13. Ibid., 217, 225.


15. Most estimates calculate that there were between 3,000 and 4,000 members in 1900, living in around sixty communities. Mumm, *Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers*, 1.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 131.

23. Reed, “A Female Movement.”
24. Ibid., 228.
26. Ibid., 8.
28. Ibid., 19.
31. Ibid., 231.
33. Ibid., 13.
34. Sister Mary Stella, CSP, *She Won’t Say No*, 3.
35. Ibid., 1, 3.
36. Ibid., 5.
37. Ibid., 7.
38. Letter of Bishop Weston, Rhodes.
40. Ibid.
42. For more on the Mothers’ Union, particularly in the UMCA, see Elizabeth Prevost, *The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
43. Ibid., 383.
44. Despite the relatively late date at which the MU came to the UMCA, the idea of a mothers’ organization was certainly not new to the African women workers in the UMCA. In 1878, just thirteen years after the first girls came to the mission, British missionary May Allen began a Mothers’ Meeting for the first time in Zanzibar; in 1896 a similar program started in Likoma. In 1911 a delegation of British MU members
approached Caroline Thackeray and Sister Mabel, CSP about establishing a branch of the Mothers’ Union in Zanzibar. Sister Mabel was not optimistic about the success of a branch of the MU because, she believed, “our African women are very far back in many ways.” Despite the successes of the informal groups of women that had formed across the dioceses, the bishop agreed that the MU was “not at all suited to the circumstances of our Christians in Zanzibar and East Africa.” When the issue was raised in the UMCA’s Nyasaland Diocese in 1921, the answer was much the same. The first formal chapter of the MU finally opened in Sphinxhaden, Nyasaland, in either 1922 or 1923, followed by a chapter in Tanga Diocese in 1933, and in Zanzibar Diocese in 1940. Ibid.; also Anne Elizabeth Mary Anderson-Morshead, The History of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, 1859–1898, vol. 1 (London: Office of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, 1905). Thank you to Elizabeth Prevost for sharing copies of letters and other ephemera relating to the MU she gathered at the Mary Sumner House and at Rhodes House [hereafter Prevost personal file]; Letter of Nurse Alica Rees, location unspecified, 23 April 1896, E.2 papers, F. 842, Rhodes House (Prevost personal file); Letter of Mabel CSP, “Mkwein,” Zanzibar, 6 November 1910 (Prevost personal file); Letter of Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar, Oxford, 23 May, year uncertain (Prevost personal file); Letter of Olive M. Wilkes, Sphinxhaden, Nyasaland, 14 January 1923 (Prevost personal file); “A Little Heaven: Work of the Mothers’ Union,” Central Africa (1938): 66; Arthur Gordon Blood, The History of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, vol. 3, 1933–1957 (London: Industrial Press, 1957), 20.

53. Hinfelaar, Respectable and Responsible Women, 14.
54. Larsson, “Conversion to Greater Freedom,” 86.
56. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Sister Mary Stella, CSP, She Won’t Say No, 110.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
63. Sister Mary Stella, CSP, She Won’t Say No, 109.
64. Ibid., 113.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 114.
68. Ibid., 113.
70. Martin, Catholic Women of Congo-Brazzaville, 108.
71. Smythe, Fipa Families, 94.
73. Sister Mary Stella, CSP, She Won’t Say No, 111.
74. The CMM is a small, relatively closed community. To my knowledge, no documents that record women’s experiences exist from the order’s early years, nor do interviews. I have had to rely on interviews conducted in 2008 and 2013, many with elderly informants who joined the order in the 1950s, to contextualize and give meaning to much of the information that I gathered from British-authored documents and from diaries and logbooks.
76. Smythe, Fipa Families, 95.
77. Sister Martha, CMM, interview with the author, June 2012, Dar es Salaam. Original in
82. Sister Mary Stella, CSP, She Won’t Say No, 114.
84. Ibid., 39.
85. Ibid.
86. Moss, “And the Bones Come Together,” 108.
88. Several of the masista with whom I spoke wished to remain anonymous, citing a recent scuffle with the Mother House as the reason. Rather than assign pseudonyms, I have kept them entirely anonymous. Anonymous CMM, interview with the author, June 2012. Original in Swahili.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
91. Sister Magdelene, CSP, interview with the author, July 2006, Masasi, Tanzania.
94. CSP Sisters, group interview with the author, 20 April 2008, Magila, Tanzania.
96. Burke, These Catholic Sisters Are All Mamas, 263.
97. CSP Sisters, group interview with the author, 20 April 2008, Magila, Tanzania.
98. Ibid.
100. Sister Angela CMM, interview with the author, June 2012. Original in Swahili.
101. Letter of Ruby, CSP, 29 April 1975, Msalabani, CMM box, Library of Saint Mark’s Anglican Theological College, Dar es Salaam [LSMATC].
1. Of course, this view was later tempered by Nyerere and TANU’s insistence that Tanganyika was “primarily African,” rather than Asian or European. James Brennan, *Taifa: Making Nation and Race in Urban Tanzania* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), 155–56. For more on the politics of this debate, see especially chapter 4.

2. Because of the intimate nature of this story, I have used pseudonyms and changed immediately identifying details. In all cases, I have tried to remain faithful to the original nature of the names and have drawn replacements from those commonly used in the Universities’ Mission to Central African communities during the period. Attempts to contact Rose and her family were futile. G. Furahani, “Curriculum Vitae,” 1965, Personal Papers of Gideon Furahani [PPGF], Library of Saint Mark’s Anglican Theological College, Dar es Salaam [LSMATC]. Original in English.

3. Letter from G. Furahani, 1 January 1962, Korogwe, PPGF, LSMATC. Original in English.


5. Scholars’ attempts to reconstruct the history of the early postcolonial period from this perspective are well underway. The search for how Africans understood and engaged...
with politics and with the idea of the “nation” in the course of their everyday lives has turned scholarly attention toward the family. This is particularly true in Tanzanian historiography, given the emphasis in the postcolonial era on national familyhood or *ujamaa*. Jim Giblin, for example, has argued that rather than seeing their lives as intimately tied to “colonialism, nationalism, or the transition from colonial to postcolonial rule,” rural Tanzanians “consciously situate[d] family in relationship to state authority . . . even while standing separate from it.” This “standing separate from” the state and politics of national imagination gave “excluded” citizens “room to formulate their own ideas of moral expectation and responsibility, and to act upon them freely.”


10. At most colonial-era boarding schools, for example, rules governing students’ communication with outsiders were strict, and pupils could generally expect school officials to read their letters. Thomas, “Schoolgirl Pregnancies,” 191.
11. Lucy Mair, *African Marriage and Social Change* (London: Frank Cass, 1969), 1; Thomas, “Schoolgirl Pregnancies,” 190. When they were writing, Rose and Gideon were likely aware that their letters would be read only piecemeal by a headmistress or letter carrier, be it a postal worker, family member, or friend. After Gideon’s death, his family donated the letters as part of his personal papers to the Anglican Church of Tanzania.


15. Furahani, “Curriculum Vitae.”


17. Letter from R. Limo, 9 December 1962, Muheza, PPGF, LSMATC. Original in English.


19. Letter from R. Limo, 10 January 1963, Mwapwa, PPGF, LSMATC. Original in English.


22. Letter from R. Limo, 21 September 1963, Mwapwa, PPGF, LSMATC.


41. Letter from R. Limo, 1 June 1964, Moshi, PPGF, LSMATC. Original in English.
42. Letter from R. Limo, 30 September 1964, Mpwapwa, PPGF, LSMATC. Translated from Kiswahili.
43. Letter from R. Limo, 29 August 1964, Mpwapwa, PPGF, LSMATC. Original in English.
44. Letter from G. Furahani, 22 October 1964, New Hall, PPGF, LSMATC. As with his other handwritten notes, this appears to be a rough draft with strike-throughs in the original. Original in English.
45. Letter from R. Limo, 17 July 1965, Magila, PPGF, LSMATC. Translated from Kiswahili.
47. Letter from R. Limo, 27 October 1965, Muheza, PPGF, LSMATC. Translated from Kiswahili.
49. Letter from R. Limo, 28 March 1968, Korogwe, PPGF, LSMATC. Translated from Kiswahili.
50. Letter from R. Limo, February 1968, Muheza, PPGF, LSMATC.
51. Letter from J. Rwechungura, Regional Education Officer, Tanga Region, 12 February 1968, PF9 UTSK1077, ref. no. 579/UTS/K 1077/20, in Personnel File of Miss R. Limo [PFRL], PPGF, LSMATC. Original in English.
52. Letter from O. Walter, 31 April 1968, Bunbuli Hospital, Lutheran Medical Centre, PFRL, PPGF, LSMATC. For a discussion of anxiety and mental illness in letters, see Shula Marks, *Not Either an Experimental Doll: The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women*


54. Letter from R. Limo, location and date unspecified (from context, likely 1966), PPGF, LSMATC.

55. Letter from G. Furahani, 14 August 1968, PPGF, LSMATC.


57. Letter from G. Furahani, 11 August 1968, Nyala, PPGF, LSMATC. Translated from Kiswahili.

58. Letter from R. Limo, 1 August 1968, Korogwe, PPGF, LSMATC. Translated from Kiswahili.

59. Colonial officials, African men, and families were often concerned not just about the potentially declining morals of urban, mobile, or educated women, but also that their new roles and mobility would take them out of the home and render them incapable of fulfilling “proper” duties. For more on this, see Lynn M. Thomas, Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction, and the State in Kenya (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Susan Geiger, TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955–1965 (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997).

60. Letter from G. Furahani, 11 August 1968, Nyala, PPGF, LSMATC. Translated from Kiswahili.

61. Letter from G. Furahani, 14 August 1968, PPGF, LSMATC. Original in English; parenthetical comment in original.


63. Thomas, Politics of the Womb, 5.

64. Letter from G. Furahani, 21 March 1968, PPGF, LSMATC. Translated from Kiswahili.

65. Ivaska, Cultured States, 5.

EPILOGUE

1. Olivia Luke Dunia, interview with the author, 28 April 2008, Maramba, Tanzania. I have used pseudonyms at the request of the “Dunias.”

2. Ibid.

6. Ibid., 4.
11. Ibid., 200.

**A NOTE ON SOURCES**

6. I have used a pseudonym here to respect my interlocutor’s identity.