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"*Waliletwa na kengele ya kanisa*!": Discourses of Slave Emancipation and Conversion at Ndala Catholic Mission in Western Tanzania, 1896-1913

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Abstract
Religious discourse has recently attracted attention of anthropologists in Tanzania looking at Christian-Muslim relations and Islamic revivalism within specific social and political contexts. This paper contributes to the existing knowledge of religious discourse in Tanzania by looking at the discourses of slave emancipation and conversion at Ndala within the historical context, that is, from 1896 to 1913. The paper relies on the missionary reports in the diary of Ndala Catholic Mission, secondary sources, and interviews collected at Ndala with descendants of former slaves. The paper employs Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a framework to examine vocabularies, expressions, the social contexts and effects of the discourses of men and women about slavery, emancipation, and conversion at Ndala. The paper also relies on Ruth Wodak's discourse historical method to analyse the social processes, in historical context, of slave emancipation and conversion reported in the diary of Ndala, written sources, and the interviews of descendants of former slaves.

Introduction

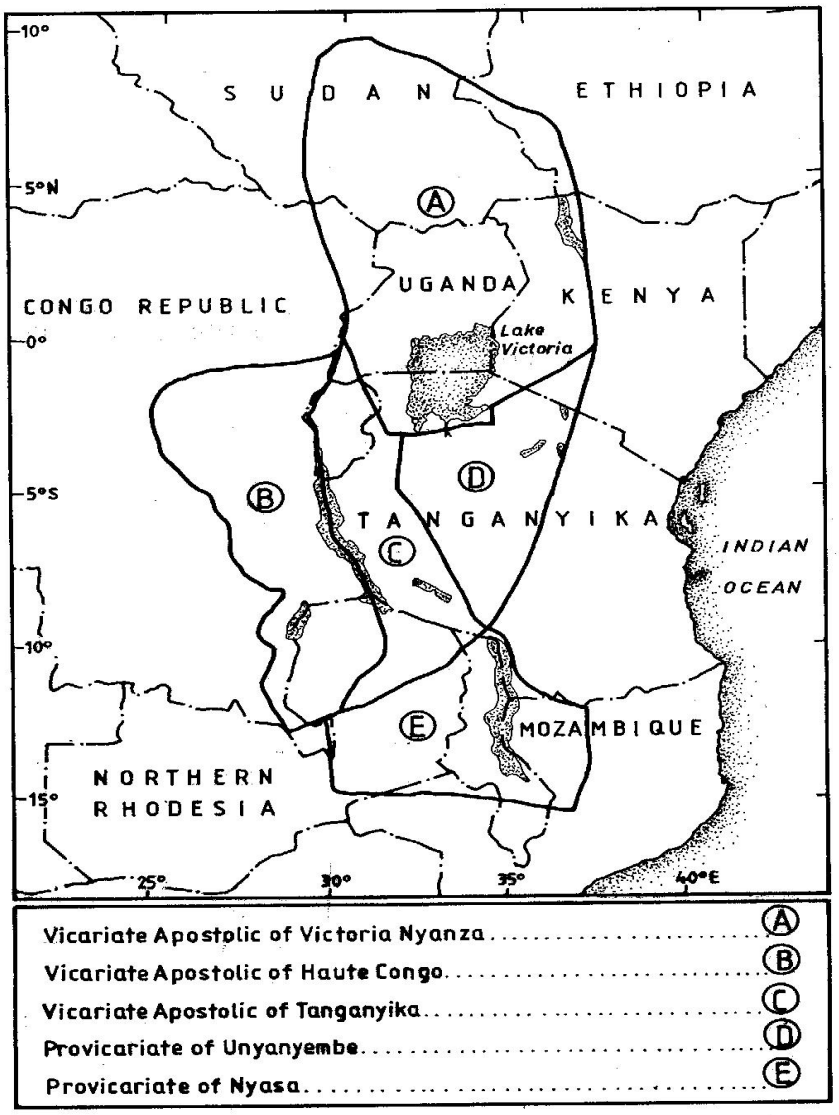
For more than two decades of the production of knowledge, discourse analysis has become an area of inquiry in the social sciences attracting scholarly attention with varying topics. It is no wonder to find that studies about critical discourse analysis (CDA) have become a centre of concern in sociology, rhetoric, literary studies, sociolinguistics, anthropology, and philosophy. In studying the social use of language, scholars have put efforts to analyse written and spoken texts to show how they are maintained and reproduced within specific social, historical, and political contexts (Fairclough, 1993: 135; Isabela &Norman Fairclough, 2012: 78, 82; Reisigl, 2013; Wodak, 2013). With the growth of the field, religion has recently attracted anthropologists in East Africa to analyse discourses and consequent social implications in the society. Christian-Muslim relations, Islamic revivalism, and social differentiation between Muslims and Christians, remain as far as it can be ascertained among the aspects of religion which have attracted attention of anthropologists in Tanzania (Ndaluka, 2012, 2014; Ndaluka, Nyanto, & Wijsen, 2014).

Notwithstanding the scholarly attention paid to studies of discourse analysis in Tanzania, studies on religion and slavery still present a more formidable challenge to local historians. What accounts for the lack of scholarly interest is the dominance of nationalist and materialist paradigms that were preoccupied with the discovery of "African initiatives" in economy and politics (Ranger, 1969; Kimambo, 1969; Katoke, 1973; Feierman, 1974). Nationalist and materialist historians left aside studies on slavery, interactions across the Indian Ocean, and religion as areas of inquiry because they were seen, in Abdul Sheriff's view, "as the source of distortion" (Sheriff, 2010: 24). Overall, nationalist historians found the abolition of slavery less attractive because it partly demonstrated the triumph of colonialism over slavery and slave trade and diverted from the national paradigm of liberation from colonial rule and nation building. For religion, a few studies made initiatives to reinvigorate the historical study of religion in East Africa, but until recently ideas on slavery, emancipation, and conversion have attracted relatively little scholarly attention of Tanzanian historians (Ranger and Kimambo, 1972; Spear & Kimambo, 1999). The existing literature on slavery, on the other hand, concentrated on the efforts made by missionaries and the German colonial state in ending slavery in German East Africa (Deutsch, 1998, 2006, 2007; Koponen, 1994; Iliffe, 1979; Nolan, 1977, 1978; Kollman, 2005; Shorter, 2006).

This paper, therefore, brings in the discourses of slave emancipation and conversion at Ndala Catholic Mission in Western Tanzania within a historical contextbetween 1896 and 1913. The paper relies on the diary of Ndala mission from 1896 to 1913, a year before the eruption of the First World War which, for almost four years, dominated missionary reports at Ndala leaving aside slavery, emancipation, and conversion. Between 1896 and 1913, missionaries reported, among other things, slaves emancipated by missionaries, the German colonial state, and individual initiatives. Cases of slave emancipation from the diary are supplemented by interviews collected at Ndala with descendants of former slaves who moved to Ndala and formed the earliest Christian community in the area. The paper deploys Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a framework for examining texts, that is, the linguistic analysis of vocabularies and expressions (Fairclough, 1993; Isabela &Fairclough, 2012). The paper also analyses the social use of language centring on the social contexts and effects of the discourses of men and women on slavery, emancipation, and conversion at Ndala (Isabela & Fairclough, 2012). By concentrating on the specific historical context, the paper employs Wodak's discourse historical method to analyse the social processes of slave emancipation and conversion at Ndala and Western Tanzania in general. The discourse-historical approach, writes Wodak, "attempts to integrate much available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive events are embedded" (Sheyholislam, 2001: 5).

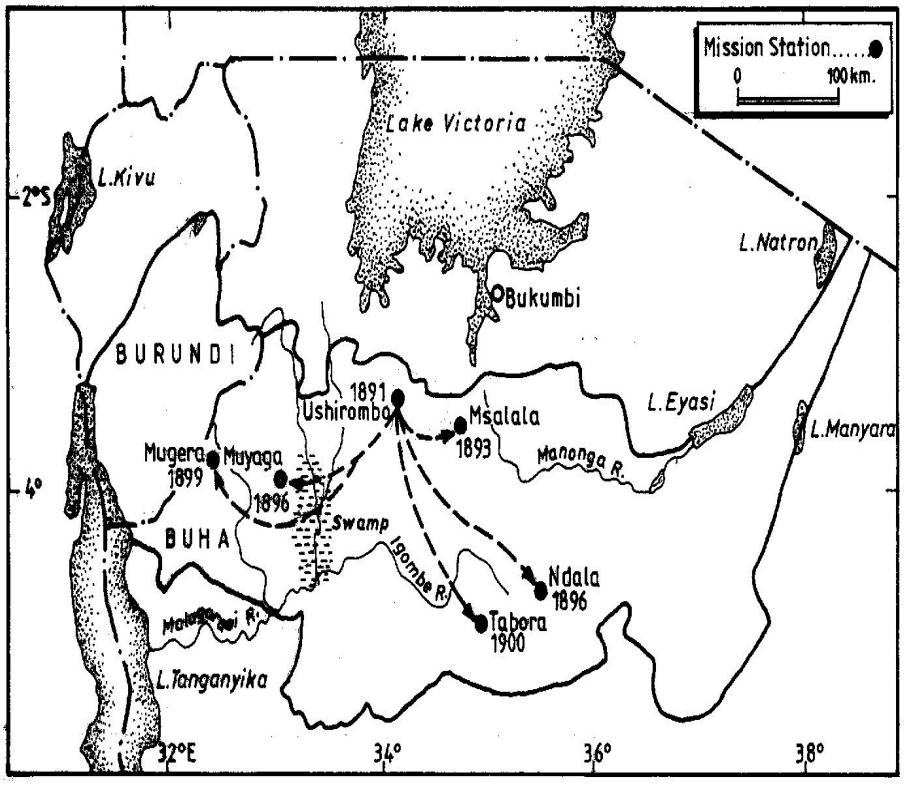
Ndala mission provides an ideal place for analysing the discourses of slave emancipation and conversion for two reasons. It was one of the earliest mission stations to be established by the missionaries of Africa (commonly called the White Fathers) and missionaries of our Lady of Africa (White Sisters) in the present Tabora

administrative region. Other mission stations included Kipalapala, Tabora, and Ushirombo (Nolan, 1977: 197; Mihayo, 1978: 17). More importantly, the first-generation Christians of Ndala were slaves from different parts of the East African interior. They came from Zaïre/DRC, Uganda, Burundi, Sukumaland, Usumbwa, and Iramba. Other slaves escaped the brutality of African chiefs from Uyui, Puge, and Uhemeli chiefdoms because they were close to the mission station (Abrahams, 1967; Nolan, 1977: 197; Ndala Diary, 8/1/1896, 20/1/1896). In due course, the first generationChristians, that is, former slaves and their descendants who became teachers and catechists, helped build African Christianity by spreading the faith in villages where the influence of the White Fathers and White Sisters at Ndala was almost negligible. These reasons, together with the proximity of the mission to the headquarters of African chiefdoms, make Ndala mission an ideal place to study the discourses of slavery, emancipation, and conversion in Western Tanzania.



Source: Modified from H. Hinfelaar, *Footsteps on the Sands of Time: A Life of Bishop Jan van Sambeek*, 2007:16.First published in *Missions d'Alger*, n° 85, January 1891.

Map 1: Mission Territories of the White Fathers in Central Africa, 1886-1900s



Source: F. van Vlijmen, *Toka Yerusalemu hadi Tabora*, Unpublished Manuscript, 1990:65. [Deposited in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Tabora]

Map 2: Earliest Mission Stations in the Vicariate Apostolic of Unyanyembe c.1900

Missionaries, State, and Slave Emancipation at Ndala, 1896-1913

The White Fathers opened Ndala in 1896 as the third mission station in the vicariate apostolic of Unyanyembe. Other earlier stations included Ushirombo, which was opened in 1891, and Msalala-Ngaya opened in 1893 (Nolan, 1977: 197; Mihayo, 1978: 17). Missionaries chose the area of Ndala (formerly called Uhemeli) following Chief Matolu's refusal to grant the White Fathers a site for a mission station at Kampala near Ndala. As an alternative to the failed attempt, the White Fathers asked Queen Ntabo to let them open a mission station at Ndala in her chiefdom (Nolan, 1977: 197; Ndala Diary, 8/1/1896, 20/1/1896). Following the persistent troubles from Chief Isike of Unyanyembe, and Swahili traders, the White Fathers withdrew from

Kipalapala and Tabora in the 1890s, hence leaving Ndala the only station in the vicariate of Unyanyembe (Nolan, 1977: 25).

The diary of Ndala reports a few instances of missionaries redeeming slaves by compensating the masters with the required amount of money. For instance, the diarist reports about Father Superior who redeemed a woman, Miso, for an average of twenty rupees (German cash) from her master (Ndala Diary, 29/5/1908). However, such cases are few in comparison to cases of individual men, women, and children who went to the mission to seek refuge and escape the horrors of slavery and other problems. We learn from the diary of Ndala that two men—one from Uyui and the other from Ndala—and one woman from Unyanyembe, ran to the mission to free themselves from the hands of slave masters (Ndala Diary, 30/5/1896, 2/3/1898, 31/3/1898). Again, three women were reported to have sought protection from the mission without the consent of their masters. But a group of armed *waungwana*—free gentle men—went to the mission to claim the three runaway women and took them to explain their conduct before German authority in Tabora because their masters worked in the military station as soldiers (Ndala Diary, 8/4/1897, 24/1/1898; Moyd, 2014). In November 1897, four children went to the mission for the fear of being sold into slavery. The following day, the diarist reports about three women and one child taking refuge in the mission. Although reasons for seeking refuge at the mission were not stated, the refugeesgenerally wanted to be free from the horrors of slavery (Ndala Diary, 16-17/11/1897).

The German colonial state forbade its officers from owning slaves and offered certificates of freedom (*freibriefe*) to slaves—men, women, and children—who desired to become free. German officers also handed over to the mission slaves whom they had seized from their masters (Deutsch, 2006: 62, 183; 1998: 111; 2007: 76; Iliffe, 1979: 131-132). Children whom the officers handed to the mission joined others in the orphanage centre. Adult men and women also joined other runaway slaves at the mission to form the Christian community at Ndala (Ndala Diary, 1/12/1897, 2/12/1897, 8/12/1897).

We also learn from the diary of Ndala that the desire of chiefs to have more slaves and concubines drove men and women to the mission to seek protection. One woman, Mero (Khia) of Ndala, complained to the mission that the *mtemi* of Uyui took her son. Since missionaries could not interfere in the affairs of the chief of Uyui, they advised the woman to take the matter to the German authoritiesat Tabora (Ndala Diary, 1/1/1898). Apart from chiefs, the desire for ordinary men to have more concubines drove, in some cases, women to the mission because they could no longer be cared for. An instance of this was reported in 1905 about a woman called Mpalala from Urunde. Her husband took a second woman as his concubine and relocated to Ushirombo. Alone and abandoned at Urunde, Mpalala went to Ndala mission and asked missionaries to join the community (Ndala Diary, 13/7/1905).

Evidence from missionary records also reveals that slaves and orphans at Ndala came from Usumbwa, Urunde, Uyui and Unyanyembe, and other parts of the East African interior (Ndala Diary, 30/5/1896, 2/3/1898, 31/3/1898; Ceillier &Richard, 2012: 156-160). Adrian Hastings shows how the White Fathers of

Ushirombo, who later moved to Ndala and Tabora, made annual shopping expeditions to the slave market at Ujiji along the shores of Lake Tanganyika. They bought and emancipated children who were then Christianised as part of the process of socialisation in the mission's villages. Others who joined the mission villages included non-Christian adults, who joined the community simply for protection (Hastings, 1996: 213). For the White Fathers and White Sisters, Christian villages served as places where converts and runaway slaves stayed. For Christians, these villages functioned as more than places for staying as men and women, who finally left the mission villages, on their own volition, carried with themthe cultural and religious ethos they had acquired beyond the mission stations (Hastings, 1996: 215).

We also learn from the diary that individual slaves (especially women, boys and girls) made attempts to free themselves from their respective masters. Some ran away and sought protection at the mission stations whereas others negotiated the terms of their freedom with their masters. For instance, the diary of Ndala mission provides an account of two slaves who sought refuge from the harsh treatments of their masters. After thorough negotiations with the slaves, the White Sisters incorporated them into their community (Ndala Diary, 9/2/1896). However, it was not easy for the slaves to ransom themselves from their masters. Obtaining the certificate of freedom (*cheti)* from the government office at Tabora presented a more formidable challenge to individual slaves who wished to free themselves from their masters. Very often, masters did not consent to their slave buying freedom nor did the masters accompany their slaves to Tabora to obtain certificate of freedom. For instance, Lupande, a slave of Mwana Ndalo and his wife, six attempts—walking from Ndala to Tabora—to ransom themselves but the efforts came to a grinding halt as Lupande's master never showed up at Tabora. The diarist lamentsabout Lupande's quest for freedom thusly: "[I]t is not easy for a slave to ransom himself in this country!" (Ndala Diary, 2/1/1913).

Discourse as a Social Practice in Historical Context: Missionaries and Slave emancipation in Western Tanzania

Insecurity, conflicts, and servitude dominated the social world of Unyamwezi before the arrival of missionaries. Chiefs such as Mirambo and Nyungu ya Mawe, having accumulated wealth from the caravan trade, imported firearms from the coast and raided villages and neighbouring chiefdoms from which they took men, women, and children as captives(Shorter, 1968: 241; Kabeya, 1971).At the same time, hunger and destitution increased food insecurity in societies and prompted some men and women, on their own volition, to offer themselves as slaves to other families in return for food and protection (Giblin, 1986; 53). Pawnship also subjected men, women and children to domestic servitude when members failed to pay their debts off, hence another source of enslavement as people lived entirely dependent on their masters (cf. Feierman, 1990: 55; Giblin, 1986: 53, 1996: 134). Because this region witnessed intensive slave trading in the late nineteenth century, it attracted Catholic and Protestant missionaries seeking to abolish slavery.

Missionaries reported, on several occasions, about redeemed slaves who later converted to Christianity. The diaries of the White Fathers at Ndala and several other mission stations in Western Tanzania report on the achievements of missionaries—putting missionaries at the centre of the stories of slave emancipation—in cases involving slave ransoming. Driven by the ideas of "civilisation", "Christianity", and "commerce", the missionaries in the diaries treat slave emancipation as a triumph of the missionary enterprise. The triad of Christianity, commerce, and civilisation gained momentum in the second half of the nineteenth century due to the influence of the debate about civilisation and improvement of the conditions of non-European peoples. In consequence, Christianity and commerce were considered inseparable in fostering civilisationas the spread of Christianity was associated with the economic motives of imperialism (Porter, 1985: 597; Stanley, 2003: 58-84).

To justify slave emancipation as a triumph of the missionary enterprise, missionaries put themselves at the centre of the narrative of slave emancipation and conversion. In 1898,Fr. Van der Burgt took to the White Sisters' convent at Ushirombo fifteen women and girls reporting that [the slaves] were "small, weak, and poor young women" (MSOLA Diary, 1898: 216, quoted in Ceillier & Richard, 2012: 157). Similarly, at Ndala, missionaries held a negative portrayal of slaves. They often marked slaves who took refuge at the mission as "poor", "unfortunate" and "victims" (Ndala Diary, April 1897). With imperial mindset and ideas of civilisation, officials of the German colonial state also presented to Ndala mission slaves whom they had taken from their masters. By presenting slaves, missionaries praised officials, in their report, that they had "called [slaves] back to health" to taste "European civilization" that is Christianity, education, health, and many more benefits slaves would receive by converting into the new religion (Ndala Diary, June, 1897, January 1898).

Missionaries reported in the diary about slaves who took refuge in the mission to free themselves from the harsh treatments of their masters. In 1896, the diarist reports about two slaves who took refuge in the mission on the assumption that the master "would have mistreated them" (Ndala Diary, February 9, 1896). Unhappy marriages and harsh treatments of men also drove women to take refuge at Ndala mission. In the diary, we learn that divorce was one of the reported cases that contributed to women seeking refuge at the mission. Indeed, the mission offered a breathing space to women who ran away to free themselves from family problems. Missionaries also pejoratively marked women who took refuge to the mission from unhappy marriages as "poor" and "unfortunate" (Ndala Diary, February, 1898).

Discourse as a Linguistic Practice: views from descendants of former slaves

Several informants recalled experiences of slavery and conversion to Christianity. Their feelings, words, and expressions revealed their memories of slavery, emancipation, and conversion in Western Tanzania in general and Ndala mission in particular. Key words about slavery from the descendants of former slaves included "torture", "discrimination", "harsh treatments", and "unhappy marriages" which drove most of slaves (men and women) from their masters to the mission. Warraids

were common throughout the nineteenth century Unyamwezi. They were sources of slavery besides trade and debt bondage as chiefs raided villages to take men, women, and children as war captives. Chiefs such as Mirambo of Uyowa, Suwarora of Uyui, and Nyungu ya Mawe of Ukimbu obtained slaves through warfare and raiding expeditions (Speke, 1863: 119; Shorter, 1968: 241; Kabeya, 1971). The ruthless nature of the chiefs in waging wars, executing raiding expeditions, and treating war captives and slaves, dominated the conversation on slavery at Ndala and Unyamwezi. For instance, Paulina expressed her feelings about her uncle who was captured as a slave to work for the chief of Ukamba. She also recalled about chiefs of Uyui and their raiding expeditions that "watemi walikuwa wabaya sana" "walikuwa wanavamia usiku wanawateka wavulana na wasichana", "mjomba aliteswa kama mnyama" ["chiefs were bad people", "they raided at night taking men and women as slaves", "my uncle was mistreated like an animal"] (Paulina Mihayo, 7/1/ 2016).

The polygamous nature of chiefs in Unyamwezi often resulted in unhappy marriages and discomforts in the family of chiefs for some women taken as slaves (wives and concubines). Dissatisfied with concubinage and unequal treatments among the wives of chiefs, some women ran to Ndala mission to seek protection in addition to joining men and women who had also found the mission a refuge from the horrors of slavery and other problems. Paulina, explaining her mother's flight from the chief of Uyui at Isikizya, said, "Mtemi [wa Uyui] alikuwa mkali sana!", "alikuwa na wake wengi" "mama alitoroka usiku kutoka Isikizya hadi Ndala kwa wamisionari" ["the chief (of Uyui) was very short-tempered", "he had many wives", "my mother ran away at night from Isikizya to Ndala mission"] (Paulina Mihayo, 7/1/2016). From Paulina's testimony, we learn that some run-away slave women sought protection at the mission stations because of unhappy marriages and brutal treatments at the hands of their masters and the wives of chiefs. Like other run-away slaves, slave women escaped to the mission stations because they had high hopes of not only meeting their basic needs but also of getting some refuge from slavery, unhappy marriages, and brutal treatments.

Ndala mission offered a space for runaway slaves and many free men and women to join the settlement. They also converted to Christianity to become the first-generation Christians at Ndala. Some of the former slaves and some of their sons and daughters worked as teachers and catechists who spread the Christian faith to villages beyond the mission boundaries. Inquiring about the driving motives for runaway slaves and free men and women to relocate to the mission, Maria Nyamizi Kalenga, one of the descendants of a runaway slave, said "Wengi walivutiwa na vitu pamoja na amani", "Waliletwa na kengele ya kanisa!" ["Most of them were attracted by missionaries' material possessions and peace", "The bell of the church attracted brought many to the mission"]. Such testimonies attest to the dominance of conflicts, insecurity and turbulence in the nineteenth-century Unyamwezi in which men and women could be subjected to slavery (Maria Kalenga, 6/9/2016**).**They also expose dependence of runaway slaves, orphans, and free men and women who found missions to be sanctuaries where they could access basic needs, a situation that created a sense of dependency and notions of power. Such claim echoes Claude

Ceillier and François Richard's observation that missions found themselves part of a "complex network of bonds of power and dependence" (Ceillier &Richard, 2012: 129).

Social effects of Slave Emancipation and Conversion at Ndala

One of the social effects of slave emancipation and conversion at Ndala was an extension of networks of friendships and support in the mission village (*makambi*). Men and women lived separately in the mission compounds. Nonetheless, life in a mission village provided a sense of belonging to former slaves and their families as they learnt together to pray, read, and write. They also made bricks for the church of Ndala and worked together on the fields. In due course, the mission provided a space for men and women to bury the memories of slavery, hunger, concubinage, and unhappy marriages as they felt a sense of togetherness, interacted, and supported each other in their daily undertakings. Informants expressed their views on life at Ndala mission and the role of the church in bringing together former slaves and free men and women, saying, "walijiona wako pamoja" "walikuwa wanasaidiana" "walijiona ndugu" "Roma imefufua Ndala" ["they felt a sense of belonging", "they supported each other", "they had a sense of family", "the Catholic Church has enlightened Ndala"] **(**interview, Maria Kalenga, 6/9/2016, Eliasi Matoja, 9/9/2016).

Weekly traditional dances (*ngoma)*performed by former slaves from one ethnic group and some originating from one area played a crucial role in helping to banish the memories of slavery in addition to extending the networks of friendships and support for married and unmarried men at Ndala. Men, women, and children, assembled every weekend at the mission and members of the Bembe, Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Rundi, and Ha community—living at the mission *makambi*—could play before the entire community their dances to remind members of the mission community about the cultures of their ancestral lands (Maria Kalenga, 6/9/2016, Claude Makungwi, 8/9/2016, Eliasi Matoja, 9/9/2016, Paulina Mihayo, 7/1/2016). Traditional dances created a new space for negotiating daily relationships and socialisation for married and unmarried men, women, and youths who could meet not only for entertainment but also for social interaction, hence able to meet new and old friends. Some of the bonds never lasted and could easily fade away but a considerable number of bonds grew stronger and even resulted in marriage. Maria Kalenga recalled that her maternal mother, Antonia, was married to a former slave, Adofu Nyamiti, from Congo. Likewise, her Father, Leo Kalenga from Congo, married her mother, Maria Sitta, from Iramba in Singida. The marriage ceremony of Leo Kalenga and Maria Sitta has been recorded in the diary of Ndala mission in 1913 (Maria Kalenga, 6/9/2016; Ndala Diary, 20/4/1913).

Marriages in the mission village community laid the foundation for the growth of Christianity at Ndala and surrounding areas. After marriage, the new couple were not allowed to live in the mission compound and found a plot of land near the mission to build themselves a house and raise Christian families. They carried the cultural and religious ethos of the mission compounds to the villages in which they settled and maintained strong ties with the mission by attending Church

services. They also took children to the mission for instruction and the Sunday masses and participated in several other activities that demanded parental presence in the mission. Parents also ensured that their children were baptised and nurtured in accordance with their acquired faith (Maria Kalenga, 6/9/2016; Hastings, 1996: 215). The continuation of the ties between parents (former slaves), who lived in the mission's walled compounds, and missionaries, extended parental care beyond households as missionaries also worked as parents responsible for children's behaviour and upbringing in religion classes, the confessional, and meetings (Smythe, 2005: 114).

The extension of the culture of the mission village—of working, praying, assisting one another—to areas near the missions strengthened the growth of African Christianity at Ndala village and beyond. Sons and daughters of former slaves who attended mission school at Ndala became attracted to work in the government and the mission as teachers, catechists, nurses, and carpenters. In addition, they generally remained committed to the services of the Church at the mission. Others joined seminaries and religious schools to become priests and nuns. Former slaves such as Leo Kalenga, Teodori Ndulu, and Gerado Nkunde worked as catechists at Ndala, Chapela and Iweduma villages because they could read and write and more significantly they knew the rudiments of the Bible they had learnt while attending religious instruction at Ndala (Maria Kalenga, 7/1/2016). One of the sons of Teodori Ndulu, Lonjini Kimwaga, attended the mission school and later became a teacher. Gerado Nkunde's two children, out of the eight he had, became priests: Father John Kabeya, the author the book, *Mtemi Mirambo*, and Fr. Ambrose Mhaliga, one of the first-generation African priests, who composed Nyamwezi songs for use in the liturgy. His songs marked an important departure from Latin songs as they appealed to the Nyamwezi and their culture. A considerable number of females of former slaves became nuns. For instance, Sr. Maria Nselema, a daughter of Terezia Dotto and Jeronimo Kashindye, attended mission school and became one of the first-generation sisters of the Society of the Daughters of Mary (Theodori Kulinduka, Gaspali Bundala, and Mikaeli Katabi, 08/9/2016, Theodori Kulinduka, 7/1/2016, Felista Lonjini Namna, 6/9/2016, Felista Lonjini, 6/9/2016, Kabeya, 1971).

As communities grew beyond the mission, several former slaves adopted Nyamwezi names and the new society and cultures. Although many former slaves changed their names completely others adopted Nyamwezi names and retained ancestral names. For instance, Adofu, a former slave from Zaïre adopted the Nyamwezi name, Nyamiti. Other Nyamwezi names from the certificates of freedom—*friebriefe*—assigned to slaves from Ubembe in Congo/DRC, Nyamizi Mbembe and Njamisi [Nyamizi] demonstrate that they had adopted a Nyamwezi name 'Nyamisi' as part of their desire to be integrated into the cultures of communities at Ndala (AAT 526. 503, 2/12/1913, *freibreife* Nr.732, 7/5/1912, Nr.147, 29/10, 1897). The Nyamwezi names 'Nyamizi' and 'Nyamiti' are derived from plant roots (*muzi*, *mizi*) or *muti*, *miti* (tree, trees) under the belief that roots and other parts of plants have healing power. Such names are assigned to children whose mother consults the medicine-person for fertility medicine when conceiving becomes

elusive or simply delayed. The medicine facilitates conceiving a child as it is believed to remove, noted Shonenberger, "a psychic complex of infertility" (Shonenberger, 1995: 111-112).

Notwithstanding the adoption of Nyamwezi and Christian names and cultures, some former slaves and their sons and daughters maintained their ancestral names. Consequently, and in most cases, the names of former slaves and their sons and daughters reflected triple heritages: Christian, ancestral, and Nyamwezi. Maria Nyamizi Leo Kalenga, a daughter of a former slave from DRC who moved to Ndala mission, represents several sons and daughters of former slaves who, besides being converted to Christianity, adopted a Nyamwezi name to for assimilation into the Nyamwezi society and culture. She also retained her father's names to demonstrate her triple heritages: her father's heritage, Christian, and Nyamwezi heritages in which she was brought up (Maria Nyamizi Kalenga, 7/1/2016, 6/9/2016).

There was also the social effect, which was a creation of social identity of former slaves at Ndala mission and its outlining areas. The fact that the Christian community of Ndala was largely established by former slaves and free-men and women from other parts in Western Tanzania remained an identity to surviving descendants of former slaves. A considerable number of runaway slaves sought protection at the mission, hence making the village of Ndala as one of the earliest settlements whose first-generation Christians were runaway slaves. Marriage ceremonies were among the avenues to show the identity of former slaves where people would—during the ceremony—joyously refer to their areas of origin. Such a practice continued for decades at Ndala as Maria Kalenga explained: "Hadi sasa wakati wa ndoa wakipiga vigelegele wanataja Kongo, Manyema, Burundi, Rwanda, na Buha" ["Up to now, when people joyously ululate during the marriage ceremony, they mention Congo/DRC, Manyema, Burundi, Rwanda, and Buha"] (Maria Nyamizi Kalenga 6/9/2016). In other words, they have not easily forgotten their origin and multiple cultural influences.

Conclusion

Slave emancipation and conversion in Western Tanzania was complex process whose narrative could not sufficiently be filled in by missionary records. Driven by the dichotomy of civilisation—Christianity and commerce—missionaries' diaries and a few works offered a one-sided view of the story often presenting emancipation as a triumph of missionary and colonial state enterprises. Missionaries addressed slaves as weak, poor, and unfortunate and that their flight to the mission station brought them to light, to be specific, to European civilisation. Consequently, the discourses and social effects of slave emancipation and conversion have, for several decades, remained muted in the missionary records and scholarship about slavery and conversion in East Africa. Scholars, writing about slave emancipation and conversion, maintained the viewpoint, regarding slave emancipation as a triumph of the missionary enterprise.

The increasing interest among anthropologists in studying religious discourse has offered new insights into the understanding of other issues including

slave emancipation beyond missionary records. As a contribution to the field, the study has supplemented missionary records with the memories of the descendants of former slaves. Using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Wodak's discourse historical method, the study has added to the missionary records new insights into the understanding of slave emancipation and conversion. One of the social effects of slave emancipation and conversion at Ndala was an extension of network of friendships and support in the mission village. Weekly traditional dances played a crucial role in overcoming the trauma of the horrors of slavery in addition to extending networks of friendships and support for both married and unmarried men. Among youths these associations often translated into marriage. As communities grew beyond the mission parameters, several former slaves adopted Nyamwezi names as part of the integration into the new society and cultures. Former slaves, apart from adopting Nyamwezi names, also maintained some of their original names and cultures which helped them assume a unique mixed social identity of former slaves at Ndala mission and its surrounding areas.

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