

TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

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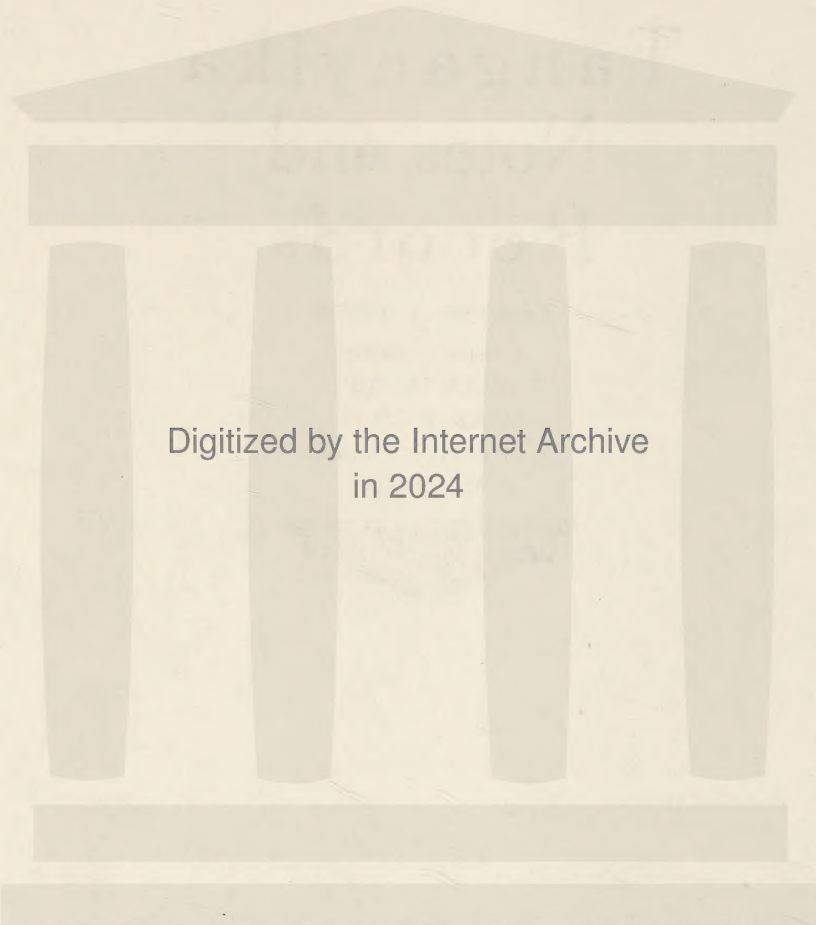
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World Literacy

By J. W. T. Allen

THAT literacy for the whole people is desirable and attainable is a belief that has only recently become current. It arose first in Western Europe in countries where there was already a large written literature in the hands of the few; and the pioneers seem to have thought far more of throwing open this wealth to the masses than they did of future works to be written. Languages which had no great written literature were swamped by the rising tide of literacy in the literary languages and many of them are disappearing or have disappeared even as spoken mediums; while English, French and German have spread far beyond their original borders, and as "second" languages for reading now cover the greater part of the world.

Furthermore in Western Europe by the time public opinion was ready for compulsory education voluntary enterprise had spread to such an extent that the work of making the people literate was already half accomplished.

The next chapter in the history of the approach to world literacy had its origin in a very different sphere of thought. Other countries began to see that they were being left behind. In Poland and Russia the move came not from the illiterate masses, but from the minority in power. Literacy was forced on the masses with speed, thoroughness and even brutality.* But these two countries had the advantages of an already written mass of literature, of a leaven of native literates throughout the country, and of a large native minority capable of recognizing literacy as a desirable possession. Yet, although the existence of this mass of literature was an immense help in spreading literacy, the aim of the leaders was no longer "to open to the people the wealth of our old literature". Power was the aim, and the purpose was to make the masses more efficient by enabling them to teach themselves through the written word how to make use of twentieth-century science and politics, and to enable them to be reached by propaganda.

Other countries joined in the drive and it is clear that in Turkey, Persia and Japan, to take obvious examples, the desire to read the old literature had little to do with it and the amount of literacy that had been spread by foreigners was very small. It was not until the native rulers became convinced of its value that real progress was made.

The Chinese, as always, struck a wholly different note. First in revolution, then in anarchy, now in war the illiterate mass demands literacy

*Before 1917, only two per cent of all the people of Yakutsk were literate; ninety-eight per cent could not read or write. Now (1942) the figures are exactly reversed.—Muratov, quoted by Wendell Willkie, *One World*.

and is achieving it by the will of the people.* The Chinese mass movement is a thing that we can admire; but it would be unwise to expect the same sort of effort from any other race any more than we should expect any other race to show the mass service and sacrifice of the Chinese building the Burma Road. I believe that the experience of China is of no value to anyone seeking methods of spreading literacy elsewhere.

Lastly we come to the countries where an illiterate mass is ruled by a literate minority of *another race*.

Seriously to consider the possibility of universal literacy in our time in such countries is new enough for many people still to consider it revolutionary, which it is, or fantastic, which it is not. Even the ruling foreign minority is not convinced, and there are many who in Africa now heartily echo the sentiments of the Reverend J. Twist, who in the 1820s said that education, of which literacy is the foundation, would give "the lower classes the absurd notion that they were on a footing with their superiors in respect of their right to mental improvement; it would be dangerous to the public peace as the projects of certain revolutionary maniacs who teach the people that the convenience of man and not the Will of God has consigned them to labour and privation" (quoted from Green: *Education for a New Society*).

The ruling races have in such countries for many years played in a half-hearted manner at spreading literacy. Missionaries almost universally assume that literacy makes a better Christian, and governments following their lead have started a few schools and produced a few literates. In every colony, as in India, there is now a literate minority, very class conscious and usually snobbishly contemptuous of the illiterate mass. The real results of the policy are to be found in blue books: 5 per cent, 1 per cent, less than 1 per cent literate.

Why this slow progress? Why this apathy on the part of the Asian and African peoples? If literacy were worth having the people would demand it; *but it is not*. In the vast majority of Asian and African languages there is no literature of practical value to an adult. The value of education is to get a Government or similar paid job. We say that we do not want to take the peasant off the land but we do want to educate him: the education that we give him is valueless to him unless he takes a clerical career. Then we are surprised that those who accept our education look for such careers, and those who do not wish for such careers see little profit in coming to school.

In East Africa this difficulty has been partially seen and a strong party advocated and still advocates that all education should be in English. The advantages are obvious. The pupil can enter immediately into possession of all our literature from Chaucer to the *Workers' Weekly*. The authorities, however, rightly I am sure, decided that a middle course was desirable. The

*The irresistible urge to shake off the past which has caused modern China in a relatively few years to change literacy from the privilege of the few to the right of the masses. Almost 100,000,000 Chinese are now literate.—Wendell Willkie, *op. cit.*

pupil whose native tongue is a Bantu language can pick up Swahili in a very short time: to teach English would require a very much longer average time spent at school. It is obviously impossible to produce books in all the vernaculars, so Swahili was artificially spread—but the books were not produced, and the pupil who leaves school literate in Swahili has almost nothing to read and the number that reverts to illiteracy is astounding.

The actual position in which the Swahili literate finds himself is so misunderstood and is, I believe, true of many other languages that it will be worth while to analyse it more carefully and to explain why I say that the adult is unable to find anything to read. Careful perusal of the Dar es Salaam Bookshop catalogue for February 1944 gives these figures: the adult does not want Readers, Primers, Song Books, School Method, Grammars, School Geography, School History, Mathematics, Dictionaries and copy books, and few readers want Scripture. After removing all these we are left with books to read:—

Sixpence or less	19 books
One shilling	22 „
One shilling and sixpence ...	5 „
Over one shilling and sixpence ...	11 „
	57 „

Of these fifty-seven books the majority are designed for children or adolescents. If a pupil has been to an even moderately equipped school he has probably already read many of them. There are also a few pamphlets and small technical books produced by Government. Each mission has a few sectarian books and pamphlets, and there are a few religious books on Islam: but the Bookshop though non-sectarian is Christian in aim and will not handle Islamic literature, so to obtain these books it is necessary to apply to the author if you happen to have heard of the book and know where to write. A really determined reader can perhaps fill a single shelf some four feet long. The average English boy of eleven has read more and yet we blame the African for "not keeping up his education". In addition there are periodicals. One monthly produced by Government, and so censored as usually to be dull, one school magazine, two independent (one weekly, one irregular) both popular but brief; and in any case the ephemeral news sheet can never take the place of the book. Some mission periodicals and other magazines of very limited appeal.

The distribution position makes matters even worse. If the purchaser lives in Dar es Salaam, Mombasa or Nairobi he can buy his book over the counter, provided that he has taken the trouble to walk into the European quarter of the town, a thing which few unsophisticated natives and very few women indeed will do without a powerful urge. If he lives elsewhere he must write and order his book if he happens to have heard of it, and add some fourpence to

one shilling to the price. Of course he does not do so. Every bookseller in Europe knows that the book sold is the book in sight.

I do not therefore believe that the sole requisite for universal literacy is a mass of village schools and a vast staff to supervise them. Before a country can be called literate it is certainly necessary that every child not mentally defective should be taught to read; but it is also necessary that sufficient literature of a type that the majority wants to read is universally available at a price that the average reader is willing to pay.

An unexpected result of the introduction of rationing in Tanga was a sudden increase in the desire for literacy. The ration book and the notices sent out by the Ration Officer may not be the highest type of literature; but for the first time a book had been placed in the hands of the people which it was in their own interest to understand. Make literacy worth having and the demand for it will follow automatically.

So far as I am aware the only Government adequately to realize that the mere ability to read and write is profitless is that of Java, where in the early thirties a great sum was devoted to the production and distribution of literature with surprising results. The sale of books was so large that the capital was recovered and the price fixed at what was expected to be cost had to be lowered. I have no access to the admirable account of the scheme published by the Java Government; but it would repay careful study before embarking on any scheme for spreading literacy in any country where there is at present no published literature.

The actual cost of such a scheme would be very small compared with many of the post-war reconstruction schemes which are being discussed. The following notes must be very incomplete as I have no means of ascertaining accurate figures.

For each language it would be necessary to select and pay a full-time committee of book selectors. This committee, which is the keystone of the scheme, should be wholly native and as widely representative as possible. It should be given absolute freedom of choice whether in original works or translations, the non-native Government only reserving to itself the right of veto. Educational works and propaganda selected by the Government should be outside the scheme and not count in the quota, which should not be less than four full sized books monthly. The committee would not, as we should, be looking for improving "pap" or good propaganda, and no pressure, however friendly, should be exerted to induce it to do so. It would make many mistakes, but if given a fair chance it would in time find the public taste.

Money would have then to be provided for fees to readers and translators, royalties to original authors, and for translating rights.

It would be wise for Government not to undertake the actual printing and publishing but to subsidize a private firm. If then the scheme became a

success all that would be required would be the reduction and ultimate withdrawal of the subsidy, leaving the country with a free press in the hands of private enterprise, without the upheaval necessary if Government eventually decided to hand over a business that it had been running itself.

Distribution, tackled sensibly, presents no serious difficulty. There are almost everywhere small shops and these would agree to carry a stock of books if given a small guaranteed profit. I have myself occasionally experimented by guaranteeing to take unsold books and have so induced one or two shops to handle books. It is an interesting point that I have never had to redeem my guarantee.

There must be a European supervisor (Director of Publications?) responsible for organization. He would help the committee to find suitable books; but he should not if possible advise it. A man should be chosen who has no religious or political axe to grind, and who is already well known to most of his committee and recognized by them as a friend. He should be given freedom to allow his new department to develop along lines that no one can foresee. Like the war-time Information Officer, much of whose machinery he would be able to take over as a going concern, the Director of Publications should be treated as a head of a department. It is of particular importance that the Publications Department should be independent of the Education Department. Although both departments are educational and both will have much to do with the production of books, the factors governing their choice will be very different. The books produced by the Education Department will be selected for their value as textbooks; but those of the Publications Department will be selected by the people for the people. Many of them will in fact be useful to the Education Department; but this should not affect the selection committee's choice. If the Director of Publications is too closely associated with the Education Department it is inevitable that he will tend to encourage the Committee to choose textbooks before literature.

Ugabire: A Feudal Custom amongst the Waha

By J. J. Tawney

THE PRACTICE of Ugabire amongst the Waha of the Kasulu District highlands is of ancient origin and a deeply inrooted part of the tribal social structure; it is the practice of obtaining personal service in exchange for a gift, and bears a distinct resemblance to the villein service practised in England in feudal days. It is true that villeiny was a form of land tenure granted in exchange for menial services, and that Ugabire requires a gift of cattle in distinction to a grant of land, but reference to the *Oxford Dictionary* shows that a villein or a serf is a person whose service is attached to the soil and transferred with it, and if the word gift is substituted for soil, there is a close parallel, as in Ugabire also the service is transferable. This, indeed, is one of the most difficult problems when dealing with Ugabire cases, as the rights involved are heritable and not extinguishable on the death of either party. The gift which secures the services of a Mgabire to a man, his heirs and successors, is invariably that of cattle—on occasions it happens that a Mgabire will say that he received a wife from his patron as the price for his services, but as in effect this merely means that the patron pays the dowry price for his Mgabire and this price is reckoned in cattle, the type of gift remains the same.

At first sight, it appears that the custom is objectionable in that it constitutes a relic of slavery, and the newcomer to Buha may not care to hear frequent references in ordinary conversation or in court cases to "My *Muha*" or "My Man" as he feels that there may be in existence a relationship that should long ago have ceased to exist under the present regime. In fact, there is little objectionable about Ugabire except the involved rights of succession that sometimes arise and the possibility that the relationship is carried on from generation to generation when it might more fairly be allowed to lapse. The initial step in becoming a Mgabire comes from the would-be Mgabire himself, and the first phase is for a man of small means to approach one of greater affluence and ask if he is willing to give him cattle in exchange for his services. If agreement is reached, the cattle are handed over—there is no fixed rate, but the amount does not exceed five and is commonly one—and the receiver is bound to perform such services as have been agreed upon in accordance with the amount of cattle presented. Here at the outset is a check upon undue oppression of the Mgabire; the nature of the services are clearly agreed upon at the time of the transaction, which arises solely from the will of the Mgabire and takes place in the presence of witnesses over the inevitable pot of *pombe*, which, incidentally, is always provided by the Mgabire. The services in themselves are simple, and consist for the most part in providing

firewood (a most important task in these bare treeless highlands), preparing and supplying beer on ceremonial occasions, such as marriages, assisting at cultivation, helping to build huts, acting as companion-assistant on journeys and so on; frequently a Mgabire becomes more of a "Gossip" to his patron than a provider of manual services; but it appears that the Mgabire is never called upon to perform any services in connection with *Tambiko*, that is religious ceremonies for the propitiation of spirits. An interesting use of a Mgabire was discovered recently when a man was released from gaol after a sentence of several years—during all the time he was away from home his Mgabire supported his wife.

When a Mgabire is accepted and the agreement becomes binding by the passing of cattle, there is also an obligation on the other party to assist his Mgabire in sickness or on occasions of special difficulty, and cases are common where a Mgabire's patron finds his tax-money for him—it operates, in short, as a form of assurance for both parties.

It will be seen, therefore, that there is nothing objectionable in the practice and that it is a long way removed from any form of slavery, and an additional sign that it has much to recommend it is that the bond is based and maintained to a large extent on affection. It is not denied that many acrimonious suits arise from the custom, but at the outset there is a close and personal tie. Indeed, although it appeared that many of those Waha now going out to labour in increasing numbers as time brings a greater degree of confidence would, on return, with more money in their pockets and a greater knowledge of the world, wish to cast off the bond entered into in the past, or rid themselves of an obligation handed down from their fathers, inquiry has shown that this is not the case. It is not unusual to find that Wagabire who have left the district for a time, present, on their return, a gift to their patrons, apparently as a sign of affection and with no customary necessity to do so.

The relationship of Mgabire and patron is a subtle one; it is necessary for the Mgabire to salute him on certain occasions, partly, it seems, because there is a feeling that the patron is superior in rank and partly to make sure that the Mgabire demonstrates the continuance of the bond before the world. The slight feeling of a difference in rank is not one that arouses any resentment; on the contrary it appears to be bound up with the affection existing at the back of the relationship, and a Mgabire acquires a reflected glory from his patron's "*heshima*"; the Mgabire greets his patron as "*Databuja*", which means "Father-Master", but he is the only person who can so address him—if others wish to refer to a Mgabire's patron they call him "*Shebuja*".

So far, the custom appears simple; unfortunately those who have cause to hear appeals and make decisions in cases involving native inheritance rights, find the whole question exceedingly difficult. It has been said above that the bond is not extinguishable by the death of either party; it is heritable to an

almost indefinite extent, though, as will be shown later, it can be extinguished on certain conditions. In order to show to what lengths Ugabire can be carried, a case, decided on appeal in the near past, is now quoted: A man claimed that his grandfather had given two head of cattle to acquire a Mgabire; when the Shebuja died, his son refreshed the contract by giving two more head to the Mgabire. Thus he took his deceased father's place not only by right of inheritance but by refreshing the agreement, and became the original Mgabire's Shebuja. In due course he also died and so did the Mgabire, both parties leaving sons. The grandson of the original Shebuja then made a case against the son of the original Mgabire on the grounds that the obligation and right had passed according to the normal laws of inheritance and that the Mgabire's son, who had then acquired the obligation himself, had failed to render the usual services; therefore, said the claimant, he must return the cattle originally given to establish the bond. In native law the claimant had on the face of it a good case, but unfortunately matters were further complicated before the case came to a completion by the death of the defendant, whereupon the claimant switched his claim to the deceased's wife, on the grounds that the deceased had left no children and that his wife had inherited the cattle concerned. The native courts all gave judgment against the woman which, on the face of it, appeared inequitable, but their decision rested on native custom much too deep-rooted to change on appeal without the most careful consideration, even though it was clear that the property concerned had passed over forty years before, probably before the woman herself was born. Fortunately, there was a loophole, as a system whereby a right of Ugabire could pass indefinitely from father to son seemed so prone to corruption and abuse that some limitation was eminently desirable, and this limitation was found after much discussion with elders of the tribe. It was established that the right and the obligation cannot remain indefinitely without being refreshed and the clue lay in the particular case itself wherein the claimant admitted that his father, on the death of the original Shebuja, paid over another two head of cattle to keep the right alive. It appears that although the actual payment of additional cattle is not strictly necessary it is essential that on the death of a Shebuja his heir must at once take steps to let the Mgabire know that he proposes not to allow the right to lapse. Similarly, when the Shebuja dies, it is correct for the Mgabire to go and greet the heir and assure him of his continued service, but should he fail to do so and the heir then fails to remind him in unequivocal terms the right will be extinguished. Again, if a Mgabire dies, his heir must go to the Shebuja and inform him of the fact and bind himself in his father's place, but if he fails to do so, and the Shebuja does not take any steps in the matter, the Shebuja cannot at a later date claim the continuance of the right.

Herein, therefore, lies a mutual obligation—and a sensible one—which militates against indefinite prolongation of the contract, though it cannot be denied that cases do come to court in which the length of time involved makes

it appear inequitable that a suit should have been instituted, and it is on occasions necessary to guard against the greatest danger, namely that a man shall make capital by a successful claim for cattle, which he himself never paid out, from another party who has never received direct benefit from those cattle. It is noteworthy, however, that whereas in dowry cases in Buha the increase of cattle is claimable, in Ugabire claims for the return of cattle in lieu of service only permit the actual numbers paid to the Mgabire, and however great the increase from the original beasts, such increase remains the property of the Mgabire and his heirs. The inheritable nature of Ugabire is only one of the difficulties in getting to the bottom of old claims. Another is to decide what branch of a family has the right to claim a Mgabire, or the return of the cattle, if the service is broken. When a man wishes to become a Shebuja and to acquire a Mgabire he will decide first which wife's "house" the necessary cattle will come from; that is to say, he will take the cattle from those which he has decided shall form part of the inheritance of one particular wife in the event of his death. The reason is obvious and sensible—it is a form of assuring assistance for a particular wife when the husband dies, as on his death his Wagabire must follow the "house" from which the cattle came. Thus Ugabire becomes much more complicated in the cases of rich men who acquire several Wagabire and apportion them out to different sections of their families, than in those where a man acquires a Mgabire with cattle which form part of his direct inheritance and are not drawn from special beasts allotted to various wives. While the husband is alive, all the cattle, though ultimately destined to form the share of one wife or another, remain vested in him and he has the sole right in the Mgabire, but after the death of the Shebuja, the whole question of whence came the cattle paid must be considered and then only those can claim who are in direct line of inheritance from the wife whose "house" provided the Ugabire cattle.

When it is remembered that the original cattle have probably long since died, that Wagabire and the cattle concerned may be scattered far and wide over the country, and that the Waha have another custom by which they grant the usufruct of their cattle to other persons (even to allocating so many teats to one man and so many to another) the intricacies of Ugabire cases will be appreciated.

Reconstruction in Relation to Revision *

By *L. P. Lane*

IN EXTENDING the scope of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* by publishing A. T. Culwick's 'New Beginning'† as the first choice for their new departure the Editorial Committee are, I personally feel, deserving of congratulation. Although there is much that we have left undone in "what we set out to do" in Tanganyika, and although much of what has been done might well have been left undone, it is a healthy sign for the future that interest is alive to the problems before us as is evident not only in articles of broad outlook as that mentioned but also a recent B.B.C. broadcast discussion and in various published speeches and letters appearing in the Press. Whatever the outcome of the post-war years in this country it will not be due to a total and complete apathy.

The choice of the title "New Beginning" could not be bettered, provided that its interpretation is fuller than just "making a fresh start after the war in applying more enlightened methods to 'the fundamental problem of Tanganyika' "; the real and very necessary interpretation to my mind is not only "to begin again" but "to begin again at the beginning", and, of the greatest importance, "not go too fast". It was largely the pace set in that earlier effort to keep up with the "powerful forces of disintegration" mentioned in defence of Sir Donald Cameron's policy that has helped to defeat his object, although one can appreciate his difficulty which is much greater to-day.

On pages 2 and 5 of the article the words "exploiting" and "exploitation" respectively appear and one feels that some alternative would have been a happier choice solely because of the implications attaching to those words in their many associations with this continent.

Most people with practical knowledge will agree with the contention that the native has not yet reached that state of development where "the doctrine of the liberty of the subject is compatible with his future" and that of his country, nor is he likely to reach it for a long time ahead.

It is reasonable to visualize the necessity for science assuming a far larger responsibility and power in the affairs of government than is the case to-day, provided that any creaky policy is not replaced by cranky experiment.

To my mind there are only three principal considerations affecting this problem of "what we set out to do": Education (its essentials), Communications, and Finance (its amount and fount), and it is suggested that the first and last of these have but two main considerations attaching to

*A contribution received in October 1943.—EDITOR. †*T.N.R.* No. 15, June 1943.

them. These subjects have had so much spoken and written about them already by reasoning minds and others that it is not desirable to enlarge on them here, but perhaps a few remarks may be permitted.

Taking Education—firstly, as agricultural pursuits must at least be the initial mainstay of the Territory's well-being or otherwise—it follows that education in all forms of practical and scientific husbandry should be given priority, and we may include here industrial instruction, and secondly, the greatest need for education is in hygiene, dietetics and housing. It may be said that these have been given the wrong order of priority but healthy people would not remain so without the wherewithal to live. Religious education is purposely omitted here, both the foregoing are essential to it and it opens up other questions which are outside the purpose of these remarks. Generally speaking, then, only elementary education such as can be given in village schools is necessary or even suitable for the native in his early stages of development, for what can be said for that form of higher education which too often produces a man more than reluctant to wield a hoe, and the cause only too frequently of that lack of discipline seldom known under tribal conditions. That Makerere has its justification in providing native teachers without whom little can be achieved in the field of native education is an argument that can be carried to illogical lengths both in theory and practice, remembering the vast machinery of successively graded schools through which it is stated the very few successful candidates must needs pass and the danger of its being held up to the world at large as an example of what is being done for the native in East Africa. Apart from the great gap between the comparatively few so-called educated natives and the remainder, the type of education given tends to cause a false class distinction; it is essential that education be confined to that which is wholly profitable and beneficial to the individual receiving it so that he becomes a useful member of his community without gaining a superiority complex over his fellows, and through such policy we should be able to extend necessary education to many more individuals than is possible under the present policy. Not until the standard of living of the majority of natives, as apart from only a few, has been raised and is assured is it expedient to concern ourselves with his higher education, and his early stage education, which could include local self-government, should be developed around his villages and native authorities. In a large territory such as this where many local dialects are in use the necessity for a *lingua franca* is obviously essential but where time and money are so valuable is it necessary to teach both Kiswahili and English, and, is the choice of Kiswahili as the official language the right one? To my mind we must consider it from the view point of our ultimate aim of fitting the native to govern himself. Kiswahili will not only be useless to him for outside contacts, both in government and commerce, but seems to me to be unsuitable to his progress when so many technical words of common usage now, in all walks of modern life, are not found in that language and have to be coined for it. To close

any remarks on education it might be as well to bear in mind that the subject could profitably include the rulers as well as the ruled, not so much those actually working in the Colonies, who, however well disposed, are tied, but Home Governments, politicians and public opinion at home and also abroad—such education it is suggested could be confined to General Knowledge only! Also, is it consistent with the best interests of a territory such as this to transfer officials in certain departments, if they are good, from one side of the world to the other where the practical difficulties to be overcome are so widely divergent and require not only a continuity of purpose but at least a service life's work in application?

Regarding Communications, as there cannot be anybody who would disagree as to the prime need for the best modern communications of every kind if a country is to develop fully its natural resources, there is no need to dwell upon the obvious. But, it may be appropriate to remark here, in connection with the full development of those natural resources just mentioned, that to "begin again", however the words be interpreted, must first necessitate (also obviously) a thorough stock-taking; this needs no going into here as it is a consideration which already has a well known and learned champion.

So we come to the third consideration, Finance, which is, of course, the most important of all as very little can be accomplished without it, but it is placed third because it is what we do with it when we have it that counts. It is also the most difficult of the considerations because not only do we require a great deal of financing to achieve "what we set out to do" but because at present and for a long time ahead the greater share of the burden must fall on the taxpayer at home thus involving external control of both its provision and utilization, and this may serve to remind us out here of the fact that not only is the taxpayer referred to not here but, in the main, he cannot be very interested considering the several claims on him at home apart from many other Empire commitments of a like nature to Tanganyika. The foregoing is admittedly very elementary but it is also, firstly, the very good reason why we should ensure all the more that such funds as are available are expended solely on projects absolutely requisite to our aim, and can we say on looking back that this has been our practice more often than not or the reverse? Secondly, when one considers that we non-natives who live and earn our bread in this Territory and who should therefore be more interested in the present and future prosperity of the country than the home taxpayer, and remembering that the burden of the average non-native local taxpayer is hardly comparable with that of his counterpart in his own country, and still further, being aware that a number of us are more concerned with what we are getting out of the country rather than what we put in, there seems to be only one answer, however unpopular it may be, and that is local individual taxation and the control of profits of vested interests so that all net returns over a reasonable figure are retained in the country. The handicap of

Tanganyika remaining a Mandate cannot be ignored in any consideration of economic progress. There is another small point that may be mentioned before closing these remarks on finance—in "New Beginning" the author states "The exigencies of war have made plain to all many weaknesses in the organization of this Territory . . ."; whilst such exigencies may have been needed to show up some of these weaknesses, war conditions have certainly shown us what can be achieved through local voluntary subscriptions organized in aid of good causes, and it is suggested that this spirit should not die out with the end of hostilities for there will still be good causes which although they may not be vital to our personal survival may be vital to the survival of some of those in whose country we live.

Finally, to conclude this article, it is interesting to turn to history where we may, perhaps, derive profit from noting the results achieved by a successful experiment in a country to which many of us belong.

On reading about the foundation of The Dublin Society in Constantia Maxwell's informative book *Dublin Under The Georges, 1714-1830*, one cannot help immediately thinking of the possibilities in such a society for Tanganyika. The following extracts are relevant:—

"The Dublin Society was founded by Irish Gentlemen in 1731 for the improvement of husbandry, manufactures and other useful arts, and improvement of agriculture was the first care of its members, who were originally chiefly gentlemen of the landlord class who knew the countryside and appreciated its difficulties. But the Society soon attracted all sorts and conditions of men, and the Viceroy occasionally lent his patronage. The work was eminently practical—books on farming were circulated, new agricultural implements introduced, and all sorts of experiments made. Premiums were offered to those who could produce the best wheat, hops and flax-seed. Tillage and the planting of trees were strongly encouraged."

"Lord Chesterfield who was Viceroy in 1745 was elected President of the Dublin Society. He was very interested in Ireland which he looked upon as a young country with a hopeful future. Writing from London to the Secretary of the Society in 1747 he says, 'They (the members) have done more good to Ireland with regard to arts and industry, than all the laws that could have been formed; for unfortunately there is a perverseness in our natures which prompts us to resist authority, though otherwise inclined enough to do the thing if left to our own choice. Invitation, example and fashion with some premiums attending them, are, I am convinced, the only methods of bringing people in Ireland to do what they ought to do—and that is the plan of your Society'."

"In 1749 the Society was incorporated by George II, who made it a grant of £500 and it became 'The Royal Dublin Society'. At first it was run entirely on Gentlemen's subscriptions but was subsequently aided by the Irish Parliament who voted it considerable funds. Everything was done to encourage home industries"

Thus, making due allowances for the difference in the respective stages of development of the two peoples, necessarily affecting the details of putting the objects of such a society to practical purpose, and considering that not only could the needed finances be assisted by substantial Government grants from its inception instead of after years of functioning with entirely voluntary support, but also taking into account the scientific information and facilities now available through already established Government organizations together with the services of certain departments already 'laid on' to assist, our position to-day should be such as to make the foundation of a Tanganyika Society very much more successful. The best counsel procurable to the state would surely emanate from a vigorous and public-spirited body combining science, settlers and commerce.

Pangani: the Trade Centre of Ancient History

By H. C. Baxter

THE CHIEF authorities for the more modern history of Pangani are the Shajaare, the genealogical records originating from the first rulers of the Shirazii dynasty (if rulers they can be called) and kept up-to-date religiously by their successors. The system of rule then in being was certainly not introduced by the Shirazii (A.D. 975), for Greek explorers found it already in existence in the first century of the Christian era and that fact is recorded in the *Periplus*: "On this coast, the men, who are of piratical habits, live under separate chiefs for each place".⁽¹⁾

Indeed the benevolent "rule" of the patriarch must have been going on in Pangani for over one thousand years before Hassani Ali and his sons came with their ships' companies to East Africa and all that the Shirazii empire builders did was to substitute one of their own blood for the local patriarch found in office—and these men are responsible for the Shajaare.

Before dealing with so recent a date as A.D. 1000, however, the earlier and difficult history of this once important trade centre must be examined and the story of Pangani's early history be compiled from a study of the following: (a) Speech, (b) Customs, (c) Archæological remains and antiquities, (d) Legend and tradition, (e) the writings and maps of historians and travellers and the logs of British men-of-war.

The earliest stage of all must be based to some extent upon conjecture and upon events that must have affected Pangani because they are known to have affected East Africa.

Starting, for instance, from earliest history, it is known that Pemba was once part of the Pangani mainland and that, although Pemba broke away from the mainland long before Zanzibar followed suit, the influence of Pemba upon Pangani remained very considerable until recent time. Again, once the recorded story of living man begins, it is known that the structure of the Sumerian language is the basis upon which Swahili is built.⁽²⁾ Conjecture? The influence of the Babylonian Empire of 3000 B.C. reached East Africa before the Swahili language was in the making. And, again, it is an historical fact that the Assyrians used the horn as a symbol of chiefship, and some bold writers have suggested that Sargon, after his victory over the Sumerians in 2750 B.C., took over from them whatever contact they had with the East African coast and introduced the horn symbol to the original African. More conjecture—it is repeated—but there is no other explanation of the similarity between Sumerian and Swahili and no more plausible explanation of the use of the horn in East Africa.⁽³⁾

As Pangani market depended upon trade with the outside world, it is safe to suppose that, before its discovery by Asian and European travellers, it merely formed one of the network of independent fishing villages to be found on the Azanian coast one thousand years before Christ; it may have been a little bigger than some others because of its important river, but it did not become a trade centre proper until the demand for ivory and tortoise-shell came from the outside world. The date of the discovery of this demand can be fairly accurately determined by an examination of the progress in sea travel.

The dug-out and paddle took second place to the sail when the latter was introduced to East Africa about 1200 B.C., but the sail was mainly used for short coastwise voyages for the next six hundred years. When the Assyrians were defeated by the Empire of the Chaldaeans, Medes and Persians in 606 B.C., the Chaldaean King Nabonidus encouraged dhow trade by opening up sea routes between Babylon, China, India and East Africa—the direct result of which was the first immigration of Hindus to Africa⁽⁴⁾, the attraction was, it is repeated, ivory and tortoise-shell, and the river Pangani was a useful line of communication with the interior from which the ivory came. In the sixth century before Christ, Pangani developed rapidly into a *pied-à-terre* from which successive convoys of Hindu traders struck inwards towards the Central Plateau. The Hindus were followed rapidly by fleets from the South Arabian States—Yemen, Aden and the Hadramauts especially—but whereas the business of the Hindus was purely commercial the Arabs' object was, to a point, political. Five hundred years later the Periplus tells us :—

“The Mapharitic chief governs the whole area under some ancient right which subjects it to the sovereignty of whatever state is in the lead in Arabia at any one time. The people of Muza (Moccha) now hold it and send thither many large ships using Arab dhow captains who have long been familiar with the coast and its inhabitants and who in many cases have inter-married with the latter.” ⁽¹⁾

In the fourth century before Christ the Greeks, after overthrowing the Persian Empire in 336, came into the African picture. Greek coins of this era have been picked up all along the coast from Tanga to Lindi and it was about this time that Pangani was given the name Rhapta long before the rule of that Mapharitic chief of the Periplus—one Charibael, whose name, with those of thirty-two of his fellow Sabaeen chiefs, has been deciphered from extant South Arabian inscriptions.⁽⁵⁾ To quote the Periplus again :—

“After Menuthias, an island some three hundred stadia from the mainland, there comes the very last market town of the continent of Azania which is called Rhapta or the place of sewed boats. Here there is ivory in great quantities and tortoise shell.” ⁽¹⁾

Now the stade of Eratosthenes was five hundred and twenty feet, which makes Menuthias thirty-four miles and eight hundred and thirty-six yards from the mainland.⁽⁵⁾

Furthermore, there is an extant map of Ptolemy (A.D. 150) ⁽⁶⁾ which shows a river Rhapta stretching for over two hundred miles inland. Menuthias cannot, therefore, be Zanzibar (then Zinj) which is only twenty-five miles out to sea, nor can it be Mafia.

Rhapta has indeed been placed as far south as Rovuma; and as the position of the "lost city" has been the cause of much speculation, the facts must here be presented. The original authority for the position of Rhapta is found in the *Periplus*, written between A.D. 50 and A.D. 80 by a Greek merchant in Alexandria whose own travellings may have been limited to the Mediterranean for all we know; certainly the *Periplus* was based on a collection of stories told to the merchant by sea-captains returned from the East. One of his main informants was a Greek merchant, Diogenes, who travelled from India via Menuthias and Rhapta circa A.D. 50. This Diogenes travelled for twenty-five days up the Rhapta River and came to an area possessing two snow-capped peaks (which he saw) and two great lakes (Johnston's *History of Colonization*).⁽⁷⁾ Johnston thinks that Diogenes actually saw Meru and Kilimanjaro and talked with Arabs in Rhapta about other phenomena in the interior. The Arabs may by then have visited Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika or may have penetrated far enough to obtain vague information which they passed on to Diogenes who promptly made the position vaguer. Probably years after writing the story of Diogenes in his notes, the Greek author began his *Periplus*, describing a suppositious journey down the East Coast of Africa based upon the notes that he had been collecting for years. This story is told with a wealth of detail and in many places times are given. For instance, Menuthias is given as a journey of two days and nights from Lamu, which proves that it must be Pemba and a fast passage at that. But Rhapta is given as two days' journey on. There are two possible explanations of this: either the first day was spent sailing down the east or west coast of Pemba from its most northerly point—the most probable landfall from Lamu, especially in view of the fast time—or else the Rhapta market was situate as far up the river at Ptolemy put it one hundred years later and the second day's sailing was up river. I incline to the first alternative. Msasani has been chosen as Rhapta by some because a coin of Ptolemy* Soter was recently found there and it is also two days' sail from the south point of Pemba. But Msasani has no river. Others take Mafia to be Menuthias and the Rufiji to be the Rhapta River, but they are merely ignoring the explicit description of the courses—and the distances given in the *Periplus*.

There is one more fact, possibly significant, and that is that Sharpleigh, Captain of the *Ascension* which took in water at Pemba in 1608, in his log mentions trouble with small boats, which, from his description, must have been the sewed boats (*Mtepe*) from which the Greeks invented the name for Rhapta (*ploiaria rhapta*). But he calls them Pangaias.⁽⁸⁾ By then the city

*Authority=Cosmas Indicopleustes.

of Rhapta had been lost under sea or river and Pangani had sprung up in its place. Was its new name Pangani because the Pangaia were made there and was the original name Pangaiani? No one has ever suggested that the name can be attributed to the shell-fish (*Panga*) which can be found all down the coast.

Within three hundred years of the Periplus, other Greek writers are calling Madagascar Menuthias and in various contexts Rhapta is described as Cape Delgado, Kilwa, and this river or that river—which confuses the modern writer in search of truth. Indeed, there may have been two or three Rhaptas, but I believe that the selection here of Pangani as the site of Rhapta of the Periplus, based as it is on records of Diogenes' journey from east to west and upon the records of several journeys north to south made by a variety of travellers, is the only solution. And Diogenes discovered this Rhapta to be an important centre and talked to Arab travellers there.

And then, just as the age of authoritative historians in a European language begins, history dealt Africa a heavy blow, for the doings of the Roman Empire from A.D. 200 to A.D. 600, its decline and fall, became a first interest to the exclusion of all but the briefest references to African exploration. We know that successive states took the lead in Arabia at almost regular intervals and that Pangani was controlled after Muza by Ausan and then by the Himyaritis. We know that the Abyssinians took control of the coast from the Himyaritis *circa* A.D. 200 and that the Persians in their turn, under Nushirwan the Just, took over from the Abyssinians *circa* A.D. 550 just as the second Bantu invasion was completing its envelopment of the coast from inland bases.⁽⁸⁾ Of seventh century history Africa is already beginning to produce her own version as men interested in antiquities begin to read what Africa presents for inspection. This was the time of the invasion by the Wadebule, the first historical fact recorded in any Shajaare.⁽⁹⁾

These Wadebule have been identified as an Indian Company coming from Dabhol, a port of considerable historical significance on the west coast of India. It is further established that the local inhabitants of Sadani (Bagamoyo District), Uzimia (the then site of Mkwaja, Pangani), Mitondooni (the seventh century Kipumbwi of Pangani District) and of Ushongo, close to the mouth of the Pangani River, were driven inland by the invaders.^(9 10) Graves of the Wadebule are scattered all over the Pangani District, but at Ushongo there is a substantial graveyard giving evidence that these Indians stayed in the neighbourhood for at least a couple of centuries. The Shajaare concerned (of Mkwaja) says: "This man was born during the Wadebule wars", and, after war, it would appear there came a period of passive resistance if not of active settlement on the part of the invaders.

The next outside influence that visited Pangani (and came to stay) was that of the Mohammedan religion—and dates can be given fairly accurately.

The first Mohammedan converts in Pangani were Shafite Sunnis. The founder of this sect, Mohamed bin Idris es-Shafi, lived from 767 to 822 and began his mission in 813, preaching both in the Hedjaz and Baghdad.⁽⁸⁾ Missionaries taught by es-Shafi may have reached Africa by 875 and must have started their activities several years before the arrival from Shiraz (Persia) of Shia Hassan bin Ali A.D. 975. If Hassan bin Ali had arrived first, the peoples of Pangani would be Shia to-day. This gives us a period of some one hundred years to play with and there is one Sunni family, the El Harths from Central Arabia, who are known to have arrived in Pangani in A.D. 909 (the oldest coconut plantation on Pangani River bears the name of El Harth). Thus these Arabs may well have brought Islam to Pangani.

There is, however, one further alternative to the El Harth as missionaries and that is based upon an amazing legend. In 1944 the people of the Kumba suburb of Pangani township, both Mohammedan and the few pagans, still pay a yearly visit to the site of the ancient Mzia in Bushiri sisal estate; the story goes that long ago when great danger came upon Pangani, a maiden of the Mzia village called upon God and cried, "Oh God, save me—let the earth swallow me up". God heard her prayer and opened up the earth and she and all the village were buried except for the very corner of the robe she wore, a Kissutu cloth that was found next day, protruding. In the extant tales of early Paté history, it is told how that on one occasion when the Paté armies were raiding Siu, a soldier, engaged in looting, came upon a maiden grinding frankincense. The story then continues with the same exact details as the Pangani story of Mzia—even to the final description of the bit of cloth found protruding.⁽¹¹⁾

This suggests a contact between Pangani and the Sultans of Paté that cannot be overlooked. It must be remembered that the native historian of to-day, in Paté, like his predecessors, learnt his history by rote; under such conditions, the change of a name from the alien Mzia to the name Siu (a part of Paté) would be easy and understandable. It is known that Abdulmalik and later rulers of Paté began their conquest of the coast in the seventy-seventh year from the Hegera or just before the close of the seventh century after Christ.

They finally reached Kilwa and some time after conquest they built a number of cities all down the coast to Kilwa. There is unfortunately nothing found locally as yet to show that they were in Pangani in the ninth or tenth centuries—except for this and other legends; and again unfortunately the native historian gives a name to the sultan in whose time the earth opened at Siu or Mzia—and that is Bwana Fumomadi who reigned in the thirteenth century.

The fable must be left at that but it is most significant that, whereas there are several stories in native history-by-rote where the earth opened and swallowed up this or that, there are only two stories known, that of Paté and Pangani, where that opening was the answer to a maiden's prayer, in

terror for her virtue, and where a piece of clothing was left above the surface. The men of Paté did definitely come to Pangani on several occasions. The date of their first visit is undecided; but it is possible that they brought Islam to Pangani before the arrival of El Harth. Hamza, the son of Abdulmalik, was famous as a missionary in Africa.⁽¹¹⁾

Returning to the tenth century and the Shirazii, the constant tie of Pemba with Pangani is here still illustrated since Kilwa dealt with Pangani through Pemba from the beginning to the end of the Shirazii rule.

The process of substituting Shirazii leaders for the local patriarchs in every important centre may have taken two or three centuries. We know that Hassan arrived with six sons, each in his own dhow, making seven craft: but we are not told how many Persians and how many slaves made up the crew of each ship. Inter-marriage with the local inhabitants and the begetting of sons to be future servants of their intended empire must have been a first consideration with these fugitives from political defeat. But one thing is certain—that, as soon as each community had acknowledged Shirazii rule, a Shajaare was started and was made retrospective as far as memory could serve. The recording of history by rote was practised along the whole African coast from Punt (Somaliland) to Quiloa (Kilwa) and beyond, long before the arrival of the Shirazii, and all that was needed was to commit that history to paper. The Shajaare contained the story of the ruling families, births, deaths, marriages, the movements of the communities they led as a result of the practice of shifting cultivation, upon the advice of doctors or counsellors for reasons of war, disease, famine and the like, the appointment of Akidas or sub-chiefs, and the promotion in rank, accessions or resignations of the patriarchs. It is repeated that the Shajaare followed the village wherever it went, that the average village changed its position at least once every two centuries. The first entries in these documents set down from spoken accounts of past history bear no dates, but there are often two or three pages of them before the first date of the Mohammedan calendar is recorded; and the first recorded dates correspond mainly to years of the sixteenth century of the Christian era. Although these documents are kept to this day in boxes supposedly fireproof, there must have been a few losses through the ages but these were immediately made good through a second recording by rote (the keeper of the records knew them almost by heart) supplemented by references to Shajaare in villages north and south whose records would tally to a considerable extent, thanks to inter-marriage and the bonds of commerce, probable alliances against a common foe, and so on.

Of the seven craft that reached the east coast of Africa in A.D. 975, one ship's company landed at Mombasa, another at Pemba and the ship of Hassan bin Ali himself at Kilwa. Contact between the parties, another of which landed in the Comoros, was quickly established and the lead of Kilwa acknowledged.⁽¹²⁾ From this moment Arab influences on the coast reverted merely to the

commercial and the political force became Persian.⁽¹³⁾ The Arabs continued with their trade in ivory and slaves (there were undoubtedly Pangani men serving in Arabia, with the substantial negro armed forces maintained by the sultans there, for all the years from 400 B.C. to A.D. 1700) and applied themselves also to agriculture along both sides of the Pangani River from that point up-stream, mile 5, where the soils were not over-saturated with the salinity inevitable in a tidal water-way. These Arabs are responsible for the first permanent alienations of land, for they planted extensively the coconut, an import from India, and the betel-nut and sugar cane, imports from Java.⁽⁴⁾ The African had never allowed the planting of any fruit trees to interfere with the principle of shifting cultivation—the Arab begged to differ, and pressed his point home so successfully that by the eighteenth century most of the land bordering upon the river Pangani for twenty-five miles inland had assumed the character of alienated land and was later recognized as such by the German Government.

The Shirazii, on the other hand, leave nothing but pleasant memories behind them—a benevolent rule, a building programme notable for its “high artistic perfection” and especially for the grace and beauty still to be found in domed tombs, in old stone doorways and arched entrances, in the fragments of Persian tiles, the flights of ghaut-steps and the sea walls of masonry still to be found, a pride in family and a happy penchant for recording useful events in family life and, above all, a policy of non-interference except in the minimum essentials.

The first century of Shirazii influence saw the opening up of yet another trade route, for the Chinese who first reached Mafia in A.D. 742 moved further westward in the reign of the Emperor Shen Tsung (1068-1086). Ting ware of this dynasty has been found on Pemba and at Pangani.

How the position developed is shown in the writings of Chau ju k’ua, as he describes the trade between China and the Arabs of the coast in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From the east came white and red cotton cloth, brass work, glass beads, porcelain and copper and to the east went ivory (mainly by way of Oman) and spices.

The position of the Jew at this time is not definitely known, but Ibn Kordadbeh the historian, who died in 912, has recorded that the business side of all coastwise import and export was in the hands of Jews; on the other hand it is not suggested that they had a hand in the trade east of China. It is known that the Jews⁽¹⁴⁾ arrived so early in the Comoro Islands that their descendants only knew the names of the earliest prophets of Israel and one’s knowledge of the Jewish temperament inclines one to believe in Ibn Kordadbeh as far as the trade done by Arab vessels is concerned. The Arab was never a business man.

For the next five hundred years, social organization remains in the hands of the Shirazii and the reader is referred to Mr. E. C. Baker’s Notes in

Tanganyika Notes and Records No. 11 (1941).⁽¹⁵⁾ Examining these notes, it is interesting to find that I am supported here in my emphasis upon the connection between Paté and Pangani; and Mr. Baker bases his assertions on legends (plural). Melindi is given by some as the buffer state between Kilwa and Pate from A.D. 1000 onwards but one must make a certain allowance for the ebb and flow of the tide of prosperity and must remember that the Paté native narrator of to-day talks of Paté soldiers at Pangani in the thirteenth century.⁽¹¹⁾

I should like perhaps to stress that when you talk of a village of the Shirazii day you are not talking of a place but of a community. The Mkwaja village, for instance, was found by the Shirazii at Uzimia, three miles south of its present site, and after sundry changes it was based on Kissikimtu in A.D. 1605 which is the date given in the Shajaare for the death of an important Diwan of Kipumbwi, a village that had itself moved many times from its first recorded site of Mitondooni.

Pangani itself moved several times up and down the river and its site in the seventeenth century was Muhembo, a hill some two to three miles north-west of the twentieth century township.

From early times there were probably outposts at the river mouth but Pangani proper (the Shirazii village) moved as circumstances dictated.

I should also like to stress (in the context of Baker's notes and in reference to the acquisition of lands by individuals mentioned therein) that the system of individual ownership was not introduced by the Shirazii who choose rather to be absorbed than to absorb and to accept the principles of living that they found. It was the Arabs—reinforced (unlike the Shirazii) by regular new drafts from home—that kept themselves apart and introduced, almost surreptitiously, their own standards of existence; to this day the Arab, for the most part, has kept himself as a member of an alien community. The only customs that the Africans admit as accepted by them from the Shirazii are the veiling of women, the writing of chronicles, the use of wooden doors for huts, certain dances, and the specialized use of drums—in ceremonial, to mark the time of day—to welcome important strangers or to give warning of danger. Of dances, I consider the *Goma* as being the best illustration to show the contrast between the imported article and the common African dance. This is danced by a line of motionless white-clad men, with lighted candles and sweat-rags in their left hands and walking-sticks in their right—motionless men because their faces remain wooden, they are not even allowed to replace a gutted candle but are re-equipped by their women—and because, except for an occasional left turn or right turn or a descent upon knees to mats specially placed for them, the only movement is of the sticks, twirled from the wrist in time to the drum and in time with the dance leader. (The line of light from the candles is most attractive from a distance at night.) Before we leave the 1941 notes it is interesting to point to the mention of the wooden

horn as part of the "chief's" regalia and the reference to its Assyrian origin : And finally it is relevant to include one legend illustrative of Shirazii society.

The legend purports to explain the reason for the existence of the two rocks—one large, one small—standing sentinel at the northern point of Pangani Bay. Each year, the night before the ceremonial washing by the whole community, the waters of the Indian Ocean were taboo to all Pangani residents. A Shirazii maiden, however, by name Mwana Unguja, pooh-poohed these silly pagan superstitions and proceeded with her female slave, upon the evening concerned, to visit the beach and to make herself beautiful for the celebrations of the morrow. Her slave was kneeling behind her combing her hair when God happened to look down and, in his wrath, struck and turned the blasphemers to stone at that spot. And if you do not believe us, the elders will tell you, look more closely and you will still see the comb stuck in Mwana Unguja's hair. Indeed, if you look from Pangani, the larger stone easily can be made to look like a girl, heavily robed, facing inland with her head bent forward to counteract the pull of the comb behind and from the seaward side of the rock, high up, there protudes a solitary branch pointing to the sea; the smaller stone, a few feet east of Mwana Unguja, is, of course, the female slave on her knees.

It has been said that the Shirazii are noted for a benevolent rule, but in one direction they were not easy-going, and, as true Mohammedans, waged a constant war against unbelief : many passing travellers reported this or that coastal community engaged upon a jihad. At first, progress was not considerable; for the historian Ibn Wardi, who died in 1349, described even Zanzibar in the fourteenth century as "peopled by idolaters who boasted no code of writing but were accustomed to being harangued by leaders of society in the market places". In this, the fourteenth century, the few Pangani jumbeates had become independent of Kilwa and the empire in general had been converted into an alliance of several independent units.

For the first two hundred years of Shirazii "rule" in Africa, Pangani continued to play its part as a place of consequence ; the Shirazii representatives themselves were collecting large households of slaves for domestic duties, some of whom they sold off to the Arab exporters when money was needed to bid for promotion in society. They were also building in wood and stone and fortifying their villages against the Wazigua in the west and against possible invasion from the sea. The Wadebule, of course, had been bereft of all power but were not all evacuated and indeed there are some signs of inter-marriage between the Shirazii and the Wadebule. The sultan to whom Pangani owed allegiance in 1505 was Mohamed bin Rubn ed Din ed Dabuli.⁽¹⁶⁾ The title of the Pangani Jembe was Mwinyimkoma, and it is believed that the leper settlement found at Boza outside Pangani town in the eighteenth century had been established by the Shirazii some centuries before. In the thirteenth century, according to Paté legend, the influence of the Paté rulers was in

the ascendant and they were disputing Shirazii claims to land as far south as Sadani. In June 1498 boats from Vasco da Gama's *St. Raphael*, which had run ashore opposite Mtangata, seventeen miles north of Pangani River, paid a visit to the trading centre and spent some time prospecting down the river. In 1508 the Portuguese, who were already established in Zanzibar, sent Dom Duarte de Lemos, Portuguese "Governor of Ethiopia and Arabia", to collect tribute in Pangani and by 1528 Portuguese rule over the whole coast was for the moment established.

By 1588 the Zimba, kinsmen of the Zulu, had reached and overwhelmed Pangani but in 1590, after their defeat at Melindi, they began a speedy withdrawal southward, soon leaving Pangani well in their rear.

By 1627 Pangani was involved in civil war, the Shirazii *versus* the Portuguese, and the town itself was subjected to Portuguese reprisals in 1635. The Portuguese favoured wholesale demolition as the only efficient instrument of reprisal and we can thank them and their punitive army of 1635 for the absence of all but the merest fragments of Shirazii culture in Pangani, past and present. It was not until 1698, when, upon the invitation of the Shirazii, the Imam Seif bin Sultan of Oman came to drive the Portuguese invader out of all positions on our coast, that Pangani men could breathe again and forget their fears for the fate of Islam in Africa. In 1727, it is true, the Portuguese probably resumed temporary sovereignty over Pangani but they were gone for good in 1729.⁽⁴⁾ The Shirazii now acknowledged the rule at the Omani and Pangani, except for a period under the Mazrui independent governors of Mombasa from 1745 to 1820, remained under the Sultans of Oman until recent history. Seyyid Said bin Sultan (1832) was the Omani ruler who transferred his capital from Arabia to Zanzibar and who established Pangani as one link in his chain of trading centres intended to link up Zanzibar with the Great Lakes. One hears a deal about Bagamoyo and Tabora because the route favoured by nineteenth century explorers of Europe began in the one and passed through the other, and one fails to realize that Pangani was the Bagamoyo of the first eighteen centuries of the Christian era. Explorers, whether they employed the river or followed it by foot, already knew before Christ was born that this water-course would lead them due west and would guarantee them supplies of fresh water as far as the Moshi of to-day. The use of Bagamoyo in the nineteenth century followed by the establishment of Tanga as a railway terminus in the early twentieth century rang the death-knell for Pangani whose day was done.

Shortly after the Omanis had regained Pangani from the Mazrui and round about the year 1860 came the last excitement before Europeans took matters into their own hands. It was a case of Pangani attempting to assert itself for the last time. At that time Pangani was accepted as the most important centre between Bagamoyo and Mombasa and the Liwali, duly appointed by the Omani Sultan of Zanzibar, was of considerable importance. But there

was an Arab living a few miles up river named Bushiri who decided to lead a revolt against the Liwali and his garrison and to claim independence for himself and Pangani. It was just about the time of Lord Canning's Award when the link between Zanzibar and Oman was finally broken and it is believed that Bushiri objected to this severance from the motherland.⁽¹⁷⁾ There was a short sharp struggle—there was even a naval engagement in which one ship of the Sultan was sunk at the mouth of the Pangani River—and then Bushiri retired inland. And so in 1885 Peters obtained his Imperial Charter and in 1890 the Sultan sold all his rights on the mainland to Germany for four million marks and before the nineteenth century closed the Germans commenced their short sojourn in Pangani. In 1905 the first sisal ever introduced into East Africa was planted at Kikokwe, just south of Pangani River, by a German who smuggled the seed from South America: and in 1910 the representative of German Administration at Pangani distinguished himself in the following manner: It was reported to him that a lion had killed a leper at the Boza settlement (already mentioned); he called his Assistant Political Officer Spieth, a noted hunter, and told him to deal with the matter; Spieth paraded the eleven paddlers attached to the Boma canoe for river safari and chose the fattest of them, Hamadi Muguo, who is alive to-day and told me the story; he took Hamadi to Boza, chose a half-finished hut near the leper settlement as his trap and inserted Hamadi as bait, placing a few sticks in the empty doorway to keep Hamadi in or the lion out; at midnight the lion sniffed at the doorway, Hamadi fainted, Spieth fired, the lion died.⁽¹⁸⁾ The British entered Pangani on the 12th July 1916.

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The Labourer and his Hire

By A. T. Culwick

THE OTHER DAY while glancing through the paper, a thing I rarely do now when stationed up-country, since most of it is but the radio news of a bygone week, I noticed that a favourite East African topic had cropped up in a House of Lords debate. A speaker—so the paper told me—had stated that it is incumbent upon us “to defeat the inherent laziness of the native”—how, he may have known, but unfortunately did not exactly state.

I have heard the point argued as far north as Scotland where, we are given to understand, indolence is practically unknown—it being too cold perhaps?—to Cape Town where idle people are admitted to exist in all classes of the population, though the palm for sheer skill in the art of sloth is by common consent of most of the whites graciously granted to the negroes whose excess ration of leisure has, as we have seen, occupied the brief attention of no less august a body than the Upper House.

The matter was obviously important, and so it came about that I sat in a tent slaving away at this essay with a cold drink by my elbow while a couple of hundred “lazy” Bantu tribesmen levered colossal rocks out of a road I was building a short way off. I say “I was building”, not “they”, because after all it was I who pointed out which rocks were to be removed, and all *they* had to do was to dig them out and throw them away.

As one who was born lazy, but has been made to do so much work that toil has become a bad habit, and leisure one of the few things which pricks a rarely troubled conscience, the problem of idleness has always held a peculiar fascination for me, particularly the study of what may be called “comparative idleness” which, like comparative religion, must be considered as an oecological one in which various environmental influences, some social, some physical, some psychological, are taken into account, together with diverse human characteristics, some acquired and therefore possibly alterable, others inherited traits we can scarcely hope to modify.

It is agreed that the white man cannot perform hard manual work in the tropics. Physical lethargy is not only allowed him, it is enjoined, and little compassion does he who “overdoes it” arouse in the doctor. On the other hand, incredible mental feats are expected of him, because—so it is fallaciously assumed—the European mind can work efficiently no matter how its fleshly home may be enfeebled by adverse climatic conditions and the myriad pathogenic organisms which seem to flourish best where man does worst.

But the negro is different, so the story goes. On the whole he is not expected to think—perhaps just as well—but instead, and apparently to make up for the mental calm we allow him, he has to supply the brawn melted out of the whites by a tropical sun, to act as the motive power behind the hoe, the tractive

force for *safari* loads, in short as a source of energy measurable in calories which may, or may not, be contained in the ration he gets.

I have recently been reading a series of letters to a paper (not published in East Africa) which stresses the importance of preserving this (to the writer's) vitally important division of labour, and deprecating any type of education not entirely designed to increasing the efficiency of the negro as a machine. He should, so they say, not waste his energies owing to a deplorable ignorance of how to handle a hoe, wield a pick or trundle a wheel-barrow, and any education, provided it is confined to hoeing, wielding and trundling, is strongly advocated so long as it costs the employer nothing.

It is curious, however, that the Africans I meet so frequently have quite other ideas. *They* want to read and write and learn arithmetic. *They* want to be clerks and doctors and overseers of other men's work, like me, and do not seem to be particularly interested in hoeing or wielding or trundling. *They* want to earn as much money as they can with as little effort as possible, a "deplorable" outlook they share with millions of men of all races, and in particular with those who inhabit lands where muscular movement is not important for maintaining the body temperature.

We have heard a great deal in our time about the dignity of labour which, of course, means manual labour. True, it may be dignified; that depends very largely on the posture required and on one's sense of values, but it is equally true that as a general rule pushing a pen is far more lucrative than pushing a barrow, particularly so in Africa. That is, of course, one reason why some of us accepted the jobs we have, when we had been generously endowed by Providence with the attributes of a perfect navvy, and why we work off our surplus physical energy in the prosecution of manly sports instead of in digging drains.

But let us return to the African, the ambitious African. We admit he should be educated, but to what? "To be a good, intelligent peasant farmer", you say. Very well, he must learn to read and write, he must know something about figures and land and crops. And when he has learnt all that, and has shown sufficient ability to perform the exacting work of a good farmer, he is, of course, quite able to hold down a routine clerical job at one hundred shillings a month, without risking a penny capital. And how does that compare with the income from peasant farming at normal price levels? How many acres of maize does it take to bring in an average income of £60 a year with maize at, say, ten shillings a bag if you are lucky, and average yields of certainly no more than ten bags an acre if you are clever and God is good?

The whole matter is largely an economic one; the average man insists on selling his labour in the best market. Therefore, so long as it pays better to push a pen than a barrow, and motor drivers can make more than farmers, ambitious men of ability will move heaven and earth neither to trundle barrows nor farm, unless they be either idealists or "suckers".

When I was a very junior administrative officer, I attended an agricultural show in which there was a nicely arranged economic exhibit. I remember there was a bicycle with produce stacked round it to indicate the quantity of cotton one would have to sell to be able to buy that delectable mode of transport. The bicycle represented the high-water mark of ambition, and for those who could not, or would not, aim so high, or perhaps like me hated cycling over rough roads for obvious reasons, there were other baits on view, including the latest in coloured cottons which, so the Agricultural Officer in charge told me, was designed to make the women spur on their husbands to greater efforts in the fields—rather a dirty trick, I thought!

Of course, the show was on the railway line where prices of local produce were higher and the cost of imported goods lower than where I had come from, and I thought that had I staged a similar exhibit in my district, one could scarcely have seen the bicycle for cotton, while the beautiful cloth would have seemed a very paltry reward for selling the huge heap of food it represented.

A native I knew well was with me, and I asked him if he thought this sort of thing did any good.

“Oh, yes”, he replied, “Everyone is enjoying themselves”.

“But will it increase production?”, I queried, getting down to the point.

“No, no”, was his answer, “Not at all”.

He then explained to me how the division of labour in the family and in the clan was arranged to cover the production of sufficient food and a slight surplus for tax and clothes; how any considerable increase in cultivation upset that division; how a wife did not consider it *her* job to work for a husband's bicycle so that he could go off ogling girls in other villages; how the cultivation of more land meant more work not in the slack time of the year but during the busiest and often the hungriest months; and how the rewards of such labour were inconsiderable and not worth the trouble.

“No, no”, he said, “Bicycles are best bought by working for wages after your own crops are in”—and, though I think he under-estimated the effects of agricultural shows, I was inclined to agree with him over this. Certainly, I find it hard to imagine myself clearing, digging, planting, weeding, guarding and reaping an acre of, say, maize, when after hulling it, bagging it—all by hand—and humping it several miles to market on my head in a succession of tiring journeys spread over several weeks, all I get is a gross return of between £3 and £5, depending on price fluctuations beyond my control or prediction.

Furthermore, as time goes on the effort required to maintain present yields is likely to increase rather than diminish. We are told that the land is being exhausted and eroded, that it must be manured and adequately protected against the destructive forces of the weather, and this is undoubtedly true. Anyone who has ever spread manure from a cart knows well the labour required in applying ten tons to the acre, but what many perhaps fail to realize

is the human energy necessary to shift that ten tons by head portage, four hundred and fifty trips there and back, and since there and back in the most favourable circumstances is often half a mile, we find that the spreading of this dressing involves the carrying of a fifty-pound load a distance of over one hundred miles, plus strolling back with the empty container another one hundred miles. No wonder we notice a certain reluctance amongst Africans to adopt this well-tried practice, particularly amongst those who only possess small stock and have no pack animals.

The amount of walking we seem to expect of the African is prodigious. I met a man some time ago who, responding to the call for more crops, produced a ton of seed cotton. This he was expected to carry to market five miles away, which involved, you will see, a little walk of about four hundred and fifty miles, during half of which he had to carry a very bulky and awkward fifty pounds of cotton on his head. He complained that the task of marketing his crop was impossible, impossible for a curious reason. It was not the walk which beat him. He was prepared for that, but he had discovered that if he took in one load on each market day, there were not enough market days to allow of the selling of half his crop!

And who is this African of whom we expect such feats of endurance, such perseverance in the common cause? A little man, in weight and size approximating to the European female, light-boned, often ill-nourished and almost invariably supporting blood or intestinal parasites which seriously reduce his vigour, mental and physical: an off-shoot of *homo sapiens* who under tropical conditions developed certain specialized traits such as a black skin, a broad nose, and increased pore area, so that he is biologically better suited than we Europeans to high temperatures and humidity. There is some evidence that he is more economical of calcium than we are, that he is perhaps less sensitive to pain and that certain of his perceptive processes are somewhat different from ours. But he is, nevertheless, *homo sapiens*, a branch of the parent stock from which we, too, have sprung, and therefore heir to those human ills from which we all are apt to suffer.

He feels much as we do, with this important difference, that whereas he may never remember having been one hundred per cent fit, he does not undergo such acute psychological hardship as we do when *we* are ill, nor does he complain as we do at a lack of comfort which *he* has never known.

How strange that more should be expected of this dwarf, sickly branch of the human stem than of the toughest, healthiest boughs; that in spite of all his manifold disabilities he, who most needs the help of modern invention, should be expected to compete with none but the simplest and most primitive tools, and that in a land where the tropical exuberance of nature is for ever crowding out and relentlessly over-running his puny efforts! How fantastic that his standard of living and his power to purchase his few requirements should be determined by what goes on far away on the highly mechanized

farms of Europe and America? How magnificent that in the economic battle of the hoe against the tractor plough, of the little reaping knife, or the old snail's shell, against the combine harvester, of the head load against the lorry, the black man and his society have managed to keep going at all! His contribution to the modern world may be small; the marvel is that it is anything at all.

Leisure is valuable to all men of all races. Leisure has its price, and whether a human being is prepared to give up those valued hours and days when he can do exactly as the spirit moves him, and use that time in a way not particularly congenial to him, depends on what price his sacrifice fetches, what goods and services, what prestige and social position, what self-satisfaction and esteem attend his labours.

There is no virtue in work *per se*. Honest toil is excellent only in so far as labour is intelligently used. It is merely a waste of our God-given powers to spend more energy than necessary on a task, energy which if husbanded could later be utilized on other productive work. We should abandon once and for all the common habit of calculating men's effectiveness by the hours they keep or the effort they expend, because, whether it be in the sphere of physical labour or brain work, it is what they produce which matters. Heaven defend us from the unsuccessful "trier"!

We wish to raise the standard of living in Africa, which necessarily means increasing the real wealth per head of the population, but we shall never achieve any notable success until the African producer advances technically. He can, of course, be urged to spend more of his time working. There are those who say he could double his working hours, but even if this be true, it merely means that his income is raised from the equivalent of a few shillings a month to a few more shillings a month, an insufficient increase to assure the minimum standard of living compatible with a healthy existence and adequate social services anywhere, let alone in the tropics where the maintenance of health presents very special and "expensive" problems.

One cannot but reach the conclusion that the African's present income is not only insufficient; it is of the wrong order of magnitude, and it cannot be raised sufficiently while his present methods of production are maintained. Nothing less than a complete technical revolution will do. It will probably be a gradual process, an "evolution" if you prefer the term, and it may be better for Africa in the long run if it is, and if the pace is not too fast, because it will involve many and complex adjustments, far-reaching changes both in the social and political sphere to keep pace with the changing economy of the people, changes it would be exceptionally difficult, if not impossible, to forecast accurately.

This does not mean, however, that the technical revolution, the mechanization foreshadowed (according to the Press) by no less a person than His Excellency Sir Wilfrid Jackson, should be allowed to proceed haphazardly,

that the African should be turned loose to rape his continent with modern inventions whose uncontrolled and unscientific use has desolated vast tracts in other lands, and has actually imperilled the very existence of a leading nation of the world. No, the process should be most carefully guided and controlled by knowledgeable specialists, knowledgeable because they can draw on the results of adequate research into the technical and social problems involved.

This country is primarily an agricultural one, and it seems that agriculture is destined to remain its economic backbone for as long as we need consider at the moment. The raising of the African's standard of living by the increase of real wealth, therefore, depends on us being able to get the most out of our land without ruining it in the process. This, I venture to say, can never be achieved by the type of peasant farming we now know in which each family strives to raise all, or nearly all, its own food, forcing the native to use land for purposes for which it is not really suitable.

How often does one see huge areas of good mountain grazing broken and planted to grain with disastrous results, the rivers running inky black or blood red as they carry the precious soil to the sea? How often does one find crops of all kinds planted on marginal land, poor yields resulting? How many areas can we point to where periodic food shortages do not occur with alarming regularity, sometimes a shortage of one particular type of food, sometimes a shortage of all food, shortages which, even if they fortunately rarely mean acute starvation, nevertheless insidiously sap the vitality and health of the people, rendering them less efficient citizens and more than ever prone to that "inherent laziness" so roundly condemned in the Upper House.

But rational utilization of our land, the key as I see it to future prosperity, is a long and tricky task. The whole social and political structure of this country is built up on the present system of peasant farming—or, perhaps, "gardening" would be a truer description—and the introduction of agricultural specialization would, therefore, necessarily involve very far-reaching changes in every aspect of native life. This process would have to be gradual. It might take several generations, but it must come if Africa is to go forward, because the present system has well-defined limits which we have just about reached.

To make the matter clear, let us take a typical example, the Mahenge area, chosen simply because it is the one best known to the writer. The hill country, erroneously called "the plateau", consists of some of the best stock-raising land in this Territory. Its high rainfall and fertile soils support good grazing the year round, providing almost ideal conditions for raising meat and dairy produce. The flat plains below yield heavy crops of rice, sorghum, maize, sweet potatoes, pulses, cotton, and so on.

Unfortunately, however, the present system of peasant agriculture, in which each man must raise his own food, has led to much of the so-called

plateau being broken for arable farming, chiefly grain growing, which is most undesirable because of the steep slopes involved.

The rational method of using our land, as I see it, is to turn the plateau into a stock area, feeding the hill folk with grain grown on the plains below, and the plains dwellers with meat and dairy products from the plateau. This could indeed be done so long as crop acreages on the plains' alluvia could be increased by the introduction of labour-saving methods, and provided suitable means were forthcoming to facilitate the transport and exchange of produce between the two areas.

Furthermore, the use of mechanical methods of farming and processing by the plains dwellers would mean that not more than twenty per cent of them need be employed in raising food for local consumption and the present small export surplus, so that eighty per cent of the bulk of the district's population would eventually be released for other productive work, resulting in a vast increase in the real wealth of the community and a corresponding raising of its standard of living.

Of the eighty per cent released, a proportion could with great advantage be absorbed locally in trade, social services, as craftsmen and skilled artisans, but even so, a large number would be left available for producing exportable products, thereby enabling the community to increase its consumption of the many imported articles of which it stands in such desperate need.

Exactly how they should be employed is a matter which can only be settled after a careful regional survey, but already our knowledge is sufficient to provide a pointer, if nothing more. In this district, as in so many others, there are vast areas of *miombo* forest, in this case of a luxuriant type. These *miombo* soils are nothing like so rich as our best alluvial, arable areas, but they can produce fine grazing, and would make excellent stock-raising country but for the tsetse fly. It has, therefore, always appeared to me an attractive proposition, though one I only put forward tentatively at present, that these areas should be cleared of forest and tsetse and used for raising those animal products with which the markets of the world, particularly in Asia, are far from saturated.* It is a project on which those released from the present system of peasant agriculture could, I think, be employed not only for their own profit but also to the benefit of the whole country.

In other words, this district which has hitherto exported nothing but crops, commanding low prices locally on account of its geographical position, would in time be enabled to build up in addition a profitable export trade in animal products, meat and meat extracts, hides and skins, ghee, etc., and that after balancing its own diet.

Schemes of this sort, however, like all big economic projects, require capital and brains, both of which we must supply, at least in the initial stages.

*The local population themselves could, with great advantage to their health, consume five thousand tons of meat per annum were it only available.

But they also involve something more. They require the most careful and honest investigation. We have to research into soils, water, vegetation, and into the reactions of man, beast and plants to them. We must investigate the possibilities and limitations of agricultural and other machinery under local conditions, and—what is most important—we must study the best method of leading the native out of his old, poverty-stricken, world of scarcity into the new one of abundance. We must make him, not spoil him.

The sociological research required is the most difficult investigation of all, because the human factor is the least predictable and because in such inquiries the observer finds it hardest to overcome his own bias and prejudices. But it must be done. We have to settle major economic, social and political questions (note the order!); we have to lay the foundations of a new system to replace the old; we must decide on what will be most suitable, whether a form of capitalism, or state-owned and/or controlled enterprise, or collectivism, or perhaps something quite new which we and the African in concert must invent and evolve.

True progress is only born of painstaking inquiry by fertile, vigorous and unbiased minds: so, when considering our post-war plans, let us not forget that the resources of which we most stand in need are accurate knowledge of this land and its peoples, the intelligent application of which alone can make the African's labour really profitable and so open up a way to defeating what the noble lord pleased to call "the inherent laziness of the native".

Sukuma Twin Ceremonies—*Mabasa*

By H. Cory

THE ceremonies concerned with the birth of twins vary in different parts of the country, and it can be said in general that the proceedings become less elaborate the further north one goes. While the Ntemi or his representative still plays an important role in the involved twin ceremonies of Unyamwezi, in Usukuma he has no part in them and they are only a shadow of the true *mabasa*, although some form of the *ngoma* is obligatory everywhere.

It is well known that twins, children born in the wrong position and children who cut their upper teeth first were killed in former times. In the first case it is uncertain whether the old custom of killing twins or one of the twins has completely died out in the more remote parts of the country. The ritual killing in the other two cases is certainly not performed any more.*

On account of the importance of this subject, I give below several statements made by people who have either borne twins and taken part in the ceremonies or who played their part as officials in the same. While most of these reports deal with the ceremonies of the *ngoma*, the last one (given by Ntemi W. of Shinyanga) gives the best idea of the sociological and, from the point of view of the European, criminal aspect of the *mabasa*.

I hope it will be understood that the following treatise is in no way meant to be proof that twins are still killed. It is generally acknowledged in literature that twins have been killed, but how far this custom is still in force could only be ascertained by exact statistics.

"MABASA"

(Informant: Binti Shyja, Native of the Uyowu District)

Whether the twins are born alive or not the *ngoma mabasa* has to be performed in any case.

*Twins were not killed everywhere in East Africa :

Masai.—Not only do they not kill twins, but they greet them as lucky omens and the parents are proud of them. (Merker : "The Masai".)

Uganda.—Twins are not killed, but are considered to be connected with fertility of the fields. (Sir J. G. Frazer : "The Golden Bough".)

Shilluk.—Twins are considered a gift from heaven and ceremonies are performed at their birth to protect them from evil. (P. W. Hofmayr : "Die Shilluk".)

On the morning after birth some of the *mabasa* people, that is couples who have themselves borne twins, go into the bush to get the following things :—

Muvumbu tree (*Lannea Schimperi*)—two pieces, about two feet by two feet, of the bark.

Mfutambula (*Entada abyssinica*)—a small specimen of the tree from which they cut off all the side branches except a few at the top.

Lugaka (*Aloe*)—one specimen of the plant.

Lugobe—a creeping grass, which they bind round their heads on their return from the bush.

They wrap the above-mentioned things in a cloth and, carrying them into the house of the twins' parents, they sing :

“The female is our game, which we hunt in the bush. The man who looks at our prey shall suffer in his loins. If he looks he will see a black mamba and be eaten by a lion.”

This song is intended to frighten away unwanted spectators from the road. This song is typical of the whole *ngoma mabasa*, in which nearly every proceeding is described by a metaphor taken from the sexual organs or sexual life.

In the home they put the twins on the two pieces of bark and fasten the *lugowi* grass round them in the same way as an Ntemi is invested with the *kibangwe*. They sing :

“*Kajaba tuliambike shinga liami yawuha.*”

“We invest Kajoba with the royal sign of the Ntemi of the Waha.”

The *mfutambula* is stuck in the ground in front of the door as *msigiti*. These *msigiti* are in use at all *ngomas* of the Bantu and probably show that the ceremonies were originally performed under the appropriate tree in the bush. During this work they sing :

“We put the male in the ground and even the male was borne by the female.”

Then they dig a hole beside the *mfutambula*. The afterbirth is put in a pot, covered with another pot, and buried in the hole. They sing :

“*Kenkenke twalikukenka shikulu.*”

“We are preserving here a great thing.”

The *lugaka* is planted over the hole and is left to take root there after the ceremony. As they plant the *lugaka* they sing :

“*Yagwira ikolongo igamba kalumana kalinyo.*”

“The *korongo*, the big antelope, tumbled into the trap, the animal of the female.”

After these preparations the parents are led to the spot dressed only in a small strip of bark cloth. The man fetches a stick of *mkoma* (*Grewia* sp.), which is usually used for threshing the sorghum. It has three or four prongs. The wife takes a hoe, and the *kambula* or midwife a small basket of all kinds of seeds. They go round the village and in front of every house the husband scratches the ground with the stick, the wife hoes and the midwife throws a little seed into the turned earth and replaces it with her foot. They sing :

“*Kulule iluga*”, that is, *glandem praeputio operire*.

Covering the seed with soil is an act of everyday life; but the accompanying song, though not exactly symbolic, pays the necessary tribute to the nature of the *mabasa*. The explanation of this ceremony is that the crop of the season has been endangered by the birth of the twins and the planting of the seed in front of every house in the village removes this danger.

The rest of the ceremony can now be postponed until native beer is brewed or even until any date the people concerned agree upon.

The *ngoma mabasa* is not affected by the fate of the twins. It has to be performed in any case whether the twins have been killed or both are alive, or one is alive and one dead.

On the appointed day all those concerned go into the bush together with the parents. The ceremonies there fall into two parts, the first a symbolic repetition of the birth, the second a symbolic burial of the twins.

First part:

The parents are left behind under a *msuhwa* tree (*Acacacia nefasia*) while the others go to collect several roots and plants: roots of *mtungulu* (*Pseudolachnostylis mapraunaefolia*); roots of *bununghwa ngkala* (*Clerodendron acerbium*) and roots of *mbapa* (*Markhamia obtusifolia*).

These three roots are pounded and some pieces of the bark of the *murumbu* tree (*Lannea Schimperi*) which they have brought with them are added as *chingira*. This bark, on which the twins have been laid during the first part of the ceremonies, represents here the twins themselves.

Further they collect branches of *vambangoma* (*Balanites tomentosa*) and *mganga* (*Acacia Benthadini*) and leaves of *mtundulu* (*Dichrostachys glomerata*).

They return with all these things to the parents under the *msuhwa* and there they prepare a thorn-bed of the branches of *vambangoma* and *mgunga*. They rub the backs of the parents with the leaves of *mtundulu* and one after the other of them is made to lie upon the thorns. The others sing meanwhile :

“*Kiwiala mabasa nene msoga, kuntomba munyo, mayu, bakalilala bakalileka kafioko.*”

“I the generator of twins, I am a proper person, O mother. The sexual intercourse has left me exhausted.”

After they have been lifted off the bed they are rubbed with groundnut oil.

Second part:

The *muwumbu* medicine is wrapped in leaves of *mlama* (*Combretum Gueinzii*) and a small hole is dug under the *msuhwa* tree.

A pot of beer, two small calabashes containing flour and water, some strings of beads, a pot of water, *matete* reeds (hollow), an axe and a pot-ladle have also been brought to the scene of the *ngoma*, and now the small parcel representing the twins is put into the pot of beer. The axe representing the father and the pot-ladle representing the mother are put on top of the pot. Then they dance the *ngoma mabasa*, after which the parcel is taken out of the beer pot and buried in the hole. They sing:

“*Twalira yashindagira ya ngwana mshikira.*”

“We cry, we stamp on the ground over the child who has disappeared.”

(*Kushika*—to die but without a definite diagnosis of the cause.)

This song is also repeated whenever a grown-up twin is buried.

It is obvious that this act signifies the burial of the twins. If the twins have been killed, this is their ceremonial burial and if they are alive the parcel is buried in their stead.

The next step is to prepare the two calabashes. A hollow *matete* reed is inserted in the mouth of each and the calabash is then closed up round it with the wax of wild bees. These two calabashes are called *finga*, and in addition to this name each has his own name, one being called *Kulwa* and the other *Doto*, the names which are given to all twins. Every person present sucks out a mouthful of the contents of the *finga* and spits it on to the parents. Then the *finga* are decorated with the strings of beads and taken to the home of the parents where they are kept for ever as paraphernalia of ancestor worship.

There can be no doubt that the *finga* represent the twins. The native himself explains that the *matete* reed is the *roho* or soul, which is put into the calabash; the flour and water are the blood; but the *finga* are not meant to be the dwelling place of the twins' spirits. While during the ceremony the *finga* may be considered as representatives of the twins, they change at home into objects which are kept as links between the living and the spirits of the twins. This idea seems to be indicated by the fact that the *finga* are opened at home and the *matete* reeds removed and cut into pieces to be worn by the parents as amulets. At last the parents are led to a *kibumbuswa* or small white-ant hill and are shaved, the hair being carefully collected and thrown into a hole in an ant hill.

All then return home where they meet the other members of the *mabasa* dancing and singing. All the songs of the *mabasa* are extremely indecent and during the ceremonies the language of the people in charge is purposely interspersed with obscene words, for example any object used would be referred

to by the name of a sexual organ. Below follow a few examples of the songs of the public dance of the *mabasa* :—

1. It is beaten, the drum, another time.
It sounds. It talks and speaks words of evening.
Let us go and sleep together,
Let us lie in the proper position,
Kulwa and Doto, the twins,
I conceived these my children,
Lying on my back.
2. I must leave the house of my husband,
I cannot sleep any more in this house,
Which is one for prostitutes,
Who look around without bashfulness.
I worked hard in the fields,
But now came a female,
A thing which eats without doing fieldwork.
3. *Kulwa na Doto*. The father knows nothing of poverty.
He generates twins, for which has to be
Arranged the costly *mabasa*.
O mother, what did I do?
I allowed the whet-stone to fall
All too deep into the well.

“MABASA”

(Informant: Ntemi S. of Nzega District)

When twins are born the Ntemi or his representative must be informed at once. Years ago the Batemi sold all rights in the *mabasa* ceremonies, especially in the more remote parts of the country, to their sub-chiefs or village headmen, and as this payment was made once and for all, when a village headman (*ng'wananguwa*) dies his successor has only to prepare beer for a ritual cleaning of the drums which were bestowed upon his predecessor as a sign of the acquired right. The price was, and still is, fifteen goats.

Most parts of the district have been sold like this except the villages near the *ikuru* and from the sold villages only those who have borne twins but are unable to pay the fee for the ceremony approach the Ntemi himself in this matter.

A few old women, members of the *ngoma mabasa*, go to the *Ngole wa* or *w' Ihanga*, the chief wife of the Ntemi, and ask for the *ngoma ya kwisenderera*, the drum of ancestor worship. This is a drum of medium size. The *Ngole* marks the old women on the face with *luwanga* (flour and water) and they inform her whether the trouble is twins or a child born in the wrong position,

as the *ngoma mabasa* has to be held for either. Ntemi S. explains that, as the fee payable differs in these two cases, one twin is often killed at once by the midwife. It is then pretended that the remaining child was a *kasintje*. Two goats and two cows have to be paid for twins, but only one goat and one hoe for *kasintje*. This is especially done if the midwife is an old friend of the family and no other person was present at the confinement.

The killing of the twins has nothing to do with the *ngoma mabasa*. The birth of twins has two consequences. One is that the lives of the parents or nearest relatives are threatened, the other that the whole district is in danger regarding the fertility of the fields and the regularity of the rainfall. The first is a private family matter and the family itself decides whether the twins are to survive or not; the second is a matter of public concern and the *ngoma mabasa* is performed and the fees are paid to remove a public danger.

When the *mabasa* people with the drum of the *Ngole wa Ihanga* have returned home, they perform their ceremonies and they have nothing to do with the Ntemi, but afterwards they go to the *ikuru* for the *kukulula*. This word is only used for the following ceremony of cleansing the district after the birth of twins.

They bring with them the two goats and two hoes and about one hundred yards from the *ikuru* the procession stops and sits down. All the paraphernalia of ancestor worship are brought outside the house and set in a row. The *ithumbi lya matemero*, the stool connected with a second stool by a bar and used at the enthronement, is also placed outside the door and the Ntemi and the Ngole sit down on it. Nowadays the Ntemi usually sends a boy to represent him.

Mla (python dung) is put on the two new hoes and each piece of the ritual paraphernalia is marked with a white spot. The Ntemi and Ngole are also marked with the *mla* on the forehead, palms of hands, etc. Then the parents of the twins come up and fasten two feathers of the bird *hulukulu* to the forehead of the Ntemi. The *mabasa* people hand a very small bow and arrow to the Ntemi and the Ngole, who fix them round their heads.

After this the parents bring the twins on a big tray to the Ntemi or, if they are dead, the *funga* in their place. The Ntemi and Ngole seize the tray and lift it up and down twice, afterwards returning to the *ihanga* and closing the door behind them. The *ihanga* door is always made only of sorghum stalks (asylum!). The parents of the twins go back about twenty feet and then run forwards to the door and kick it. They go back a second time and run at the door again, breaking it down and thus entering the *ihanga* by force. This is called *kupamalige*—to push the door (*nyango*). Those inside have been waiting for the parents and as soon as they enter their faces are smeared with soot from the cooking pots, after which all sit down, beer is served, and the *muomba*, the leader of the *mabasa* people, says to the Ntemi:

"We came here into the house to ask you if we have observed all the rules, so that you may not say afterwards that we have omitted important parts of the ceremony."

The Ntemi answers :

"It is all right. Go home."

"*Chagi bamanyo gimwe na maluga ginwe.*"

The explanation for this last ceremony is as follows : Both parents and the twins have been tabooed. We have heard that the Ntemi is not allowed to see them ; but through the previous ceremonies they have been cleansed. They now show this by entering the house of the Ntemi by force. They need no longer avoid the Ntemi. The Ntemi blackens their faces with soot, thus indicating that the danger for the district regarding rainfall is removed. We know from the rain ceremonies that black represents clouds.

"MABASA"

(Informant: Pandakilima, Mwagala District)

If twins are born we at once call an *mgangi* as an *mfumu wa mabasa* is called. Neither the Ntemi nor the *ng'wananguwa* are informed. The parents are not allowed to eat until the *mgangi* (always a woman) appears and prepares a gruel into which a medicine is mixed. It is served on the seat of a low chair and the parents kneel down to sip the gruel. At the same time the *mgangi* prepares a medicine for washing the twins. [This man was very vague in his statements about the fate of the twins. He insisted on giving his information about the whole subject in the past tense.]

Native beer is prepared later and when it is ready the parents inform the *mgangi* who comes with many other *mabasa* people, who are also called *bugota*. A goat is killed and the contents of its intestines are mixed with medicine and water, and again the parents and twins or, if the twins are dead, the *funga* are washed. Then the parents are anointed with oil. They leave the house with the *mgangi* and a few others taking the *funga* with them. Not far from the house they put beads round the *funga* and mark them with *mila* (python dung) and *gula* (the red earth of the Masai). The father carries a bow and arrow, the mother a pot-ladle. Then they return to their house and as soon as they come near the door they start running. The father bangs on the door with the bow, the mother with the pot-ladle. They exclaim : "*Matamba ise*" ("I kill my father").

They go back once more and return running and this time they enter the house.

That day and the next the *ngoma mabasa* is danced by the neighbours who are parents of living or dead twins, and the meat of the goat and sometimes also of an ox is consumed, together with a lot of native beer.

The *ngoma mabasa* is also danced when a diviner orders a *tambiko* for twins. This will last only one day. Therefore the *ngoma mabasa* is not always the sign that twins have been born.

A study of the above report shows how elements of different ceremonies can be adopted and combined by a society, especially if the society is not indigenous to that part of the country, or if its importance is vanishing.

We know that originally the parents had to enter the royal residence by force. The role of the Ntemi has in this part of the country been eliminated, and so the parents enter their own house by force, but this has no foundation in the purpose of the *ngoma mabasa*. Therefore it became associated with an idea borrowed from the symbolism of rebirth, where running is always symbolic of labour. In the original *mabasa* the parents run to show that they are accepted again as full members of the community. This running is now, as it were, misinterpreted as labour, and they exclaim at the door, "I kill my father" an expression of deep-rooted instinct derived from initiation rites. (A ceremony which transmutes, as I see it, the subconscious Oedipus-complex into an action.)

"MABASA"

(Informant: Ntemi W., Shinyanga District)

The Ntemi is not informed in the case of birth of twins but they are reported like any other birth for the book of the *ibanza*.

The afterbirth is buried near the door and a *lugaka* plant (*Aloe* sp.) is planted on the spot and also some beans. The relatives are called to the house of the parents to discuss the fate of the twins, for whom there exist the following possibilities :—

1. The *kukeni*, near relatives of the mother, and the *kuumeni*, near relatives of the father, may agree that the life of the parents is threatened and that therefore the twins must be killed. This will probably be the usual decision in the remote parts of the district and if other children already exist.

2. The *kukumeni* and *kuumeni* may compromise by killing one of the twins, hoping that this will save their relatives. In the past both twins would certainly have been killed. It is difficult to say how the matter stands now. It is a fact that we find a lot of Kulwas and Dotos among the people, but the question is whether they belong to the same parents or not, which means that probably only one of the twins survives. Whether this is due to the fact that often one of the twins is weak and dies, or whether one is still killed, it is difficult to say.

3. Both children may be allowed to live. For this case we have an example in the Ntemi's family. Twins were born and to save them they were removed from their parents' house. This fact alone shows that the danger still exists. Anyhow one of the twins very soon died.

It is not enough for the parents alone to be educated and not to believe that the birth of twins endangers their lives. All near relatives are thought to be in danger and probably the majority of the older generation still believes in it. The lives of the twins will, however, be spared if the mother died in childbirth. It is then supposed that the spirits have got their victim and will not ask for another.

In any case, an essential condition of the twins being unharmed is the consent of the diviner who will be asked about the consequences.

The *ngoma mabasa* has to be performed unconditionally, and should the parents refuse to arrange the *mabasa* they will find themselves in opposition to the whole community. They would not be forced to leave the district nor would they be ostracized, but in the event of any general calamity overtaking the village everybody would consider them as the cause. This atmosphere of superstition would have its effect and probably at once induce the parents to call for the *mabasa* people and arrange the ceremonies. If they continued to flout public opinion the consequences would depend on the temper of the neighbours and other conditions of the district. There exists no tribal law to cover such a case, at least not one acknowledged by the European authority. Probably they would be treated as wizards.

One must bear in mind that twins are regarded as a danger from two points of view. First, they endanger the lives of their parents and near relatives who therefore must decide regarding the children's fate, and secondly they are dangerous to the whole village or even the whole district and so the *ngoma mabasa* is necessary for the protection of the community.

* * * *

In most cases the midwife is responsible for putting the twins out of the way. She gets the order from one of the near relations, seldom from the parents themselves. She feeds the newly-born twins with a mixture of hot water and flour, thus causing a quick and symptomless death. The corpses are disposed of in different ways. Nowadays they may be buried near the house, but the ceremonial way to do it would be to kill a goat and to wrap the corpse or corpses in its hide. This is then carried by the *bugota* to the boundary of the next district. There they bury it in a hole, if possible choosing a place near water. One or two of the *bugota* would try to obtain by a trick (or in the last resort by theft) a small quantity of flour in the nearest village of the neighbouring district. With this they return home, mix it there with water, and all the participants would spit it upon the parents' chests and backs.

If there has been no midwife to help the mother, the father himself has to kill the twins. This he does by closing their noses and mouths with his hands and suffocating them. He never strangles them. Then on the edge of a watering place for cattle a hole is dug and the twins are buried there. A calabash of beer prepared for the meeting of the *bugota* is brought to the

grave and poured over it. This is called *kupela*. The rule that the twins always have to be buried near water indicates their connection with rain.

As soon as the bean seed, planted where the afterbirth is buried, has come up, the young leaves are picked and cooked, afterwards being put into the *finga*. This is called *kutomola*. If only one of the twins is killed only one *finga* is prepared, and kept in the house for use at the *tambiko*.

In former times children born in the wrong position, *kasintje*, and children who cut their upper teeth first, *nsewu*, were also killed and the *ngoma mabasa* was arranged. In these days children born in the wrong position are never killed, but an *ngoma* is arranged. In the case of *nsewu* the only thing done is to prepare medicine. They are never killed and no *ngoma* is danced.

* * * *

The following example may serve as an illustration of the native's attitude regarding the birth of twins and the consequence of it.

In a certain village lightning struck a house and killed an old man. A few days later the wife of his neighbour went to a *muomba*, the local head of the *mabasa* people, and confessed that eight years before she had borne twins, both dead, but that she and her husband decided to pretend that only one child had been born, in order to avoid the expenses of the *ngoma*; besides, they had thought that for twins born dead the *ngoma mabasa* was not necessarily performed. But now, through the sudden death of their neighbour, they both became conscious of a connection between this death and their fault, and are terribly frightened that other calamities for the village may arise. All the inhabitants of the village agreed that these twins had been killed. I could not ascertain the reason for this belief; probably they knew of circumstantial proofs. Nobody, however, cared about this, and as the parents agreed at once to arrange an *ngoma mabasa*, everybody was satisfied.

The man who told me about this case had the power to investigate the case officially, being the *ng'wanangwa* of the village, but the idea of doing such a thing appeared quite absurd to him.

The average native, and probably many a sophisticated one too, still thinks that it is a sign of witchcraft to ignore the various customs relating to twin birth and their attendant dangers, and is thus at present mentally incapable of regarding this type of homicide as a crime.

An Annotated List of Ancient and Modern Indigenous Stone Structures in Eastern Africa

By C. Gillman

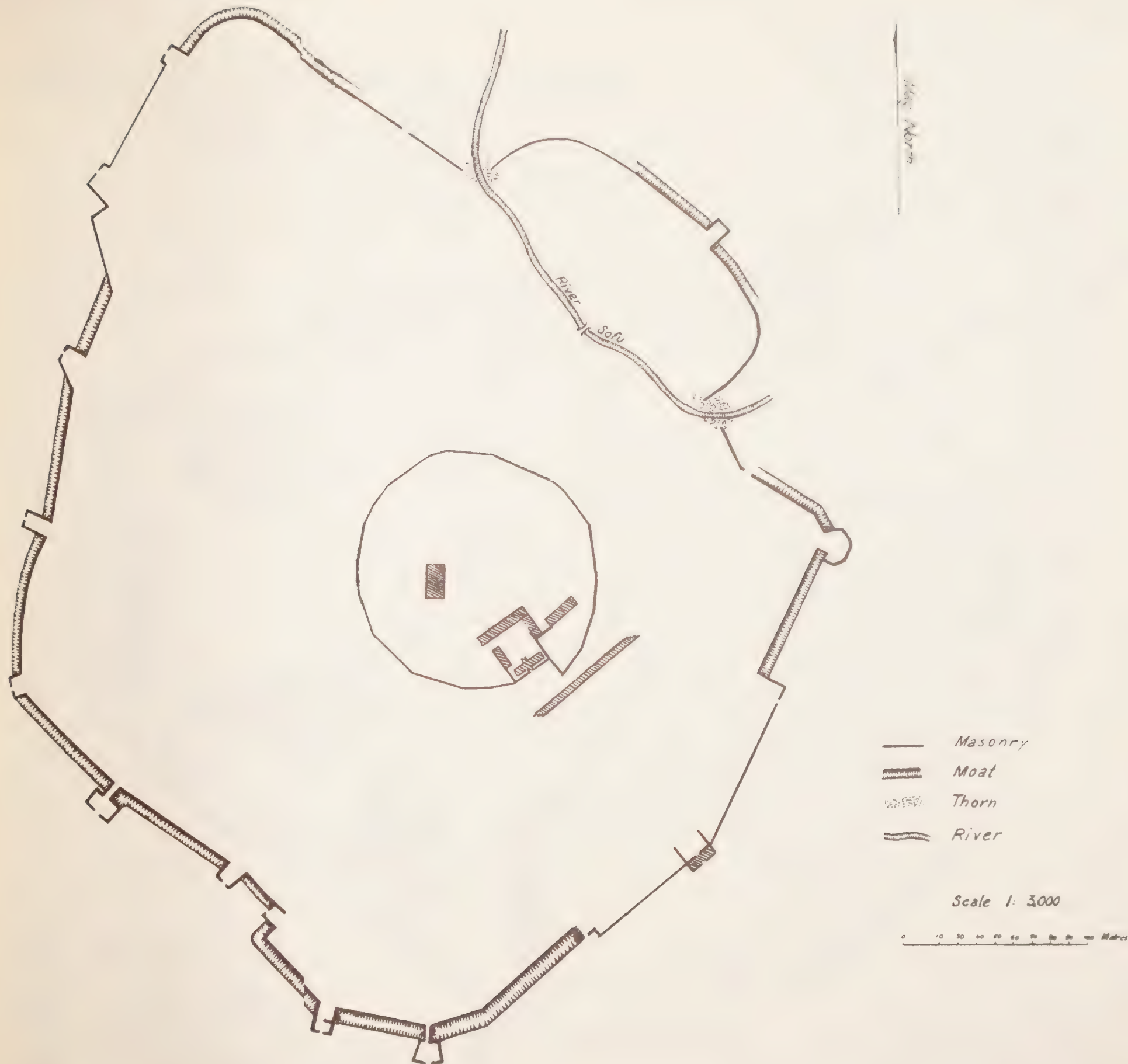
OCCASIONALLY one hears doubt expressed that natives of Eastern Africa know the art of constructing stone masonry, and that all such stone structures as exist are the result of foreign influence. It seems, therefore, desirable to take stock of the known, undoubtedly post-stone age masonry works—or their ruins—which, as far as one can judge, have been built by genuine Africans, be they Hamitic, Nilotic or Bantu. For this purpose I have compiled the following list which, I hope, will stimulate further discoveries, and which should by no means be regarded as complete or final. It contains only pre-Bantu or Bantu masonry structures which are essentially of stone, whether with or without clay or other mortar, as well as planned, man-created excavations in rock. Walls and other structures built purely of clay or mud are not included. Nor is it intended to enter into discussions regarding the age of the older ruins, or the age and history of their builders; but my list may prove useful to others much better qualified than I for prehistoric research.

In addition to a great deal of searching through old and more recent literature I have received valuable help from Arthur M. Champion and Mrs. M. D. Leahey for Kenya, from Dr. K. A. Davies for Uganda, and from Dr. F. Dixey for Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, to all of whom I express thanks. I was, thus, enabled to extend my list from the Zambezi in the south to, roughly, the latitude of Lake Rudolf in the north, and to compile a small-scale map (Plate I) showing the distribution of the listed sites throughout British Eastern Africa.

NYASALAND AND RHODESIA

Dr. Dixey, whose long and extensive geological and hydrological studies in both these dependencies have taken him far afield, writes as follows: "I regret I cannot give any information as to stone structures of the type you describe, since I have not seen any, nor met records of any, in any of the countries in which I have worked." It seems, therefore, that in this vast area of typical "shifting cultivation", the culture of which is almost entirely based on wood and clay, the use of stone remained unknown to the indigenous peoples. As one crosses into the more open country of Southern Rhodesia and the Northern Transvaal, however, relics of masonry structures become frequent and have been much discussed by opposing schools of pre-historians.

PII DISTRIBUTION OF SITES



PI. 2. THE FORTIFICATION OF THE WASANGU TOWN
UT NGULE AT THE FOOT OF MBEYA.
SURVEYED IN DECEMBER 1898.

Pl. 3. Plan of the Town Kwirina in Uhehe
Stormed on 30/94



But no final decision has as yet been reached, although the more recent trend of mind is gaining strength, which holds that these structures are the work of a native African race in comparatively modern times.

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY

Turning northwards into the south-western highlands of Tanganyika Territory we find records of two very interesting "city-walls" of which we possess properly surveyed plans (Plates II and III):

(1) MERERE'S WALL AT UTENGULE.—This wall is situated at the southern foot of Mbeya Mountain opposite the old Utengule Mission, on the left bank of the Sofwe stream near the point of confluence with the Fisimbi. Its altitude is 1,400 metres above sea-level. "Utengule" is a general name for Merere's fortified capitals of which four are known. The first three were situated in the Usanga plains of the upper Ruaha drainage, the oldest having been built by Mui 'Gumbe (Merere I), the great Chief of the Wasangu, in the middle of the nineteenth century; the second, not far away, was built by Merere II and burnt in the great wars between the Wasangu and Wahehe; the third Utengule—where Elton camped in December 1877, and from where he visited the ruins of the second capital (Elton and Coterill, "Travels and Researches, etc.", 1879, and this Journal, No. 8, p. 100). This third fortified town was of a more temporary nature—a "stockade" as Elton calls it. All these fortifications were built of clay. The fourth Utengule, finally, with which these notes deal, is described as follows by Dr. Fuelleborn, "Das D. Nyasa und Ruwuma Gebiet", 1906, pp. 205-6: "In about 1877 Merere, with the remnants of his army, went to Usafwa whose inhabitants he conquered, except those who retired into the mountains, and from his new Utengule he carried fire and sword far into the surrounding country . . . This Utengule was evacuated in 1898 by order of the District Commissioner of Langenburg under Merere IV, who returned to and rebuilt the old capital in the Usanga plains in 1899." Joseph Thomson, whose route in 1879 lay some distance to the south, did not visit the place but mentions it on page 232, Vol. I, of his "To the Central African Lakes", London, 1881. During its existence of about twenty years Mbeya-Utengule was visited by v. Wissmann's expedition in February 1893 (*D.K.B.*, 1893, p. 357), and on the 5th October 1896 by Dr. Bornhardt, the well-known geologist, who gives a concise account of the town and of the wall surrounding it on all sides and built of rubble masonry in clay mortar ("Oberflaechengestalt und Geologie von D.O.A.", Berlin, 1900, p. 167). Finally, we have Fuelleborn's own careful and lengthy observations, his detailed plan of the walls, and some excellent photographs of the whole town seen from an adjoining slope, of a street inside, and a detailed view of the outer wall (Tb. 92 and 93 of his album), all taken in 1898 some time after the departure of the inhabitants, when "jiggers, rats and lizards were the only occupants of this once flourishing centre of trade". The plan

shows the general lay-out of the outer wall and of a similar internal structure protecting the chief's "castle"; and from the accompanying text one gathers that "the outer wall was about three metres high and half a metre broad . . . with numerous loop-holes . . . and cleverly designed bastions, and in places had a broad moat, steeply sloped and up to two metres deep . . . For natives this town was probably impregnable as proved by the long siege of the Wahehe". Fuelleborn's photograph reveals a structure of the rubble masonry identical with that shown on Wynn Jones's photograph from Kilimanjaro (*vide* item (6) of this list); both walls are built of neo-volcanic boulders. At the time of my own visit, in July 1927, the ruined outer wall was still clearly visible and breached twice by the Utengule-Mbalizi-Igale Pass motor road.

(2) KWAWA'S WALL AT KWIRINGA, THE PRESENT KALENGA, OR OLD IRINGA.—Giraud, "Les Lacs de l'Afrique Equatoriale", Paris, 1889, p. 141, found in 1883 at this site "a wide township surrounded by stockades and containing about twenty to thirty 'tembes', on both sides of the Little Ruaha River (quoted by Fuelleborn, p. 258)". After his great victory over the Germans on the 17th August 1891, Kwawa, the mighty Wahehe chief, had the town considerably fortified with the help of Wanyamwezi and Arabs, and much enlarged. On the 31st October 1894 the town was stormed by the German troops under Colonel v. Scheele, who writes (*Mitt. D. Sch.*, Vol. 9, 1896, pp. 73-4): "The capital Kwiringa consisted of a large number of tembes surrounded by a bastioned wall. This wall was built of tree trunks about four metres long, the intervals between which were filled with a stone wall laid in clay mortar. On this outer wall rested a flat roof supported on the inside by an open hall of wooden pillars. The perimeter of the whole wall was over five thousand metres, and the population of the quite town-like establishment four to five thousand souls." Lieutenant Engelhardt reported at the end of November 1894 on the conquered fortress (*D.K.B.*, 1895, pp. 108-9), after having prepared a detailed plan to the scale 1 in 7,500, which appeared with v. Scheele's paper and is reproduced in Fuelleborn's work on Tb. 41. The latter himself states (p. 258) that in 1897 he found only remnants of the outer wall and of two artificial earth mounds originally erected for observation purposes. When I camped at Sapi's court at Kalenga in 1927 I saw no trace of the wall, nor was my attention drawn to its former existence by the great Kwawa's son, who preferred to talk to me of Munich beer and other reminiscences of his early upbringing in Germany!

(3) KINGO'S WALL AT MOROGORO.—This wall was situated approximately on the site of the present central prison. Nothing is known to me of its history, but when I saw it early in 1907, it was a crumbling structure the stones of which were bought for a small sum (500 rupees, if I remember correctly) by the Central Railway contractors and used for building Morogoro railway station.

(4) "MASAI WALLS".—On the northern coast of Tanganyika Territory one finds substantially-built walls of coralstone masonry laid in lime mortar, generally referred to as "Masai Walls". The southernmost known remnants of such a wall are in Tongoni village (Mtangata Bay), about twenty kilometres south from Tanga. The best examples of as yet well preserved walls are those partly surrounding the formerly more important "town" of Moa and, close by, the villages Zingibari and Petugiza; the latter not, as one might think, a corruption of Portuguezi, but a Kidigo term signifying a scattered hamlet, as J. W. T. Allen informs me. The present elders of these villages are unanimous in their assurance that these structures were erected by their forefathers as protection against the Masai whose hordes, as is well known, extended their raids to the coast, then well-stocked with cattle. There can be no doubt, in my opinion, that these walls were built by Waswahili whose skill as masons was in all probability strongly influenced by Arabs. The walls are between two and two and a half metres high and their shape a square or rectangle. R. F. Burton mentions them in the account of his journey, in 1857, from Mombasa to Pangani ("Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast", London, 1872, pp. 111, 119, and 128 of Vol. II). Dr. O. Baumann is more explicit in his "Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete", Berlin, 1891, pp. 77, 80, 98, and 149.

Remnants of similar, though much more crudely constructed "Anti-Masai Walls"—as I prefer to call them—I have also seen at several sites in the North Mara District, north of Musoma; and A. H. Savile tells me of others on the high ground of the South Rubeho Mountains, south of Gulwe in the Central Province.

(5) PRE-MASAI WELLS AND TANKS.—These interesting structures were first made known by Dr. (now Sir Edmund) Teale from southern and central Masailand, the best studied examples being some tanks excavated from rock along the Kondoa-Handeni stock route, near Kibaya, and the well-fields of Nabarere, Ngasumat and Makami. The first reference to these sites that I have been able to trace is contained in the Annual Report of the Tanganyika Territory Geological Survey for 1927 where, on page 8, one finds the following statement: "It is clear that a pre-Masai people once occupied this region, that they not only dug deep wells with considerable success, but that when underground water was not readily obtainable they constructed large excavations to conserve surface water." (It is likely that not easily accessible, more detailed descriptions are scattered through the Survey files.) The wells at Nabarere and Ngasumat are excavated in hard crystalline limestone with great skill and must once have formed an adequate supply for a sedentary population. Unfortunately, they have since been spoiled by the Masai who, too indolent to draw the water to the surface, have used Chagga workers to dig inclined lateral trenches through the rock so that cattle can now descend to the bottom of the wells for the double purpose of drinking and fouling an otherwise clean

and clear water supply (*vide* my own description of these wells in "Water Consultant's Report, No. 1 of 1938", Dar es Salaam, pp. 22 and 50).

The steeply inclined wells which are being dug and maintained by the Wagogo at the present day into the pediments of remnant hills and ridges may be a degenerated inheritance from, or imitation of, the far superior work of an earlier population. However, they cannot, strictly speaking, be called stone works as their inclined shafts wind tortuously through the decayed rock, carefully avoiding the intervening boulders of as yet unweathered material.

(6) MODERN STONE STRUCTURES IN CHAGGALAND (KILIMANJARO).—These are well described and illustrated by W. Wynn Jones in this Journal, No. 11, 1941. They are said to have originated "in the days of inter-tribal warfare long before European occupation", but are in some localities maintained and used to the present day. The largest and best accessible example is the old, now much breached, wall that surrounded the old "boma" of the famous Marangu Chief, Mareale. To-day this wall, which can be reached by a few minutes' walk from the Marangu hotel, surrounds the modern buildings of the Native Authority Court. These walls consist of "dry" rubble masonry and, as already stated, resemble the Utengule work in their general aspect and structure. I have seen similar though smaller stone walls in the Chagga county of Uru where they serve as dams or weirs to store the night-flow of surface springs or irrigation furrows.

(7) THE "RIFT VALLEY" RUINS IN TANGANYIKA TERRITORY.—These ruins are situated at the foot of the Tanganyika Territory portion of the "Rift Wall" as well as on the westward adjoining highlands at the following localities: Engaruka, Mto-wa-Mbu, Ngorongoro Crater and Sonjo. They consist of tombs, dwellings and irrigation canals undeniably of a sedentary people unanimously regarded as belonging to a pre-Masai or pre-Bantu race. As they are comparatively well documented in literature, it seems advisable to append a list of all records I have been able to collect.

(7, a) ENGARUKA.—The first to record the existence of these ruins over sixty years ago was Dr. Fischer⁽¹⁾ who, marching south along the foot of the "Rift Wall" during the first exploration of Masailand, passed them on the 5th July 1883 and wrote thus: "The ground, covered with crippled *Mimosa* trees [he obviously means *Acacias*—C.G.], showed yellowish grey loam; at one place peculiar masses of stone became suddenly apparent, rising from the plain to heights up to ten feet. Partly they looked like mouldering tree trunks, partly like the tumbled down walls of ancient castles."

In the three-volume account of Drs. Schoeller and Kaiser of their great expedition through Masailand to Uganda in 1896-97⁽²⁾ the ruins of "Ngaruka" are mentioned thus: "No doubt a former settlement must have existed on the site of the present one. Along the mountains exist numerous stone circles and dams which do not derive from the present population."

Jaeger⁽³⁾ merely mentions that he and Uhlig "found" the Engaruka ruins during their expedition in 1904; they camped on the Engaruka stream on the 29th September, and again on the 5th October, but neither Uhlig's otherwise fairly detailed map to the scale of 1 in 150,000 nor Jaeger's later map of 1911, indicate these ruins. Jaeger merely says that they are "alleged" to be of Tatoga origin.

The first detailed description of what he calls "the cairn-field of Engaruka" is by Reck ⁽⁴⁾ (pp. 56 to 58) who, in 1913, was the first archaeologically-trained observer to examine the site. Apparently knowing nothing of his three predecessors' observations, he was "highly surprised by this discovery"! He mentions "over a hundred closely-spaced tumuli in the shape of truncated cones of stone, prevailingly circular in plan and of an average height of about one metre". His paper contains illustrations of an untouched cairn and of one after opening. "The structures are not the simple thrown-up heaps of stone usually found, but consist of well bonded outer walls without any mortar, now frequently capped by a small termite mound." He then mentions "relatively few" larger cairns, about three metres high and six metres in diameter, surrounded by an outer, lower stone ring, and regrets "the traces of artificial interference" ascribed to a white elephant hunter who, years before Reck's visit, had used stones from these cairns to build his own hunting lodge. "The larger cairns provide a connecting link with some spacious structures which evidently never had a central cairn A perfectly flat bare circle of about ten metres diameter is surrounded by a most carefully constructed wall, knee-high and about one and a half metres thick, which consists of an inner and outer bonded stone lining filled irregularly with loose debris, and possesses two diagonally opposed exits." He also opened three of the structures finding only much decayed bone remnants and fragments of a burnt clay vessel with simple line ornaments. Reck then emphasizes the careful methods of building, resulting in great stability, the difference between the three types described, and their agglomeration at one site; all facts leading him to speculations regarding their origin which cannot be entered upon in these merely factual notes. In his "Oldoway" book⁽⁵⁾ he repeats his first learned account in more popular language.

After a time lapse of twenty-two years the Engaruka site was once more "discovered" by M. A. Wetherell of Moshi and the Italian Commander Del Grande, in July 1935. Their investigations, much boosted in the East African Press at the time ⁽⁶⁾ to ⁽⁹⁾, revealed an extent of the ruins over eight to ten miles "between near the Lengai volcano and south of Engaruka village"; the existence of "a very thorough system of terracing (in places six hundred to eight hundred feet up the escarpment)"; and "distinct traces of stone work resembling irrigation furrows"; in addition to the circular stone walls and of "thousands of graves and cairns" of the type already described by Reck. A "conservative estimate" by both Wetherell and Del Grande credits "this

early metropolis" with a population of "at least a quarter of a million inhabitants as a centre of considerable agricultural activity" [*sic*!].

Hurrying to the site as quickly as possible, Dr. Leakey of Nairobi devoted a fortnight to its investigation, resulting in a preliminary report⁽¹⁰⁾. He confirmed the wide extent of the "city", distinguished pathway terraces and house terraces, and an "extremely complicated network of low stone walls which covers the whole of his 'Valley Ruins' area". He also opened a large and small house and a large and small cairn, finding pot shards, a few beads and a small iron razor of unusual type. He estimates the number of inhabitants as "probably between thirty and forty thousand" and that of the houses (exclusive of the cairns) in the main city and in the valley at seven thousand. As regards the age of the ruins he considers them from three hundred to one hundred and fifty years old.

(7, b) NGORONGORO (⁴) (pp. 50 and 58-72).—A. Siedentopf, who had established a cattle ranch on the crater bottom, and his assistant Rothe discovered mounds near their homestead in 1912 and soon recognized them as burial cairns. They were later examined by Drs. Reck (in 1913) and Arning (in 1915), who found in one of them the skeletons of a man, a woman and, lying between them, of a child. The graves are excavated through the soil down to rock level and carry around their upper edge a wall of bonded stone covered with earth. In addition to human bones and skulls, the graves contained artefacts and stone vessels ("grinding pots"), as well as obsidian fragments, clay pot shards, mollusc shell ornaments, including cowries, and beads partly made of chalcedony. Professor Ankermann—in an appendix to Reck's paper—states that the Ngorongoro tombs show several similarities with, but also contrasts to, those of Engaruka, but that both types prove Hamitic origin. He is unable to decide their age but doubts whether they should be ascribed to a Neolithic culture, as Reck does.

(7, c) SONJO (IN NORTH-WEST MASAILAND).—Thus far we only have Fosbrooke's interesting account of these stone works⁽¹¹⁾. They are found on the scree slopes of an upper scarp of the Rift Valley, fifteen to twenty miles west of Lake Natron. The report describes and illustrates "a complicated series of low walls" representing irrigation basins; house sites, as well as house- and pathway-terraces; and stone-built fire places identical with those at Engaruka. Stone cairns are also mentioned.

(7, d) MTO-WA-MBU.—Next we have the quite recent discovery by Watermeyer and Elliott⁽¹²⁾ of a ruins site, "as a whole closely resembling that of Engaruka", about three miles north of the present oasis of Mto-wa-Mbu on the Arusha-Oldeani road at the foot of the "Rift Wall". The place shows clear indications of an irrigation system but the existing stone piles "are probably merely collected together to clear the ground for cultivation". It seems highly desirable that this site should be closely examined by an experienced observer.

(7, e) MINOR RIFT VALLEY SITES.—Reck ⁽⁴⁾ (pp. 57-58) mentions the following :—

In 1916, Mrs. Trappe discovered old tombs on her farm at the eastern foot of Mount Meru, which differ markedly from those at Engaruka and Ngorongoro: "In front of, and not on top of, the grave stood a shield-like stone slab, like a door, about one and a half metres long and one metre high . . . This great slab was supported by dressed stones, and in front of it lay bones, pot shards, and small stones painted red. Remnants of stone huts and of foundations of a stone wall were likewise found."

In 1915, Arning came across a tomb in the steppe below Ngare-Nairobi at the south-western foot of Kilimanjaro, which was revealed when a military trench was dug. This site is probably the same as that from which Landgrebe, a farmer living close by, collected quite a small museum of stone bowls and perforated stone rings between 1925 and 1935. These are identical with those from Ngorongoro illustrated by Reck ⁽⁴⁾ (Plates VII and VIII) and from Sotek in Kenya (C. M. Dobbs, *J.E.A. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, I, 1914, p. 145, and VI, 1918, p. 265). After Landgrebe's internment in 1939 I made every effort to secure his collections, which filled a large show-case in his dwelling house, for the Dar es Salaam Museum, but unfortunately the Custodian of Enemy Property could find no trace of them. Near the northern end of Lake Eyasi, to the south of Oldeani, structures were found by Rothe which—according to Reck—"may fit in age between Ngorongoro and Engaruka". They are cairns like those at Ngorongoro, to be seen everywhere along the north-west shore of Eyasi from the Oldogom stream in the north to Oldonyo Sabuk in the south, and also in the northwards adjoining steppes. On the upper edge of the Eyasi trough, near the confluence of the Oldogom and the Sirwa streams, there are remnants of rectangular masonry dwellings, built of quartz (?) and partly buried under drift sand, as well as a "heart-shaped stone circle, fifty metres in diameter".

Considering these sporadic discoveries, especially the one at Mto-wa-Mbu so close to a main road and to a track much frequented by shooting *safaris*, there seems to be a good prospect that a closer examination of the great triangle between Mount Meru and Lakes Natron and Manyara, as well as of the westward adjoining country of the "Giant Cauldrons", may lead to further valuable finds.

(8) CUP-MARKED ROCKS AND "BAO SETS".—Although not, strictly speaking, stone structures, these interesting examples of artificial excavations on gently sloping rock surfaces—of lavas, granite, schists and sandstones—deserve being mentioned in a list dealing with African stone-culture. The cup-marks of varying spacing, size and diameter are to this day used as communal sites for grinding grain. The "bao sets" are rows of much smaller cavities arranged exactly like, and used for the same purpose as, the well-known wooden sets for playing the old African game of "bao". They are known from many

parts of Tanganyika Territory: Fosbrooke illustrates a good example from Sonjo ⁽¹¹⁾ (Fig. 8) and Reck one from Gohama ⁽⁴⁾ (Plate V, 1), comparing it (p. 55) with others from the Wataturu country and from Ngorongoro. I have seen these excavations on the Iramba Plateau, north of Singida, and in Usukuma where an excellent example had unfortunately to be destroyed by an unavoidable railway cutting at approximately Km. 335 of the Mwanza line.

KENYA COLONY

On stone structures in Kenya we possess the fundamental, well-illustrated paper by G. W. B. Huntingford, "Local Archaeology in Kenya Colony", *J.E.A. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, No. 24, January 1926, pp. 3 to 23, in which he distinguishes (a) large stone enclosures, (b) hut circles, and (c) pit villages. To some of these Champion's attention was drawn many years ago by his workmen who found them a welcome source of readily available stone for the erection of survey beacons (personal communication). From Huntingford's paper and from a more recent list kindly supplied by Mrs. M. D. Leakey I have culled the following localities—those provided by Mrs. Leakey being marked (L)—most of which I have been able to trace on the latest 1/1 Mill. map, N.A.36, 1941, with Champion's help.

(9) THE RIFT VALLEY RUINS IN KENYA.

(9, a) UASINGISHU PLATEAU ENCLOSURES.—These enclosures, of considerable dimensions, are made of dry stone masonry, some having a remarkable square entrance passage roofed with stone slabs. Examples are known from Farms 906 and 307 on the Elgeyo Border (stone enclosures); from Tambach (L), stone circles; from Laisomis (L); stone circles and graves.

(9, b) HUT CIRCLES OF ELDORET AND NANDI.—These are generally known as "Seriqua Holes" (or, in Huntingford's spelling, "Sirikwa") and are, essentially, pits excavated in the ground. Many of them are earthen but others are lined with stone masonry. In some localities whole villages of these pit dwellings can be observed, some containing as many as sixty to seventy huts. (Have we not here an analogy to the well-known modern "submerged earth tembes" of the Wa-Iraaq in Mbulu District of Tanganyika Territory?—C.G.) Examples are known from Kipkaren (Klipkarren) River, Kapkoros Hill (Kimoror of the map), Kapkaimur, Rumuruti (L) found by F. P. Booth, Hoey's Bridge (L), Kipkabus (L), Sergoit (L), "Burnt Forest" (L) reported by Roberts, and as far north as Cherengani (L).

(9, c) NAKURU AND OTHER WALLS.—Two sites are known on Hyrax Hill at Nakuru (L): one consisting of "two large horse-shoe enclosures and a number of small hut circles with roughly and loosely built walls of undressed blocks"; and the so-called North-east Village of "approximately twelve shallow pit dwellings associated with low stone walls, also roughly built of unhewn blocks". Both these sites were excavated by Mrs. Leakey in 1937 and yielded material similar to that found at Ngorongoro, suggesting influence

of coastal trade to the excavator. Stone walls were also found at Naivasha (L) by Mrs. Albrechtson, and stone circles are known from Kikuyu (L).

(9, d) THE TOBOLWA MENHIR OR MONOLITH.—This interesting monument is described and illustrated by Huntingford (pp. 16-20). Situated on the summit of Tobolwa Hill in the western Nandi Escarpment, on a "huge, flat-topped mass of granite", it has been "hewn into a sort of semi-circular seat, two-feet high and about twenty feet in length", on the rock's northern edge. "Inside this semi-circle and lying on its side is a roughly shaped block of granite, square in section, slightly tapered, ten feet long and now broken into three pieces".

(9, e) LAKE RUDOLF AREA.—v. Hoehnel, *J.R. Afr. Soc.*, January 1938, pp. 37-8, states that both M. S. Wellby in 1898 (*G.J.*, Vol. 16, 1900) and A. H. Neumann ("Elephant Hunting in East Africa", London, 1898), before him, had reported the "remains of former stone houses or circles of large stone" from "somewhere to the south of Lake Rudolf, probably near Mount Kulal". Such structures, somewhat east of the lake, were confirmed by Dr. V. E. Fuchs during his expedition in 1934, when he saw them both, on the ground and from the air (*vide* footnote on page 38 of v. Hoehnel's paper). They must not be confounded with the Arcuate Walls frequently met with near the lake shore and elsewhere in Turkana; these latter being wind shelters built of stone by the present inhabitants, according to v. Hoehnel, Champion and Fuchs.

(10) MOUNDS AND CAIRNS IN JUBALAND.—In a paper entitled "The alleged Desiccation of East Africa", *G.J.*, Vol. 44, 1914, pp. 470 and 472, C. W. Hobley mentions large numbers of artificial mounds, well-excavated wells, and traces of artificial dams, located around Wajheir in Jubaland. It is not quite clear from the text whether these structures are built of, or into, stone, but the fact that some of the mounds are as much as thirty feet in height makes it certain that these high mounds, at least, are composed of earth. However, the author also gives a photograph of a small stone cairn between Thaka and Korokoro on the Tana River.

(11) THE KAVIRONDO STONE WALLS.—From Kach in north-western Kavirondo Captain G. H. Gorges ("A Journey from Lake Naivasha to Victoria Nyanza", *G.J.*, Vol. 16, 1900, pp. 85-6) describes large modern fortified villages "surrounded by walls built of stone and mud" against Kosova raids, of which he gives a rough sketch. They are also mentioned in Mrs. Leakey's list as "stone forts and kraals particularly numerous in the area between Homa Bay and Karungu Bay". It is possible that these structures are of the same nature, and were built for the same defensive purpose, as the "Anti-Masai Walls" in the adjoining North Mara District, mentioned above under item (4). Sir Harry Johnston, in his great "Uganda" work, Vol. II, pp. 733-38, has some excellent photographs of walled villages in Kavirondo which "have a very remarkable appearance and constantly suggest to the

European traveller the notion that the walls are due to teaching given by some superior race from the north". He specifically states, however, that these "more or less circular walls are of clay".

UGANDA

Dr. K. A. Davies, the Director of the Uganda Geological Survey, informs me that he can learn of no stone structure of Bantu or pre-Bantu origin in Uganda.

There are, of course, the well-known Biggo Ruins at the junction of the Katonga and Kachinga Rivers in Masaka District, which have been fully described by the former Director, E. J. Wayland, in "Some Notes on the Biggo bya Bagenyi", *Uganda Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 21-32, a paper reviewed in *G.J.* of April 1935 by Miss Caton-Thompson, the Cambridge archaeologist of Lower Egypt and Zimbabwe fame. Wayland likens the Biggo Ruins to the famous Zimbabwe works in Southern Rhodesia, but these Uganda fortifications, with their ramparts, ditches and mounds, as well as the Ntusi irrigation works, seven and a half miles south-west from Biggo, are purely earthworks and, notwithstanding their great interest, can thus find no place in the present list of stone works. But it is amusing to note that a certain District Commissioner thought that "the Romans possibly came to Biggo for their elephants" [*sic* !].

On the other hand, there exist undoubted excavations in rock: (a) the so-called Hilltop Hollows in the north and north-east of Ntusi, first described by the Uganda geologist, A. D. Combe (*vide* Wayland, p. 28), as "about three feet deep and twenty yards in diameter" and looked upon by him as old kraal sites; (b) Shafts, taken to be old mining shafts, for iron-ore, ten to thirty feet deep and excavated in hard murram and, in places, into the underlying soft rock. These are reported from near Butiti in Toro, from a hill near the Kiwala hotel (Masaka), and from Ntanda Hill on the Kampala-Mityana road (*ibid*, p. 28). C. B. Bisset, another Uganda geologist, has published additional information on these hilltop hollows and shafts. He considers them to be quarries for the slabs of rock which serve as grinding stones for grain and oil seeds. A shaft, twenty-five feet deep and of five feet diameter on Kyabaganyi Hill, in the granite country of eastern Ankole, penetrates decomposed and kaolinized granite and is "clearly enough" a pit dug for the mining of the whitish material used for the decoration of houses.

TRAVELLERS' CAIRNS

These notes would not be complete without a word on the so-called Travellers' Cairns found in many parts of East Africa: these are not stone structures but mere accumulations of loose stones and small boulders heaped one upon the other by passing travellers, generation after generation. To call them "landmarks", as is so often done, seems to me wrong; for, although some of the older ones may to-day serve as landmarks,

they must have originated in some superstition or other, connected with wayside spirits or the like. References to them are by Grant from Karagwe, in 1861; from Koki in Uganda and from Karamoja (Wayland); from Kibero in the Albert Rift (Simmons); from Jubaland (Hobley); from Unyamwezi (C.G.), and from Ufipa (Baines).

CONCLUSIONS

If one attempts a tentative analysis of the facts contained in this list of East African stone works and their distribution, three suggestions offer themselves :—

(1) In the better wooded plateau countries, like Northern Rhodesia, large parts of Tanganyika Territory, and Uganda, where rock outcrops are rare, the necessity for, and the art of using stone, are practically absent and a wood-and-clay culture persists.

(2) In the more open and more arid regions of the Rift Belts, where good timber is often difficult to obtain while stone is abundant, a rudimentary and crude stone-culture has been evolved here and there.

(3) Even in these "stony" regions, and forced by the lack of suitable tools for breaking and dressing stone, man found himself restricted for his stone works to sites where nature has provided him with rubble requiring no cutting or dressing, yet suitable for rough masonry. The areas of neo- or older volcanic rocks which easily weather into sizeable boulders, or of certain granites or schists weathering into slabs and the like, are accordingly the main centres of this primitive stone-culture.

LIST OF LITERATURE ON THE TANGANYIKA TERRITORY RIFT VALLEY RUINS

- (1) Dr. G. A. FISCHER, "Reise in das Masai Land", *Hamburg Geogr. Ges.*, 1882-83, I, p. 88.
- (2) Dr. M. SCHOELLER, "Aequatorial O.A. und Uganda", Berlin, 1901, p. 179.
- (3) Dr. F. JAEGER, "Das Hochland der Riesenkrater", *Mitt. D. Sch.*, Erg. Heft No. 8, 1913, p. 197.
- (4) Dr. H. RECK, "Prehistorische Grab und Menschenfunde", *Mitt. D. Sch.*, Vol. 34, 1926, pp. 50-86. (An English translation of this important paper by Dr. R. WOLFF, in typescript, is on file in the Dar es Salaam Museum).
- (5) Dr. H. RECK, "Oldoway", Leipzig, 1933, pp. 110-114, 155-160.
- (6) *Tanganyika Standard*, 10th July 1935, "Ruins of a Lost City on the Rift Wall".
- (7) M. A. WETHERELL, "The Mysterious Ruins of Engaruka", *East African Standard*, 11th October 1935.
- (8) Commander DEL GRANDE, "Mystery of Ancient City", *Tanganyika Standard*, 8th August 1935.
- (9) Dr. H. RECK, "Entdeckung von Stadt Truemmern in Ost Afrika", *Pet. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 458 (a short rebuke of the claims made in (6) to (8)).
- (10) Dr. L. S. B. LEAKEY, "Preliminary Report on Examination of the Engaruka Ruins", *T.N.R.*, No. 1, 1936, pp. 57-60, and *Tanganyika Standard* of 6th September 1935.
- (11) H. A. FOSBROOKE, "Rift Valley Ruins", *T.N.R.*, No. 6, 1938, pp. 58-60.
- (12) A. M. WATERMEYER and H. F. I. ELLIOTT, "Lake Manyara", *T.N.R.*, No. 15, 1943, pp. 69-70.

Biological Brevities

(Continued from page 90, T.N.R., No. 16, December 1943)

By W. Victor Harris

8.—CICADAS

AMONG our insect musicians the cicada occupies a prominent position. With the arrival of the hot weather that heralds the rains, the cicada adds its incessant note to the fiddling of the crickets and grasshoppers. Individuals play in gardens and orchards so monotonously that the ear becomes deadened to their note and notices only when the noise ceases, but the massed bands of thousands of cicadas in the dry-bush country must be heard to be believed.

Cicadas are sucking bugs related to the leaf-hoppers, lantern-flies and the "cuckoo-spit insects". At rest, their four cellophane-like wings form a steep roof over the body. Some are large and strikingly patterned like the leopard cicada, *Ioba leopardina*, shown in Fig. 1, A, while others are green or buff and no more than half an inch in length.

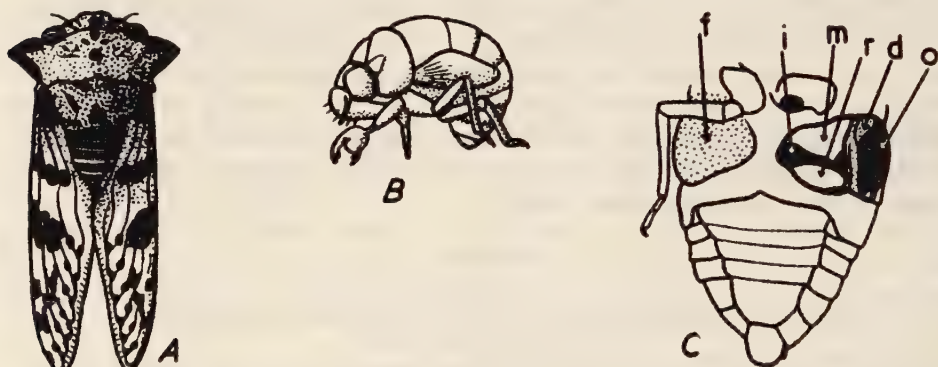


Fig. 1.—A. The Leopard Cicada (natural size). B. Nymph (natural size). C. Underside of male abdomen showing sound apparatus; f=flap, i=inner cavity, m=membrane, r=reflector, d=drum, o=outer cavity

Their "song" is a high-pitched drumming produced by muscular action on a small diaphragm, just as the grooves on a gramophone record cause vibrations in the sound-box. Like the gramophone which has a system of chambers to magnify the sound produced in the sound-box and doors for regulating the output, so the cicada has developed a part of its body to the same end. Get one of the large cicadas and, making sure that it is a male without the long scalpels used in burying eggs in the bark of trees, place it on its back and observe the two large flaps below the last pair of legs. Turn back one of the flaps and the sound apparatus is exposed as in Fig. 1, c. The cavity is divided into an interior and an exterior chamber by a strong

dividing wall which also carries the small drum or sound-box. The interior cavity has two white areas, the upper one a thin membrane which magnifies the sound coming from the drum, while the lower is a hard surface which deflects the sound outwards. By raising and lowering the flaps the cicadas can vary the volume of sound produced, but mostly they would appear to work on full throttle.

It was not until 1923 that it was proved that cicadas could hear. Until that time it was considered that they were quite deaf, or at most that they could "sense" the vibrations with the body as a whole. A sound-receiver was finally located by a German entomologist, and it is tucked away most inconspicuously at the base of the wall dividing the sound-chambers.

While the male cicada is busy singing, the female chooses a suitable twig, bores out a neat cavity below the bark and inserts some six to twelve eggs. As the ovipositor is withdrawn the bark closes up again. The minute nymphs which hatch out of these eggs drop to the ground and then burrow below the surface, out of harms way. There they live on humus and rootlets until their growth is complete. This takes one or two years in East Africa, four years in the case of the common Mediterranean species, and as long as seventeen years for one special kind in the United States. The nymph is an unlovely, pallid, dropsical beast, a real creature of the dark. Then comes the season of rising temperature, and the waiting nymphs leave the ground and climb trees. A pause, and then the old skin splits down the back to allow the new cicada to step out into the world—and sing.

9.—THE BED-BUG

When Carl Linné was naming the living things according to his own system of genera and species, there was one familiar insect on which he wasted neither flight of fancy nor mythology but called it *Cimex lectularius*, the bug of the bed. Later, it was found that the common species in the tropics has, among other slight differences, a narrower neck-shield, and it was given the name *Cimex rotundatus*, but on the whole there is little to choose between the two. Temperate man has brought his bug to the tropics and in the towns at least both species occur.

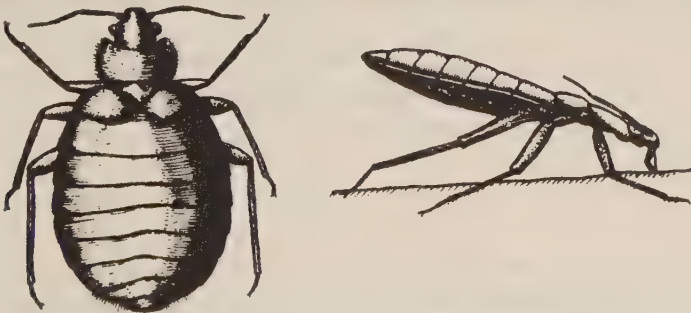


Fig. 2.—The Tropical Bed-bug, greatly enlarged.

The bed-bug has a characteristic oval shape, toughness of skin, thinness of body and offensive smell. It is a close relative of the coffee-bug and the stink-bugs, but it has branched out on a line of feeding of its own—human blood—which has led to some modifications in its structure such as the loss of its wings. Unlike most of the insects which feed on man, the bed-bug does not live on its host but attacks him only at feeding time. The time between meals is spent hidden away in the cracks and crevices of man's home. To make feeding easier, the bed-bug is nocturnal thus catching its prey at home, in bed and asleep. The closer the bodies are packed the simpler is the search, the more regular the meals and the quicker the increase in the bug population.

The female cimex hides her eggs in crevices in walls, behind wall-paper and tapestry, panelling and wainscoting, and in the joints of beds and other furniture. The upholstered four-poster beds of bygone days were a paradise for bugs, but they can get along quite well with the modern iron bedstead if left undisturbed. The young bugs resemble the parent in shape, but when small they are pale and transparent, and difficult to detect unless recently fed, when the stomach contents show up dark coloured. Under favourable conditions of temperature and food it takes a bug about six weeks to develop from egg to adult. The female bed-bug lays up to two hundred eggs during her lifetime of some six months. During cold weather both eggs and adults can lie dormant for some time; in hot weather multiplication proceeds rapidly. The bug does not feed every night, and if necessary can fast for many days.

One of the more unpleasant features of the bed-bug is its distinctive, and objectionable, smell. This arises from the secretions of two stink-glands which open out on the under-side of the body between the third pair of legs. Stink-glands are common among the insects related to the bug, but few are quite so repulsive, although association may play some part in this feeling.

Despite all precautions, whenever people are kept *en masse* bed-bugs will be there too, and as these people are dispersed they take bugs with them in luggage, bedding and furniture to infest their new homes. One bug alone does not mean an outbreak, it may be a male, but it is a warning. Travel increases the danger, but the stay-at-home is not safe for, to quote an anonymous poet —

“The bed-bug has no wings at all,
But gets there, just the same.”

The African Elephant and its Hunters

By G. G. Rushby

THE ANCESTOR of the modern elephant was the mastodon and its descendants are divided into two species, the African and the Asiatic. The African species is divided into a number of sub-species which have various minor differences according to localities. The two major sub-species are the rain forest elephant of West and West Central Africa, and the plains or savanna elephants. I do not believe that the West African dwarf elephant exists, and there are ample grounds for making this statement.

The first record of elephants in Britain is in Polyænus' *Strategica*, which states that they were used in full armour by the Romans against Cassivelaenus to force the passage of the Thames, in a similar manner to the modern Panzer Division, that is, for softening-up purposes. The Romans looked upon the elephant as the symbol of eternity, and they are also revered by some African tribes who offer the same respect and reverence to a fallen elephant as they would to a dead chief.

They live to well over a hundred years, and the various stages in their life would occur at about the same age as those in the human race. The period of gestation is twenty-two months, and they probably reproduce every four years. The stomach is single, the kidneys and liver simple, the latter having two lobes and no gall bladder; the placenta is of primitive form. They are the biggest and heaviest land mammals in the world and also possess the heaviest brain: the brain to body ratio weight is about 1:560 compared with man's 1:150. The cerebrum does not cover the cerebellum as in man and it is protected by an amazing skull structure made up of cells or small compartments with a great overall thickness and strength, which makes the brain of a big bull difficult to reach with a bullet.

Being entirely vegetarian they have a wide range of diet. It is possible that their longevity and immunity to disease is due to this varied diet, which includes certain soils, mostly from the deeper regions of termite hills, which are said to contain valuable properties. Research into its diet and the study of the elephant in its natural state may give ample returns to mankind, but as this is not an African "milch cow" showing immediate profits, nothing has been done or even contemplated. Dainty and somewhat finicky feeders, elephants will go to much trouble to obtain some titbit, and will push down a large tree to get a choice fruit or piece of foliage. Seasonal migrations, apart from excess or lack of water, are entirely controlled by the ripening of certain food and fruits in their domain.

Family life within the herd is of absorbing interest to watch. There are the old-fashioned mothers who have an obvious disapproving look in their eye as they watch the modern mother's child quite out of control and at times

driving their parents to distraction. The old-fashioned mother stands no nonsense: using her trunk, she spansks her child if it misbehaves, giving it a good hard smack in the spot where all disobedient young should be smacked.

The cows' udders are two, with one teat each, and are situated on the breast immediately behind the two forelegs, not between the hind legs as is usual with most mammals. The calves suckle with their mouths and not with their trunks. Cows leave the herd to calve and go to some secluded spot, usually in the dense forest, for this purpose, and do not rejoin the herd again until the calf is big enough to travel with them. Even in the event of danger the cow with a very young calf will leave the herd, possibly for fear of the calf being trampled in a stampede.

The average height of a full-grown mature bull elephant is ten feet six inches to eleven feet six inches at the shoulder; on rare occasions they have been measured up to twelve feet, and would weigh possibly six tons. They measure up to fourteen feet from base of trunk to root of tail, forefeet up to five feet in circumference, and over twelve feet across the forehead from tip to tip of the ears, which are usually extended when charging or when suspicious of danger. Cows are approximately two feet shorter and smaller in proportion.

The trunk is a most amazing structure. With it an elephant can pluck a single leaf or a small fruit from a cluster of foliage, remove the ash cleanly from a burnt grass stalk, put a neat pack of clay over a bullet wound, tear down a large branch or tree and shake a large palm tree to bring down the fruit. All food and water is carried to the mouth by the trunk, and it is used in battle and in love-making. The elephant has a large repertoire of sounds which it produces by its trunk. They include single sounds similar to those produced by most of the brass wind instruments, including one or two of the choicer toots of the saxophone. The shrill amplified cornet blast followed by the staccato shrill screams of an angry elephant at short range in dense bush is most hair-raising even to those of long experience. If it is followed by a crashing charge which pushes over everything in the way, one realizes that death is very near, particularly if one is caught with an empty rifle. Only a cool head, strong nerves, rapid and accurate action, and providence, may get you clear.

Elephants have no incisor teeth, only molars or grinders which are continuously replaced by new ones which push forward from behind in a lateral movement. The worn teeth flake off in vertical segments at the front of the jaw. These teeth are large, and they have four or eight according to age.

Tusks are occasionally struck by lightning, and also become diseased. Abscesses form at the base causing the tusk eventually to rot off (this is fortunately very rare), and during this time elephants can be extremely vicious. There are also the no-tuskers (*budi*), both male and female, who always live

with the herd. They are born like this, as there is no vestige of a tusk socket in the skull. These no-tuskers are the "rough guys" and cause much trouble and danger to the hunter. Leaders of the herd in their normal movements, they will on occasion rally their herd and lead it in a full-hearted attack on the hunter, which, in dense forest or high elephant grass, is extremely dangerous. I have known them lead a herd to hunt down a man by following his scent like a pack of dogs, and they have been known to follow a man by his scent for over two miles. I am convinced that these no-tuskers are the result of breeding by immature beasts, which, in their unmolested state, the strong herd discipline does not allow, and which should be taken into account where elephant control is carried out.

Elephants' first tusks are milk tusks and are discarded early in life in the manner of human milk teeth. The world's record tusks for length are eleven feet five inches and eleven feet respectively, and are in the American National Collection. The heaviest pair of tusks are in the British Museum, weighing 214 pounds and 226½ pounds. It is rarely that an elephant is shot nowadays with tusks weighing eighty pounds or over.

With the possible exception of the Sudan, there are more elephants in Tanganyika than in any other African territory, and in spite of elephant control they are on the increase.

Ivory, along with slaving, gold and precious stones, has in the past brought out much that is evil in man. The illicit ivory trade is as old and as persistent as cattle-stealing.

Apart from the no-tusker, the bullet-maddened and those with diseased ivory, elephants are placid and inoffensive where unmolested, having no fear of other animals; their only enemy is man. The vicious or rogue elephant, however, who really means business, is a most formidable opponent and on his own ground is probably the most dangerous of all animals. He calculates and weighs the odds, and his capacity to absorb any number of bullets not placed in vital spots (which are comparatively small), his great strength, courage, intelligence and speed, and his ability to move as silently as a cat in types of country where a man makes much noise, render him a doughty foe. This kind of elephant when he kills invariably makes a thorough job of it. I have seen the remains of men trampled and tusked into a pulp, and one who was literally torn to pieces and the bits thrown far and wide. It is usual in these cases for the elephant to smash the rifle also. With buffalo, rhino, lion and other dangerous game one knows what to expect, but not so with an elephant, who is an individualist and may do anything. One's respect for him increases the more one hunts him, and of all hunting, elephant hunting is the most strenuous and hazardous, at times involving great strain.

Of the very early methods of killing elephants—spearing, pitfalls, the very heavily weighted spear with a trip cord placed over an elephant path, the poisoned arrow and spear, and ring burning—were the most common, and are

still used in remote parts of Africa. Ring burning was the most popular. A block of about twenty to twenty-five square miles of high elephant grass is protected from the annual grass fires, and the surrounding country burnt off. When sufficient elephant are collected within this area of now tinder-dry grass, the tribesmen turn out and surround the area, taking up position at about two hundred yards intervals, each with a long torch. About noon, on a given smoke signal from the chief in charge of the operations, each man lights his torch and runs with it trailing in the dry grass until he reaches the line of fire started by the next man; thus in a matter of seconds there is a complete ring of fire. For a short while at the beginning the fire is not more than an ordinary bush fire, but when the smoke and heat meet over the centre of the area causing a kind of funnel or forced draught, the speed and ferocity of the flames is appalling. The odd buffalo is the only animal which occasionally breaks through the fire ring, and then only if done early. Elephants panic, and their screams can be heard over the roar of the fire, which does not kill the big ones but burns much of the hide off them, and these are speared to death at leisure.

The saga of the early elephant hunters, both African and European, who hunted with black powder muzzle-loaders and smooth-bores, is yet to be written, though I doubt if it ever will be as most of the information is now lost. The early African elephant hunter, drawn from comparatively few tribes, was a true soldier of fortune and often settled under some chief and married into the tribe. These elephant hunters, or Walumba in this Territory, were drawn chiefly from a sub-tribe of the Makua and the Wagindo. The Game Laws then in force were much stricter than those of to-day and were rigorously enforced, and the hunters had to come to an agreement with the chiefs of the country in which they wished to hunt; it was more than their lives were worth to do otherwise. It was usual throughout Africa for the chief to take one tusk and the hunter the other, of any elephants killed. The chief's tusk was the shorter of the two and was known as the *Lukombilo* because it was the tusk used by the elephant to dig in the ground (*inchi*) of the chief and was therefore his by right; the hunter took the longer one. (One tusk is always slightly shorter, due to digging for water and certain soils. It is a strange fact that elephants use only one tusk for digging, until it is a few inches shorter than the other, and then use the other in the same way.) The hunters were given presents of cloth, goats, etc., by the chief and were thought much of by the people amongst whom they settled. They always had a voice in their councils, and if they lived long enough they were given a sub-chieftainship.

The early European elephant hunters were never given the credit they deserved in the opening up of Africa. Invariably they were years ahead of the trader, missionary and professional explorer, who, I have no doubt, acted to a great extent on what these early hunters found. They were a select few, using weapons which were clumsy and inefficient compared with the modern rifle.

Of the later professional hunters much more is known. They were individualists to a man and their success depended entirely on their own efforts and skill. Although up to £3,000 could be made on a safari of, say, nine months, it was not entirely for money reasons that these men worked as elephant hunters. They were a happy band, perhaps because of the free life, or possibly because by the nature of their work they had on occasions to look the ultimate in the face, and men who have done that a number of times without faltering have an inner and sublime contentment. As a profession elephant hunting died out in 1930 when the French in Equatorial Africa stopped the issue of licences on which an unlimited number of elephants could be killed. The heavy drop in the price of ivory during that year gave the final death blow. This drop in value caused consternation amongst the few remaining elephant hunters, who would not know the cause. It meant the end of a happy life.

The greatest elephant hunter of this period was Captain J. Sutherland, probably the greatest that ever lived, and there have been not a few outstanding ones. He always said he would die on the spoor of an elephant, and he almost did so in 1930 when the French closed down. An illness through which I nursed him when he first contracted it some three years previously, came on again in a very bad form whilst he was following elephant, and he was carried out of the bush by his men to the British post of Yubo on the Sudan-French Equatorial Africa boundary, where he died and was buried.

This closed an era in African history, and like many milestones in history it passed unnoticed. A few hunters tried to carry on, shooting their three or four elephant per year on a licence, plus poaching an odd one or two, or operated along territorial boundaries poaching where and when they could. Nevertheless their day was done and the glories of this profession faded. A highly specialized profession it was, never over-crowded; numbers attempted it but very few indeed graduated into what was probably the most select profession in the world.

The following extract, written from memory, from a poem by Gullen Gouldsbury would be a suitable requiem for this dead profession and the happy band that followed it:—

*“Hang up thy battered bandolier and let the rifle rust,
For now the dreams of yesteryear and all they held in trust
Must take the place of strenuous days and starlit nights of old,
Of morning mist and noontide blaze and weariness and cold.
No more the tusker of those dreams shall charge with trunk encurled,
No more at dawn thou’lt pace the paths with dancing dew empearled,
No more crouch low and test the wind—the ring fence hems the world.”*

NOTES

Queen Mab in Masasi

By E. Conan-Davies



THE CLEARING of the new Native Authority School site at Masasi has led to the unearthing of a local belief that the beautiful biconical background of the prospective building is the home of "Fairies"

From the chief's account, and from other native sources, the following description is compiled.

The aforesaid twin peaks, of Chilonje and Mkungu; and for that matter, all the many other isle-like tors that rise from the verdant waves of the plain around Masasi are haunted by "Little People", the "Namanshe-pani".

These dusky subjects of King Oberon are said to stand about eight inches high, and have straight black hair, so long that it trails behind them as they walk and obliterates their footmarks, they are clad

in white garments, like *kanzus*, and have wings that resemble those of a butterfly.

Except for their power of flight, and their ability to vanish at will, the "Namanshepani" are, in all respects, like human beings; there are male and female, they bear "Tom Thumb" babies, they eat, drink and are merry, and many's the moonlight night that the sound of their drums and laughter are heard, and their fires seen on the hillsides.

The "Wee Folk" are supremely idle, they live on stolen food; the *bibi* who returns home at dusk, heavily laden with *muhogo* from her *shamba* will find her *tengo* half empty on arrival, surreptitiously lightened by "Fairies" invisible to her mortal eye; while food, left outside the house at night, is always taken.

The "Namanshepani" toil not, neither do they spin; the origin of their snowy garments, sometimes seen at dawn spread on the hillside rocks to air, is unknown.

Sometimes the Masasi "Fairies" are seen, if a traveller meets one suddenly, round a bend in the road, his amazement will be increased by hearing the little fellow ask him: "How tall do I seem to you to be?" This question is their invariable greeting, but should one reply truthfully: "Why! You are about a forearm high, little *Bwana*", the dusky Puck will scowl with anger, take up his little hammer, which he always carries, fly and clout the traveller on the head, which action will cause a rapid shrinking and the man will become as the fairies, and be seen no more. No. The correct answer to the fairy's interrogatory greeting is: "You, *Bwana Mkubwa*! Why, you are very tall, you are as tall as a giraffe, nay as tall as Chilonge hill itself!" Puck will grin with delight and pass you by with a friendly "*Kwa heri*". Forewarned is forearmed!!!

Occasionally the fairies will seem to pollute the water-holes that are situated near their rocks, making the water appear red, like blood, but lo and behold! if one takes no notice, and dips one's gourd as usual, the water within it, from the apparently polluted hole, will be crystal clear.

The person who sees a Masasi "Fairy" will return home with deep misgivings, for does not such an apparition portend that he is soon to be bereft of one near and dear to him?

“San Rafael” Once More

By C. Gillman

I REGRET that my translation of Strandes' account of the *San Rafael's* loss (this Journal, 1942, No. 14, page 22) stopped a few lines too soon. For, when searching recently for information about MTANGATA, I came across this very significant sentence which follows immediately upon the last of my translation where the burning of the ship is described: “During the fortnight's stop, due to these activities, the ships were supplied with many fowls and other victuals from Mtangata townlet situated *in closest proximity* ('in naechster Naeh').” (Quoted from an account of the voyage by Kopke and Paiva published at Porto in 1838, page 104.) Had I seen this quotation earlier, much of the ensuing argument need not have arisen, as the site of the sandbank is thereby narrowly confined to one at or near Fungu Tongoni and irrespective of whether the sandbank itself still exists or has since subsided; for Mtangata was the name of the old town, the ruins of which still stand adjoining the present village of Tongoni (the Swahili for “at the ruins”) on the western shore of Mtangata Bay.—*Dar es Salaam, December 1943.*

Elisabethville Anthropological Museum

MANY of our East African readers pass through Elisabethville these days on their way to or from leave in South Africa. It may therefore interest them to see the following extract from a communication received recently from Dr. Burkhart Waldecker on the Anthropological Museum of Elisabethville:—

“Due to the initiative and under the direction of Dr. Cabu, the well-known prehistorian of the Belgian Congo and organizer of the Belgian section of the Liberty Cavalcades at Johannesburg, Cape Town and East London, an anthropological museum has been created at Elisabethville, and every traveller passing through the capital of Katanga should visit this remarkable collection. Pending the construction of a special building, it has been provisionally housed in some of the administrative offices in Elisabethville. It is easily accessible, thanks to the proximity of the railway station, and entry is free of charge.

“Besides a small but highly important collection of prehistoric stone implements, containing kwes, points of the so-called ‘laurel leaf’ type and showing successively the Prechellean, Chellean, superior Acheulean periods, etc., there is an ethnographical exhibition appealing to everyone.

“With the exception of the artistic collection of Congo negro tribes speaking Sudanese languages, and Hamitic tribes speaking Bantu languages, the Museum is rich in true Bantu negro art, especially of the Baluba, the Basonge and the Tutshokwe.”

