

TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

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Tanganyika Notes and Records

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Editorial Note

We again apologise to our readers for the very late appearance of another number. At one time it seemed possible that the Government Printer would be able to print this number for us as in the past, but it has been quite impossible for him to do so. With regret, therefore, we have had to sever our connection with the Government Press and this number is being printed for us by Messrs. W. Boyd and Co. (Printers) Ltd., of Nairobi.

We would like to take this opportunity, in which we are sure all our readers will be glad to share, of expressing our appreciation of the work which has been done for us in the past by the Government Printer and of the uniformly excellent standard which he has maintained in the publication of "Notes and Records" since our first number.

Obituary

CLEMENT GILLMAN, 26th November, 1882—5th October, 1946

THE death of Clement Gillman on the 5th October while travelling by air from Dar es Salaam to Moshi marked the close of the unusually full life of one who, by reason of his long residence in Tanganyika Territory, his great diversity of interests, his unflagging energy and his careful attention to detail, had a greater knowledge of men and things in this country than any other individual and whose sole preoccupation was to make that knowledge available to all who could benefit by it.

For a brief description of his activities one cannot do better than quote the tribute of "D.R.G." which appeared in the Tanganyika Standard of the 21st October:

"Officially he was concerned first with railway engineering, then with water supply; unofficially mainly with geography in all its forms, particularly human geography. He had lived in Tanganyika longer than most non-natives, loved the Territory sincerely and did his utmost to direct development on sound lines. His only enemies were those who advocated this or that scheme without due investigation, his perpetual cry being the necessity of "stock-taking" of all the natural resources.

The hobby in which he was most interested was geomorphology, which is the study of the relationship between scenery and land forms, and geology and earth movements which are their ultimate cause. In this sphere and as a capable amateur geologist he was a firm friend of the Geological Survey throughout its life."

Of recent years much of his time was taken up with the organization of the King George V Memorial Museum in Dar es Salaam, of which his wife, his devoted assistant, was, and still is, the curator; and his Presidency of the Dar es Salaam Cultural Society did much to stimulate originality of thought and freedom of expression.

Readers of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* should be especially grateful to him. He was a foundation member of the Committee and the paper has owed much to his unflagging zeal and enthusiasm, while the carefully thought out articles which he published in its pages from time to time placed on record information on a variety of subjects which, but for his wide knowledge of the Territory and his industrious research, would never have seen the light of day.

In the shifting human sands of East Africa, Gillman expressed the stability and natural culture that was part of the life of any intellectual family in pre-1914 Europe. This means a deep respect for knowledge and a wide appreciation of the arts and the finer joys of living.

Behind his somewhat dogmatic pronouncements on various aspects of life and his scorn for our atomic civilization lay a most realistic appreciation of the weaknesses and the potentialities of humanity. He had no illusions, yet was no cynic, but, placing his hopes in the seed of good which lies within us, he fearlessly preached what he believed to be essential for the ultimate welfare of Africa.

E. C. B.

Dar-es-Salaam,
29th November, 1946.

The Education of African Rural Communities

FACT, THEORY, AND ACTION

By N. Langford-Smith

FACT.

IT is salutary to begin a study of this subject by a few bald statements of fact. I postulate the following:

- (i) Tanganyika is a rural country and is likely to remain so.
- (ii) The African population is increasing.
- (iii) Famine stalks a large part of the population.
- (iv) The majority of Africans suffer from malnutrition.
- (v) The output of African labour is poor, and if anything decreasing.
- (vi) Soil exhaustion and erosion are increasing.
- (vii) The present educational system is directed to salaried employment, and is producing a class of "black-coated workers."

These statements may be challenged; I wish they could be refuted. They will bear examination, and if found true, surely show the need of action to deal with the situation. Complacent explanations of the reasons for such a state of affairs, and memoranda dealing with theoretical solutions of the problem are alike of little value unless they lead to action. It is not the purpose of this article to add to the memoranda on the subject of rural education, but to make concrete suggestions for action which may be taken at once, with reasonable hope of success. As I am concerned mainly with the educational approach to the problem, I shall but briefly mention some supporting authorities for the first six of the points noted above.

(a) A study of Gillman's Population Map (1936) is illuminating. The map explodes at a glance any idea of a large urban population. The Introduction gives a table showing that approximately 1.5 per cent of the total population live in towns. (The parallel figure for Kenya, given demi-officially this year, is 4 per cent). The Report of the Central Education Committee, 1939, states that approximately 90 per cent of the total population of the country may be taken as living in rural areas, but this figure, even if allowance is made for those not directly dependent on the land, would seem to be too low. Nine-tenths of the Territory is under-populated, and no-one has ever seriously suggested that industrialisation will provide a main solution of the problems in the future.

(ii) Accurate statistics are difficult to obtain, but such as there are, and other evidence, seem to support the statement made.

(iii) The present situation and the history of the past 20 years, make it clear that the Territory does not produce sufficient food for its population, with any margin of safety.

(iv) The Report of the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire (Cmd. 6051, 1939) recognised the inadequacy of the diet of the majority of the people both in variety and bulk, and states that while improvement in quality of food must be aimed at, the immediate need is greater quantity. The experience of the Army, the recent Report of the Labour Adviser to the Colonial Secretary on "Labour Conditions in East Africa," and the growing concern of educationists regarding malnutrition in schools, all support this view. The general condition of inadequate diet emphasises (iii) above; unless imports are relied on — an economically unsound policy — there can be no general improvement without greater production.

(v) This point, with regard to labour employed on estates, has been given prominence in Major Orde-Browne's Report, referred to above, and to his findings must be added the gradual but steady drift of the African from agricultural production to other employment for cash wages.

(vi) Mr. Gillman, in his Introduction to the Population Map, mentions the dangerous congestion of two-thirds of the country's population on one-tenth of its area, and the resultant "deplorable exhaustion of both soil and water," as well known facts. Few would, I think, dispute this.

Education. I come now to the final statement which concerns the present educational system, and begin discussion of it by quoting from the Governor of Uganda's address to the annual meeting of the Uganda Educational Association, reported in the Tanganyika Standard of August 31st 1946. "The schools to-day are turning out an undue proportion of black-coated workers, persons who scorn to use their hands for any purpose more physically exhausting than pushing pens. No sound national economy has ever been based upon black-coated workers. Black-coated workers don't produce wealth, they exhaust it. They are a species of parasite, in some degrees a necessary parasite, on the body economic." To this outspoken comment I add a quotation from the findings of the Kenya Development Committee, reported in "East Africa and Rhodesia" on August 8th, 1946: "the educated or semi-educated African has emerged from his studies without any wide appreciation of the importance of agriculture and care of the land. He has been left with the impression that work on and care of the land are of minor importance and beneath the dignity of the literate." These remarks, if true of Uganda and Kenya, also apply in Tanganyika, though in a lesser degree, as our educational system, which is virtually the same, is not yet so far advanced. The basic truth of the criticisms is generally admitted, though such a tendency is regarded as inevitable in the early stages of development. The danger

lies in its becoming permanent. Are there any safe grounds for assuming, as is very generally done, that the situation will remedy itself as education extends to cover the whole population? I believe that assumption to be unsound and fraught with grave dangers. Moreover, the educational theory which has advocated concentration on the thorough education of the few so that they in turn may pass on what they have learned to the many, does not seem to have been found true either in India or Africa. This was commented on in a recent editorial article in "East Africa and Rhodesia" (April 18th, 1946) as follows: "One of the disappointing facts is that so few of those Africans who have had the advantage of higher education have returned to work among their own tribes . . . That this should be so reveals a manifest defect in our system of education . . ."

An accurate assessment of post-school careers could only be made by investigation in a number of different districts; I have however examined the registers of a primary village school on a mission station in the heart of a rural area, away from main roads and 20 miles from a town, where the post-school careers of former pupils are known; and have found that 94 per cent of the boys who completed Standard IV are now in salaried employment, trade or other occupations, against 6 per cent who have returned to the land as peasant farmers. In another entirely different rural area the District Commissioner told me, early this year, that he had applications from over 200 boys who had left school without finishing their primary English or junior secondary course; all knew some English, and all wanted positions as clerks. I would estimate that at least 80 per cent of the boys who complete Standard IV in the village schools of the Territory turn their backs on the land as a livelihood and go on to other pursuits. A similar figure would apply to girls, for female education, which lagged behind in the past, is necessarily concerned with training future wives of the educated men.

I would emphasise that this is not intended as an adverse criticism of the present schools, which are serving a necessary function and are, I believe, generally speaking of a high standard and admirable of their kind. But it needs to be recognised quite frankly that they are directed towards new occupations, particularly salaried positions, and away from a life on the land. It is not possible in this article to discuss the reasons for this, though I may mention two. The first is that it is impossible to practise the higher standard of living taught in the schools on the present basis of rural economy. Until general rural economic conditions are improved, the individual must look to other sources for the means of raising his own living standards. The second is that the present school system is cut off from rural community life; the daily time-table and the arrangement of terms is arbitrary and takes the children away from both daily home duties and seasonal work such as planting and harvesting. With regard to the former it is of course argued that the primary school curriculum is adapted to the needs of rural communities. On paper that is true; but in practice little is done, or indeed can be done, as will be seen by considering one subject — agriculture.

The revised Syllabus for Primary Schools now under consideration states, "The school garden should teach the following: Preservation of soil fertility, methods of preventing soil erosion, planting of drought and locust-resisting crops, selection of good seed and storage of domestic food supplies. Wherever possible a plot for raising tree seedlings should be included in the school garden. Fruit trees, shade trees and ornamental trees should receive attention. Seedlings can be distributed to older pupils for planting at their homes." The teacher is also instructed to demonstrate in the school garden, (i) crop rotation, (ii) compost making, (iii) kitchen garden. The keeping of detailed records of the garden by the pupils is also recommended, showing: "Number of plots, dimensions of plot, year, date of cultivation, kind of soil, type of cultivation, kind of manure, date of planting, what seed, its source and its weight, how many times cultivated, date of germination, date of harvest, weight of crop, price obtained for crop, how money is used, remarks, e.g., rain and pests." All this is to be taught by the ordinary village school teacher in the ordinary village school, who already has a heavy academic programme and routine administrative duties. He cannot possibly do it. In fact, no-one but a trained agriculturalist should attempt to do it. And that is one of the reasons why school gardens are so often the worst in the district. The attempt to teach improved agricultural methods in the village school is a complete failure and should be recognised as such.* It could scarcely, indeed, be otherwise. Few training schools have agriculturalists on their staffs, so that agriculture is usually taught "out of a book." Training school "gardens" are generally poor, farms are very rare. With women teachers' schools the position is even worse; they have a full programme of academic subjects (English is now becoming popular) and domestic science, and I have not yet heard of a woman agricultural instructor. Mr. R. J. Mason once commented on the necessity of an "atmosphere of babies" in girls' schools, but no-one seems to have suggested that something might also be said, in rural communities, for an atmosphere of cows. (I recently mentioned this point to the head African teacher of a big girls' school in the territory — the grand-daughter of a leading chief in a rural area. She replied that when she went home she had to keep out of the way at milking-time, as the cows gave trouble if she was there!)

While there has undoubtedly been some indirect influence on general living conditions in rural communities, it would be a mistake to exaggerate its importance, and in my experience it is most marked in areas strongly influenced by Christian missions and could not be claimed as a result of education alone. I believe the simple fact stands out clearly for all

*The Director of Education comments: "It is not intended to teach agriculture as such in village schools, and the syllabus for school gardens will not be for the village day schools but will be used at boarding schools, provided there are the people to teach it or to supervise it. This does not mean that the village schools should not have a small patch for use of samples and demonstration and in connection with their nature study. Furthermore, they should be encouraged to grow trees where conditions are suitable."—Ed.

willing to see it; our present educational system has by-passed rural communities and left them as they were.

THEORY.

Authoritative literature on the education of African rural communities is not lacking; the following are some official memoranda which deal with the problem specifically:

- (i) Memorandum on the Education of African Communities (Colonial No. 103, 1935).
- (ii) The Education of African Rural Communities and the Expansion of Education Services in Tanganyika Territory (R. J. Mason, 1938).
- (iii) Report of the Central Education Committee (Tanganyika Territory, 1939) Chapter VI.
- (iv) Mass Education in African Society (Colonial No. 186, 1944).

It is possible here to note only a few of what appear to me to be the more important statements and recommendations made in these documents.

(i) *African Communities* (Colonial No. 103). Paragraph 2 of the Summary states quite plainly: "The main purpose of the memorandum is to show the educational significance of the inter-relation of all the factors in community life. The school can make its most effective contribution only as part of a more comprehensive programme directed to the improvement of the total life of the community. The hindrances to social advance need to be attacked simultaneously from many sides. The true educational aim is the education, not only of the young, but of the whole community, through the coordination of the activities of all the agencies aiming at social improvement." I have quoted this in full because of the importance of the principles it propounds, which might be summarised as follows:

- (a) The school is part of an integrated community life.
- (b) There must be coordination of all educational and social improvement activities.
- (c) The aim is the education of the whole community.

To these I would add, from among other points made in the memorandum:

- (d) There is an intimate connection between educational policy and economic policy.
- (e) A type of "rural community middle school" should be developed.
- (f) Rural teachers should be trained in rural centres.
- (g) There should be full cooperation with the African community in the management of schools.

(ii) *Memorandum by Mr. R. J. Mason.* Accepting Colonial No. 103 as "an admirable statement" of aims, Mr. Mason made concrete suggestions for carrying them out in Tanganyika. These included :

- (a) Village Day Schools, Standards I—III.
- (b) Rural Middle Schools, Standards IV—VI or VII.
- (c) Rural Training Centres, run in cooperation with other Departments.
- (d) Adult and "follow up" education mainly through Jeanes Teachers, using such means as village halls, libraries, newspapers, and clubs.
- (e) Local "Rural Improvement Committees" of Europeans and Africans

(iii) *Central Education Committee Report* (Chapter VI). This very general and inconclusive discussion of the problem of rural community education, with particular reference to Mr. Mason's memorandum, provides little in the way of definite suggestion, apart from a strong emphasis on the need of caution; though the Committee does commit itself to the statement that "the general principles embodied in Mr. Mason's suggestions are sound." The chapter contains the extraordinary statement, completely unsupported, that in Tanganyika "at least 90 per cent of pupils return to rural occupations after leaving school." At its worst interpretation this is transparently false; at its best it is still seriously misleading. It completely ignores the fundamental question of the relationship of the present system of schools to a life directly dependent on the soil.

(iv) *Mass Education.* (Colonial No. 186). This stimulating memorandum, which has caught public imagination recently, has the following objectives with detailed suggestions for their attainment, and an emphasis on the urgency of the problem.

- (a) Universal schooling.
- (b) Literacy of adults, together with the development of literature and libraries.
- (c) The cooperation of the whole community in the campaign.
- (d) Co-ordination of welfare and mass education activities.

From the above notes it is at once seen that the main principles and recommendations of Colonial No. 103 have not been changed, though they have been elaborated and added to. It remains the official policy and has been endorsed by local opinion. More than 10 years have now passed since the publication of this memorandum, and it is our duty to ask what has been done in rural community education in Tanganyika along the lines suggested? Let us apply the question to four main heads :

- (a) The integrating of school and rural community life?

- (b) The co-ordination of all social services with the aim of community uplift?
- (c) Rural middle schools?
- (d) Jeanes Teachers, adult literacy, post-school education?

The answer is the same to all, — Nothing. At least, nothing of major importance. The situation in rural communities remains the same. Truly the war has intervened. *But in the same period the number of Government secondary schools in Tanganyika has risen from 1 to 7.**

ACTION.

We come then to the need of action in a question of fundamental importance to the future of the Territory and the progress and security of its 5 million rural African people. It is not only a matter of accepted Colonial policy (which has not yet been carried out) or of educational theory. It is the hard fact that unless rural — chiefly agricultural — economy is improved and set on a sound basis, there can be no progress. Education, unrelated as it is at present to rural community life, is disruptive. Rightly integrated, education can be of immense assistance in building up that sound rural economy which alone can assure a future free from want and from the fear of famine, with reasonable prospect of progressive social amelioration. For, as Mr. R. J. Mason pointed out, "a programme which has in view the steady improvement of the peasant's lot by way of increased food production, better health, and greater understanding, is largely independent of world conditions and, since its vitality lies within itself, it can survive whatever economic blows the world may unwittingly bestow upon it."

Action should be taken at once. The original direction is clearly shown in the memoranda referred to above; it remains to find some practical scheme for following it, together with the funds necessary and the people to do the work. I shall deal first with the scheme. Given willingness to act (and I hope that is a safe assumption) a first essential seems to be effective co-ordination of all the agencies working for rural development and progress. I believe it is in the fullest sense an educational problem, and Education should give the lead. But it must not be left to one department alone. It is a living problem and it concerns communities as a whole; little can be done unless the various agencies interested become one team for local action. If I may be pardoned a homely illustration, it is not enough for the Veterinary Department to be concerned about the health of a cow, the Agricultural Department about the manure it produces, and the Medical Department about its milk and meat, — it must be regarded as one whole animal. There must be centres of

*The Director of Education comments: "There are, in fact, eight at present and these eight were teaching ten years ago seventh and eighth standards, which are now regarded as secondary school classes. Two extra standards have been added owing to the demand now for Standard X candidates for training with the various departments. The output is still much below requirements."—Ed.

co-ordination of activity in all the main rural areas. And flowing from them there must be services aimed at the uplift of the whole community; these services will include, on the educational side, a system of rural schools. I suggest the following scheme.

(i) *Rural Community Development and Training Centres.* These will be educational centres in the broadcast sense of the word, and will be the base in each main rural area for co-ordinated activity of all social services. Areas would be determined by reasonable homogeneity of physiographic and economic conditions balanced against uneconomic over-concentration. A site should be chosen in as central a position as possible, where conditions of soil, water etc., are an approximate average of those found in the whole area, with sufficient land for buildings, playing fields, and a demonstration farm, the whole within easy access of a local village. I estimate that Tanganyika will need at least 5 or 6 such centres.

ACTIVITIES. The Centre will consist of a Rural Middle Boarding School, with general post-primary and vocational courses, all basically related to and centred in the school farm and local community life. There will also be a primary day school. The school will not be self-contained; many of its activities will be in the surrounding farms, homes, communal fields, and forests. The school farm will be the experimental agricultural centre for the area, under the control of the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments, while the school clinic will be used similarly for the local community by the Medical Department. There will be literacy and other adult classes for people in the neighbourhood. As far as possible with regard to native opinion in the area the school will be open to both sexes. There will be a "school council" with representatives of parents and local administrative and religious bodies; to advise on the Centre's policy, activities and methods, to maintain a link with community opinion, to organise community voluntary efforts, and to assist in planning and carrying out community projects.

TEACHER TRAINING. Teachers for rural schools in the area will be trained at the Centre. Two courses are suggested; (i) 1 to 2 years' "professional" training after Standard VI for teachers in small community day schools, (ii) 2 years' professional training after Standard VIII for the Vernacular Teacher's Certificate, in line with the revised syllabus for the Grade II Teacher's course.

JEANES TEACHERS. Larger Centres will have a special course of 1 or 2 years for supervisory teachers and their wives. Teachers for this course will be selected for ability shown in service. The course will be open to other "social workers" in the area.

REFRESHER COURSES. There will be regular Refresher Courses for village school teachers in the area.

STAFF. It is obvious that such a programme calls for a strong staff. There should be 3 or 4 Europeans, one an agriculturalist and one a woman,

preferably a nurse. There should be perhaps double the number of Africans. All should have had previous experience in rural education. All Departments working in the area, though retaining technical control and direction of their own activities, would work through the Centre; African Agricultural Instructors, Veterinary Inspectors and Teachers being attached to the Centre as members of one team under the leadership of the Principal, who would himself cooperate with the departments concerned through a Board of Governors directing general policy and activities.

(ii) *The Dependent School System.*

(a) *Community Schools.* These will be elementary village schools aiming to achieve literacy within the orbit of rural community life, and will cover roughly Standards I—III. They will be built, as far as possible, by the local community, and will be staffed by indigenous teachers trained in the shorter course at the area Centre. Each school will have its own council, with representatives and others interested, which will take an active part in the life of the school and the management of its affairs. Terms will be seasonal, and hours of attendance regulated by local conditions; sessions should not be longer than 3 to 4 hours daily. The schools will be attended by both boys and girls and the admission age will be flexible enough to allow of children entering at 11 or 12 years. The medium of instruction will be the local vernacular, with Swahili introduced as a subject in the upper classes. There will be adult classes in the afternoons, and the school library will be open to adults attending these classes. The school will be used by agricultural and other instructors for talks to both children and adults, while teachers and children will participate in special projects and attend demonstrations arranged by the instructors. The "school garden" will thus be the pupils' homes and the local community, and improved agricultural methods will be taught by those trained for the purpose.

(b) *Rural Middle Schools.* The next stage will cover the second three years of the full primary course, Standard IV to VI. For this purpose the higher grade of teacher and better buildings and materials will be required. Middle schools should be built as day schools in larger villages, children in outlying places being admitted to the boarding school at the area Centre. The middle day school will be run on the same lines as the community school, and with the older pupils attending the higher classes more practical work in community uplift projects can be undertaken.

(c) *Supervision.* There must be continuous and thorough supervision of all schools by Jeanes Teachers and supervisors working from the area Centre, and teachers should attend regular refresher courses at the Centre.

The above is an outline of a system of schooling which, from a rural child's standpoint, begins with the community day school, leading on for some through the middle school to a course at the area Centre, back to

a fuller, better, and more useful life within the community. In adult life there will still be occasional special lectures, while the advice and assistance of Jeanes Teachers, Agricultural, Veterinary and Health Officers, with whom there has been close contact through school life, will always be available. The Development Centre can be visited from time to time, and books and periodicals borrowed from its library. From the educator's standpoint, be he teacher, agriculturalist, missionary or other, the system begins with the Area Development and Training Centre from which all activities radiate and through which a constant stream flows from the community and back to it. It is a complete system, it is education for life. It need not, however, be enclosed. The door to higher education must obviously be kept open to rural children who wish to proceed to secondary education and are able to profit from it; there would be a natural transition stage from Standard III to primary English schools or girls' boarding schools.

The scheme outlined is an attempt to incorporate in concrete proposals the main recommendations of the memoranda published on the subject. In that sense there is nothing in it that is essentially new, though it has not yet been tried in Tanganyika. The Jeanes School at Chalimbana in Northern Rhodesia (described in an article in "Overseas Education," April 1946) is a nearby example of a type of school which could be developed into a "Development and Training Centre." The Memorandum on Mass Education cites Moga, in the Punjab, as an outstanding example of a successful rural middle school in India, and also mentions the Desa school system in the Netherlands East Indies as a type of simple community day school. Africa however already has valuable material, so typical that it might almost be called indigenous, in the "bush school." This much misunderstood institution, too often described in exaggerated praise or criticism, has the unique achievement of having brought into African community life without disrupting it the elements of the new learning. That bush schools meet a conscious need in rural communities is shown by the fact that they are usually built by the people themselves, sometimes — as in the Maswa district — entirely on their own initiative, though generally linked on to a Christian Mission. It is demonstrable that this material can be developed into an efficient means of achieving literacy within the orbit of rural community life, with the full cooperation of the people themselves, at a minimum cost; what is required is trained teachers, supervision, and simple equipment.

The scheme outlined above is essentially one for Government initiative and control. This does not mean, however, that Christian Missions — which have done so much for rural education in the past — will have no place in it. On the contrary, I consider that its success will depend very largely on the extent of its cooperation with Missions, both because religion is of fundamental importance in African life and education, and because, as I have indicated above, Christianity has a strong influence on home and community life. Mission schools should be incorporated in the system,

and the churches should have a place in the life of the Area Centre. Mission teachers, both African and European, might also, on occasion, be seconded to serve at the Government controlled Centre.

Having outlined a scheme, I come finally to the question of personnel and finance. One of the main reasons why so little has been done in rural education is clearly the fact that so few educationists have any knowledge or experience of it. It is all important that the right staff should be secured, and a careful search for them should be made at once. Obviously rural education will cost something. As however the scheme proposed consists largely of a reorientation and regrouping of efforts now being made, the expense will not be unduly great. A tremendous amount of work could be done with a sum equal to that now being spent on secondary education. A special allocation of the Territory's finances will probably be necessary, but this should not be feared, for, as Mr. Mason wisely observed, "Investment in rural education is a wise investment, since it creates a reserve of contented and progressive peasantry which nothing less than a catastrophe can diminish in value."

* * * *

If the general argument of this article is valid, two points need to be emphasised in conclusion. First, the situation is progressively deteriorating; and the problem becomes harder to solve every year. Secondly, the solution is a long-term one; the scheme outlined cannot be carried through in one year or even in five or ten. That is why a start should be made now.

Notes on Some Game Animals of Tanganyika Territory

By G. G. Rushby and G. H. Swynnerton

In view of the present hostile attitude towards game, it is opportune to place on record their habits and peculiarities before they disappear. This paper deals with some of the lesser-known game animals in this Territory.

First, let us study some of the causes which have given rise to this anti-game feeling in recent years. Our unfortunate fauna is accused of causing all manner of ills and diseases to man and domestic animals. Whether this is so or not, the policy of organized slaughter of all game in Southern Rhodesia is to be deplored and resisted as a means of eradicating disease. This policy has, however, a few strong supporters in Tanganyika, Kenya, and Nyasaland who wish to apply it to these territories. Their idea is that, by the removal of all game, tsetse-flies (among other carriers of disease) will be eradicated, but this theory has not yet been proved by actual fact and scientists are sharply divided on the subject. The late Mr. C. F. M. Swynnerton, the world's greatest authority on the practical side of tsetse control, though at one time impressed by the slaughter policy adopted by the Southern Rhodesian Government, did not advocate this policy for Mozambique nor Tanganyika. Writing of *Glossina morsitans*, the predominant fly in East Africa, Swynnerton (1936, 226) states: "After eleven years in game work and fifteen on tsetse research in Tanganyika. I still hold the view which I expressed at the outset of the work (1921). . . . 'In the thicker parts of its habitat wholesale game destruction is proportionately more difficult. I consider that it will be impossible to starve the fly at all generally by ordinary game destruction here, at any rate before the country is very fully settled.' The country referred to was Mozambique but the remark applies to the rest of East Africa also. . . . Further, I consider that in a very great proportion of our fly belts in Tanganyika. . . visibility, far poorer than in the savanna of Southern Rhodesia, is not sufficiently good for measures against game to be successful for our object" (the elimination of the fly). Again, referring to *G. pallidipes*, *G. austeni*, and *G. brevipalpis*, Swynnerton (p. 227) believes "that in the average East African range of any of these species attempts at food-animal destruction will be a complete fiasco, and that the flies will remain quite unexterminated by such destruction as can take place."

From personal observations made on the spot, it can be stated that sleeping sickness proved more deadly and devastating in the Belgian

Congo and French Equatorial Africa where game had been wiped out than in East Africa where there is a fair amount of game left.

In west-central and southern Tanganyika there are large tracts of country covered with miombo wooding where the density of population is somewhere in the region of two (or less) humans per square mile, and game is still plentiful. What do the protagonists of the slaughter policy suggest should be done with these virtually uninhabited areas which abound in tsetse? The country is, above all other, the home of *G. morsitans*. (The question of other diseases in animals does not crop up here for there is no stock.) The majority of the natives live by hunting and trapping and do little in the way of cultivation for their country is not fertile except in the limited alluvial regions. If the game is killed out the inhabitants will be hard put to it to eke out an existence and it is most improbable that the tsetse will disappear. We visualize that the last state of these natives will be worse than the first.

Bax (a strong backer of the slaughter policy, if one may judge by a recent article), states, (1945, p. 54) "it is not a question of killing off the last animal, which would be extremely expensive, but the game is reduced to the point at which the tsetse cannot find food sufficiently frequently to live." This, we consider, is not practicable, and we think our opinion will be shared by anyone who has lived in the bush and who has observed the numerous fauna — other than game animals (it is unfortunate that Bax has not defined the word "game" as used in the above quotation, but we presume that he is referring to the ungulate mammals which form the main source of food and drink for *G. morsitans*) — which occurs in these areas and which would, after the reduction of the game to what we may call "Bax's minimum," supply ample food for an abundant population of tsetses. Swynnerton (p. 227) says that " . . . a very minute game population indeed is capable of supporting a considerable fly population," so that a reduction of game to "Bax's minimum" need not be accompanied by a disappearance of the fly. To clear the country of tsetse, therefore, other methods will have to be adopted — and other methods there obviously are, for Swynnerton (*op.cit.*) devotes over three hundred pages of his report to a discussion of methods employed for the destruction and control of tsetse. It would appear more reasonable to carry out these other methods and leave the game as a source of food for the local inhabitants, as a source of revenue to Government from the sale of licences, and as a tourist attraction.

One further remark before we leave the subject of tsetse. Bax (*op.cit.*) seems dubious about tsetse feeding on vegetable juices and quotes various authorities in support of his view, including Lloyd's experiment, which only proved that tsetse will not feed on the latex of stale, warmed-up *Euphorbia*, and nothing more. Whilst on elephant control work in the Ulanga Valley, the senior author had to deal with a large herd of marauding elephants. Following this herd in high *matete* grass he noticed that

the tsetse were numerous and vicious. On the first shot being fired the herd, as is usual, stampeded, pushing down the high grass before them. After the noise had died down the writer went a short distance along the broad path which the elephants had trampled to rest in the shade of a bent-over clump of grass left standing. On sitting down he noticed that the tsetse had left him and he saw two or three of them settled on the broken ends of matete and feeding on the juices. One of the flies was only about four feet away and he plainly saw it feeding.

Apart from tsetse, farmers in the European settled areas of East Africa blame game for bringing various bovine diseases on to their lands, thereby infecting their cattle. East Coast Fever is one of these diseases for the spread of which game is blamed. But is game the only agent at work? If one examines the yellow fever and east coast fever maps of Africa it will be seen that where yellow fever is endemic there is no east coast fever, and where E.C.F. is endemic, as in East Africa, there is no yellow fever, although the yellow fever mosquito is widespread in Tanganyika and conditions would appear to be extremely favourable for the disease to spread throughout the Territory. By this it is not implied that should E.C.F. be stamped out in East Africa — and to do this would probably mean the slaughter of a vast amount of game — that yellow fever would make its appearance. At the same time, he would be a bold man who would say that there is no connection between the two

But it is not only the “experts” and laymen interested primarily with diseases in stock who have adopted the defeatist “blot-the-game” attitude. Agriculturists, white and black, official and non-official, are following suit. Not so many years ago, Africans realised that it was their responsibility to furnish sufficient food for themselves and their families to last till the next harvest. If they failed, they knew that there was no bountiful *serkali* who would feed them when their own supplies were exhausted. The two main causes of food shortage were drought and depredations by animals. The former was beyond the control of the agriculturalist, but the latter was something tangible that he could combat. Fields of crops were surrounded by fences or ditches, and raised platforms were built from which a continuous watch was maintained by day and night to keep off marauders — baboons, monkeys, birds and insects by day, pig, hippo and elephant by night.

This has now all changed. Crops are guarded (sometimes) by day, very seldom by night, and fields are rarely fenced or ditched. Why should the natives do more? They know that if they have poor crops a kind Providence (in the form of Government) will see that they do not starve. The effect of this on the animals is obvious. No longer are they driven off with the same determination as in former times and consequently their raids become more frequent and daring. More and more reports of depredations are sent in and the hate against the luckless animals increases. Damage caused by elephants is spectacular but greatly exaggerated. Over a large area only a minute proportion of the shambas are “written off”

entirely, more are damaged but not destroyed utterly, and the majority are untouched. On the other hand the damage done by small seed-eating birds, though not spectacular, is far greater than that done by elephants, and rarely given the publicity it deserves. Elephant control is, quite rightly, Government's responsibility, but the onus of guarding crops against all other marauders is definitely within the means of the natives. If they were encouraged, and instructed how to defend their fields and so become independent of Government aid, reports of depredations would become less frequent and some of the sting would be lost from remarks that are frequently made about game. It is not essential to kill marauders, though this is a method preferred by Africans since it helps to satisfy their craving for meat. Preventive measures would as often as not have the same effect as killing.

The sadistic desire to destroy is probably a symptom of the conditions prevailing in the world today and fits in with the modern conception of progress and advancement. "Research and yet more research" (to quote again from Bax) is the only answer but it must be remembered that, except for politicians, scientists have come to more wrong conclusions than any other body of men in modern history. For these reasons any wildly enthusiastic schemes should be treated on their merits only and an idea should not be taken as an established fact.

In East Africa we, the British people, are faced with a grave responsibility before the world, namely the conservation of the last remnant of that abundance of wild life which in Pliocene times covered the whole earth. Those who have been privileged to see the large mammals of Africa in the wild state cannot but be impressed by the spectacle they provide of beauty and interest. Already in South and West Africa, where animals at one time abounded in numbers rivalling those found in East Africa at the present day, the hand of man has caused the disappearance of these riches — for riches they undoubtedly are. Let us on the east of the continent be warned in time by the follies of others, for once these animals are destroyed they can never be replaced.

But we have wandered slightly from the main purpose of this paper which is to put on record a few facts about some of our game animals. Ten animals are included here which have been selected either because of their extreme rarity, or because we can add a few notes about their habits and distribution, or because we think that there is some doubt as to whether or not they should be included in the Tanganyika fauna.

The information given below is by no means all original. Many of the records of occurrence have been taken from published works; others have been kindly given to us by various naturalists in Tanganyika; a few are our own. Where information has been borrowed, a note to this effect is inserted.

ABBOT'S DUIKER.

(Cephalophus spadix True)

This is the largest of the group of red forest duikers found in East Africa and has so far only been recorded from Tanganyika. They were first discovered by Dr. W. L. Abbott, who collected an adult male on Kilimanjaro between 1888 and 1889 (True, 1890, p. 227), and for twenty years this specimen remained unique in collections. In 1908, the British Museum received a specimen from Rowland Ward, collected in the Shume Forest at an altitude of 7,000 feet, in the Usambara Mountains, thus extending the known range of the species over 100 miles to the south-east. In 1919 five more specimens reached the British Museum from Magamba, near Lushoto, one collected by H. C. Stiebel, the other four by A. C. Hollis.

In 1928 the range of the species was extended still further to the south by a native record (reported by A. Loveridge) from Nyingwa, at 7400 feet in the Uluguru Mountains, and in 1945 this record was confirmed when a specimen, now in the Game Department collection, was obtained from the same area.

R. A. Bousfield has informed us that in 1931 he was shown the skull of a male duiker alleged to be this species, shot by R. P. Ross on the Mfrika scarp east of Lupembe in Njombe District. They have recently been reported seen, once by S. P. Teare, late Game Warden, and once by Rushby, in the densely forested section of the Rift Wall lying between Mbulu and Babati. These sight records have yet to be confirmed by specimens. Rushby also thinks that the species occurs in the forests on the Poroto Mountains east of Mbeya and he hopes shortly to collect a specimen.

Little seems to have been recorded about the habits of these antelopes but in view of the paucity of specimens in collections we may presume that they spend most, if not all, of the time in the dense forests which clothe the various mountains where they have been recorded. Natives of Kilimanjaro and in the Usambara Mountains hunt the animals with dogs and, at any rate on Kilimanjaro, there are instances of a hunted animal entering a pool in one of the mountain rivers to escape from its pursuers, remaining with only its head above water until detected or until the hunters have passed. On the Uluguru Mountains they are caught by being driven into game nets placed across their runs in the forest. In 1945, Swynnerton was shown a form, said to have been used by this species, under a bush on the steep sides of the Kikafu River, on the southern slopes of Kilimanjaro, below the forest reserve.

On Kilimanjaro, the Usambara and Uluguru Mts., natives refer to Abbott's duiker as *minde*. They differ from all other East African duikers by their large size, resembling quite closely in size and colour the black duikers of West Africa. In colour they are chestnut brown on the body and legs, becoming seal brown on the rump and tail, the latter having a few white-tipped hairs. The top of the head, face and outside of the ears

are chestnut like the body, and the crest of long hairs on the crown is blackish. A full-grown animal stands about 28 inches at the shoulder (Harvey's Duiker stands 18 to 19 inches, and the diminutive blue duiker only 13 to 14 inches), and the horns, which are carried by males only, measure from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

SUNI.

(*Nesotragus moschatus* von Deuben, and *N. livingstonianus* Kirk.)

The sunis, or pigmy antelopes, are primarily animals of the thick coastal belt of East Africa, occurring from the region of the Tana River in the north, southwards to northern Zululand and extending inland up to 250 miles from the coast. The East African species (*N. moschatus*) was first described in 1846 by Baron von Deuben from specimens obtained by himself on Chapani (Grave) Island, a small islet in Zanzibar harbour; in 1861 Layard referred to this form as *Cephalophorus zanzibaricus*. Specimens obtained at Arusha were subsequently separated under the name *kirchenpaueri* by Pagenstecher in 1885, and in 1913 Heller, an American collector and systematist, further sub-divided the species into two more races, *akeleyi* from the south-east slopes of Mt. Kenya at 7000 ft., and *deserticola* from the arid coastal belt of Kenya at Maji-ya-chumvi. How many of these names are valid is difficult to say, but Allen (1939, p. 499) recognizes three of them, namely *moschatus*, *akeleyi* and *deserticola*, placing *kirchenpaueri* and *zanzibaricus* in the synonymy of *moschatus*. On the other hand, Moreau and Pakenham (1941, pp. 120, 126) state that *moschatus* is endemic on Zanzibar and two adjacent islets so that *kirchenpaueri* is the first name available for the mainland forms. The specific name *moschatus*, by the way, refers to the strong odour of musk excreted by the face-glands.

The Zambesi form (*N. livingstonianus*) was named by Kirk in 1865 from specimens collected by Dr. Livingstone at Shupanga, a locality on the south bank of the Zambesi in P.E.A. In 1898 Oldfield Thomas gave the name *zuluensis* to specimens collected in the Umkuja (Umkozi) Valley of Zululand. So much for the systematics of the sunis.

In the coastal belt of Tanganyika sunis are recorded from Morogoro, Tununguo (in Ukami), and Kidenge (in Uzaramo) by Matschie (1895, p. 119), from Mkarazi (Uluguru Mts., 1500 ft.) by Allen & Loveridge (1927, p. 439), and from the Rufiji Delta and Boydu Island by Rushby (personal observations). Outside the coastal belt they are known from Magamba (Usambara Mts., 5500 ft.) (Allen & Loveridge, l.c.), the forest on Kilimanjaro (True, 1892; Lönnberg, 1910, p. 44), Arusha and Mpwapwa (Matschie, l.c.), and Sambala (south of Mt. Hanang near the boundary between Mbulu and Kondoa Districts, at 3700 ft.) (Jackson, 1930, p. 498).

It is fairly certain that the above records all refer to one or other of the described races of *moschatus*, but besides these records there are others from the Southern Province, a specimen collected by Fischer at Lindi

(Matschie, l.c.), an imperfect skin and skull from Lindi in the Game Department collection, and several sight records by C. J. P. Ionides from Kilwa, Lindi, Liwale, and Mikindani Districts. Whether these records should be referred to the East African or to the Zambezi species is impossible to say until more specimens are available for comparison and until the northern limits of the range of *livingstonianus* are known.

The East African sunis stand about thirteen to fourteen inches at the shoulder and are greyish brown to cinnamon rufous above; the throat is pale rufous separating the white of the chin from the white underparts. The legs below the knees and hocks are rufous with the exception of the pasterns which are brown or black; the tail is coloured like the back above, white below. The horns, which are carried by the males only, measure from 2 inches to $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, are small and spike-like, heavily ringed and directed backwards and upwards.

Livingstone's sunis are very similar, but may be distinguished from the East African species by their slightly larger size (shoulder height 14 to 15 inches) and longer horns ($3\frac{3}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches). The upper parts of the body are rich rufous, redder than in *moschatus*; underparts white. The tail is black above as are also the backs of the pasterns.

Both species live in and around the densest undergrowth and are found singly, rarely in pairs. Their call is a single whistling snort, low in tone. They feed on leaves, young shoots, and certain roots, and they are apparently independent of water.

In the Kilimanjaro area the name *sunì* is used for these antelopes but in coastal Tanganyika the word *paa*, which is used for most small antelopes, is believed to be the only word in use.

ORIBI.

(*Ourebia ourebi* Zimmermann)

Of the twenty four species and subspecies of oribi described from the continent of Africa only two concern us here, namely, Cotton's oribi (*Ourebia ourebi cottoni* Thomas & Wroughton), and Peter's oribi (*O.o.hastata* Peters).

Cotton's oribi was described in 1908 from a specimen collected by Major Powell Cotton on the Uasingishu Plateau of Kenya. Its range is given by Roosevelt and Heller (1915, ii, p. 560) as extending from the southern and eastern shores of Lake Victoria northwards to the Turkwell River, and eastwards to the western wall of the Rift Valley. In Tanganyika, Loveridge (1923, p. 734) collected it at Zagayu on the Simiyu River, and Matschie (in Werther, 1898, p. 237-8) records an oribi from Tabora which is doubtless referable to this race. C. F. M. Swynnerton (1936, map 7), records oribi from the Ufipa Plateau south of Namanyere. More recently, Capt. M. S. S. Moore, the Game Warden, has reported oribi from the Serengeti Plains in Musoma District, and Dr. C. H. N. Jackson tells us that

he has seen them at Chaya Swamp, on the borders between Tabora and Dodoma (Manyoni) Districts. Swynnerton (personal observations) has seen oribis at various places in eastern Singida and southern Mbulu Districts, and again between Itigi and Rungwa in western Dodoma (Manyoni) and eastern Tabora Districts, and on the Chunya to Mbeya motor road near Chalangwa. J. E. Rogers also reports oribi from two localities in eastern Chunya District.

Peters's oribi was described in 1852 from a specimen collected at Sena, on the Zambesi River in P.E.A. It ranges through southern Nyasaland, parts of northern and eastern Southern Rhodesia, parts of Northern Rhodesia northwards through P.E.A. to the southern coastal regions of Tanganyika where G. J. P. Ionides has seen it in Kilwa, Liwale and Masasi Districts. No specimens have yet been examined from this latter area.

Oribis are graceful little animals standing 24 to 26 inches at the shoulder. They may be readily distinguished from all other antelopes of their size by the presence of a bare glandular patch below each ear and tufts or brushes of long hairs which are developed below the knees. In colour they are bright tawny above, white below, with a variable amount of black on the upper side of the tail. Their horns incline backwards, are heavily ringed at the base, and vary in length from 5 to 7 inches. They are grass feeders and are generally found in small parties of three (one male and two females). They show a marked preference for open country, whether it be flat or hilly open grassland such as is found in the Lake Province, or small mbugas entirely surrounded by woodland such as are to be found in the Central and Western Provinces. When alarmed or curious they give a shrill, thin whistle, similar to that of the reedbuck, which may be repeated several times at intervals.

Oribis are probably the swiftest of all East African antelopes. Amongst the foxhunters in England it is said that the fox enjoys the hunt as much as the hounds and huntsmen. There may be some doubt about this but there is no doubt that the oribi enjoys being coursed with greyhounds. To see two or three oribi fool a pair of hounds is a joy to watch. As soon as the hounds are slipped the oribi springs into the air two or three times, landing on stiff legs. When they have the measure of the hounds they slacken speed until there are only a few yards between them and then with a magnificent burst of speed they leave the dogs standing. The oribi then does a little prancing, stops and watches the dogs straining after it. This will happen a few times when the dogs will give up and the oribi shows his pleasure with a number of stiff-legged jumps and gleesome flicks of his tail. The course is magnificent to watch, with the added pleasure that one knows that the dogs cannot catch the oribi.

SHARPE'S GRYSBOK.

(*Raphicerus sharpei* Thomas)

Sharpe's grysbok was discovered in southern Angoniland (Nyasaland) by Sir A. Sharpe in 1896. It was until recently considered to be more

closely related to the steinboks than to the grysboks on account of the supposed absence of false hoofs, though it is much more akin to the Cape grysbok in general appearance and habits in the field. Recently, however, Shortridge (1934, ii, p. 496) has pointed out "that minute false hoofs are occasionally present, and still more commonly indicated, in adult males of Sharpe's grysbok from Northern Rhodesia" thus confirming their closer relationship to the Cape grysbok than to the steinbok.

They occur from Southern Rhodesia northwards through P.E.A., Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to southern Tanganyika. In the latter country, C. J. P. Ionides records them as sparsely distributed in Liwale, Kilwa, Lindi, Masasi, Tunduru and Songea Districts of the Southern Province. He says that in the main dialects of this area (Kiyao, Kingoni, and Kimagindo) grysboks are known as *kikuru*.

Farther west, J. E. Rogers reports this species from southwestern Tanganyika in the neighbourhood of the Northern Rhodesian border under the native name (probably Kinyamwanga) *tungwa*. They are also reported from Chunya District by Rogers and Swynnerton (personal observation). Northwards grysboks reach at least as far as Tabora District, where Dr. C. H. N. Jackson has found them common at Kakoma in Uganda, where they are known to the Wanyamwezi as *mburunga*. Swynnerton has received reports from natives at Kirurumo (thirty miles southwest of Itigi) of the occurrence of a small antelope known by the name of *kamburunga*. It is said that in the places where this animal has lain down to rest there are generally to be found a few white hairs on the ground. There is little doubt from the evidence of its native name and the presence of white hairs in its forms that the animal is a grysbok, though this requires confirmation.

Sharpe's grysboks are similar in size to steinboks, though stouter in build, standing some 20 to 22 inches at the shoulder. From steinboks they may be readily distinguished by having a sprinkling of white hairs in their otherwise reddish coat. The dark horseshoe mark on the crown, which is not always evident in the East African steinbok, is invariably present in the grysbok. The tail is short, coloured above like the back, white below. The horns are very short, rarely exceeding two inches in length.

Like the Cape species, Sharpe's grysboks are browsers and grazers, feeding on leaves, young shoots, grass and occasional roots and tubers. They are usually found singly (in pairs in the mating season) in thick bush or grass, deciduous woodland, forest and rocky country, and make for thick cover when disturbed. They return daily to the same spot to deposit their droppings, after the manner of dikdiks and civets. Ionides has found them breeding in the early rains.

UGOGO DIKDIK.

(Rhynchotragus kirkii thomasi Neumann)

The dikdiks inhabiting central Tanganyika were differentiated under the above name by Professor Oscar Neumann in 1905 on the basis of specimens collected by himself at Itiso in northern Ugogo. Neumann gives the range of this race of dikdiks as extending from Ugogo to the country immediately southeast of Lake Victoria.

Roosevelt and Heller (1915, ii, p. 633), in their map illustrating the distribution of the races of Kirk's dikdik, records the occurrence of *R.k.cavendishi* (Thomas) in northern Ugogo and state, on the preceding page, that the range of this form extends to the "southeastern drainage of the Victoria Nyanza," thus overlapping very considerably the range of the Ugogo dikdik, which these authors fail to mention.

Loveridge (1923, p. 735; 1928, p. 24), and Allen & Loveridge (1933, p. 131) refer specimens from Kilosa, Dodoma, Kondoa, Singida and Mwanza Districts to yet another form of Kirk's dikdik, namely *R.k.nyikae* Heller, described from near Voi in Kenya. Thus it will be seen that the dikdiks from this part of Tanganyika have been at various times and by various authors referred to three separate forms of Kirk's dikdik. In the Game Department collection we have examined specimens of dikdiks from the northeast shore of Lake Rukwa and from Shinyanga which appear to be similar to material from northern Ugogo. Whether in fact the Ugogo dikdik is entitled to subspecific rank or should be treated as a synonym of *cavendishi* which has seven years precedence cannot be decided until a proper comparison of material from the two type-localities is made. For the present it would perhaps be best to treat *thomasi* as a valid subspecies for the dikdiks inhabiting central and western Tanganyika. Lake Rukwa must be near the southwestern limit of the range of dikdiks in East Africa for they do not occur on the Northern Rhodesian border a few miles south of the lake. Beyond this no dikdiks are found until the Damaraland dikdik (*R.damarensis* Günther) is met in southwest Angola and South West Africa.

Dikdiks are only found in pairs, with a young one at heel after the breeding season. It is said that they mate for life and that should one of the pair die the other never takes a second mate but pines away and dies. The young, which are dropped at the beginning of the rains, are a source of food for the larger species of eagles. The dikdik's note of alarm is a soft whistle made apparently by expelling air from the nostrils, as the noise is always accompanied by an elongation of the short proboscis and dilation of the nostrils.

NORTHERN PUKU.

(Adenota vardonii senganus P. L. Sclater & Thomas).

Little need be said about pukus beyond drawing attention to their curious discontinuous distribution in Tanganyika.

In the Rukwa valley they are common along the southwest shore of the lake from Ngomba at the southeast corner to the mouth of the Rungwa River at the northwest end. They also occur on the northeast shore of the lake at Uinde.

To the southeast, pukus are also found round the north end of Lake Nyasa on the open plains behind Mwaya.

Finally, in the Ulanga (Kilombero) valley they are extremely common from Ifakara ferry in the east to within fifteen miles of Utengule in the west, and from the foot of Uzungwa Mountains in the north to the Lupiro-Malinyi road in the south. The Ulanga valley is the most northeasterly point reached by puku.

Their call is a soft whistle, not so loud as that of a reedbuck or oribi.

SASSABY (TSESSEBE).

(*Damaliscus lunatus* Burchell)

Shortridge (1934, ii, p. 459) records the Sassaby as ranging through "Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, northwards to a very short distance across the southern boundary of Tanganyika Territory." This northern extension of the range of the Sassaby is doubtless based on a statement by Dollman (which we have not seen) that it occurs "as far as the south end of Lake Tanganyika." The south end of Lake Tanganyika is in Northern Rhodesia and, as far as we can ascertain, this species does not enter Tanganyika Territory at any point of its range.

DIBATAG.

(*Ammodorcas clarkei* Thomas).

So far as we know dibatags are confined to Somaliland so that it is interesting to note that Matschie (in Werther, 1898, p. 249) records them as having been shot by von Wissman in the neighbourhood of Kilimanjaro, in Tanganyika. As this species has never before or since been seen so far south one can only presume that Matschie's identification was at fault (the animal was probably a gerenuk which occurs in this area) and we suggest that dibatag should be erased from the Tanganyika fauna list.

WHITE RHINOCEROS.

(*Ceratotherium simum* (Burchell))

Speke, who had much experience with black rhinos in central Tanganyika, records (1863, p. 198 *et seq.*) white rhinos from the country west of Lake Victoria. In trying to confirm or refute this record we heard from A. H. Savile, at one time Agricultural Officer in Bukoba District, that a white rhino had been shot in Karagwe between 1931 and 1934 by Captain Prudhomme of the French Legation, Nairobi. Following this up we learnt that in 1933 Captain Prudhomme had registered two pairs of horns with the District Commissioner, Bukoba, one pair from a black rhino shot by

himself, the other from a black rhino shot by Eddy Edmond Blanc. Doubtless a misunderstanding arose in this instance by presuming that the name "Blanc" referred to the rhino and not to the hunter!

During 1945 a "white" rhino was reported between Mpwapwa and Kibaya. It was seen by a number of Africans and also on two or three occasions at short range by P. Gallagher of the Veterinary Department. There is no question of doubt but that this was an albino black rhino.

Whether white rhinos occurred in Karagwe in Speke's time or not we cannot say, but it is certain that there are now no white rhinos nearer than the Lado Enclave and this species should not be included among the present day fauna of Tanganyika.

BROWN HYAENA.

(*Hyaena brunnea* Thunberg)

Lydekker (1908, p. 452) has recorded the brown hyaena, or strand wolf, "from the extreme south of Cape Colony to Angola on the west and the Kilimanjaro district in the east." Shortridge (1934, i, p. 154) writes that "there have been rare records of its occurrence in Tanganyika Territory (Sclater) and Kenya (Ward) — as far north as Kilimanjaro (Bryden and Lydekker). Pocock (1935, p. 820), in his review of this species, gives the Zambesi River as the northern limits of its range in the east of the continent, but Pitman (1934) has recorded it as occurring, but exceedingly rare, in Northern Rhodesia.

It is extremely doubtful if this species now occurs, if it ever has occurred, in Tanganyika.

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Notes on Some Birds of the Rufiji District with Native Names

By L. A. Haldane

GEOGRAPHY

The Rufiji District is roughly a rectangle lying between parallels $7^{\circ} 35'$ and $8^{\circ} 20'$ South and $37^{\circ} 50'$ and $39^{\circ} 25'$ East with the eastern side bounded by the Indian Ocean and the Mafia Channel.

The main feature of the District is the Rufiji River which passes through the Pangani Rapids at the extreme western end at about 500' contour and runs East by South cutting the District into two unequal parts of which the northern is the smaller. The river is broad, winding and muddy, and in the dry season so shallow that the large dug-out canoes have some difficulty in navigating between invisible sandbanks and snags. Two floods occur each year, a small one during the short rains, and a greater between March and May when the water rises fifteen feet at the Zombe gauge, large areas of the valley are flooded and paddy fields along the banks are liable to be swept away. When the river falls in June it occasionally subsides into a new course, many of the lakes flanking it having been formed in this way. It is at this season that the aquatic birds are best seen as the falling water uncovers fresh feeding grounds each day.

After the rains the river is bounded on both sides by the low undulating valley plain covered in tall grass and crops, chiefly rice. At the western end the typical bush comes almost to the waters' edge but recedes the nearer the river approaches the sea. At each bend the stream cuts into the valley floor forming sand-cliffs of varying size on the outside and leaving the inside a flattish expanse of muddy pools, sandbanks and tall reeds. Quiet reedy creeks and backwaters break the line of the banks on which are situated mango-studded villages, strips of gallery forest or open woods.

The shier waterbirds are best seen from a canoe while paddling about the reedbeds but most are indifferent to a motorboat and rest or feed unmoved on the mudbanks

About ten miles from the coast the river forms a delta whose channels wind among extensive mangrove forests. It is here tidal with stinking mudbanks on which many waders feed. Along the coast coconut palms vie with scrub as background to the sandy beaches which face the open sea.

The Magongo Hills begin ten or fifteen miles north of the Rufiji and continue with varying names almost to Dar-es-Salaam. They are of no

great height, the higher villages lying at about 600 feet, but are steep and intersected by marshy valleys. The greater part of the area is covered with dense coastal scrub and abandoned *shambas*, interspersed with villages and small tracts of forest.

Utete, with its old German *Boma*, is the administrative centre of the District. It is fifty miles inland on the south bank of the Rufiji on a spur of the Kichi Hills with the river on two sides and Lake Lugongwe on a third.

The Kichi Hills run South from Utete to meet the Matumbi Hills which form the southern boundary of the District. All this area is covered with tall bush and occasional thickets, kinder to elephant and other wild game than to the few decaying villages which are sparsely scattered on the lower slopes.

Elsewhere the District is under well-grown and fairly compact bush containing a variety of deciduous trees up to forty feet tall with a thick grass floor in the rains, but ravaged by fire from August till November. Blocks of thicket are dotted about in the moister parts and along rainy-season watercourses.

CLIMATE

The annual rainfall at Utete over a period of ten years averaged 32" of which 10.5" fell in the months of November to January and 19.2" from February to May. Nearer the coast the rainfall must be appreciably higher.

The shade temperatures average 83° plus for the twentyfour hours in January, February and March with maximum temperatures of just over 100°. Humidity 87. In July and August the temperature falls to about 60° at night.

THE BIRDS

List A below gives the English/Kirufiji/Scientific names of birds seen by me while in the Rufiji District between August 1943 and September 1944. The notes are based on my daily diary, unless otherwise stated, and, I hope, give a general picture of the occurrence and frequency of birds in the District as they appeared to a single observer.

Most of the birds were noted on daily walks round Utete with frequent journeys up and down the river and occasional *safaris*, on foot or by lorry, to the Magongo Hills. Owing to the necessity of combining exercise with observation the notes lack an organised plan, give little account of nesting and other habits, but perhaps give an indication of the variety of birds visible to even a beginner and induce a less jaundiced view of the District than that generally held.

To give a more balanced picture of the bird population List B gives names, extracted from the District Book, of additional birds seen by

Messrs. Barker and Hall, the former of whom has spent many years in the wilder parts of the District. I should like to thank them for allowing me to use their records and also Mr. Moreau for his encouragement and help.

From an examination of the two lists there appear to be very few Ducks and Geese for so aqueous a district, especially compared with the same river above the Pangani Rapids. This is probably due to the comparatively short duration of the mudflats while the river is falling and to there being on the whole more sand than mud, as Mr. Barker has suggested.

Few Warblers, Bulbuls and scrub-haunting species have been noted but this is due to lack of observation as there are plenty of "small brown birds" which disappear into the bush at one's approach and defy any but the expert or the specimen-gun.

NATIVE NAMES

Of the many native names of birds I collected during my tour about ninety-five seem sufficiently authenticated and reliable for inclusion in List A where they follow immediately after the English name. The names given are Kirufiji ones current along the river in the vicinity of Utete, the birds of the bush being poorly represented in consequence. No attempt was made to collect names in Magongo nor on the coast. For the latter the Kimbwera names in Moreau's "Bird Names used in Coastal North-eastern Tanganyika," *Tang. Notes & Records*, Dec. 1940, would probably prove helpful.

The names have been taken from a varying number of people of different ages and I have done my best to avoid errors, but obtaining the names of birds, even when they are economically or sociologically important, is undoubtedly hazardous.

Unfortunately I have no knowledge of Kirufiji and attempts to get at the meanings of words *via* Swahili were not very successful. Many of them are evidently onomatopoeic. My spelling too is probably at fault. "Biko" = Pelican for instance is halfway between "Biko" and "Beko". "Nyancheche" is often pronounced "Nyansese" and so on, but I have not troubled to put both variations.

Where the same name applies to quite different birds e.g. "Sisingombe" for Mousebird and Paradise Flycatcher (i.e. small birds with a crest and long tail) this has not been stated under List A, but has been in List C.

List C gives the Kirufiji/English/Scientific names taken from List A for easy reference.

LIST A

LONG-TAILED CORMORANT, Kitipa

Phalacrocorax africanus africanus (Gmel.)

Fairly frequently met with perched on snags along the Rufiji or adjacent lakes, usually singly. In July a party of eight flew downstream past the Utete Boma regularly at six in the evening on five successive nights.

AFRICAN DARTER, Kitipa

Anhinga rufa rufa (Lacep. & Daud.)

Common along the creeks bordering the river. Before the floods they perched on outstanding branches of trees near the water. When the water receded again they preferred standing on the sand at the waters' edge, not a convenient place as when disturbed they had considerable difficulty in making sufficient height to clear the water. The presence of immature birds may have had something to do with it.

PINK-BACKED PELICAN, Biko

Pelecanus refescens (Gmel.)

Single birds seen occasionally from May to July, rather shy. Barker describes flocks of pelicans, probably the larger White Pelican. The natives tell me that their meat tastes like goat-flesh.

The native name looks like a leg-pull but I have had it from a number of independent sources.

GREY HERON, Ngorongoro upanzi

Ardea cinerea cinerea Linn.

In June and July small groups were seen often in company with other herons on sandbanks along the Rufiji. Otherwise usually scarce and solitary.

Ngorongoro upanzi or lupanji appears to cover the larger herons with some colour in them. I have also been given *Nyankuta* on several occasions for the same type of bird.

BLACK-HEADED HERON, Ngorongoro upanzi

Ardea melanocephala Vig. & Childr.

Only met singly and not so frequently as the preceding, possibly because it prefers marsh and paddy field to the main river.

GOLIATH HERON, Ngorongoro upansi

Ardea goliath Cretschm.

Only met with singly. Local. Two birds had areas near Utete, one round the lake, the other on the main river. Three birds were seen in the 25 miles between Utete and Ndundu in July.

PURPLE HERON, Kijimo simo

Pyrerrherodia purpurea purpurea (Linn.)

Not uncommon in quiet reedy creeks but lies close, which I gather is signified by the local name.

GREAT WHITE EGRET, Nyakijiku

Casmerodius albus melanorhynchus (Wagl.)

Though nowhere present in numbers it is so widely dispersed along the river and its associated waters that the total population in the District must be pretty considerable. In July on a 25-mile motor-boat trip every stretch of the bank on either side had its occupant, all with yellow bills.

On June 10th a black-billed bird was defending a territory of about a quarter of a mile on either side of a creek driving off yellow-billed intruders with the usual slow deep rattle. A second black-billed bird was perched on a tall tree at the lower end of the territory.

AFRICAN YELLOW-BILLED EGRET, Nyakijiku

Mesophoyx intermedius brachyrhynchus (Brehm.)

From July to August occasional parties of up to thirty birds seen resting on sandbanks along the river or flying to roost in lakeside reeds together with cormorants, little egrets etc. Otherwise shy and solitary. I have no record of seeing any between April and early July, possibly away nesting round one of the more distant lakes.

BLACK HERON

Melanophoyx ardesiaca (Wagl.)

Parties of three and seven seen near Utete in August. Not common.

LITTLE EGRET, Nyakijiku

Egretta garzetta garzetta (Linn.)

Solitary birds were found along most stretches of river, or preferably creek, bank. Not numerous.

SQUACCO HERON, Kingoyo

Ardeola ralloides ralloides (Scop.)

Common wherever there are suitable reed beds, usually lying close crouched in the vegetation.

Kingoyo seems to refer to most of the small coloured herons but to the Squacco in particular.

AFRICAN GREEN-BACKED HERON, Kingoyo

Butorides striatus atricapillus (Afz.)

Fairly common in the quieter reedbeds jumping up with a loud croaky squawk when disturbed and making for the nearest low bush where it again lies close. Utters a deep "tk tk tk" call from the reeds.

NIGHT HERON, Ndumbikwa

Nycticorax nycticorax nycticorax (Linn.)

In late July three birds, one immature, were flushed from a tall dense reedbed on several successive days.

AFRICAN LITTLE BITTERN, Kingoyo

Ixobrychus minutus payesi (Hartl.)

In mid-July birds were seen in various places near Utete, all in thick reeds.

HAMMERHEAD, Msingwe

Scopus umbretta bannermani C. Grant

Common throughout the district feeding at muddy pools, streams, flooded paddy fields etc. usually singly though pairs and threes were sometimes seen resting on small islets in the river. Uganda birds must have lost their voices (Jackson page 61) as certainly throughout July and August they compelled attention by their loud and repeated calls. The usual native tales about this bird are also current here.

AFRICAN WOOLLY-NECKED STORK

Dissoura episcopus microscelis (Gray)

In April a party of six were seen perched on low bushy trees in company with half a dozen openbills near the apex of the Delta where Barker reports seeing them in previous years.

OPENBILL STORK, Kopwangora

Anastomus lamelligerus lamelligerus Temm.

Common either solitary or in pairs or at seasons in larger groups of twenty or thirty resting on trees or wheeling high in the air. Barker states that in April they nest in thousands in the trees surrounded by water at the eastern outlet of Utungi Lake. "A python was in the trees gorging on young birds in 1939 and when youngsters were learning to fly crocodiles bagged many in the water."

SADDLE-BILL STORK, Sagarugembe

Ephippiorhynchus senegalensis (Shaw)

One seen by myself in July. The dancing of pairs is described in the books by "Rufiji".

YELLOW-BILLED STORK, Mwarabu

Ibis ibis (Linn.)

Quite common from June on along the river either feeding singly in the mud or resting in parties of a dozen or so, often in company with other storks and herons.

SACRED IBIS, Mwogogo

Therskiornis aethiopicus aethiopicus (Lath.)

From time to time seen flying along the river or resting on the sandbanks in mixed parties. Not very common.

EAST AFRICAN HADADA,

Hagedashia hagedash erlangeri Neum.

Seen fairly frequently resting in trees by the waters' edge in parties of two to five.

AFRICAN SPOONBILL, Membe

Platalea alba Scop.

Not infrequently single birds were met with in mixed parties of herons and storks on sandbanks along the Rufiji. In June and July parties of from five to twenty were not uncommon. Much addicted to resting on their "hocks" with the tarsus stretched out in front.

WHITE-FACED TREE-DUCK, Swilili*Dendrocygna viduata* (Linn.)

Throughout the year it is common to see individual birds winging their way from place to place. In July considerable parties congregated on sandspits in the Rufiji in company with the next two species.

KNOB-BILLED GOOSE, Nyundo*Sarkidiornis melanotus* (Pennant)

Parties and pairs common on sandbanks along the river in July.

EGYPTIAN GOOSE, Bata mchanga*Alopochen aegytiacus* (Linn.)

Parties of ten to twenty seen on the tips of sandbanks on corners of the Rufiji in July. Otherwise singly or in pairs waddling along at the waters' edge.

WHITE-HEADED VULTURE, Nguyu*Trigonocephalus occipitalis* (Burch.)

Solitary.

Manguyu apparently covers all the vultures. ...

RUFIOUS-NECKED FALCON, Kimbanga*Falco chicquera ruficollis* Swains.

Once resting on an old house frame above a cotton field. *Kimbanga* covers most of the Hawk family, vaguely.

YELLOW-BILLED KITE, Mwewe*Milvus migrans parasitus* (Daud.)

Seldom more than odd pairs encountered inland. Two who turned up at Utete in July were inveterate chicken thieves, taking birds from under one's nose.

BLACK-SHOULDERED KITE, Kimbanga mleli*Elanus caeruleus caeruleus* (Desf.)

A bird hung about Utete for a long time, very approachable as it perched on the top of a cassia tree. A pair in August were chasing from tree-top to tree-top with whistling cries and wagging their tails up and down with vigour as they rested between bursts.

WAHLBERG'S EAGLE*Aquila wahlbergi* Sund.

One centred on a baobab near Utete for a few days in September.

SOUTHERN LIZARD BUZZARD, Kimbanga mleli*Kaupifalco monogrammicus meridionalis* (Hartl.)

Infrequently seen in Magongo and round Utete, a pair chasing through the bush in August. Not so common nor so confiding as further north.

BROWN HARRIER-EAGLE*Circaetus cinereus* Vieill.

Once in September near Utete.

BLACK-BREASTED HARRIER-EAGLE

Circaetus pectoralis Smith

On three or four occasions planing round above Utete with a small snake dangling from its bill or claws, passing it from one to the other.

BANDED HARRIER-EAGLE

Circaetus fasciolatus Gurney.

A bird was seen on two occasions near Zombe, the second time eating a snake on a dead tree trunk. Not very stout-hearted as a native going down to draw water fifty yards away caused it to drop its prey and fly off.

BATELEUR, Mbungu

Terathopius ecaudatus (Daud.)

Common soaring over the bush. Of a pair perched on a branch near Utete one had the whitish back.

FISH-EAGLE, Muhisi

Cuncuma vocifer (Daud.)

A frequent and pleasing addition to the scene wherever suitable trees approach the water.

On the 10th August an adult bird was seen perched on the edge of a nest near a creek and peering into it. The nest was a large roundish mass of sizable sticks thirty feet up in the threefold fork of a *Sterculia appendiculata*. Round the lower part of the nest were four old weavers' nests and a wasps' nest.

13th September an immature bird was perched on the edge of the same nest but dived back into it on sighting me.

VULTURINE FISH-EAGLE, Muhisi

Gypohierax angolensis (Gmel.)

Seen twice at the same point on the Rufiji, once pulling at something stranded in the shallows and once perched on a tree above a high bank.

LITTLE BANDED GOSHAWK, Kipanga

Astur badius polyzonoides (Smith)

A bird rested in the flamboyant outside my window on two successive days but found it a poor stance.

EAST AFRICAN GOSHAWK, Kipanga

Astur tachiro sparsimfasciatus Reichw.

Met with in the Magongo Hills in well-wooded country.

GABAR GOSHAWK, Kipanga

Melierax gabar (Daud.)

In various parts of the District three black were noted as against five normal birds.

BAREFACED WHISTLING-HAWK, Ngenguyu

Gymnogenys typicus typicus (Smith)

Seen once in fairly open bush near Utete. Moved on by short stages.

HILDEBRANDT'S FRANCOLIN, Ngwale

Francolinus hildebrandti subsp.

RED-NECKED FRANCOLIN, Ngobwani

Pternistis afer subsp.

Met with occasionally. A newly broken egg was found in September, but I cannot imagine that they nest then as grass fires are sweeping the bush.

HELMET GUINEAFOWL, Kanga

Numida mitrata subsp.

BLACK CRAKE, Kierubire

Limnocorax flavirostra (Swains.)

A common inhabitant of reedbeds throughout the district. *Kierubire* refers to all the Rails etc.

AFRICAN LILY-TROTTER, Kierubire

Actophilornis africanus (Gmel.)

Very common wherever there is sufficient surface vegetation on lake or creek. Attempts at finding nests usually ended in sinking above the knees in glutinous mud. Many young birds with adults in August.

BLACK-BELLIED BUSTARD

Lissotis melanogaster melanogaster (Rüpp.)

Occasionally on the aerodrome at Utete.

MADAGASCAR WHITE-FRONTED PLOVER, Bambaru

Charadrius marginatus tenellus Hartl.

Bambaru covers most of the small plovers and sandpipers.

KITTLITZ'S SAND-PLOVER, Bambaru

Charadrius pecuarius pecuarius Temm.

Generally in threes or fours rather than singly or in pairs as the preceding species.

THREE-BANDED PLOVER, Nditiba

Charadrius tricollaris tricollaris Vieill.

Common along the margins of lake or creek, usually in pairs. A young bird with two adults 26th August.

SENEGAL PLOVER, Ndetiole

Stephanibyx lugubris (Less.)

Became plentiful round Utete from early July wherever there was short grass.

WHITE-CROWNED WATTLED PLOVER, Ngingiye

Xiphidiopterus abiceps (Gould)

Common along every stretch of river shore. An infuriating bird as it takes offence at anything and its strident cries alarm everything within a quarter of a mile.

LITTLE STINT, Kierundundu

Calidris minuta (Leis.)

First re-appeared near Utete on 24th August in a party of ten and subsequently seen fairly frequently.

COMMON SANDPIPER, Kierundundu

Actitis hypoleucos (Linn.)

Noticeably common from the beginning of August.

GREEN SANDPIPER

Tringa ochropus (Linn.)

Two birds seen 7th August at creek side.

MARSH SANDPIPER, Kierundundu

Tringa stagnatilis (Bechst.)

Single birds appeared on 20th July and subsequently on the mudbanks of the Rufiji. Flew off with a softish double or quadruple pipe when disturbed but soon returned to the same spot.

GREENSHANK, Kierundundu

Tringa nebularia Gunn.

Occasionally found singly from 8th August preferably paddling or in the mud. Loud whistle of alarm.

CURLEW, Sululu

Numenius arquata subsp.

WATER DIKKOP, Lunduwa

Burhinus vermiculatus vermiculatus (Cab.)

Becomes noticeable again early in July on the short grass by the side of creeks etc., usually in parties.

28th July two eggs found in slight depression made by a hippopotamus's foot in the centre of a grassy patch between bushes and reeds five yards from the water's edge. There were small lumps of broken earth at the bottom of the depression. The sitting bird crept away into the bushes. 29th still sitting. 31st nest vacated, fragment of one shell left in nest. 3rd August, adult and two young chicks seen in bushes about four yards from nest side.

AFRICAN SKIMMER, Mtepwe

Rynchops flavirostris Vieill.

Numerous from May on all along the river doing aerobatics, diving, crying, and shooing off Geese, Vulturine Fish-Eagle, Hammerheads, etc. which were encroaching on their grounds.

They had become much less common by the middle of August and by the end of the month were quite silent even when constantly disturbed.

RED-EYED DOVE, Ndutu

Streptopelia semitorquata subsp.

Common, especially drinking in the afternoons.

RING-NECKED DOVE, Tetele

Streptopelia capicola tropica (Reichw.)

Common.

LONG-TAILED DOVE, Ngwekwe

Oena capensis capensis (Linn.)

Local, frequently feeding on the same piece of road.

TAMBOURINE DOVE,

Tympanistria tympanistria traseri Bon.

In well-wooded parts of the Magongo Hills.

BLUE-SPOTTED WOOD-DOVE, Ndukutuku

Turtur afer kilimensis (Mearns)

Not so common as the next species.

GREEN-SPOTTED WOOD-DOVE, Ndukutuku

Turtur chalsospilos chalcospilos (Wagl.)

Common, fond of feeding on native footpaths in the evenings.

DELANDE'S COASTAL GREEN PIGEON, Ninga

Vinago delalandei (Bp.)

In Magongo always in flocks but round Utete nearly always single until after the grass fires in August.

JACOBIN CRESTED CUCKOO

Clamator jacobinus (Bodd.)

Single birds in March and April near Utete.

STRIPED-CRESTED CUCKOO

Clamator cafer (Licht.)

As for the preceding species.

BLACK-CRESTED CUCKOO

Clamator serratus subsp.

Seen twice in April in moderate bush near Utete.

KLASS' CUCKOO

Lampromorpha klaasi (Stephens)

Fairly common in well-grown bush.

WHITE-BROWED COUCAL, Dudumizi, Ndipitipi

Centropus superciliosus subsp.

In the first half of the year the birds round Utete approximated to Burchell's Coucal with no eyebrow and the dark nape and pale throat clearly differentiated. From June on they were replaced apparently by the normal white-browed bird.

In the Magongo Hills the normal white-browed bird was generally met with though many almost lacked the white streaks on the neck and had the thinnest of eyebrows. A young bird in Magongo had straw-coloured eyes.

SOUTH AFRICAN GREEN COUCAL*Ceuthmochares aereus australis* Sharpe

A few seen on the edge of gallery forest along the Rufiji. One made a careful search of a dead tree standing in the open.

EAST AFRICAN PURPLE-CRESTED LOURIE, Gongo*Gallirex porphyreolophus chlorochlamys* Shelley

Small noisy parties were seen in a wood of old mangoes near the coast in April and odd single birds from time to time elsewhere. The latter when disturbed ran up to the top of the tree they were on, flew to the lower branches of the next convenient tree, climbed up that, flew off to the next tree and so on until out of sight.

GREY LOURIE, Gongo*Corythaixoides concolor* subsp.

Common in the bush round Utete running about the treetops in pairs or in noisy parties. Much less timid than the preceding species. Besides the well-known call of "Go-way" they "baa" and give vent to loud lingering yawns. Like the Grey Hornbill they enjoy taking dustbaths in the roadway.

BROWN-HEADED PARROT, Ngwaru*Poicephalus cryptoxanthus* Peters

Fairly common flying past one in the bush with penetrating whistles. A party of twelve were stripping a field of ripe sesame on several mornings in July. Usually single.

EUROPEAN ROLLER*Coracias garrulus garrulus* Linn.

Once in December.

LILAC-BREASTED ROLLER, Ngolela*Coracias caudatus caudatus* Linn.

Common, especially after harvest. Frequently seen attacking Kites.

RACQUET-TAILED ROLLER*Coracias spatulatus spatulatus* Trim.

A pair were seen on several occasions in well-grown woodlands in July. Quieter and more approachable than its congener.

BROAD-BILLED ROLLER*Eurystomus afer suahelicus* Neum.

Common from February to April generally perched well up in the trees.

PIED KINGFISHER, Sipwesipwe*Ceryle rudis rudis* (Linn.)

Common near water, usually singly but in July small parties were seen flying up and down the creeks.

GIANT KINGFISHER, Sipesipwe*Megaceryle maxima maxima* (Pall.)

Only seen once where the bush overhung the river. For some obscure reason the natives hold that this bird is the child of the Pied Kingfisher. Some child !

MALACHITE-CRESTED KINGFISHER, Sindili

Corythornis cristata cristata (Pall.)

Common along the river perched on low snags etc.

PYGMY KINGFISHER, Sindili

Ispidina picta subsp.

A bird was nesting in the side of a small pit at Utete in March. The bird and two eggs were taken later I gather when the pit was enlarged.

MANGROVE KINGFISHER, Sikitika

Halcyon senegaloides Smith

A pair shared a wretchedly wet mangrove-bordered creek with me for two days in April. Also known as "Ndege".

BROWN-HOODED KINGFISHER,

Halcyon albiventris orientalis Peters

Common throughout the district, often visiting one's tent.

STRIPED KINGFISHER,

Halcyon chelicuti chelicuti (Stanley)

Common in the lighter bush. Some with pale backs. One apparently nesting in a hole twenty feet up in a dead tree-trunk.

EUROPEAN BEE-EATER, Kiimilili

Merops apiaster Linn.

Kiimilili seems to cover all the bee-eaters both large and small.

MADAGASCAR BEE-EATER,

Merops superciliosus Linn.

Common. From June on in parties of half a dozen or so coalescing in the evenings into larger parties of fifty or more in the taller trees.

BLUE-CHEEKED BEE-EATER

Merops persicus persicus Pall.

February and March.

NUBIAN CARMINE BEE-EATER

Merops nubicus nubicus Gmel.

First appeared Utete 9th January, last seen 27th February. Fairly numerous during this period in parties of varying size.

EASTERN WHITE-THROATED BEE-EATER

Aerops albicollis major Parrot

One for certain perched on a telegraph wire half a mile south of the Rufiji at Utete. 2nd February.

BOEHM'S BEE-EATER

Aerops böhmi (Reichw.)

Not uncommon from June on along the edges of gallery forest, usually in pairs. A candalabra tree lightly festooned with creepers near Utete was for many days used as a stance by a pair who hawked into the space enclosed by the creepers.

SOUTHERN LITTLE BEE-EATER

Melittophagus pusillus meridionalis Sharpe

Very common throughout most of the year usually perched singly on some low stance but sometimes in small parties of five or six.

WHITE-FRONTED BEE-EATER

Melittophagus bullockoides (Smith)

Noted frequently from May onwards as soon as the river has subsided sufficiently to uncover the small sand-cliffs in which they make their burrows in lots of about a dozen. Hawks from trees in the vicinity of the burrows and never seen more than a few hundred yards from water.

SWALLOW-TAILED BEE-EATER

Dicrocercus hirundineus hirundineus (Licht.)

A few birds, pairs and singles, seen in the tops of the trees in August and September.

TRUMPETER HORNBILL, Mbwepwe

Bycanistes bucinator (Temm.)

Seen and heard from time to time in the bush round Utete and in the Magongo Hills. From June in pairs.

SOUTH AFRICAN GREY HORNBILL, Ngwikwe

Lophoceros nasutus epirhinus (Sund.)

Common in the bush round Utete, usually in small parties. Very noisy in June and July. Generally keeping rather low in the trees or bushes. Occasionally dust-bathing or hopping about the sandy road like grotesque sparrows.

CROWNED HORNBILL, Ngwikwe

Lophoceros melanoleucos subsp.

Quite common in well-grown bush. From May on usually in pairs.

SOUTH AFRICAN HOOPOE

Upupa africana Bechst.

Single birds seen from time to time feeding on the road or in bare patches under the trees.

EAST AFRICAN WOOD-HOOPOE, Ngurukuru

Phoeniculus purpureus marwitzi (Reichw.)

Fairly common in the woods round Utete and also in the mangroves and scrub round coastal villages. Often in parties associating with parties of Scimitar-bills and/or Helmet Shrikes.

EAST AFRICAN SCIMITAR-BILL, Ngurukuru

Rhinopomastus cyanomelas schalowi Neum.

Commoner than the preceding species in the bush round Utete and more often in pairs.

AFRICAN BARN-OWL, Ndundusi

Tyto alba affinis (Blyth)

A not wholly welcome tenant of Utete Boma roof. In November several immature birds were found wandering about in a dazed condition or dead in the garden.

FISHING OWL

Scotopelia peli fischeri Zedl.

The twittering of small birds drew my attention to one sitting in the shady branches of a tree in gallery forest along the Rufiji. A Fish-Eagle was calling from the top of the same tree.

MOZAMBIQUE NIGHTJAR, Rumbasu

Caprimulgus fossii subsp.

Partial to the short hippopotamus-mown grass near water.

SQUARE-TAILED SWIFT, Kiwiba

Micropus affinis abessynicus (Streubel)

Nesting under the eaves of the Boma, some singly, but mostly in groups of up to a dozen. Rats frequently eat through the boards into their nests.

In the morning these birds fly madly round and round the almond in the centre of the courtyard and were not infrequently picked up in a dazed condition. In the evenings milling about above the roof well above the Swallow level.

HORUS SWIFT, Kiwiba

Micropus horus (Heugl.)

Seen entering and leaving burrows in sand-cliffs along the Rufiji in July.

PALM SWIFT, Kiwiba

Cypsiurus parvus myochrous (Reichw.)

Common throughout the District wherever there are suitable palms. Three pairs were nesting in a group of four isolated coco palms in Magongo at the end of May.

SPECKLED MOUSEBIRD, Sisingombe, Mbembe

Colius striatus subsp.

Not very often met with, in bush-dotted country near the river.

BLACK-COLLARED BARBET

Lybius torquatus subsp.

A common inhabitant of bush country, in August often in small parties.

GOLDEN-RUMPED TINKER-BIRD

Pogoniolulus bilineatus fischeri (Reichw.)

A pair seen on 6th August were attracted to a flowering mkebu tree.

CRESTED BARBET

Trachyphonus vaillantii subsp.

A pair seen in March and other single birds from time to time in moderate bush. Keeps to the inside of the bushes.

GREATER HONEYGUIDE

Indicator indicator (Sparrm.)

LITTLE SPOTTED WOODPECKER, Nyankang'onda

Campethera cailliautii subsp.

Infrequent.

GOLDEN-TAILED WOODPECKER, Nyankang'onda

Campethera abingoni subsp.

Only noted twice but I suspect confused with the next species previously.

CARDINAL WOODPECKER, Nyankan'gonda

Dendropicos fuscescens subsp.

Quite common.

BEARDED WOODPECKER

Thripias namaquus subsp.

A pair noted in Magongo in June, apparently copulating.

CLAPPER LARK, Ngarukya kunane, Runduli

Mirafrja fischeri subsp.

Frequently heard flapping till March and again in August but then only in the morning. Grassland.

AFRICAN PIED WAGTAIL, Nyancheche

Motacilla aguimp vidua Sund.

Quite common along the river. Also known as *Mwanzo*.

PLAIN-BACKED PIPIT

Anthus leucophrys subsp.*Macronyx croceus croceus* (Vieill.)

Only one bird seen in a grassy valley but must presumably be commoner in the drier grasslands than this suggests.

JARDINE'S BABBLER, Nyelomolela

Turdoides jardinei subsp.

Quite common in scrubby bush throughout the District.

BROWN-CAPPED BULBUL, Mpwiti

Pycnonotus tricolor subsp.

Very common.

SOMBRE BULBUL, Titikwili

Andropadus importunus subsp.

Common in thickets but more often heard than seen.

ASHY FLYCATCHER

Alseonax cinereus cinereola (Finsch & Hartl.)

Met with in the forested parts of Magongo and in gallery forest along the Rufiji.

BLACK FLYCATCHER

Melaenornis pammelaina subsp.

A few birds, mostly in Magongo.

YELLOW-BELLIED FLYCATCHER

Hyliota flavigaster subsp.

A pair seen near Utete in August were working their way carefully through selected trees starting at the lowest branch of each and moving up branch by branch. Distinctly yellow below.

BLACK AND WHITE FLYCATCHER, Mbutwi Kitundu

Bias musicus changamwensis van Som.

A few pairs seen hawking from trees near native houses. Only a monotonous call of "tikyu, tikyu" heard.

CHINSPOT FLYCATCHER, Bwiru

Batis molitor soror Reichw.

Fairly plentiful in moderate bush.

BLACK-HEADED FLYCATCHER, Bwiru

Batis minor suahelicus Neum.

More often met with in Magongo than elsewhere.

WATTLE-EYED FLYCATCHER

Platysteira peltata subsp.

Males seen on three occasions between June and August in tangled brakes near the Rufiji.

COASTAL CRESTED FLYCATCHER

Trochocercus cyanomelas bivittatus Reichw.

Seen on four occasions between July and September in well-wooded country along the Rufiji, once hopping about a tree with tail fanned out.

GREY-THROATED PARADISE FLYCATCHER, Sisingombe, Mbembe

Tchitrea plumbeiceps subsp.

Common in the Boma garden and the bush round Utete, especially in July when there were many immature birds lacking the glossy blue on the bill and round the eye. Never heard uttering anything but a tiresome rusty "ee-eu".

KURRICHAINE THRUSH, Lundua mkali, Segesera

Turdus libonyanus subsp.

Common in the bush where it is rather rat-like when caught on the ground.

ARNOTT'S CHAT, Chilikudongo

Sciocincla arnotti subsp.

Fairly frequent in the bush round Utete usually in pairs. A pair were nesting in a hole twelve feet up a tree at the edge of a grassy glade on 24th March.

A variation is not uncommonly met with where the male has only the faintest eyebrow instead of the white crown and the female has a pale rather than white throat with only scattered white on the shoulder. Mixed pairs noted.

HEUGLIN'S ROBIN, Kitarikicheri

Cossypha heuglini subsp.

Met with in overgrown coconut plantations near the coast and elsewhere where there is bushy undergrowth. Its call frequently heard in camp in the evenings.

MORNING WARBLER, Ngajima

Cichladusa arquata Peters

Two pairs in the Boma garden and met with elsewhere.

SCRUB ROBIN

Erythropgia sp.

I think both *E.zambesiana* and *E.leucophrys* but not very distinguishable in the field. One seen singing from the top of a tree was most melodious with variations on the original theme and kept up a good volume of sound for quarter of an hour. Another met with low down in more scrubby bush flicking its tail twice for each burst of song.

CROMBEC

Sylvietta whytii subsp.

Quite common searching round low bushes singly or in pairs.

YELLOW-BELLIED EREMOMELA

Fremomela griseoflava subsp.

Seen occasionally in moderate bush.

GREEN-CAP EREMOMELA

Eremomela scotops subsp.

More frequent than the preceding, especially near Utete village.

GREY-BACKED BUSH WARBLER, Kichelikicheli

Camaroptera brevicaudata subsp.

Went "Chip, chip, chip" all day long in a thick tangle of trees and bushes outside my tent in Magongo in June.

Kichelikicheli appears to refer to all the small warblers.

MARSH GRASS WARBLER, Kichelikicheli

Cisticola galactotes subsp.

In coarse grasses along Magongo streams.

MOUSTACHE WARBLER

Melocichla mentalis orientalis (Sharpe)

Sang melodiously from the tops of grass stems round Utete and in Magongo in May and June.

TAWNY-FLANKED LONGTAIL, Kichelikicheli

Prinia mistacea tenella (Cab.)

Common in patches of grass and low bushes.

EUROPEAN SWALLOW, Kiwiba, Numbiyenumbiye

Hirundo rustica rustica Linn.

Very numerous between Utete Boma and Lake Lugongwe on 2nd and 3rd October.

Kiwiba refers either to Swifts or Swallows. *Numbiyenumbiye* is also applied to them but I suspect merely refers to their being in flocks.

WIRE-TAILED SWALLOW

Hirundo smithii smithii Leach

Found nesting on buildings throughout the District. A pair nested under the beam above my front door in May and were using the same nest again in September. While they were in occupation I could not go down my front steps without being dived at by one or both.

More closely associated with water than the Striped Swallow, often found feeding over the river, circling the ferry, or perched near the river sometimes in company with Sand Martins.

MONTEIRO'S MOSQUE SWALLOW

Hirundo senegalensis monteiri Hartl.

On 21st May and subsequent days a pair were leaving and entering the same place on a tall baobab near Utete. Subsequently seen in a small flock in June and again as a pair in September. Not so numerous as further north.

SMALLER STRIPED SWALLOW

Hirundo abyssynica unitatis Scl. & Praed

The commonest swallow in the District. Puts more into its singing than into its nest-building which is usually desultory and ineffective.

SAND MARTIN

Riparia paludicola subsp.

Seen issuing from individual holes in small sand-cliffs along the Rufiji. Frequently perched near water throughout the District.

BLACK CUCKOO-SHRIKE

Campephaga flava Vieill.

Fairly common in well-wooded bush, sometimes in company with the next species or the Wood Hoopoes. None of the males seen had any yellow. Usually single but pairs noted at the end of August and beginning of September.

WHITE-BREASTED CUCKOO-SHRIKE

Coracina pectoralis (Jard. & Selby)

Quite common, usually singly. The amount of grey on the throat very variable.

FORK-TAILED DRONGO

Dicrurus adsimilis divaricatus (Licht.)

The most obvious inhabitant of the bush. In spite of this I was never given the same native name for this bird twice. *Suso*, *Ngengiye*, *Salim-ngenda* and *Nyakidiyo* were among those heard, but strangely nothing resembling *Mramba*.

WHITE HELMET-SHRIKE

Prionops poliocephalus poliocephalus (Stanley)

The commoner of the Helmet-Shrikes, in parties of nine or a dozen, sometimes in company with the next species.

BLACK HELMET-SHRIKE

Sigmodus retzii tricolor (Gray)

Quite common in well-grown bush in parties of six to a dozen.

BRUSH-FRONTED SHRIKE

Sigmodus scopifrons subsp.

A party seen high up in a small belt of forest trees in Magongo.

ZAMBEZI BRUBRU SHRIKE

Nilaus nigritemporalis Reichw.

Met with occasionally.

RED-BACKED SHRIKE

Lanius collurio Linn.

Single birds seen in March and April.

BOUBOU SHRIKE *

Laniarius ferrugineus major (Hartl.)

Met with twice feeding on the ground among thick grasses with repeated "cht, cht" sounds. Once singly, once in a party of six.

PUFF-BACK SHRIKE, Mgongo

Dryoscopus cubla hamatus Hartl.

Common searching the trees in well-wooded bush. A repeated call of "kiyu, kiyu."

BLACK-HEADED TCHAGRA, Wampili tuwuki

Tchagra senegala subsp.

Very common all round Utete wherever small clumps of bush give it cover. Usually feeding on the ground where it emits a low slow rattle. A loud clearly enunciated call at times from the bush top.

BROWN-HEADED BUSH SHRIKE

Tchagra australis subsp.

Commoner in the Magongo Hills than round Utete and prefers denser bush than the preceding species.

*Mr. R. E. Moreau comments: "Habits sound like those of rather a different bird."—Ed.

BLACK-CAP TCHAGRA

Antichromus minutus anchietae (Boc.)

A single bird eating a small lizard in May and two pairs in June in bush-dotted country near water.

SULPHUR-BREASTED BUSH-SHRIKE

Chlorophoneus sulfureopectus similis (Smith)

Fairly common in well-wooded areas. A loud ringing note.

GORGEOUS BUSH-SHRIKE

Telephorus quadricolor quadricolor

Seen once in thick bush near the river and the call of "Kuku wuku wuk" heard twice in September.

GREY-HEADED BUSH-SHRIKE, Nzigiye

Malaconotus poliocephalus subsp.

Seen in various parts of the District. In the Boma garden was seen eating large grasshoppers and calling "Tk, kyaou" or "Tk, tk, kyuu." An adult feeding an immature bird in a cassia tree on 1st August.

ZAMBEZI NICATOR

Nicator chloris gularis Finsch & Hartl.

Once seen in coastal scrub in the Magongo Hills and once in thick shady woods by Lake Lugongwe. In both cases silent.

RUFOUS TIT, Ngegenya

Parus rufiventris subsp.

Pairs seen very occasionally.

SOUTH AFRICAN GOLDEN ORIOLE, Songoro milanzi

Oriolus auratus notatus Peters

A singleton in March and a considerable party on September 16th occupying the tops of the trees with Violet-backed Starlings.

BLACK-HEADED ORIOLE, Songoro milanzi

Oriolus monachus rolleti Salv.

Common round Utete especially in August and September in which latter month several immature birds were seen.

PIED CROW, Ngunguru

Corvus albus Müll.

Two or three pairs turned up at Utete in July but generally not much in evidence.

SOUTHERN VIOLET-BACKED STARLING, Nyangenyange

Cinnyricinclus leucogaster verreauxi (Boc.)

Parties high up in the trees in March and September. Doubtfully parties of non-plumaged birds in Magongo in May and June.

GLOSSY STARLING, Nyangenyange

Lamprocolius chloropterus? elizabeth Stres.

Parties seen from time to time especially in Magongo in June. Young birds with reddish bellies.

YELLOW WHITE-EYE

Zosterops senegalensis subsp.

Seen once in thick bush along the Rufiji. A single bird.

LITTLE PURPLE-BANDED SUNBIRD, Kisosi

Cinnyris bifasciatus subsp.

Quite common.

Kisosi covers all the sunbirds.

AMETHYST SUNBIRD

Chalcomitra amethystina subsp.

Fairly common. A pair feeding on some low-growing flowers let me come right up to them and even hopped over my boot.

EAST COAST SCARLET-CHESTED SUNBIRD, Kisosi

Chalcomitra senegalensis inaestimata (Hartert)

Very common. A nest was hanging from a drooping branch twenty feet from the ground and about six inches from a wasps' nest. The hen was sitting on several days prior to 18th June. Immature birds common in March and June.

COLLARED SUNBIRD

Anthreptes collaris subsp.

Particularly fond of the creepers draping the edges of blocks of bush. Its back is the size and colour of the green leaf and its underparts of the occasional dead leaf so that it is easily overlooked. Common.

GREY-HEADED SPARROW, Kikwikwi

Passer griseus subsp.

Nested in Utete Boma eaves in March and August.

EAST AFRICAN DARK-BACKED WEAVER

Symplectes bicolor kersteni (Finsch & Hertl.)

A pair seen in mango tree in Magongo near forest.

SPOT-BACKED WEAVER, Kwela

Sitagra nigriceps nigriceps (Layard)

They regularly strip the cassia trees above the shops in Utete village and commonly nest in coco palms throughout the District, especially near native houses.

Kwela covers the larger yellowish weavers.

EAST AFRICAN SPECTACLED WEAVER, Kwela

Hyphanturgus ocularius suahelicus (Neum.)

In marshy valleys.

GOLDEN WEAVER, Kwela

Xanthophilus aureoflavus subsp.

Quite common nesting in reeds at the edge of lakes.

RED-HEADED WEAVER, Lyoto

Anaplectes rubriceps

Noted quite frequently during August and September in various stages of plumage feeding well up in the trees in well-grown bush.

GROSBEAK WEAVER

Amblyospiza albifrons subsp.

Infrequent.

ZANZIBAR RED BISHOP, Yoto

Euplectes nigroventris nigroventris Cass.

Common in the grasslands near the river. This, together with the two following species only came into breeding plumage at the end of January 1944. This late date may have been due to the almost total failure of the rains until then. By July most of them had lost it again and were congregating on the ripe paddy crop.

EAST COAST FIRE-CROWNED BISHOP, Yoto

Euplectes hordacea subsp.

YELLOW BISHOP, Tumbo

Euplectes capensis xanthomelas Rüpp.

RED-SHOULDERED WIDOW-BIRD, Kumbe

Urobrachya axillaris zanzibarica Shelley

Common in the coarse reedy grasses along the Rufiji.

CUT-THROAT WHYDAH, Nyancheche

Coliuspasser ardens subsp.

One noted in grassy country in Magongo in May.

HOODED FINCH, Jigi, Bwigi

Spermestes cucullatus scutatus Heugl.

Very common.

RED-BACKED MANNIKIN, Jigi, Bwigi

Spermestes nigriceps nigriceps Cass.

Fairly common in the Magongo area flying up into a tree when disturbed.

PETERS' TWINSPOUT, Kiserengetwa

Hypargos niveoguttatus (Peters)

Not uncommon in Magongo in forested areas feeding on the path. Occasionally in other parts of the district.

MELBA FINCH

Pytilia melba subsp.

Not common.

RUDDY WAXBILL, Kitenduli

Lagonosticta rhodapareia subsp.

Common.

RED-BILLED FIREFINCH, Kitenduli

Lagonosticta senegala subsp.

Common.

COMMON WAXBILL

Estrilda astrild subsp.

Common in coarse grasses by streams. Noted mainly at Mohoro and Bungu.

CORDON BLEU, Kitenduli cha bibi

Uraeginthus angolensis subsp.

STEEL-BLUE FINCH

Hypochera chalybeata amauropteryx Sharpe

Pairs seen near Utete market in April, July and August, feeding on the ground or perched on top of the tallest cassia.

PIN-TAILED WIDOW-BIRD, Nyancheche ya tumbako

Vidua macroura (Pall.)

Common from March to June in plumage. Considerable parties of out-plumage birds in August and September.

YELLOW-FRONTED CANARY, Chiriku

Serinus mozambicus subsp.

Common in small parties in the bush in August and September.

GOLDEN-BREASTED BUNTING

Emberiza flaviventris subsp.

Met with occasionally in well-wooded bush in pairs or small parties high up in the trees.

LIST B

AFRICAN LITTLE GREBE, *Polioccephalus ruficollis capensis* (Salvad.)WHITE-BREASTED CORMORANT, *Phalacrocorax carbo lugubris* (Rüpp.)EASTERN WHITE PELICAN, *Pelecanus onocrotalus roseus* Gmel.WHITE STORK, *Ciconia c. ciconia* (Linn.)MARABOU STORK, *Leptoptilos crumeniferus* (Less.)GLOSSY IBIS, *Plegadis f. falcinellus* (Linn.)SPUR-WINGED GOOSE, *Plectropterus g. gambensis* (Linn.)WHITE-BACKED VULTURE, *Pseudogyps africanus* (Salvad.)LAPPET-FACED VULTURE, *Torgos tracheliotus* (Forst.)EGYPTIAN VULTURE, *Neophron p. pernopterus* (Linn.)HOODED VULTURE, *Necrosyrtes monachus pileatus* (Burch.)PEREGRINE FALCON, *Falco peregrinus* subsp.SOUTH AFRICAN LANNER, *Falco b. biarmicus* Temm.TAWNY EAGLE, *Aquila rapax* subsp.LONG-CRESTED EAGLE, *Lophætus occipitalis* (Daud.)BLACK & WHITE SPARROW-HAWK, *Accipiter m. melanoleucos* SmithOSPREY, *Pandion h. haliaëtus* (Linn.)COQUI FRANCOLIN, *Francolinus coqui* subsp.HARLEQUIN QUAIL, *Coturnix delagorguei* subsp.CRESTED GUINEAFOWL, *Guttera* sp.CAPE RAIL, *Rallus caerulescens* Gmel.

- CORN CRAKE, *Crex crex* (Linn.)
AFRICAN SPOTTED CRAKE, *Porzana pusilla obscura* Neum.
BUFF-SPOTTED CRAKE, *Sarothura e. elegans* (Smith)
PURPLE GALLINULE, *Porphyrio madagascariensis* (Lath.)
AFRICAN MOORHEN, *Callinula chloropus meridionalis* (Brehm.)
PETERS' FINFOOT, *Podica senegalensis petersi* Hartl.
LESSER JACANA, *Microparra capensis* (Smith)
S. A. WATTLED PLOVER, *Afribyx senegallus lateralis* (Smith)
LONG-TOED PLOVER, *Hemiparra crassirostris* subsp.
TURNSTONE, *Arenaria i. interpres* (Linn.)
AVOCET, *Recurvirostra avosetta* Linn.
STILT, *Himantopus himantopus* (Linn.)
CURLEW SANDPIPER, *Calidris testacea* (Pall.)
WHIMBREL, *Numenius phaeopus phaeopus* (Linn.)
EAST AFRICAN PRATINCOLE, *Glareola pratincola fülleborni* Neum.
SOUTH AFRICAN STONE-CURLEW, *Burhinus c. capensis* (Licht.)
SANDGROUSE, *Pterocles* sp.
AFRICAN CUCKOO, *Cuculus canorus gularis* Stephens
RED-CHESTED CUCKOO, *Cuculus solitarius* Stephens
BLACK CUCKOO, *Cuculus clamosus* Lath.
GREAT SPOTTED CUCKOO, *Clamator glandarius* (Linn.)
EMERALD CUCKOO, *Chrysococcyx cupreus intermedius* Hartl.
INDRIC CUCKOO, *Lampromorpha caprius* (Bodd.)
LIVINGSTONE'S LOURIE, *Turacus livingstonii* subsp.
SWAHILI PARROT, *Poicephalus robustus suahelicus* Reichw.
LILIAN'S LOVEBIRD, *Agapornis lilianae* Shelley *
HALF-COLLARED KINGFISHER, *Alcedo semitorquata* Swains.
GROUND HORNBILL, *Bucorvus cafer* (Schleg.)
MARSH OWL, *Asio c. capensis* (Smith)
VERREAUX'S EAGLE-OWL, *Bubo lacteus* (Temm.)
EUROPEAN SWIFT, *Micropus apus apus* (Linn.)
MOTTLED SWIFT, *Micropus ae. aequatorialis* (Müll.)
NARINA TROGON, *Apaloderma narina* subsp.
BROWN-BREASTED BARBET, *Lybius melanopterus* (Peters)
ANGOLA PITTA, *Pitta angolensis longipennis* Reichw.
SPOTTED FLYCATCHER, *Muscicapa striata* subsp.
SQUARE-TAILED DRONGO, *Dicrurus l. ludwigii* (Smith)
WHITE-NECKED RAVEN, *Corvultur albicollis* (Lath.)
RED-BILLED OXPECKER, *Buphagus erythrorhynchus* subsp.
OLIVE SUNBIRD, *Cyanomitra olivacea* subsp.
SALVADORI'S TREE-CREEPER, *Salpornis spilonota salvadori* (Boc.)
SPARROW WEAVER, *Plocepasser mahali* subsp.
PARADISE WIDOW BIRD, *Steganura paradisea* subsp.

*See R. E. Moreau, Dwarf Parrots of Tanganyika, *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, July 1945. Still awaits confirmation.—R.E.M., Feb. 1946.

LIST C

Native/English/Scientific Names.

- BAMBARU, Small Plover (*Charadrius* spp.) and Sandpiper (*Scolopacidae*)
 BATA MCHANGA, Egyptian Goose (*Alopochen aegyptiacus*)
 BIKO, Pelican (*Pelecanus*)
 BWENZI, Long-crested Eagle (*Lophaëtus occipitalis*)
 BWIGI, Hooded Finch etc. (*Spermestes* spp.)
 BWIRU, Batis Flycatchers (*Batis*)
 CHILIKUDONGO, Arnott's Chat (*Sciocincla arnotti*)
 CHIRIKU, Canary (*Serinus*)
 DUDUMIZI, Coucal (*Centropus*)
 CONGO, Lourie (*Gallirex* and *Corythaixoides*)
 JIGI, Bronze Mannikin etc. (*Spermestes*)
 KANGA, Guinea fowl (*Guttera*)
 KICHELIKICHELI, Warbler (*Sylviidae*)
 KIERUBIRE, Rail (*Rallidae*) and Lilytrotter (*Parridae*)
 KIERUNDUNDU, Sandpiper (*Scolopacidae*)
 KIIMBILILII, Bee-eater (*Meropidae*)
 KIJIMO SIMO, Purple heron (*Pyrherodia*)
 KIKWIKWI, Grey-headed Sparrow (*Passer griseus*)
 KIMBANGA, Hawk (*Falconidae*)
 KIMBANGA MLELI, Black-shouldered Kite (*Elanus*) and Lizard Buzzard
 (*Kaupifalco monogrammicus*)
 KIMBANGA LUKUME, Eagle (*Aquila*).
 KINGOYO, Small coloured Herons esp. Squacco (*Ardeola*)
 KIPANGA, Goshawk (*Astur*)
 KISERENGETWA, Peters' Twinspot (*Typargos*)
 KISOSI, Sunbird (*Nectariniidae*)
 KITARI KICHERI, Heuglin's Robin (*Cossypha heuglini*)
 KITENDULI, Firefinch (*Lagonosticta*)
 KITENDULI CHA BIBI, Cordon Bleu (*Uraeginthus*)
 KITIPA, Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax*) and Darter (*Anhinga*)
 KITUKUTUKU, Wood Dove (*Turtur*)
 KIWIBA, Swift (*Micropidae*) and Swallow (*Hirundinidae*)
 KOPWANGORA, Openbill Stork (*Anastomus lamelligerus*)
 KUMBE, Red-shouldered Widow-Bird (*Urobrachya axillaris*)
 KWELA, Yellow Weaver (*Ploceus* spp.)
 LUNDUA, Water Dikkop (*Burhinus vermiculatus*)
 LUNDUA MKALI, Kurrichaine Thrush (*Turdus libonyanus*)
 LYOTO, Red-headed Weaver (*Anaplectes rubriceps*)
 MBEMBE, Coly (*Coliidae*) and Paradise Flycatcher (*Tchitrea*)
 MBUNGU, Bateleur (*Terathopius ecaudatus*)
 MBWEPWE, Trumpeter Hornbill (*Bycanistes bucinator*)
 MBUTWI KITUNDU, Black and White Flycatcher (*Bias musicus*)
 MEMBE, Spoonbill (*Platalea alba*)
 MGONGO, Puff-back Shrike (*Dryoscopus cubla*)

- MPWITI, Yellow-vented Bulbul (*Pycnonotus tricolor*)
 MSINGWE, Hammerhead (*Scopus*)
 MSUKWI, White Stork (*Ciconia*)
 MTEPWE, Skimmer (*Rynchops flavirostris*)
 MUHISI, Fish-Eagle (*Cuncuma*) and Vulturine Fish-Eagle (*Gypohierax*)
 MWARABU, Wood Ibis (*Ibis ibis*)
 MWEWE, African Kite (*Milvus*)
 MWOGOGO, Ibis (*Plegadidae*)
 NDETIOLE, Senegal Plover (*Stephanibyx lugubris*)
 NGINGIYE, Wattled Plover (*Xiphidiopterus albiceps*)
 NDIPITIP, Coucal (*Centropus*)
 NDITE, Ground Hornbill (*Bucorvus*)
 NDTIBA, Three-banded Plover (*Charadrius tricolor*)
 NDUKUTUKU, Wood Doves (*Turtur*)
 NDUMBIKWA, Night Heron (*Nycticorax*)
 NDUNDUSI, Barn Owl (*Tyto alba*)
 NDUTU, Red-eyed Dove (*Streptopelia semitorquata*)
 NGAJIMA, Morning Warbler (*Cichaldua arquata*)
 NAGRUKYA KUNANE, Flapper Lark (*Mirafra fischeri*)
 NGEGENYA, Rufous Tit (*Parus rufiventris*)
 NGENGUYU, Bare-faced Whistling Hawk (*Gymnogenys*)
 NGOBWANI, Red-necked Francolin (*Pternistis*)
 NGOLELA, Roller (*Coracias*)
 NGORONGORO UPANZI, Large coloured Herons, (*Ardea* spp.)
 NGUNGURU, Pied Crow (*Corvus albus*)
 NGURUKURU, Wood Hoopoes (*Phoeniculidae*)
 NGUYU, Vulture (*Aegypiidae*)
 NGWALE, Francolin (*Francolinus*)
 NGWARU, Parrot (*Poicephalus*)
 NGWEKWE, Long-tailed Dove (*Oena capensis*)
 NGWIKWE, Grey and Crowned Hornbills (*Lophoceros* spp.)
 NINGA, Green Pigeon (*Vinago*)
 NUMBIYENUMBIYE, Swallow (*Hirundinidae*)
 NYAKIJIKU, White Herons (*Casmerodius*, *Mesophoyx* and *Egretta* spp.)
 NYANCHECHE, Pied Wagtail (*Motacilla*) and Cut-throat Whydah
 (*Coliuspasser ardens*)
 NYANCHECHE YA TUMBAKO, Pin-tailed Widow-Bird (*Vidua macroura*)
 NYANGENYANGE, Starling (*Lamprocolius* and *Cinnyricinclus*)
 NYANKAN'GONDA, Woodpecker (*Picidae*)
 NYANKUTA, Large Herons (*Ardeidae*)
 NYELOMOLELA, Babbler (*Turdoides*)
 NYERUNDUNDU, Sandpipers (*Scolopacidae*)
 NYUNDO, Knob-nosed Goose (*Sarkidiornis*)
 NZIGIYE, Grey-headed Bush-Shrike (*Malacanthus poliocephalus*)
 RUMBASU, Nightjar (*Caprimulgus*)
 SAGARUGEMBE, Saddle-billed Stork (*Ephippiorhynchus*)
 SEGESERA, Kurrichaine Thrush (*Turdus libonyanus*)

SIKITIKA, Kingfisher (*Halcyon* spp.)

SIPWESIPWE, Pied and Giant Kingfisher (*Ceryle* and *Megaceryle*)

SINDILI, Malachite-crested and Pygmy Kingfishers (*Corythornis cristate*
and *Ispidina picta*)

SISINGOMBE, Mousebird (*Colius striatus*) and Paradise Flycatcher
(*Tchitrea*)

SONGORO MILANZI, Oriole (*Oriolus*)

SULULU, Curlew (*Numenius*)

SWILILI, Duck (*Dendrocygna*)

WAMPILI TUWUKI, Black-headed Tchagra (*Tchagra senegala*)

YOTO, Red Bishop-Birds (*Euplectes hordaces* and *E. nigroventris*).

Early Connections Between the United States and East Africa

By Sir John Gray

UNTIL the middle of the eighteenth century all trade between the British Isles and the countries on the shores of the Indian Ocean was almost entirely in the hands of the East India Company. For many years the Company had an entire monopoly of trade in the Indian Ocean and did its utmost to discourage interlopers. Having, moreover, found large and profitable markets in India and the countries further to the east, the Company saw no reason for trying to develop what appeared to be a far less profitable trade with the east coast of Africa and the islands adjacent thereto.

So long as they formed part of the British dominions overseas, the people of the thirteen British Colonies on the Atlantic seaboard of the North American continent were, by reason of this monopoly and also of the provisions of certain Navigation Acts, prohibited from trading in the Indian Ocean.* But on July 4, 1776, the representatives of those thirteen united Colonies, in general congress assembled, issued a Declaration in which they published to the world that they were free and independent States absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, that all political connection between them and Great Britain was totally dissolved and that "as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do." In 1782 by a formal treaty the Motherland, from which those thirteen Colonies had sprung, recognised their independence and their union into one federated state called the United States of America.

By thus severing the bond which kept them attached to the British Crown, these thirteen independent and United States shook themselves free from all restrictive monopolies which had therefore prevented them from trading in certain parts of the globe. During the War of Independence opportunities of exercising this new freedom were not many, but after the conclusion of peace in 1782 we find a number of signs of American trading activities in the Indian Ocean. The development of this commerce was naturally slow at the start, as the newcomers had to experiment and to feel their way. Amongst those who took the lead in opening up the seaboard of the Indian Ocean to American

*From time to time American interlopers infringed this monopoly. Thus in 1719 a vessel took a cargo of slaves from Natal to Virginia. (Mackeurtan—*The Cradle Days of Natal*, pp. 74, 75), but these "slavers" appear to have visited the Indian Ocean only very occasionally.

commerce were the citizens of the northern State of Massachusetts. They were sprung from the hardy stock of the Pilgrim Fathers, shrewd men of business with boldness of vision, skilled and able navigators, and seamen second to none, who were soon to make the Stars and Stripes a familiar sight in every one of the seven seas. As was to be expected, the people of Boston took their part in developing this trade, but for many years an even more prominent part was played by the people of Salem and New Bedford. In 1789 a Salem ship called at Ile de France (Mauritius). New Bedford was the home of the whaling industry and in 1795 the Portuguese authorities at Mozambique reported with some consternation that American ships in considerable numbers were catching whales in the vicinity of Delagoa Bay. In 1799 a Marine Society was organised at Salem. Its membership was limited to "persons who have actually navigated the seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn as masters or supercargoes of vessels belonging to Salem." (1).

From Mauritius and Delagoa Bay the Americans gradually made their way up the East African coast to the north of Cape Delgado and into the territorial waters of Seyyid Said bin Sultan, Imam of Muscat (1805-1856). In 1804 twelve American vessels were reported to have visited East African ports. In 1805 Salem vessels landed in America over two million pounds of Mocha coffee. During the next decade the repercussions of the Napoleonic wars and the eventual outbreak in 1812 of war between Great Britain and the United States led to a temporary lull in these activities, but they were revived soon after the conclusion of peace in 1815. (2).

On March 12, 1826, the brig *Ann* (Charles Millet, master) sailed from Salem with a cargo, which consisted mainly of cotton goods, but also included miscellaneous articles such as tobacco, nails, and glass mirrors. After rounding the Cape of Good Hope she made straight for Mocha, where she loaded coffee. At the beginning of 1827 Millet took his vessel south in search of other cargo and then at the end of the year once more worked his way up the east coast of Africa. He called at Lindi on November 17, 1827, where the "natives" informed him that "this is the first American vessel that has ever visited this place." But he found Lindi "to be a place of no trade except slaves," and so he sailed on to Kiswere. Here, again he found that the only trade was one in which no true citizen of the Northern States of America had any wish to indulge.* On November 24 he called at Zanzibar in search of grain, but could not obtain any. After that he called at Mombasa and "Hosea" (?Ozi), to the north of Mombasa, but was unable to do much trade. Thence he made his way to Lamu. On the way he found he was being closely followed by some "piratical dhows," which, as he believed, came from Muscat, but more probably hailed from Ras-el-

*In 1807 an Act of Congress prohibited the importation of slaves into the United States as from January 1, 1808.

Kheimah on the Trucial Oman coast.† He "outdistanced all but one, which was frightened off by getting guns out." On arrival at Lamu he managed to get the grain he needed. After that he called at Merka and Barawa on the Somali coast, whence he turned south again on January 24, 1828. On May 9 of the following year he dropped anchor at Salem, having on board somewhat miscellaneous, though none the less profitable cargo, which included rice and grain, "elephants' teeth" shipped at Zanzibar and Lamu, hides, gum arabic, gum copal, myrrh, beeswax, turtle shell, dates and ostrich feathers. (3).

Before the *Ann* reached Salem, the brig *Virginia* (Henry Leavitt, master) had set out thence for East Africa. After visiting Madagascar and Zanzibar Leavitt continued his way north, reaching Mombasa on September 3, 1828. What happened to him there is best told in his own words:

"On nearing the eastern side of Mombasa Island, which must be approached very close, were fired upon from a small stone fort and by near 200 or 300 men from the beach. We immediately hauled on a wind and attempted to beat out, but, there being a fresh breeze from S.E. and a large sea rolling in together with the flood tide, we found it impossible to gain any ground. The fire of musketry continued pretty brisk till we anchored, when it ceased. Several bullets passed through our sails . . . Went ashore and learnt that the Mombasa inhabitants had revolted from the Imam (sc. of Muscat), and had shut up the Arab garrison in the castle, and had fired upon us under the idea that we were an Arab brig of war." (4).

Until the naturalised American, Henry Morton Stanley, working under the aegis of James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald*, set out to make "news" in the heart of Africa, these bullet holes in the *Virginia's* sails were the only outward and visible sign of any display of hostility to America and things American by the people of East Africa.

The *Ann* and the *Virginia* were soon followed by other vessels from Salem and other Massachusetts ports. In 1831 the *Black Warrior* of Salem (John Bertram, master) put in to Zanzibar just as one of Seyyid Said's ships was about to sail for India with a cargo of gum copal. Bertram bought the cargo and shipped it to Salem. At the same time he made arrangements with Seyyid Said to purchase future cargoes.

†The inhabitants of the Trucial Oman were notorious pirates, who for many years preyed on peaceful merchantmen of all nations including the Imam of Muscat's Zanzibar and Oman subjects. In 1833 a piracy, "attended with cruel and aggravated circumstances," was committed on a Cutch vessel, off the coast of Zanzibar by the inhabitants of Sur. In 1837 Seyyid Said wrote from Zanzibar, "complaining of the aggressions committed by the inhabitants of Sheikh Sultan bin Saggar upon the inhabitants of the coast." As late as 1852 a ship from Ras-el-Kheimah, "when on her return to the Persian Gulf from the African Coast, and while still in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar, committed a piracy on a vessel belonging to that port."—*Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government (New Series)* XXIV. 207, 356, 637.

Thereafter there was a steady importation of gum copal. A factory was erected in Salem for cleaning the gum and from 1845 onwards this factory was handling one and a half million pounds a year. After being cleaned, the gum was manufactured into varnish and in that form brought round the Cape of Good Hope and sold in India. The number of ships calling at Zanzibar also increased. Between January, 1833, and January, 1834, nine American vessels called at Zanzibar. Between September 16, 1832, and March 16, 1834, thirty-two American vessels called there, twenty hailing from Salem, four being whale ships, three hailing from Boston, three from New York, and two from ports unspecified. Before this date Captain Edmund Roberts of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, had realised the potential field which these parts offered to American enterprise, but had also decided that all such enterprise would be very uncertain in its results, if arrangements were not made between the Government of the United States and the rulers of the countries on the seaboard of the Indian Ocean whereby the reception to be accorded to American merchantmen was placed upon a definite and satisfactory basis. He communicated his views to Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy, who laid them before President Andrew Jackson. It was eventually decided to send Roberts as special agent of the United States Government to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with the Imam of Muscat and other Asiatic rulers. (5).

Roberts, accordingly, left the United States in 1832 in U.S.S. *Peacock*. On September 21, 1833, he concluded a treaty at Muscat with Seyyid Said bin Sultan. The first article of the treaty granted the citizens of the United States the right to freedom of trade in all ports of the Imam, but as the people of Mombasa were still in a state of rebellion, it was agreed that "the articles of muskets, powder and ball can only be sold to the Government in the Island of Zanzibar." The third, fourth, and sixth articles stipulated that the only dues to be paid by American citizens should be limited to five per cent import duty on all cargoes landed. No doubt bearing in mind the *Ann's* experience of Lamu in 1828, the seventh article provided that "if any citizens of the United States, or their vessels, or their other property shall be taken by pirates and brought within the dominions of the Sultan, the persons shall be set at liberty, and the property restored to the owner, if he is present, or to the American Consul, or to any authorised agent." The ninth and last article provided that "the President of the United States may appoint Consuls to reside in the ports of the Sultan where the principal commerce shall be carried on, which Consuls shall be the exclusive judges of all disputes or suits wherein American citizens shall be engaged with each other. They shall have power to receive the property of any American citizen dying within the Kingdom, and to send the same to his heirs, first paying all his debts to the subjects of the Sultan. The said Consuls shall not be arrested, nor shall their property be seized, nor shall any of their household be arrested, but their persons and property and their houses shall be inviolate. Should any Consul commit

any offence against the law of the Kingdom, complaint shall be made to the President who will immediately displace him." (6).

This treaty had to be ratified by the United States Government. On the way back to America the *Peacock* put in to the Bay of Natal and roused the intense suspicions of the handful of British settlers there. This together with the news of the recently concluded treaty and of a number of other American missionary and commercial projects in Africa led to the spreading both in England and in South Africa of alarmist reports regarding the territorial ambitions of the United States. But Lord Palmerston undoubtedly hit the right nail on the head when with his usual common sense he announced that he was "inclined to doubt the existence of an intention on the part of the American Government to make the settlement in question, as it has hitherto not been the policy of that Government to form colonial establishments, the whole annual increment of population and capital of the United States having found ample bent in the unsettled and uncultivated tracts in the interior of their own territory." (7).

Nevertheless, whilst the British Government did not share the alarmist views of a certain section of the British public, it none the less decided that it would not be out of place to make a few inquiries regarding American trade in East Africa. Accordingly Captain Hart of H.M.S. *Imogene* was sent from Bombay to Zanzibar in January, 1834. After a fifteen days' voyage he reached the island on January 30 and found one English merchant brig, one American whaler, and two American merchant brigs anchored in the Zanzibar roadstead. Regarding the whaler he reported that

"It is very common for the South Sea whalers to come for refreshments, of which description the ship now here is one. I was surprised to hear this and could scarcely believe that a South Sea whaler came here for refreshments, and that to be her only object. However I found it truly so, and that he had actually caught between two and three hundred barrels of oil, almost between Zanzibar and the next island of Pemba, and this the day after he had spoken an English whaler, who had been on the ground some time, and, after speaking, bore away to the Seychelles for refreshments."* (8).

*In his description of Zanzibar as it was in 1857, Burton (*Zanzibar* I. 203) tells us that "in May, June, July, ships of 200 to 600 tons visit the waters south of Mayfia (Mafia) Island; if the capricious leviathan be not found there, then it is waste of time to cruise about. In July, and at the beginning of the N. East Monsoons, schools migrate up the coast in search of food as far as the Red Sea. From 30 to 60 lbs. of ambergris have been brought up in one year to the island, and a little of it is exported to Europe.

Lieutenant Christopher of *Tigris*, who visited East Africa in 1843, tells of the tragedy which befell some of the crew of an English ship which was on this whaling ground a year or so before Hart's visit. The crew of a boat lost their ship whilst in pursuit of a whale and, after being nine days at sea, reached land about sixty miles north of Mogadishu. The officers and two of the men died of exhaustion. The remaining five were made prisoners by the Somalis and sold as slaves.—*Coupland—East Africa*, pp. 342, 343.

Between September 16, 1832, and May 26, 1834, four American whalers called at Zanzibar. In 1839 a retired officer of the Indian Navy repeated a rumour that Seyyid Said was proposing to cede one of his ports in Africa to the American Government for the convenience of their whalers on the coast. The rumour appears never to have had the slightest foundation in fact, but for over thirty years afterwards whalers from the United States were to make the island a regular place of call. In 1871, for instance, Stanley arrived for the first time in Zanzibar on an American whaling ship, which had brought him from Mauritius. As already said, New Bedford, Massachusetts, was at this date the headquarters of the whaling industry and one is tempted in one's mind to people the narrow streets of Zanzibar in these bygone days with characters from Herman Melville's "Moby Dick." But it would certainly create a very wrong impression to suggest that all the members of these whaling vessels were outlandish or eccentric folk. To one of them, J. Ross Brown, we owe one of the earliest sets of "specimens" of Kiswahili, which were published by him in 1846 at New York in his "Etchings of Whaling Cruise." (9).

But to revert to the two American merchant brigs, which were anchored in the Zanzibar roadstead in January, 1834, Hart reported that

"One belongs to Old Salem and (the) other to New York, and both on their second voyage. The former has both voyages brought dollars to purchase a cargo; the latter, the first voyage, brought out goods which did not answer, and made a bad trip; he has new dollars, and does not appear to have met with much better success, expecting to be here two or three months collecting a freight. Their return cargoes consist almost totally of copal and (sic) gum; but since the Englishman has been here, and they have seen him buying ivory, they have commenced to do the same

"This trade has been known only to one or two houses in America: the American now here said there were not ten people in their country who knew where Zanzibar was, or even heard of it. Last year the Imam sent a letter by one of these American Captains, to be published in America, inviting the citizens of the United States to come and trade; but the owners said—"No, Mr. Waters (the Master of the Old Salem brig), if we allowed this to be published, everybody will hear of the place, and we shall lose our trade." (10).

No doubt, by intruding into what the Americans had hitherto regarded as their own special preserve, the English brig was, as its master told Hart, "a great annoyance" to these first comers from America. Hart was told that the Americans and the Englishman remained "upon perfect good terms with each other, though it is evident they are very jealous of him, and it is only his extreme good humour prevents their quarrelling.

But the Englishman's claim to Hart that he had secured most of the business at Zanzibar must be taken with some measure of caution.

Ruschenberger, the surgeon of the U.S.S. *Peacock*, which visited Zanzibar in September, 1835, was decidedly of the opinion that in local commerce the Americans were holding their own as against the British. Whilst his opinions are biased by a but thinly disguised anglophobia, and also suffer from the handicap that they were based on information obtained during the course of a seven days' visit, they are to some extent corroborated from other sources and cannot be entirely ignored. "At present," he wrote, "the commerce is very considerable, and, as Zanzibar will become the great commercial depot of the eastern coast of Africa, is destined to increase. The Americans obtain here gum copal, ivory, and hides, for which they give American cottons and specie. *The American trade is chiefly from Salem, Massachusetts.* The American cotton manufactures have taken precedence of the English, not only at this place and in many parts of the East, but on the Pacific coast of America. The English endeavour to imitate our fabric by stamping their own with American marks, and by other means assimilating it; but the people say the strength and wear of the American goods are so superior, that, lest they be deceived, they will no longer purchase from Englishmen." (11).

Whilst there may have been instances of attempts to pass off English as American cloth, there is certainly no evidence of such widespread imitation as Ruschenberger would suggest and trade returns certainly contradict this sweeping assertion that there was no market for British cloth in East Africa. At the same time it is undoubtedly true that very soon after this date American cloth gained the first place in the East African market. Previously, almost the only cloth, which was imported into Zanzibar and the adjacent mainland, was a coarse indigo calico from India which was usually called "kaniki." But within little more than a decade "kaniki" had to yield pride of place to "amerikani," the unbleached cotton sheeting, which, as its name denotes, was imported from the United States. Writing to Palmerston in 1848, Atkins Hamerton, the British Consul at Zanzibar, reported that this "coarse unbleached cloth has come into universal use in Arabia and the coast of Africa, and is fast driving the British and Indian manufactured articles of this kind out of the market." Nine years later Burton reported that "kaniki has yielded before the advance of merikani, which now supplies the markets from Abyssinia to the Mozambique."* This cloth was the product of the mills of Salem, Lawrence, and Lowell in Massachusetts and of Manchester, just over the border in the neighbouring State of New Hampshire. (12). In a few years' time amerikani was much sought after

*In 1859 the value of cotton goods imports into Zanzibar was as follows: American £93,744-9-0, British £37,711-3-0, and Indian £53,777-18-0 (Russell p.344). During the year only one British ship of 493 tons burden called at Zanzibar. Therefore the cotton goods from Great Britain must have been carried in foreign bottoms.

in the far interior of Africa. The name "amerikani" has indeed become part of the vocabulary of practically every Bantu-speaking race 'twixt the Zambezi and the Sahara.†

The object of the visit of the U.S.S. *Peacock* to Zanzibar had been in order to exchange ratifications of the Treaty of 1833 with Seyyid Said. At the time of concluding the Treaty Seyyid Said had expected that he would be able to make a long stay in Zanzibar, but political disturbances in Oman recalled him to that country earlier than he had expected. The *Peacock* accordingly followed him there. Captain Edmund Roberts was once more entrusted with this mission. After an alarming accident the *Peacock* reached Muscat on September 29, 1835. At an audience with Seyyid Said, Roberts was informed that Mombasa was still in a state of rebellion and was being blockaded by the Seyyid's men of war. Roberts, therefore, sent a general notification to all masters and super-cargoes of American vessels at Zanzibar and other ports within the dominions of the Imam of Muscat notifying them that the blockade was in force and that no vessel would be permitted to enter Mombasa during its continuance.* Thereafter Seyyid Said, so far from making any difficulties about ratification, announced that he was prepared to ratify the treaty retrospectively as from the date of its ratification by the President of the United States. As the second article of the treaty reduced the customs import duty to five per cent, this meant that a number of American traders would be entitled to considerable refund of excess duties but, as Seyyid Said explained to Roberts, "it made no difference to him, because the customs at Zanzibar were farmed for 110,000 dollars a year to Banyans, who were aware, when making their bargain, that the treaty would take place, though they did not know at what time, and therefore had paid less, expecting the early ratification by the United States." (13).

In 1837 Richard Palmer took up his residence at Zanzibar as the first United States Consul. Like his four immediate successors, he hailed from Salem. His arrival was followed by that of a number of American merchants. Prior to the Consul's arrival it would appear that the usual plan of the American merchant vessels had been "to touch upon different parts of the coast, and leave one or two of their crew behind, with an interpreter, whilst they visit some other parts, or come to Zanzibar which is the great mart and rendezvous." But after the posting of a Consul to Zanzibar a number of Salem business houses established themselves at that place, and it was not until 1891 that the last Salem man left Zanzibar. Amongst the earliest arrivals was Captain John Bertram, whose name has been perpetuated at Salem by his heirs in the Public Library

†Another import, which was hardly so beneficial as "amerikani," was the Java crow which, according to Burton—*Zanzibar: City, Island and Coast* I. 199 was introduced to Zanzibar "by one Ward, a Salem ship-captain." Burton's date for this importation (1827) would, however, appear to be wrong.

* Mombasa was finally subjugated in 1837.

and the Bertram Home for Aged Men. As already mentioned, he had in 1831 succeeded in obtaining from Seyyid Said a special contract in regard to the sale of gum copal. He was soon to be joined as a partner by Michael M. Shepherd, also of Salem, who was in business at Zanzibar from 1837 to 1852 and became a close friend of Seyyid Said. The firm of John Bertram & Co. was to carry on business at Zanzibar for some forty years. It was with the assistance of the firm's representative in Zanzibar that Stanley fitted out his expedition in search of Livingstone in 1871, the party which went to reinforce Livingstone's party in 1872, and his own first transcontinental expedition in 1874. (14).

Another early arrival from Salem was Samuel K. Masury, who set up in business as a "general merchant." To him must be given the credit for the earliest *Vocabulary of the Soahili*, which was published in 1845 at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the *Memoirs of the American Academy*. Burton met him in 1857 and later acknowledged that it was to his "gratuitous kindness I was indebted for several necessities when separated from civilisation by one half of Africa." Burton also says of him that he was "distinguished for probity and commercial sagacity; he left Zanzibar during our exploration of the interior, and he presently came to an untimely end." (15).

Once again one is strongly tempted to picture characters from Hawthorne's works walking through the streets of Zanzibar. In this instance one feels that one is perhaps nearer the mark than in the case of Hawthorne's friend, Herman Melville. Nathaniel Hawthorne was born at Salem and came of a good old Salem stock. His grandfather had commanded a privateer in the War of Independence and his father had made more than one voyage to the countries on the shores of the Indian Ocean, including Africa. Nathaniel himself knew many of his fellow citizens whose business carried them overseas to East Africa. In 1846 he returned to his birthplace to take up a post in that old world Customs House, of which he has given such a delightful picture in his prologue to *The Scarlet Letter*. More than once during the next three years of his life he must have witnessed those busy mornings, which he describes so well, "when three or four vessels happened to have arrived at once—usually from Africa or South America—or to be on the verge of their departure thitherward."

But we must leave the old Customs House and embark with some well known member of the Salem Marine Society on his three hundred ton craft in order to return with him to Zanzibar. Examination of the ship's manifest would disclose the fact that it carried an assorted cargo. Very probably "americani" would form the largest and the most valuable portion thereof, but there would also be muskets, gunpowder, ammunition, hardware, mirrors and the hundred and one other miscellaneous articles one expects to find stocked in a wayside shop in the heart of Central Africa today. Very probably there was also some special article, which

Seyyid Said had commissioned the captain or supercargo to bring out. The special cargo might be almost anything — a brace or more of twenty-four pounders for Seyyid Said's navy, a couple of glass chandeliers for his durbar chamber, special timber for some special building, or some of the latest novelties in playthings for his numerous children — but, twenty-four pounder or plaything, it was always cargo to be handled and stowed with the utmost possible care.

On arrival there was as a rule little difficulty in disposing of the general cargo. In his report on Zanzibar for 1859 Lieutenant Colonel Rigby says the goods were at once bought up by the Indian traders at Zanzibar and "the United States vessels, after landing cargo at Zanzibar, usually proceeded to Aden and Muscat, and shipped coffee or dates, returning to Zanzibar to fill up with ivory, copal, hides etc." He also reported that "Germans and Americans now send their ships to Muscat and Bussorah for gum and hides, and to the coast of Mekran for wool, thereby cutting off very nearly all the wool trade and the gum and hide from Kurrachee and Bombay; this is all brought to Zanzibar and sent away in German and American ships." In 1859 close on half a million pounds of ivory, which all originally came from the interior of the African continent and was valued at just under £150,000, was by far the most valuable article of export to the United States. As already said, a special factory was erected at Salem for clearing gum, of which large quantities came from Zanzibar. In 1859 Colonel Rigby reported that "the gum copal is dug from the earth a few miles inland on the coast of Africa; an inferior sort is also found on the Island of Zanzibar." In that year the total exports of this commodity came to 875,875 lbs. in weight and £37,166 in value. Burton estimated that the Hamburg merchants took 150,000 lbs. of this quantity and Bombay merchants 200,000 lbs. It would appear that the great majority of the remaining half million pounds were carried to the United States. In 1834 Hart referred to "a few cloves, and a small quantity of sugar, but both these cultivations are in their infancy." In 1859 the total quantity of cloves exported from Zanzibar was just under five million pounds and their value was just over £55,000. It is not known how far the American merchants participated in this trade. Like Hamerton and Rigby, they may have regarded it as a highly speculative commodity and have fought shy of it. (16).

There was one other prominent trade which, to the honour of the American community in Zanzibar, they countenanced neither directly nor indirectly. In 1807 Congress had passed an Act prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States, but slavery continued to exist as a recognised institution in the Southern States. Until that status was abolished in America, Great Britain found herself forced to cope single handed with slave traffic in East African waters and American citizens, or *soi-disant* American citizens, continued to participate in the trade in the Portuguese sphere of influence to the south of Cape Delgado.

But the majority of the citizens of the Northern States were as staunch abolitionists and had as strong an abhorrence of slavery as the great majority of people in Great Britain. The American community at Zanzibar, who all hailed from the Northern States, proved no exception to this rule. When reporting in 1860 that "there is abundant free labour available in Zanzibar," Rigby stated that "the European and American merchants generally have several hundred labourers in their employ, cleaning gum copal, cowries, curing hides &c." In that same year "an American merchant, who had long resided in Zanzibar" wrote to "one of the American journals" to deplore the relaxation of vigilance off the East African coast in regard to the slave traffic, whilst W. G. Webb, the U.S.A. Consul, joined with Rigby, the British Consul, in a protest to Seyyid Majid, Sultan of Zanzibar, against his continued employment of a notorious slave dealer. When in 1861 Brigadier Coglan expressed the opinion that the slave trade would only be checked successfully with the co-operation of other Powers, he said, "I presume that the consent of the United States would be given without hesitation." *Odiosa sunt nomina* but, as the Brigadier said, such co-operation could not be expected from certain other European powers. (17).

In 1835 Captain George Barnes Brucks, of the Indian Navy, referred to the "very respectable naval force," which then belonged to Seyyid Said and "which is, with the island of Zanzibar, his principal care and study." Seyyid Said took advantage of the establishment of treaty relations with the United States to add to his fleet by purchasing the *Vestal* of eight guns from the Americans. Shortly after the exchange of ratifications of the American Treaty he also sent the man-of-war, *Sultaneh*, on a ceremonial visit to the United States. According to reports received by Atkins Hamerton, British Consul at Zanzibar, a year or two later, the visit was not entirely a success. At some port unnamed Seyyid Said's emissaries had a very disagreeable experience. "They were tormented continually by the mob crowding to see the Arabs, looking on them as a curiosity. Their privacy was intruded on; they were pulled by the beards and otherwise insulted."* Seyyid Said's principal emissary on this occasion was a Persian named Ahmed bin Naaman. He was to become Seyyid Said's secretary as well as secretary of Seyyid Said's son and successor, Majid. According to Burton he was known latterly by the nickname of Waihayn, or "Two Faces." Hamerton reported in 1855 that he was "ill paid and not trustworthy . . . a man of dangerous character — given to falsehood and double dealing and always asking

*In the *Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, p. 536, Colonel S. B. Miles describes a gun which he saw at Al-Bairami. It was "a brass 24 pounder, mounted on a field-piece, bearing the name of Saeed bin Sultan 1258 A.H. (A.D. 1842) in Arabic and the English date 1842. It is one of the batch of twenty that Seyyid Said procured from America at this time, for his corvette *Sultana*, and was brought thither from Sohar in 1876." If, as Miles says, this gun was one of several procured for the armament of the *Sultaneh*, it must have been procured after the corvette's visit to the United States. The letters, in which Colonel Hamerton refers to that visit, are dated February 9 and 10, 1842.

for one thing and another, but the Imam understands him." Ahmed bin Naaman was profoundly impressed by what he saw in America. After his return Hamerton complained that he was anti-British and "led all hands to believe that we are a very inferior people to Americans," and had become the leader of "the American party" in Zanzibar. (18).

Richard Palmer was succeeded as American Consul in about 1840 by Robert P. Waters, who also hailed from Salem. (19). The new Consul likewise carried on the business of ship broker and agent and would appear to be identical with the master of the Salem brig, whom Captain Hart had met at Zanzibar in 1834. There are varying estimates of Waters given by Hamerton, the British Consul, by a certain Captain Robert Cogan, by the Missionary Johann Ludwig Krapf, and by Seyyid Said himself.

Captain Atkins Hamerton of the 2nd Bombay Native Infantry arrived in Zanzibar to take up the appointment of British Consul on May 4, 1841. He very quickly realised that there was an "American party" in the island, which was distinctly anti-British in sentiment. On the day on which he landed he paid a ceremonial call on Seyyid Said at Mtoni. At this meeting Hamerton observed two pictures in gilt frames hanging up on either side of the chair of Seyyid Said in the room in which he held his durbar. One picture depicted U.S.S. *Constitution* in the act of capturing H.M.S. *Guerrière* and the other U.S.S. *United States* in the act of capturing H.M.S. *Macedonian*. Hamerton's visit was unexpected and Seyyid Said can safely be acquitted of any intentional act of discourtesy. The pictures in question had in fact been hanging in his durbar room at Muscat when U.S.S. *Peacock* visited that place in 1835. On his next visit Hamerton found two pictures of the Battle of Navarino hanging in their place. But the circumstances, though trivial, showed that attempts were being made to spread pro-American and anti-British propaganda in Zanzibar.

At this date the collection of customs in Zanzibar had been farmed out to an Indian from Cutch named Jairam Siwji,* who by reason of his position was able to do much to hamper the legitimate trading operations of local merchants, if he saw fit to do so. Soon after his arrival Hamerton was told that "there existed a monopoly of the trade between Mr. Waters — the American Consul (who is a ship broker and agent), the Custom's Master, and three or four influential natives — to the great detriment of all British traders, and to the exclusion of all others than (those) tolerated and permitted by the monopolists. Whenever they thought fit to do so, the goods of the Native Merchants, Banians and Indian Mohamedans, were detained at the Customs House

*A history of the firm of Jairam Siwji can be found in *Indian Decisions (Bombay) (New Series)* VII. 269-272. Jairam Siwji died in 1866. Colonel Rigby who was British Consul at Zanzibar 1858-1861, told a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1871 that he "happened to make the will of the old Customs Master, and he left 3,000,000 dollars (about £650,000) in hard cash."—*Evidence on Slave Trade*, 24.

and they were not allowed to sell to whom they pleased, but to whom the monopolists thought fit to allow them (to sell), and if an American vessel was in want of cargo — she must be supplied in preference. This monopoly, after much trouble, I succeeded in breaking up calling the attention of the Imam to the different articles of the Treaty of Commerce between Her Britannic Majesty and His Highness the Imam * —and at last induced him publicly to disclose that the trade was free and all British subjects were at liberty to buy from and sell to whom they pleased—and then the Natives were made for a time to believe that this Treaty between Muscat and England was not yet in force, because it had been certified by Captain Hornell, who was an East India Company's officer; and positively the Imam appeared for a time to think such was the case — but I have succeeded in inducing him to think otherwise."

The counterstroke to Hamerton's proceedings came on September 23, 1841, when "the Imam cited to his presence all the principal native merchants of the place and (sic) who were British subjects, inhabitants of Bombay, Surat, and other places in India, and required them to sign a declaration to the effect that they no longer considered themselves as British subjects, but of their own free will (had) become citizens of the City of Zanzibar, and would in no case ever after claim British protection under any circumstances. This, with the exception of three men, they all refused to sign, saying they all had wives and children in the British possessions in India and that no force could compel them to make such a declaration, and that they would tell all to me, which many of them immediately did — and on the 25th of September I waited on the Imam and told him that he had been ill advised on the subject — and that I would report the circumstance to (the) Governor,* which I did and I also told His Highness the people, who had signed the declaration, did so through fear and that in case of need the Government would most constantly protect them, as though they had never signed the paper. The Imam said that, if any one, being an English subject, resided in a country for a certain time, he became a citizen of the state in which he resided. I told him it was not the case. He said such was the law in America. I told him the laws of America did not affect us. His Highness then said the people of India were the subjects of the East India Company, and not the subjects of the Queen of England." (21).

In reporting this conversation Hamerton said "I hear this was all got up by the American party." It would appear that Waters himself was away in Bombay at the time and did not return to Zanzibar until December 7, 1841. But, if reports reaching Hamerton had any truth, recent attempts on the part of the British Government to bring pressure

*Concluded on May 31, 1839.

* Sc. of Bombay.

on Seyyid Said to curtail the slave trade had given rise to a vast amount of anti-British propaganda, of which "the American party" made the fullest use. "There is," wrote Hamerton, "a strong feeling inimical to British interests among the people here and all that is possible to do is done by the American party here to induce the Imam to take a strong stand against us. Every reverse and any thing whatever which tends to our disadvantage is at once made known and circulated amongst the people." As 1841 was the year of the disastrous intervention of the British in Afghanistan, very ample material for such propaganda came readily to hand. When the American Consul returned from Bombay, he was reported to have added fresh fuel to the fire. According to Captain Cogan "he represented the East India Company as distinct from the Imperial Government of Great Britain and no better than aggrandising freebooters whose creature, he said, Captain Hamerton was, and he talked of the interference and assistance of the United States if required by His Highness." According to Hamerton he was "bringing down all sorts of reports — that the East India Company were ruined, that the charter was never again to be granted, that the Rajah of Sattara* had obtained another victory, that his colours had met with the greatest success, and that the Imam had been imposed upon by the Bombay Government, that I had been acting without due authority, that I was only the servant of the East India Company, and that there was a Consul on his way from England, and all sorts of reports of this nature, (and) that we had entirely failed in Afghanistan and China." (22).

So Hamerton decided that he must see Seyyid Said and make it quite clear as to what the actual position was. When the two met, for once Seyyid Said's usual perfect sauvage completely disappeared. He questioned the authority of any representative of the East India Company to write to him regarding the suppression of the slave trade. "I told him," said Hamerton, "I am sorry to see him in this frame of mind and that I was also sorry to observe that he was yet under the influence of bad advice." The Imam then tried to explain that he had not intended to say anything derogatory of the Company. "He muttered about one thing and the other and behaved in a way I never saw him do before." Hamerton then "assumed a high tone," whereupon Seyyid Said asked Hamerton how he came to be the bearer of letters from the Royal Government in England. Hamerton explained. Seyyid Said then said, "Ah! Balleuzie,† see how many and what lies people tell me — but, by the soul of the Prophet, you have never deceived me. I will place myself under the protection of the English. I will send letters to the Queen. Will that be wrong?" I said I thought the people of England would be glad to see a ship of his there, but that if he hoped to alter the determination of the Government to stop the slave

* The Mahratta Peishwa of Sattara, Baji Rao, was deposed and pensioned in 1819. His adopted son was the notorious Nana Sahib.

† sc. Balleuzie (=ambassador).

trade, I feared he was deceiving himself. He then said, "In the name of God, how shall I send this ship to England? I have no one to navigate her. Would it be likely to give offence if Wilson (the brother-in-law of the American Consul, Mr. Waters) who is an American, were to navigate her? I said certainly not. His Highness then said, "This letter is enough for me. It is the same as the orders of Azrael (the Angel of Death) — nothing but to obey. I will write to the Queen and the Viziers. Will you translate the letters that they may be understood?" I said of course I would, and have done so. (23).

It has to be remembered that Hamerton and Cogan were writing on the strength of information given to them by others and that information may not have been in every respect entirely reliable. But even when due allowance is made, the fact remains that Seyyid Said had obviously been treated to some definitely pro-American and anti-British propaganda. There was a strong commercial rivalry between Great Britain and the United States and there can be little doubt that the local American firms were ready to do much to exclude British firms as later arrivals and interlopers. There was also political cause for this antagonism. The bitterness engendered by the war of 1812 had not yet died out in either country. During that war and in the period of the blockade of French territories prior to that war the people of Salem in particular had suffered much by seizure and capture of their vessels by British men-of-war. How far Waters himself was responsible for this propaganda and how far he himself may have gone beyond the legitimate bounds of fair comment, it is difficult to say.

There was another side to Waters' character which must not be overlooked. Early in 1844 Johann Ludwig Krapf and his wife Rosine reached Zanzibar. Krapf had come out under the aegis of the Church Missionary Society in London for the purpose of spreading Christianity in East Africa. During their sojourn in Zanzibar he and his wife stayed with Waters. Krapf tells us that his host was "the only European who before my arrival had given Bibles and tracts to the natives." As was to be expected, he "was a zealous friend to the Mission." He wanted Krapf to remain in Zanzibar and to start work there, but Krapf decided to go to the mainland. Thereafter Waters still continued to help the missionary in many ways. When at Mombasa a few months later Rosine Krapf and her infant daughter succumbed to the climate, "Mr. Waters and his friends in Bombay erected a stone monument over the grave, so that it might always remind the wandering Suahilis and Wanika, that here rested a Christian woman who had left father, mother and home to labour for the salvation of Africa." (24).

Yet another tribute to Waters comes from Seyyid Said. Though Seyyid Said's letters were not infrequently written in the most flowery of language, reading between the lines of many of them one can sometimes find a profound feeling of real esteem and regard for the person whom

he is addressing. Other evidence shows that Seyyid Said must have been an exceedingly good judge of men. He came to form, and rightly to form, a very high opinion of the British Consul, Hamerton. Therefore his opinion of Waters cannot be disregarded.

Waters appears to have left Zanzibar in 1845 on grounds of health, but with the expectation that he would be able to return there. He in fact never did so, but for some years afterwards Seyyid Said conducted a very friendly correspondence with him. Waters left the island during one of Seyyid Said's temporary absences at Muscat and was apparently seriously ill at the time of his departure. "This news," wrote Seyyid Said, "has upset my mind and I hope you are now better. Please inform me about your health by each mail coming towards us." Thereafter a number of letters and presents were exchanged between the two. In Seyid Said's case one such gift was "a trifling present — it is two packets of Mocha coffee," a gift doubtless appreciated all the more for the spirit in which it was given. On another occasion Waters was informed that "I have shipped in your ship a horse of a selected breed and of a light colour for your brother, Jan Waters, and I hope that he will accept it." In 1848 letters would appear to have ceased to have arrived from Salem. On 7 Rajab 1264 (June 10, 1848) Seyyid Said wrote to Waters in the following words:

"I have had no letter from you for a long time. You have bought a garden and you are quite happy and you have forgotten the friendship which existed between us. I never expected this from you. We still bear the same affection for you. Convey our salaams to your brothers, Jan and William, and all their children, and to your niece Jan." (25).

When it came to the appointing of a new Consul in the place of Robert Waters, Seyyid Said wrote to tell the retiring Consul that, "as regards the appointment of a Consul, we cannot interfere with them. Whomsoever they shall appoint will receive the respect and honour due from us." (26). The choice of the United States Government fell upon Charles Ward, another citizen of Salem, and Seyyid Said was destined to regret the appointment.

Trouble appears to have begun between Ward and Seyyid Said over the opening of the Mrima, the mainland opposite to the Zanzibar archipelago, to American enterprise. In the Treaty, which Seyyid Said made with the British Government in 1839, he engaged not to permit the establishment of any monopoly or exclusive privilege of sale within his dominions, except in the articles of ivory and gum copal on that part of the mainland lying between the ports of Mtangata and Kilwa. A similar article appeared in the Treaty concluded with the French Government in 1846. The American Treaty, on the other hand, was silent on the subject of monopolies, whereas its first article conferred on

American subjects "free liberty to enter all the ports of His Majesty Seyed Syeed Bin Sultan" together with liberty to buy and sell in those ports. (87). Till about 1847 no American merchant appears to have expressed any desire to set up in business on the mainland, but in that year Ward insisted that American subjects should be allowed to do so.

Both the British and French Treaties contained a "most favoured nation" clause. Consequently, if Seyyid Said had acceded to Ward's demand, he would have been placed in a difficult position *vis à vis* British and French subjects. But that was not the only ground on which he was reluctant to fall in with the American Consul's demand. In 1845, contrary to the advice of everyone of any local experience, a French naval officer named Maizan had set out on an exploring expedition from Bagamoyo and had been murdered at the instigation of a local chief after he had penetrated only a very short distance into the interior. The chief who was responsible for the murder acknowledged only very nominally the suzerainty of Seyyid Said, but the French Government insisted that the Seyyid should punish the murderers. After much pressure from the French Government Seyyid Said had been induced to send to the mainland a punitive expedition, which led to the destruction of a number of villages and the arrest of one of the culprits, who was handed over to the French Consul. The whole incident had led to considerable unpleasantness with the French Government and Seyyid Said was distinctly alarmed at the prospect that he might be again called on to assume vicarious responsibility for offences committed by natives of the mainland against other Europeans. (28).

Waters had raised the question of the American trading on the mainland, but he had not pressed the matter and apparently thought that any arrangements in regard thereto should form the subject of a fresh treaty. On his return to the United States he had written to suggest that Seyyid Said should confer upon him plenary powers to conclude such a treaty. This letter reached Seyyid Said very shortly after the news of Maizan's murder had reached Zanzibar and he sent the following reply to Waters:—

"You said you mentioned to the Government about the affairs of the coast, but you wish me to send you a power of attorney to give you authority in this matter. But, my dear friend, you know it is now over thirty years since the Americans came to trade in these regions, but none of them has proceeded to the coast. Is it the intention to commit mischief in our dominions? But we do not think the Americans intend any mischief or that they would cause injury to us

"(Postscript)—With reference to the power of attorney, I have no doubt about your fidelity, but it will be necessary to address a letter to the Government and I have already written

four letters to them but have received no reply whatever from them. This reason hindered me from writing any more. I inform you of this in order to let you know what exactly happened." (29).

A later letter to Waters from Seyyid Said characteristically deals with the vexed question of "the coast" (Mrima) in yet another post-script, which translates:

"I hope you have arrived safely and have interviewed the American President about the matter of the coast. I think your presence there will avert from me the trouble of addressing a letter to the Government and I hope that you will attend to this matter and will send me a reply soon. You know that nobody can carry on trade with the people of the coast, but we intend this only as a precautionary measure." (30).

When Charles Ward became Consul, he insisted on the right of any American citizen to set up in business on the mainland. Seyyid Said was alarmed at his insistence and appealed to Hamerton, the British Consul :

"I wish," he wrote, "to ask you about the boundary on the mainland between Tanga and Kilwa, of which Your Honour has knowledge. On that boundary are there any fortresses or strongholds with soldiers, who are able to protect foreign ships and foreigners going to and from there for the purpose of trading within those limits ? They may lose their property and encounter danger." (31)

But Consul Ward was not taking nay for an answer and decided to try threats. On March 9, 1847, he had an interview with Seyyid Said at Mtoni, near Zanzibar. What transpired at the meeting is best told in the words of a letter which Seyyid Said sent three days later to Hamerton.

"Mr. Charles Ward, United States Consul, arrived at our place at Mtoni on the 21st day of Rabi-el-Awal, 1263, and told me that the British and American subjects wish to complain to their rulers that "you have taken part in their trade." I have answered him what I now tell you, namely, that I, Said bin Sultan, Sultan of Muscat and other countries in Africa, do not agree that the American Government, or the Government of the Great Queen of England, or any other Government in the world can prohibit either me or my subjects from trading in what God has made lawful for me and for my subjects, whether in my ships or the ships of my subjects, with my countries and the countries which have entered into treaties with us, provided that no infraction of the rules of the treaties between us committed by us or our subjects, which thing, if God so wills, shall never happen. This is what I have replied to him. Let it be known unto you." (32)

As Seyyid Said's letter shows, the United States Consul claimed to be speaking on behalf of the English merchants at Zanzibar as well as of his own countrymen. He was not the representative of British interests in Zanzibar as well as of his own countrymen. He was not the representative of British interests in Zanzibar and had no right to say such a thing to Seyyid Said. None the less his statement was in fact true. There were at this date two British traders in Zanzibar, a Mr. Peters, who was the agent of Robert Cogan & Co., and a Mr. Pollock. These two persons subsequently addressed a memorial to the Foreign Office, in which they complained that the British Consul had "not evinced the slightest sympathy or consideration for the position in which we are placed." The memorialists further went on to say that, if Seyyid Said's own commercial activities continued, British merchants would be shut out altogether from the East African trade "unless indeed the road (sc. to the Mrima) be opened by the Americans under protection of their superior treaty."* (33)

Seyyid Said addressed a written protest to Ward and sent a copy thereof to Hamerton, telling him that "my desire is that you will read the same and send a copy thereof to the Honourable the Prime Minister of the Great Queen that he may see and know in what circumstances we are in connection with these affairs."

He at the same time made an appeal to Palmerston, asking him to use his good offices to persuade the United States to surrender the right to trade in the Mrima. It did not prove possible to persuade the United States to surrender the right to trade in the Mrima. It did not prove possible to persuade the American Government to renounce their treaty rights but, as a consolation, Seyyid Said's subjects were allowed to trade with Bombay and Mauritius on the same footing as British subjects. The instructions which went from Washington to Charles Ward in Zanzibar are not known, but what is clear is that, though the United States Government insisted on retaining their treaty rights, no American subject ever tried to exercise those rights by actually setting up in business in the Mrima. Thirty years later even the fact that an American Consul had once tried to assert such rights appears to have been completely forgotten. In a Memorandum, which he wrote in 1877, Dr. (afterwards Sir) John Kirk writing with respect to the trade monopoly of the Mrima, said that "without question the American traders invariably follow the rule that binds the others : indeed had this been otherwise, it is not to be supposed that

*With regard to their complaint Hamerton, the British Consul, obviously could take up only one attitude. Seyyid Said was perfectly entitled to reserve the monopoly of certain trades within his dominions to himself and to his subjects, and the British Government had by a Treaty, which had been negotiated by Captain Robert Cogan, a partner of the memorialist Peters, consented to such a reservation in respect of certain lucrative trades on the mainland. If Seyyid Said insisted on maintaining those monopolies, no British subject could have any ground of complaint. Similarly, Seyyid Said had as much right as any of his subjects to take part in commerce and foreign competitors could not complain if he did so. The British Consul, therefore, very properly refused to make any representation on either point either to Seyyid Said or to the British Government.

such a clause would have been inserted in the Treaties with other Powers." (34).

Charles Ward was to remain United States Consul at Zanzibar for three or four years after this incident. He was also to continue to be a further source of worry to Seyyid Said. Fresh differences occurred in 1850. The whole trouble arose out of a very petty affair. Seyyid Said had always made a point of paying some compliment to Queen Victoria on her birthday on May 24. That compliment had generally taken the form of a letter to the British Consul praying for her continued health and prosperity, but in 1850 he ordered a special salute to be fired in honour of her birthday. May 24, 1850, was followed in due course by July 4, but no salute was fired by Seyyid Said's guns to commemorate the Declaration of Independence. On the following day Ward wrote to Seyyid Said complaining of the omission, demanding a special salute to the American flag by way of reparation, and threatening to close the American Consulate if such reparation was not forthcoming. Seyyid Said wrote in reply that, except on the single occasion upon which he had paid a special compliment to Queen Victoria, his guns had never been fired except to answer a salute which had first been given by the guns of a foreign state, that he had never intended in any way to insult the Government of the United States, and that he was ready to refer the matter to the British and French Consuls and to abide by their decision. He appears also to have written at the same time to his old friend Michael Shepherd of John Bertram & Co., who was then in Salem. Ward decided to take a high line and referred the whole matter to Washington. The United States Government took the natural and sensible course of seeking the advice of the person in America who was most conversant with affairs in Zanzibar, namely, Michael Shepherd. Eventually, the State Department appears to have decided that the whole incident was no more than a storm in a teacup, but none the less a storm of a kind that was likely to militate strongly against American commercial interests in Zanzibar. That appears also to have been Shepherd's view. The final upshot of the whole incident was that in 1851 the U.S. gunboat *Susquehannah* called at Zanzibar and presented to Seyyid Said a friendly letter from President Fillmore himself. (35).

The immediate successors of the somewhat troublesome Mr. Ward were all Salem men, namely, Messrs. Webb, MacMullan, and Mansfield. The last named was succeeded in 1860 by W. G. Webb, a former officer of the United States Navy, who likewise came from Salem. Colonel Rigby, who was British Consul from 1858 to 1861 had a very high opinion of Webb, whom he described as a "gentleman who has at all times shown a most friendly feeling to the British." Webb was Consul at a rather critical time in local Zanzibar politics. Seyyid Said had died in October, 1856, and in accordance with his expressed desire had been succeeded in his African dominions by his son Majid and in his Asiatic dominions by his son Thuwain. But, as on many previous occasions in Arab history, the succession was disputed. Thuwain claimed Zanzibar as well as Oman. He even

planned leading an expedition to Zanzibar to assert his claim, but in the nick of time was dissuaded from doing so by the Government of Bombay. (36).

Thuwain and Majid were eventually persuaded to submit their claims to the arbitration of Lord Canning, Governor General of India, who decided that Majid should be recognised as the independent ruler of Zanzibar. But whilst the arbitration was pending, Barghash, another son of Seyyid Said, also made a claim to the throne of Zanzibar and received strong support from the members of the el-Harthi tribe in Zanzibar. The British Consul consistently supported Majid's claim, but the French Consul was strongly suspected of directly encouraging Barghash and his supporters. At a very critical moment in the early months of 1859 two French men-of-war arrived on the scene under the command of Commodore le Vicomte Fleuriot de l'Angle, but the vessels had been anticipated. H.M.S. *Assaye* was already on the scene and she was shortly afterwards joined by several smaller units of the British Navy. Acting on information received from Cochet the French Consul and de l'Angle had tried to force Barghash on Majid as the protégé of the French party. Two days after an interview between Majid and the French Commodore, at which the former was compelled to undergo the public humiliation of shaking hands with his would-be supplanter, Colonel Rigby, the British Consul, and Webb, the American Consul, were the guests of de l'Angle on board the *Cordelière*. Rigby took advantage of the occasion to tell the French Commodore precisely what manner of person Barghash was. Webb backed Rigby strongly and "told him that Barghash was a bad, treacherous man and that he ought to recommend his banishment instead of taking him under French protection;" (and) added, "if the Sultan, in the exercise of his sovereign authority deems it necessary to banish any of his subjects, do you intend to interfere with force of arms to prevent him?" For some two hours there was what Rigby described as a "warm discussion," but at the end thereof the French Commodore decided that local intrigues at Zanzibar were "not affairs for ships of war to interfere with." The upshot was that the *Cordelière* weighed anchor and sailed from Zanzibar. With her departure there also departed any hope Barghash may have had of French backing for his pretensions. (37).

The troubles did not end without some fighting, but eventually Barghash was forced to make his submission to Majid and was deported to Bombay. Even when there were no disputes as to the succession to the throne, Zanzibar was often far from being a safe place in which to live and move and have one's being. It was a particularly unsafe spot during the period of the annual visitation of the Arabs from the southern shores of Arabia and the Persian Gulf. "The Northern Arabs" — or "the northern pirates", as Rigby used not inaptly to call them — arrived with the north-east Monsoon in December or January and tarried in Zanzibar until when some three or four months later the south-west monsoon permitted them to return to their homes. During those three or four months they wandered

the streets of Zanzibar, a law unto themselves, committing all manners of crimes against people and property with impunity. If, as sometimes happened for the most trivial of reasons, racial antagonisms were aroused, European lives and property were often in considerable danger. On November 8, 1861, a lady was staying in the American Consulate, and the Consul posted one of his servants in front of the house to desire the pirates to refrain from committing nuisance on the spot. This act led to a riot. "A number of Beni-bu-Ali Arabs assembled around the American Consulate; they severely wounded four servants of the Consulate, and locked the Consul in his house and blockaded it the whole day. Other Northern Arabs at the same time went through the town brandishing drawn swords and calling out that they wanted the blood of a white man, and it was only after paying a sum of 500 dollars to the Sheikh of the party that the blockade of the Consulate was withdrawn." The American Consul's British colleague was saved from the like experience by obtaining an armed guard from the Sultan. (38).

In a *Report on the Zanzibar Dominions*, which he wrote in 1860, Colonel Rigby said, "the trade between the United States and Zanzibar is increasing" and expressed the opinion that "the trade between France and Zanzibar will probably cease altogether in a few years, as the American and Hamburg merchants are driving the French out of the market." (39). But Rigby's prognostication proved very far from being true. Within a month of the day when the Northern Arabs had besieged the United States Consul in the Consulate, events with far reaching consequences were happening in the Consul's homeland. The long drawn out dispute between the Northern and Southern States of America over the question of slavery came to a head. In April, 1861, the Civil War broke out and for the next four years the people of Massachusetts and the adjacent States had other things to think about besides looking after their commercial interests in East Africa. In the years which immediately followed that war they tried to regain the markets which they had been temporarily forced to neglect, but this was to prove no easy task. Salem in particular never recovered from the devastating effects of the Civil War, especially the effects of that war on the trade in cotton goods. The struggle to regain lost ground was inevitably an uphill one.

In 1869 the opening of the Suez Canal dealt yet a further heavy blow to trade between America and East Africa. Until then the distance between East Africa and North American ports had been much the same as that between East Africa and European ports. But now that the voyage round the Cape was no longer necessary the journey from most ports in Europe to the principal ports of East Africa had been shortened by at least a thousand miles. Added to this, the advent of steam meant that a vessel proceeding from a European port to East Africa by the Suez Canal would often repeat the journey as much as three times in each year, whereas in the days of sail one such voyage a year was the most that could be hoped for under the most favourable of conditions. Hitherto Salem shipwrights

had made their name as builders of stout little brigs of about three hundred tons burden, which had shown the Stars and Stripes in every one of the Seven Seas, but now the days for such vessels were past. Even before the Civil War it had begun to be a hard struggle for the Salem brigs to hold their own. In 1850 Nathaniel Hawthorne, as a native of Salem and one-time Surveyor of Customs in that port, had looked back with regret on those days "when Salem was a port by itself; not scorned, as she is now, by her own merchants and shipowners, who permit her wharves to crumble to ruin while their ventures go to swell, needlessly and imperceptibly, the mighty flood of commerce at New York or Boston."

Trade returns tell their own story and nothing illustrated the gradual decline of American trade with East Africa as well as the following tables showing the numbers of tonnage of American, British, German and French vessels (excluding warships and native craft) calling at Zanzibar in the year before and those following that Civil War :— (40)

(A) BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR.

		1855		1856		1857		1858		1859	
		Ships. Tonnage.		Ships. Tonnage.		Ships. Tonnage.		Ships. Tonnage.		Ships. Tonnage.	
U.S.A.	... 28	9142	24	7215	35	11481	32	9962	35	10890	
Great Britain	2	409	2	1167	3	770	4	1166	1	493	
Germany	... 15	3689	20	6038	23	5907	26	7270	17	4428	
France	... 13	5523	22	10079	24	8319	18	6186	12	3066	
TOTAL	... 58	18,763	68	24,499	85	26,477	80	24,584	65	18,877	

(B) AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

		1866		1871		1877		1879	
		Ships. Tonnage.		Ships. Tonnage.		Ships. Tonnage.		Ships. Tonnage.	
U.S.A.	... 5	2515	8	4250*	10	5352	10	5283	
Great Britain	19	6598	17	10459	48	42487	69	16265	
Germany	... 16	5282	17	7467	15	4653	13	5940	
France	... 16	3772	11	5450	4	3259	4	1975	
TOTAL	... 56	18,167	53	27,626	77	55,751	96	89,463	

As the figures show, the United States was not being driven entirely out of business in East Africa and in course of time her merchants were able to recover some of the lost ground. But they were never able to recover the whole of that ground and in particular they were never able to regain the ascendancy which they had once enjoyed.

Four years of sustained and embittered warfare had inevitably had its effect upon the nation which had gone through that ordeal. The average American citizen of 1865 was a very different man to the American citizen of 1861 and the results of change in his ways of thought and habits of life are reflected in the later history of the American colony in Zanzibar. Within a very few years the old business houses disappeared, yielding place to new firms, which no longer hailed from Salem. Whale ships ceased to follow their calling in East African waters. On land also the old lines of business disappeared. Within a very few years there was

nothing about American commerce in East Africa which in the least recalled the America of Longfellow, Washington Irving or Hawthorne. Instead, the impression gained is that everybody had been catapulted suddenly and violently into a very modern world, in which picturesque-ness had been compelled to yield place to the latest and most modern methods of business efficiency. At times the old and picturesque must undoubtedly give place to the new and the less picturesque, but the result very often is to make history less attractive reading to the ordinary reader.

Something, which was indicative of this changed world, happened in 1871. On January 6 in that year one of the last American whaling vessels to visit Zanzibar disembarked a naturalised American subject who gave his name as Henry Morton Stanley. He was a young man of thirty, who after an unhappy childhood had left Wales to seek his fortune in America. He had been caught up in the Civil War and had enlisted in the army of the South. After being taken prisoner at Shiloh, he had joined the North and had at one time served in the Federal Navy. On arrival at Zanzibar he stayed with Francis R. Webb, the United States Consul. Webb materially assisted Stanley in his preparations for a journey into the interior of Africa. But Stanley carefully abstained from divulging to the general public the object of his expedition. What did leak out was that he was a journalist in the employ of James Gordon Bennett, the young and vigorous proprietor of the *New York Herald*. Later it transpired that he had been commissioned to "find" David Livingstone, but this only came out after Stanley had crossed over to the mainland. In due course Livingstone and Stanley met at Ujiji. Though it was not a case of "finding" Livingstone, it undoubtedly was a case of bringing assistance and relief at a critical moment when Livingstone stood badly in need of such succour. Unable to persuade Livingstone to go to Europe for rest and recuperation, Stanley returned to the coast and in due course to Europe, where his own flamboyant account of his exploits met with a somewhat mixed reception. In 1874 he was back again in Zanzibar. This time the English *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Herald* had commissioned him "to solve, if possible, the remaining problems of the geography of Central Africa." In due course he reached Buganda and sent thence his well known message to the *Daily Telegraph* calling for missionaries to labour in that country. From Lake Victoria Stanley made his way across to the banks of the upper Congo and down that river to its mouth at Boma. Like his relief of Livingstone, it was a great achievement but, in the words of Sir Reginald Coupland, the representative of the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Herald* was "a new phenomenon in the field of East African exploration, new in the motives, methods and conditions of his work as much as in his personality. The other explorers were bent on "opening up" Africa for scientific, economic and humanitarian reasons. Stanley's first expedition was primarily for "news." Again other explorers were

* In his description of Zanzibar in 1871 in *How I Found Livingstone* (P. 11) Stanley declared that "the greatest number of foreign vessels trading with this port are American, principally from New York and Salem" (!).

hampered at every turn by lack of adequate funds. Stanley had *carte blanche*. On both his expeditions there were incidents which not only made a deep impression on the local Africans but also startled public opinion in England and elsewhere. What amongst other things aroused indignation in England was Stanley's apparent insensitiveness in regard to the deplorable character of many of his own acts. Readers of *How I found Livingstone* and *Through the Dark Continent* will find some truly regrettable incidents described by the author with the utmost self complacency. One such incident, which aroused particular indignation, was an attack on the islanders of Bumbire on Lake Victoria. On August 7 and 10, 1876, the *Daily Telegraph* printed Stanley's own account of this affair in which he made little or no effort to conceal the manner in which "our work of chastisement was consummated." This exhibition of *shrecklichkeit* called forth a joint protest to the British Foreign Office from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Societies. But there was very little which the British Government could do with a person who was an American journalist working for an American newspaper. The first of Stanley's letters had described how "I formed my line of battle, the American and English flags waving as our ensigns." Whilst it had to be left to the United States Government to decide whether action should be taken by them on account of this use of the national flag of the country of his adoption, the British Government could insist that its own flag should be spared from further degradation. Accordingly on December 11, 1876, on instructions from Lord Derby, Dr. Kirk, the British Consul General at Zanzibar, wrote to Stanley the following letter, which he handed to the United States Consul for the purpose of delivery:

"Sir, I am instructed by the Earl of Derby to convey to you an intimation that you have no authority to make use of the British flag as giving countenance to your proceedings in the interior of Africa, I am &c., John Kirk."* (41).

Without seeking in any way to belittle Stanley's achievements or the great part he played in making history in modern Africa the fact remains that — to repeat Sir Reginald Coupland's words — the *New York Herald's* man "was a new phenomenon in the field of East African exploration." He may have achieved more than did the captains of those old Salem brigs, who first made their way round the Cape of Good Hope and up the East Coast of Africa to the Red Sea. He certainly advertised his achievements more than ever they did. But, as President Woodrow Wilson once said, "America does not consist of men who get their names into the newspapers. . . . The great struggling unknown masses of the men who are at the base of everything are the dynamic force that is lifting the levels of society. A nation is as great, and only as great, as her rank and file." Bearing in mind these words, we can leave the brief interlude during which Henry Morton Stanley was allowed to hold the stage in East Africa

* The letter does not appear ever to have reached Stanley. The later expeditions to the Congo and for the relief of Emin Pasha were not carried out by Stanley under the aegis of American citizens.

and return to those men whose business brought them to East Africa and were really and more truly representative of the race from which they were sprung.

As has already been said, in so far as commerce was concerned the latter half of the nineteenth century consisted in a struggle, which was neither entirely successful nor utterly ineffective, on the part of the American business houses to recapture the trade which had been lost during the Civil War. In so far as politics were concerned, the United States Government's sole concern was to protect the interests of her merchants in East Africa. It had no territorial ambitions and no desire to take sides in the international controversies which arose from time to time over East African affairs. The visit of an occasional warship to "show the flag" and the periodical interchange of complimentary messages with the Sultans of Zanzibar was all that diplomacy appeared to require.

In one matter only did the United States Government ever see fit to intrude into the realm of East African politics. In 1872 Mr. Fish, Secretary of State at Washington, was informed by the British Ambassador that it was proposed to despatch a Special Mission to Zanzibar in charge of Sir Bartle Frere in order to induce the Sultan to take further measures for the suppression of the slave trade. The Ambassador was informed by Mr. Secretary Fish that "the Government of the United States was always ready to do everything in its power to contribute to the abolition of slavery." Mr. Secretary Fish in fact showed the British Ambassador a despatch which had been sent sometime previously to Captain W. G. Webb, the American Consul at Zanzibar, in which he had been instructed to inform the Sultan that the transport of slaves by sea within his dominions ought to be prohibited. (42).

Sir Bartle Frere reached Zanzibar in H.M.S. *Enchantress* on January 14, 1873. On arrival he found that "the American sloop of war *Yantic*, Commander Wilson, was also here, having been detained by orders from the United States Government on her way to China." (43) Wilson went on board the *Enchantress* almost as soon as she dropped anchor. Sir Bartle Frere quickly learnt that the *New York Herald* was "covering" the slave trade in Zanzibar. Once again James Gordon Bennett had sensed something in East Africa which had a potential "news value."

A little over a fortnight later Frere informed Lord Granville that "Captain Wilson was not a very efficient ally, for, though a shrewd man, his habits and manners did not give weight to his advice. He had as a sort of secretary, a correspondent of the *New York Herald*, besides other correspondents of other papers in the ship's company, and with his gentleman's aid, some days before we arrived, drew up and presented to His Highness a long and strong despatch, urging him to bring himself into accord with all civilised nations by abolishing the slave trade. I am told that the Captain was so confident of the effect of his rhetoric, that he hoped to have greeted us with the news that he had already accomp-

lished the objects of our mission, and thus, as his secretary explained it, to have acted Stanley and Livingstone over again. But unfortunately the letter was in English which the Sultan did not understand. His Highness asked for a version in Arabic, which the American Consul's interpreter gave in a complete travesty, which simply assured him of the good will of the United States, and asked him to do what his father had already done twenty-seven years ago. The Captain then proposed to make an anti-slavery treaty similar to any the British might make, but he was dissuaded from broaching the subject to His Highness, and went off with the conviction that he would do no good by staying." (44)

Sir Bartle Frere told Lord Granville that no objection could be taken to "the well meant efforts of Captain Wilson, of the United States man-of-war *Yantic*, to anticipate the objects of our mission" and all due credit must be given to him for his "most willing cooperation so far as his knowledge of the question extended." But Frere felt constrained "to state that there is little doubt that his efforts were foiled by the American Consul, Mr. Webb." (45)

The person whom Frere censured was in actual fact the American Vice-Consul, W. G. Webb, who was acting as Consul during the temporary absence from Zanzibar of Francis R. Webb, the substantive holder of the post. W. G. Webb was the person whose support Colonel Rigby had so much appreciated some fourteen years before. At that date he had not only given his support to the British Consul in the matter of the succession to the throne of Zanzibar, but also in the protests made by the British Consul regarding the employment by the Sultan of notorious slave dealers in positions of trust. In the early days of 1873, however, his whole attitude was completely changed. He was at the time a very sick man and in April had to leave Zanzibar for reasons of health. Doubtless this influenced his conduct and, as "the man on the spot" and an ex-naval officer, he may also have resented the intrusion of a junior officer in the person of Captain Wilson with his somewhat clumsy methods of diplomacy. Otherwise the line of conduct adopted by Webb is quite inexplicable.

Soon after Frere's arrival the British Vice-Consul, Dr. Kirk, and Colonel Pelly paid an official call on Webb, acquainted him with the objects of the Special Mission, and asked if he had been directed to assist in furthering those objects. Webb's reply was that he had no instructions to render such assistance, since they were "limited to intimating to the Sultan of Zanzibar the wish of the Government of the United States that the exportation of domestic slaves from the Zanzibar dominions to Muscat should cease." As the Sultan of Zanzibar had said when given the Arabic version of Captain Wilson's memorial, this traffic "had been forbidden years ago by his father." But Webb announced that he was not prepared to do anything more than that. A similar attitude was taken up by Webb's French colleague, de Vienne. On February 14, 1873, Sir Bartle Frere felt constrained to inform Earl Granville that, "should the negotiations which are now on foot unfortunately fail in their object,

I cannot but think that the inexplicable conduct of the representatives of France and America in Zanzibar (for I am unwilling to think that France has failed on this occasion to act up to her profession) will have contributed in no small degree to such an untoward result, by inducing in the mind of the Sultan a belief that England is unsupported in her endeavours to carry out a mere philanthropic crotchet, indulged in by her alone, and that all those who are not with her are against her." (46).

In the end Sir Bartle Frere's forebodings proved true. In a despatch to Lord Granville he attributed the final breakdown of negotiations to the Sultan's belief "that he might again, as had formerly often been done on less important occasions, play off the representative of one power against another, and obtain from the French Government protection against the demand of the English." Frere believed that the Sultan's attitude was due to the advice and active encouragement of de Vienne, the French Consul. (47). Once in the past, when it came to a question of whether British or French policy ought to be supported in Zanzibar, Vice-Consul Webb had come down whole-heartedly on the side of the British and his co-operation had turned the scale. On this occasion his declaration of whole-hearted support for the British proposals for restriction of the slave trade might once again have just turned the scale.

Although for reasons best known to himself the man on the spot might refuse to co-operate with duly credited representatives of the British Government, the policy of his superiors in Washington remained unchanged. The American Ambassador in London assured Lord Granville personally that his Government was anxious to assist in the suppression of the Slave Trade. "America," he said, "had achieved a great work at home and was encouraged thereby to pursue the same course abroad," but he expressed doubt about "success in persuading the Sultan to go against his interest by moral suasion." Furthermore, practical assistance was soon to be forthcoming from America's new representative in Zanzibar. When W. G. Webb left the island in April, 1873, his place as Consul and manager of John Bertram & Company was taken by Francis R. Webb, who had been Stanley's host in 1871. He had at one time been a Captain in the United States Navy. During the Civil War he had taken part in the blockade of the ports of the Southern States and there was never any doubt as to where his sympathies lay in regard to the policy to be pursued with respect to the slave trade. Francis R. Webb also had considerable influence with the Sultan.

After the failure of Frere's Mission the British Government came to the same conclusion as Mr. Secretary Fish of the United States regarding "moral suasion." On June 2, 1873, the British Consul, Dr. Kirk, received instructions to deliver an ultimatum to the Sultan. Seyyid Barghash was to be required to sign a treaty agreeing to more stringent measures for the suppression of the slave trade and was to be informed that, in the event of his refusal, the British Navy would blockade the

island of Zanzibar. Kirk privately informed Francis R. Webb and also the German Consul Schultz of the purport of his instructions and asked them for their support. On June 3 Kirk delivered the ultimatum to Seyyid Barghash and explained the consequences of refusal to sign the treaty. Seyyid Barghash played for time. That evening he sent for Webb and Schultz. Both advised compliance with the ultimatum. Webb in particular was able to explain from his own experiences in the Civil War that a naval blockade had played an important part in bringing about the abolition of slavery in the United States.

Next day the Sultan sent for Kirk and asked for certain explanations in regard to the draft treaty. Kirk gave them and also agreed to the insertion of a minor amendment in the draft. On June 5, 1873, Seyyid Barghash signed, sealed and ratified the treaty, which was also signed by Kirk on behalf of the British Government. As Sir Reginald Coupland says, "Kirk's handling of the ultimatum could not have been bettered by the most experienced diplomatist," but, as he also says, it must not be overlooked that "Schultz and F. R. Webb, too, with their Governments behind them, played their part. If either or both of them had wished or been encouraged to behave as de Vienne behaved, Barghash or his advisers might conceivably have stood their ground." (48). It was a fitting sequel to the part which he had played in the bringing about of the abolition of slavery in his own country that Francis R. Webb should have played an equally valuable part in bringing about measures intended to end the export of slaves from East Africa.

After this incident one hears no more of want of co-operation with the British Consul in matters affecting slavery and the slave trade. In 1890 the Government of the United States, together with the British Government, the Zanzibar Government and the Governments of fifteen other States, became a party to the signing of the Brussels Act, whereby the signatories agreed to the adoption of a number of measures designed to eradicate once and for all slave traffic in the interior of Africa.

In accordance with the constitution of the United States the adoption of the Brussels Act had to be ratified by a resolution of two-thirds of the members of the Senate present and consenting thereto. Such ratification was forthcoming in 1892, but in asserting thereto, the Senate declared, as part of the act of ratification, "that the United States of America, having neither possessions nor protectorates in Africa, hereby disclaims any intention, in ratifying this treaty, to indicate any interest whatsoever in the possessions or protectorates established or claimed on that continent by other Powers, or any approval of the wisdom expediency or lawfulness thereof, and does not join in any expressions in the said General Act which might be construed as such declaration or acknowledgement; and, for this reason, that it is desirable that a copy of this resolution be inserted in the protocol to be drawn up at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty on the part of the United States." This protocol was of course referring to "the Scramble for Africa", which had by that date

virtually come to an end. As the protocol declared, the Government of the United States had no territorial ambitions in East Africa and was anxious to intervene in East African affairs as little as possible. (49).

On June 14, 1890, the Sultan of Zanzibar placed his dominions under the protection of Great Britain. On June 12, 1905, the United States entered into a Convention with Great Britain, whereby the United States agreed to renounce in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar and in the part of the Sultan of Zanzibar's mainland dominions which lay within the British East Africa (now the Kenya) Protectorate all the extra-territorial rights which had been secured to it by the Treaty of 1833 and a supplementary Treaty of 1886, including the jurisdiction exercised thereunder by American Consular Courts in the above mentioned Protectorates. It was, however, understood that this renunciation should not take effect until such time as the rights of extra-territoriality enjoyed in Zanzibar by other nations should have been likewise renounced. Certain other European nations were inclined to cling rather more tenaciously to their extra-territorial rights than the United States, but in 1907 the condition stipulated by the American Government was at length fulfilled. On April 30, 1907, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Basil Cave, the British Consul General, and Mr. A. L. Sarle, the American Vice-Consul at Zanzibar, issued notices declaring that in accordance with the Convention of 1905 the jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the American Consular Court in Zanzibar had been transferred to His Britannic Majesty's Court. (50).

With this final renunciation of all claims to extra-territoriality the political link between the United States and East Africa may be said to have come to an end. But other links remained and to this day some of those links continue to be strong. The citizens of the United States have never ceased to play their part in commercial enterprise in East Africa. Not a few of those citizens have also done useful work in the mission fields and in the realms of scientific research. Like so many labours of the same kind, it is difficult to appraise its actual value in mere figures or words. Without going into any elaborate details, it is enough to say that collectively those labours have made a valuable contribution to the welfare and development of East Africa.

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- (9) RUSCHENBERGER I.66, COUPLAND—*East Africa* 375, STANLEY—*Livingstone* XXI, BURTON—*Zanzibar* I.144-145.
- (10) HART 280, 281.
- (11) RUSCHENBERGER I. 65. The words in italics are inserted in a foot note to the text.
- (12) BURTON—*Lake Regions* I.148, 149, II. 388, COUPLAND—*East Africa* 379, KRAFF 267.
- (13) RUSCHENBERGER I. 144-156.
- (14) COUPLAND—*East Africa* 378, HART 280, SAID-RUETE XV, 126, STANLEY—*Dark Continent* I. 31, BURTON—*Zanzibar* I. 318.
- (15) BURTON—*Zanzibar* I. 318, *Lake Regions* I.22 KRAFF 561.
- (16) JACKSON 159, RIGBY 21, 22, 24, RUSSELL 343, 346, *Evidence on Slave Trade* 48, BURTON—*Lake Regions* II. 405, 406, HART 280, HAMERTON—*Report &c.*
- (17) *Evidence on Slave Trade* 112, 118-120, RUSSELL 189.
- (18) BRUCKS 632, GUILLAIN II.199, COUPLAND—*East Africa* 371, 372, BURTON—*Lake Regions* I. 3, HAMERTON—*Brief Notes &c.* 238, HAMERTON to Secret Committee, February 9, 1842 (Zanzibar Archives).
- (19) A letter to "Consul Waters" from one SEYYID SULEMAN BIN HAMED is dated El Haj 1256—(January-February, 1841)—PEABODY MSS 38/25/J.
- (20) CROFTON 3, 4, RUSCHENBERGER I. 128.

- (21) HAMERTON to Secret Committee, February 9, 1842 (Zanzibar Archives).
- (22) *State Papers* (1843-1844) XXXII 185, 186 HAMERTON to Secret Committee, February 9, 1842-(Zanzibar Archives).
- (23) HAMERTON to Secret Committee, February 9, 1842 -(Zanzibar Archives).
- (24) KRAFF 122, 127, 132.
- (25) Correspondence in Peabody MSS 38/25.
- (26) SEYYID SAID to WATERS, 27 Zil Kaada, 1261 (November 30, 1845)—(Peabody MSS).
- (27) BALL 10, 15, 21.
- (28) BURTON—*Lake Regions* I. 73-77, Zanzibar I. 56, COUPLAND—*East Africa* 353-356, GUILLAIN II. 15-19, SILLERY 89-91.
- (29) SEYYID SAID to WATERS, 29 Zil Kaada, 1261 (November 30, 1845)—(Peabody MSS).
- (30) Same to same, 26 Moharram, 1261, (January 25, 1846)—(Peabody MSS).
- (31) SEYYID SAID to HAMERTON, 24 Rabi-el-Awal, 1263 (March 12, 1847)—(Zanzibar Archives).
- (32) Zanzibar Archives.
- (33) COUPLAND—*East Africa* 490, 491.
- (34) JACKSON 214, *Treaties* 21, SEYYID SAID to HAMERTON, 24 Rabi-el-Awal, 1263 (March 12, 1847) (Zanzibar Archives).
- (35) COUPLAND—*East Africa* 381.
- (36) BURTON—Zanzibar I. 313, RUSSELL 92, COUPLAND—*Exploitation* 18-20.
- (37) COUPLAND—*Exploitation* 21, 22, RUSSELL 110, 111.
- (38) PEARSE 191, RUSSELL 90, *State Papers* LXIII 1219, 1220.
- (39) RIGBY 24, RUSSELL 346.
- (40) *Consular Reports* II. 1162-1167, COUPLAND—*Exploitation* 78, *Parliamentary Papers* (1867) LXVII. 299, RIGBY 24, RUSSELL 345.
- (41) *Slave Trade* No. 3 (1878), 248. Stanley's letters to the *Daily Telegraph* regarding the attack on Bumbire are reprinted in Fox—Bourne 14-16.
- (42) COUPLAND—*Exploitation* 193.
- (43) SIR BARTLE FRERE to EARL GRANVILLE—January 14, 1873—*Mission to Zanzibar* (Zanzibar Archives).
- (44) MARTINEAU II. 84, 85.
- (45) FRERE to GRANVILLE, February 14, 1873—*Mission to Zanzibar* (Zanzibar Archives).
- (46) COUPLAND—*Exploitation* 194, FRERE to GRANVILLE, February 14, 1873—*Mission Zanzibar* (Zanzibar Archives).
- (47) Same to same, March 26, 1873—*Mission to Zanzibar* (Zanzibar Archives).
- (48) COUPLAND—*Exploitation* 206-216.
- (49) BALL—Appendix 104, 105.
- (50) *Zanzibar Gazette*, May 1, 1907.

TRIBAL LEGEND & HISTORY.

The Story of the Crossing of Lake Jipe

Translated by M. St. G. Gray

(One of the tales narrated by the elders of the Pare tribe and collected at the behest of the President of the Upare Tribal Council by C.M.S. Hero Abuel in 1935. The present day Wapare are descended from members of various tribes who migrated to or sought refuge in the Pare Mountains. Legend claims that the first man to settle in the Ugweno Chiefdom of Pare District was one Mghwena, who came from Taita (Teita in Kenya Colony). He was followed by Senjalo and later came Yamdai bin Mwevo, the hero of the tale given below.)

It is related that Yamdai and his father Mwevo first incurred the wrath of their neighbours in Taita when they asked for their help in preparing sugar cane beer for a feast. Some of the neighbours crushed cane while others strained the juice, but Yamdai had cut many canes and towards evening he realised that the heavy task would not be completed by sunset when his helpers would depart for home. To overcome this difficulty Yamdai cast a spell to deceive them into believing that it was still day after the sun had in fact set. As soon as the work was over he removed his spell and great was the anger of the Taita people when they suddenly found themselves in complete darkness. Moreover the magic had also affected some herdsmen guarding their flocks near the village who were also deceived into believing that it was still day. When they were plunged into the darkness of night, they were unable to shepherd their cattle, some of which were lost in the wilderness. Before they could carry out their intention to sue Yamdai for the loss of their property, it happened that some chickens wandered towards Yamdai's children who were herding cattle near a neighbouring village. One of the children having caught and killed a chicken roasted and ate it. The irate owner on becoming aware of this depredation sued Yamdai who was held liable to pay one ox for every feather of the stolen chicken, this being the law at the time, as Yamdai was already in disgrace over causing people to lose their cattle as related above.

Yamdai, aware that he would be unable to pay the damages for which he had been sued, and knowing that he was in grave disfavour, decided to outwit his enemies by a trick. "Come back to-morrow," he told them, "and I will pay you then." As soon as they had gone, he determined to abscond knowing that failure to pay the judgment debts would entail his death. As soon as it was dark, Yamdai packed his belongings and left Taita, taking with him his property, his wife and his children, and Sambe

his son-in-law. Breaking through the bush, they headed for the country of Ugwenzo. They circled round the Pare Mountains and came upon Lake Jipe. When they arrived at the shore Yamdai, who was ignorant of those parts, thought that the lake had neither beginning nor end so once again he invoked his witch-craft to surmount his difficulty. When he smote the surface with his rod, the waters parted leaving a path of dry land with the water banked up in a high wall on either side. Crossing the lake by this means, he came to the Pare side where he removed his spell, so that the waters closed over again. Yamdai then ascended to Lemuru in the mountains.

Next day, from his look-out on the mountain, he saw dust arising from the track by which he had come. Thinking that his foes were pursuing him to encompass his death, he hurried down the mountain to the lake shore, accompanied by Sambe, his son-in-law. When he reached the lake shore, he again had recourse to his charms and once more he divided the waters, so that his foes would be enticed into the lake and be annihilated. The dust however, was not created by his enemies, but by his own father, Mwevo, whom he had failed to inform of his intention to flee. Meanwhile, baulked of their prey by Yamdai's flight, his foes had turned and pursued Mwevo. Learning of their intention to kill him, Mwevo had cast a spell causing his pursuers to be unable to see his house. He had then hurriedly packed his belongings and fled after his son, following the trail of Yamdai's herds to the shores of Lake Jipe.

On seeing the path by which he could reach the other side, Mwevo entertained no doubts and began to cross the lake. When he was half way over, Yamdai, ignorant that it was his father, undid his spell and the waters closed over, drowning Mwevo and his flocks and herds.

It is said that Mwevo's cattle were transformed into hippos and that his goats were changed into crocodiles and his chickens into water birds. But we understand that this is just a fairy tale, made up because these creatures were first seen at the time that Mwevo's herds were drowned and it was supposed that the animals had been transformed, as people could not otherwise account for the existence of animals such as these in the Lake.

It was only later, after he had returned to his new home at Lemuru that Yamdai came to know that it was his own father and his herds whom he had drowned, and when he learned this Yamdai mourned for seven days.

We do not know for certain that this story is true. May be it is only a legend. Until this very day however, there are pagans who worship Mwevo and pray to him at Lake Jipe. They sold sacrifices to supplicate blessings, particularly in the case of fisherfolk who pray that their catches will be large and that they will be spared from crocodiles. Even people who know nothing of the origin of Mwevo, such as the Wakwavi who live on the Ruvu river a long way from Lake Jipe, are wont to invoke Mwevo on the banks of the Ruvu which flows from the lake.

