



TANGANYIKA NOTES and RECORDS

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Tanganyika Notes and Records

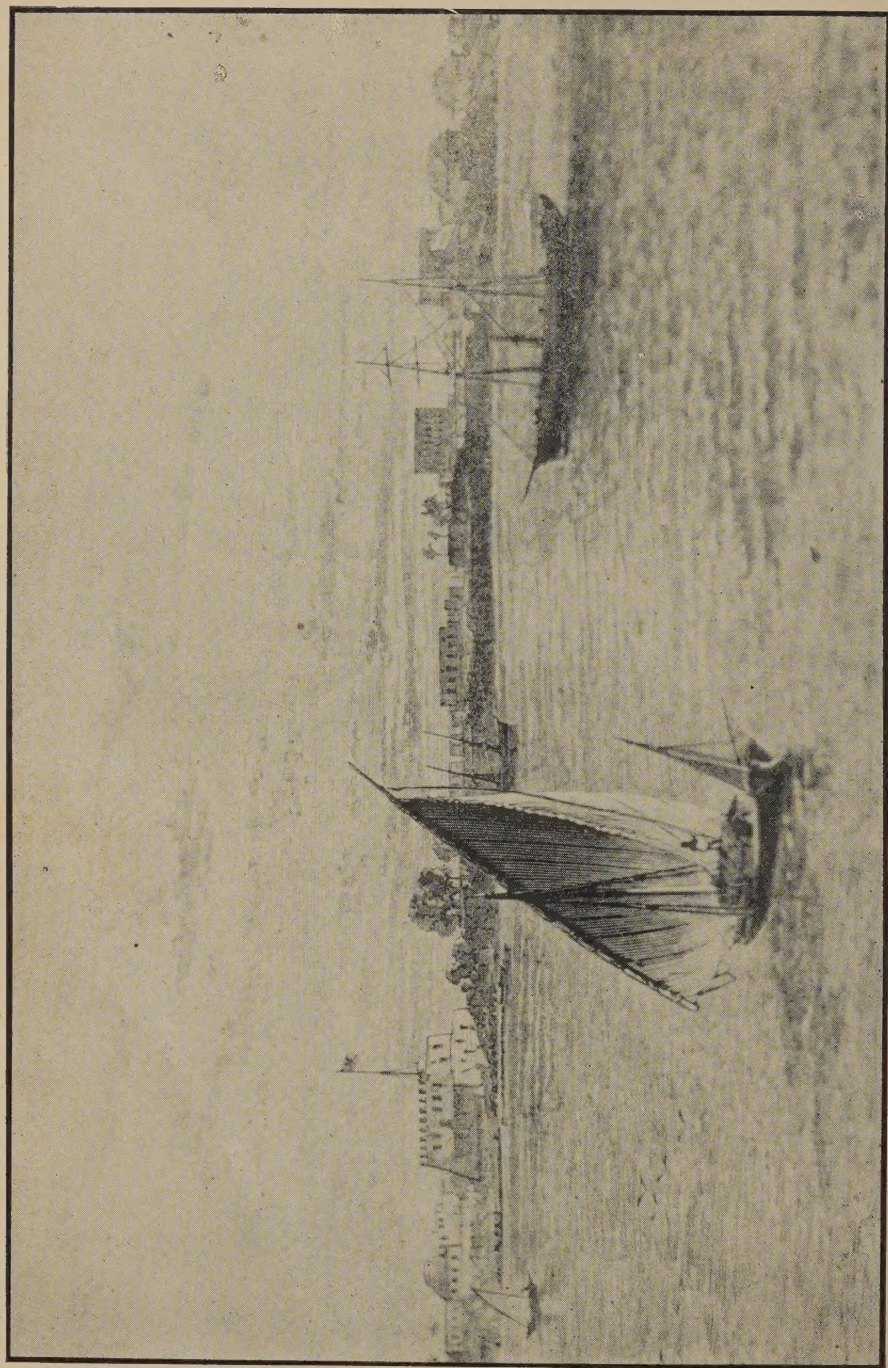
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DAR ES SALAAM IN 1868

Dar es Salaam in 1868

By Sir John Gray

Captain G. L. Sullivan's photograph of Dar es Salaam was taken at the beginning of July, 1868. He tells us in his book, "Dhow Chasing in Zanzibar Waters," that "it had just become the Sultan's new abode." His reason for visiting the place was because Dr. Kirk was anxious to have an interview with Seyyid Majid. Captain Sullivan accordingly gave him a passage in H.M.S. *Daphne* together with Mrs. Kirk and their infant baby. Bishop Tozer of the U.M.C.A. was another passenger. On arrival the Kirks stayed at "a kind of official hotel for foreign consuls or others," which is depicted in the two semi-detached buildings behind the steamer in Sullivan's photograph. The building to the left surmounted by a flag was the 'Sultan's Palace'.

Tippoo Tib reached Dar es Salaam on 23 Ramadan, 1284 (January 19, 1868), on his return from one of his trading ventures in Central Africa. Heinrich Brode, Tippoo Tib's biographer, gives the following account of that visit —

"For the time being things were lively at Dar es Salaam. All who belonged to 'society' had proceeded with the Sultan's Court to the new capital. All the non-trading Consuls and a great number of other Europeans, all the better-class Arabs from Zanzibar, Pemba, Mombasa, and Lamu, as well as a great body of Indians, had followed the Sovereign. Among the latter were all the creditors of Tippoo Tib, in whom the arrival of the caravan naturally evoked great delight; for on seeing the rich spoil in ivory they felt certain of receiving back the money they had advanced with high interest. But beside this the coming of the caravan excited the greatest interest in all circles as being the first one bound for the coast to reach the new capital. The Sultan himself showed interest in the daring voyager, whom he loaded with high honours and entertained as his guest until the 'Great Feast,' which concludes the month of fasting (known in Turkey as the 'Festival of Bairam')."

"After the feast the whole Court returned to Zanzibar in three ships, headed by the Sultan and his notables and the foreign representatives on board a French man-of-war, while the remaining Arabs and the Indians followed in two smaller vessels."

Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Steere also visited Dar es Salaam some time during Seyyid Majid's lifetime. He gave the following description thereof to a Parliamentary Committee in 1871, and incidentally suggested yet another origin of the name of the place :

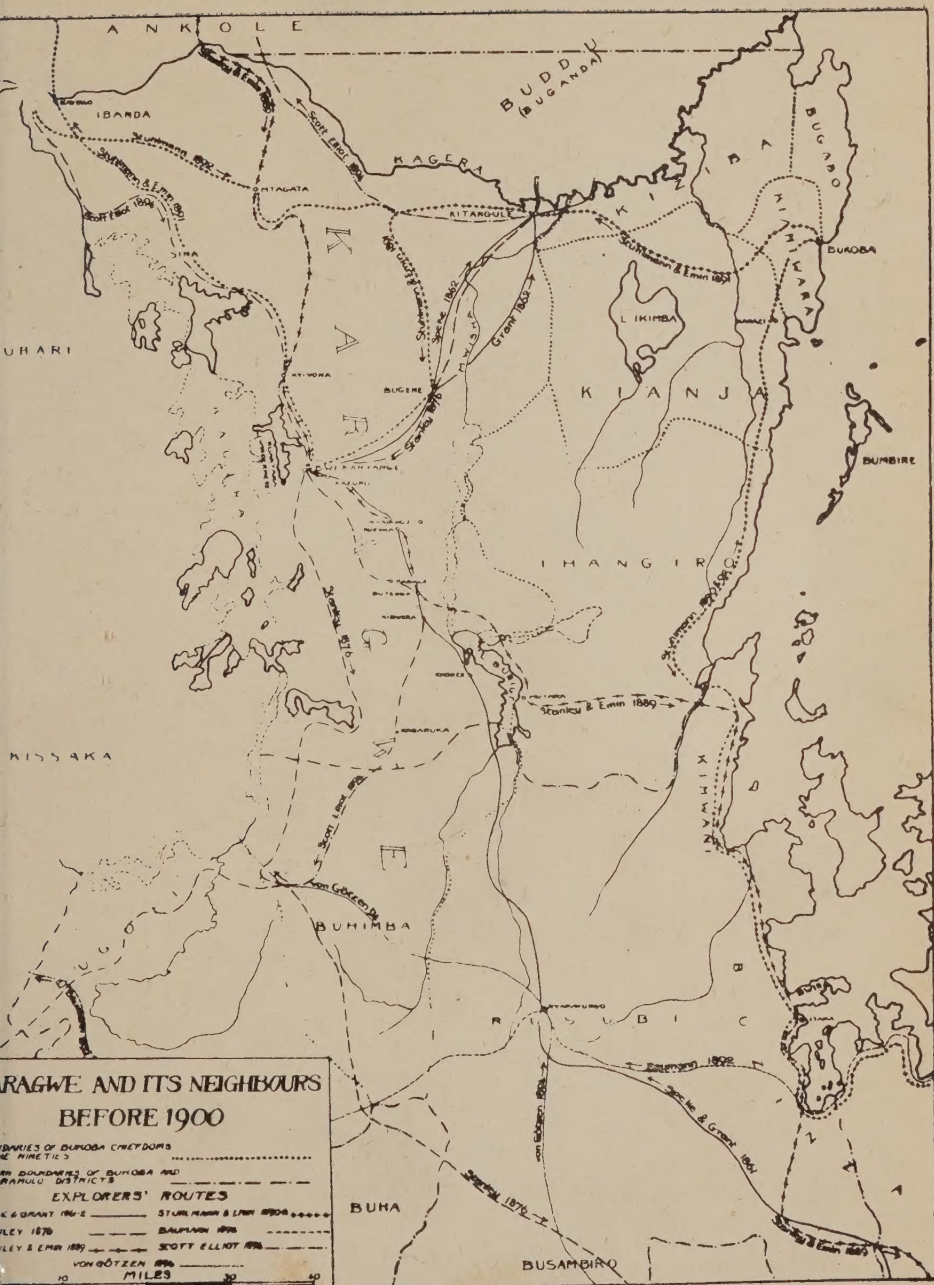
"I have been at Dar es Salaam, which is very finely situated; it has an excellent harbour, and there are some very fine buildings : but I am

told that it is now to be abandoned. It was always thought that Seyyid Majid intended it as a place of security against his brother, the Imaum of Muscat, the town not being so accessible from the sea as Zanzibar is Several Europeans went to Dar es Salaam for the sake of their health, and found great benefit" (*Report from the Select Committee on Slave Trade (East Coast of Africa)* (1871) pp. 74, 76).

In 1873 Vice-Consul Elton was still able to trace the proposed lay-out of Seyyid Majid's town :

"The Sultan's residence is built at the inland extremity of the basin, and is to the far right of the town, and from it a line of stone houses should form a crescent facing the anchorage, with a broad road and flights of steps communicating with the sandy beach, on the inner line of which wells, affording a good supply of fresh water, are conveniently constructed. But," as Elton proceeded to say, "time, neglect, and weather are rapidly destroying the steps, terraces and wells; only two of the houses are habitable, and the others are stopped short at the first storey." (*Slave Trade No. 5* (1874) p.11).

Seyyid Majid's last visit to Dar es Salaam was very shortly before his death on October 7, 1870. He had been in bad health for some time past. Mr. H. A. Churchill, the British Consul, had been pressing him to make a new treaty with Great Britain in regard to the suppression of the slave trade. "At last," as Churchill tells us, "being pressed, he said he would discuss the question with me and wanted me to go over with him to the coast for that purpose. I was prepared to go, but he was so ill at the time that he begged me to put it off until he could send me notice; instead of that he came back himself and ten days after that he died." (*Report from the Select Committee on Slave Trade (East Coast of Africa)* (1871) p. 24).



The History of Karagwe (Bukoba District)

By J. Ford and R. de Z. Hall

INTRODUCTION

This paper combines the results of two investigations into Karagwe history. In 1929, one of us (R. de Z. H.) compiled an account, based largely on local information, covering the period from the arrival of the Bahima, probably towards the end of the 16th century, to the expulsion of the Germans in 1916. The other (J.F.), using mainly the accounts of early British and German explorers, was concerned with the factors leading to the collapse of Karagwe society at the end of the last century. In so far as our accounts overlapped, there was little disagreement between them and, as they were complementary to one another, it seemed the best course to combine them.

The population of Karagwe, like those of other countries lying between Lake Victoria and the Western Rift, is composed of two ethnologically separate tribes, an indigenous Bantu people practising agriculture and called, in Karagwe, the Banyambo, and the pastoral Bahima (or Batussi), a Half-Hamite people, living on the milk and blood of their cattle and refraining from intermarriage with the Bantu whom they conquered. The Bahima thus remained a distinct physical type, tall, often light-skinned, with "European" features, a handsome race. They adopted, however, the language of their subjects and so, linguistically, are grouped as Bantu (Seligman, 1.). Richter (2) remarks, "on one occasion when I was staying at Bweranyange, capital of Karagwe, I heard there still lives a very old Muhima who knows the ancient speech. Unfortunately I was unable to see this old man." Where environmental conditions have forced upon the Bahima the abandonment of their traditional mode of life of semi-nomadic wandering with their beloved herds, they have disappeared, either migrating or intermarrying with the Bantu, so that their physical distinctions have been lost.

The typical social structure of countries under Hima rule, such as Ruanda or Ankole, is of an aristocracy of cattle-herding warriors, who are the landlords of the conquered Bantu and intermediate between them and the Hima chief. Such, however, was not found in Karagwe, where at the height of its development the chief was absolute ruler of all his subjects, both Bahima and Banyambo, the former having no power of their own over the latter. The Bahima served the chief as herdsmen and as warriors; the Banyambo by providing tribute of produce and labour and also as fighters. This system differed from, for example, that of the northern neighbour, Ankole, where the Bantu were known as Bairu, or *serfs*, and were subservient to all Bahima and had comparatively limited legal rights (Ober, 3).

Our story is told in three sections. In the first we record the doings of the Bahima chiefs (the Bahinda) from the time of their arrival in Karagwe, as related by local tradition; in the second, their political history from the middle of the last century to the present time, a period in which local accounts can be supplemented from the records of early travellers and administrators; in the third section we discuss the several biological disasters which, crowded into the last ten years of the 19th century, combined with the instability of local government to reduce this once flourishing land to the present wastes of tsetse bush.

In order to facilitate reading we reproduce in Appendix I a list of the Bakama of Karagwe and a geneology of the principal Bahima mentioned in the second section. In Appendix II we discuss local sources of information, while the map, compiled from several sources, illustrates certain aspects of Bukoba and Biharamulo districts as they appeared to early travellers.

I. THE BAHINDA, *circa* 1580 to 1855

1. The Coming of the Bahima.

Towards the end of the 16th century,* a period fixed by the number of generations of chiefs and by comparison with the histories of neighbouring countries and the smaller chieftainates of the east of Bukoba District, there emerges a shadowy chief named Nono, one of the Banyambo. His clan was Basita, but nothing is remembered of his ancestry, except that his father's name was Maliya. At that time Karagwe was primarily an agricultural country, but there were cattle, a short-horned, humpless race. It is possible that the relatively short horns of some of the Karagwe cattle, compared with those of cattle from Ankole and Ruanda, are due to the persistence of this strain, though in recent times crossing with Zebu strains has again modified the typical long-horned cattle of the Bahima.

It was Nono who suffered the invasion by the Bahima which entirely changed the course of the history of the tribes comprising the present administrative districts of Bukoba and Biharamulo. During the years before this invasion, the centre of Hima dominance was the Empire of Kitara, situated around the present country of Bunyoro in Uganda, and perhaps ruled by a dynasty of people who are remembered and deified to-day as the Bachwezi. For those who wish to pursue the subject of these mysterious people and their relationship with the Bahima, reference may be made to Gorju (4), Roscoe (5), Oberg (3), Crazzolaro (6), Lukyn Williams (7) and others. One long and circumstantial account has it that the leader of the invasion into Karagwe was Wamara, the last and greatest of the Bachwezi kings of Kitara, but the consensus of opinion is that Ruhinda, his bastard son by a woman named Njunaki, was the

* Bishop Gorju (4), relying on Portuguese records of native reports, puts the arrival of the Bahima only some 270 years ago.

conqueror. A large body of legend has grown up around this first Ruhinda and the manner of his conquest. Some have it that he overcame by guile, others that it was by war. But whatever the means, Ruhinda deposed and slew Nono and thus founded the dynasty of Bahima chiefs, the Bakama or "milkers", which persists to the present day in Karagwe and has spread thence, through younger branches, to the whole of Bukoba District except Kiziba, Biharamulo District except Busambiro, Buzinza in Mwanza District and also to Urundi in Belgian territory. The rulers of the northern country of Ankole are also Bahinda and, though they have their own different account of Ruhinda's origin, Gorju (4) believes that Ankole also received its rulers from Karagwe.

2. Ruhinda and his Successors.

The typical emblem of Hima rule is the drum and that of Ruhinda, named Nyabatama, he received from his father Wamara, before setting out on his expedition. His route followed the coast of Lake Victoria, perhaps by water to Bugabo, and thence through the petty indigenous kingdoms, which he conquered as he went, until he came to Buzinza. Thence he turned inland through Buhimba and entered Karagwe from the south. He established his stronghold at Bwehange, just south of the lake named Windermere by Speke (8)* and some years later moved to Bweranyange, a site adjacent but somewhat higher, which remained the seat of government until the advent of the Germans. From these capitals he maintained a suzerainty over the areas through which he had passed, sending his sons, each with a drum, Ruhinda with Nyabatama† to Buzinza, Ntare with the drum Kalemaitura to Ihangiro, Kalemara with Muiganzigu to Kiamtwara, a daughter with the drum Rukurura to rule Kissaka, while another son, Luta, was sent with the drum Bagyendanwa, to conquer Ankole. This account does not correspond entirely with the traditions of these other countries, for some of which, and for discussion of the semi-divine functions of the drums, reference may be made to the authorities quoted above.

Ruhinda is said to have had a long reign and to have ruled with justice and clemency. Of the next eleven Bakama, as given in Speke's list, only two appear in any of the present traditions. (These are in the "official history", while Byoma's story has only one — see Appendix II). The names given by Speke are Ntare and Ruhinda alternately until Ntare V, who was followed by Lusatira and Mehinga. The Ntare remembered in Byoma's account ruled long and well and received the sobriquet of *Mihingoetayomba*, said to mean "the man who did not enter enclosures to steal cattle." The other, noted in the "official history," is a Ruhinda, of

*Captain J. A. Evans was the first to compare the lake to Windermere, as Speke admits when he says, "As to the lake, for want of a native word, I christened it the Little Windermere, because Grant thought it so like our own English lake of that name." Grant's namesake, Capt. C. H. B. Grant, says that the native name is Lweru Ruabishonga.—Ed.

† Nyabatama Ndogo, offspring of Nyabatama Kubwa, the drum of Karagwe.

whom the only record is that he ruled well and died of old age. There would appear to be no reason for rejecting Speke's list, procured eighty-six years ago, when the dynasty was only just past its full vigour and long before the cataclysmic events of the nineties had occurred to damage the tribal entity and, with it, its memory. A strong point in favour of, at any rate, the partial retention of the list, is that the dynasties of Kianja, Rusubi and Ankole, which also spring from Ruhinda, show 17, 16 and 23 generations, as compared with 22 in Karagwe, while the latter, without Speke's additional chiefs, has only eleven. Some duplication is, of course, possible.

3. The Banyoro Invasion.

The son of Mehinga, Kalemere Bwiragenda, is, too, only a name and he is remembered for his long life and good rule. His surname means "the traveller by night," that is to say, the chief who travelled by night to watch over his country. Soon after the accession of his son, Ntare VI, in about the seventies of the eighteenth century, an important event occurred, the invasion by the Banyoro. This took place while Ntare was still a child and his mother fled with him across the Kagera River and thence to Buha, leaving a brother, Luzenga, to act as regent. The Banyoro pressed on to Bweranyange, under the leadership of their Mukama, Kye-bambe. (This was, perhaps, Kye-bambe Nyamutukura, although one Bunyoro account — K.W. (9) — records a large scale invasion of Karagwe by Duhaga I, father of Kye-bambe Nyamutukura, but does not mention any attack by the latter. Possibly Kye-bambe, who later became Mukama of Bunyoro, led the expedition on behalf of his father, Duhaga.) At Bweranyange the Banyoro carried off some of the drums and remained to rule the country for about six years. Luzenga, who, at their coming, had fled to Mubari in what is now northern Ruanda, later made his way through Kissaka and Buhimba, to Buha; then, stung by the reproaches of his followers, who called him coward for leaving Karagwe under the sway of the Banyoro, he bade his mother and brother farewell and went to meet his death at the hands of the enemy. He found some of them at Bweranyange, watering their cattle, and fell upon them, fighting till he was slain. Before he died, he laid a curse on the Banyoro, saying that as the blood was gushing from his side — at this he filled his hands with blood and cast it in their direction — so would their blood flow in days to come. And where he died a tree sprang up, so they say, and is to be seen to this day.

In spite of the lead given him by his brother, Ntare dared not attempt to reconquer his country. At length a sickness fell upon the Banyoro, for which the credit was ascribed to Ntare and the magic given him by the chief of Buha in the form of three arrows, which were shot into Karagwe. Then Ntare and his mother took the road home, accompanied by a witch-doctor from Buha, who, in the form of a dog or a jackal, went forward to see whether the way was clear. And when Ntare came into

Karagwe, he found the country free of Banyoro, for those who had not died fled in fear. He therefore settled again at Bweranyange and was named Kitabanyoro, "the slayer of the Banyoro," a name that appears also in Ankole history, attached to another Ntare who was almost contemporaneous.

4. Ruhinda Lwanyabugondo and another Invasion.

Ntare lived to a ripe age and was succeeded by his son, Ruhinda VI, surnamed Lwanyabugondo. The only event recorded by local tradition in his reign is that there were many poor members of the royal family, who subsisted by robbing the people of their cattle. Lwanyange, one of Ruhinda's sons, brought this to the notice of his father, begging him to give them some property. Ruhinda sent Lwanyange to summon them before him, but they encountered him as they were returning from a raid and slew him without awaiting the message. Ruhinda then sent another son, Ndagara, to avenge the death of Lwanyange and all the murderers were killed.

In the history of Buganda, however, (Gray, 10), we find the first record of the interference by that country in the affairs of Karagwe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Arab slave and ivory traders from the coast were beginning to exploit the interior and although it was not until some thirty years later that they established a permanent post in Karagwe, that country was already becoming a corridor for trade with the north. Semakokiro, the Kabaka of Buganda, used to send caravans into Karagwe to exchange ivory for cotton goods. Gray tells how "on one occasion the chief in charge of one of these trading expeditions was robbed of his ivory and murdered. Semakokiro thereupon personally led an expedition into Karagwe to punish the wrong-doers and returned with a large number of cattle. Shortly after his return from this expedition Semakokiro died. The date of his death can be fixed with an approximate degree of certainty as about 1814."

5. Ndagara, c. 1820—1855.

Ruhinda VI was succeeded by Ndagara, the only chief of the line who is remembered as a mighty warrior. The date of his accession can be roughly fixed by reference to the history of the rest of the Bukoba area. Kamanya, Semakokiro's successor in Buganda, died about 1832 (Gray, l.c.). Some years previously, there died in exile Kinyonyi, chief of Kiamtwara, who had been expelled and had placed himself under Kamanya's protection, together with his mother. Ndagara is recorded as having fought against Kinyonyi in Kiamtwara and having held his mother prisoner for two years, before internal affairs drove Kinyonyi from the throne. Ndagara's accession can therefore be placed about 1820.

At the beginning of his reign Ndagara made war on Kibi, chief of Kiziba, who had come to Karagwe to spy out the land. The war lasted for four months and in it were killed many Banyambo and more Baziba, three

and five thousand respectively, according to the tradition. Gray records that Kamanya of Buganda also assisted Kiziba in this war and, from that time, the Baziba regarded the Kabaka of Buganda as their overlord instead of, as formerly, the Mukama of Bunyoro. (The rulers of Kiziba, like those of Bunyoro, belonged to the Babito clan and not to the Bahinda.) After a brief respite, Ndagara began the war with Kinyonyi, mentioned above, starting the fight at the boundary of Kiamtwara and continuing up to the fence of Kinyonyi's stronghold at Bulemba. Later in his reign, Ndagara made war against Ihangiro, whence the Mukama Ruhinda fled to Bumbire Island and finally paid tribute to be allowed to return. At the end of his reign Ndagara sent an expedition south to Buhimba, an area of debateable land, though more often in the hands of Karagwe than Buzinza. On this occasion it had been captured by Rweswarura (the "Suwarora" who, with his headquarters in the present Biharamulo District, was later such a nuisance to Speke and Grant). Having recaptured it, Ndagara demarcated his boundary in the east, having planted a tree in Buhimba and thence following the line of Lake Burigi, the Kyabaramba stream and the hills east of the Mwishu stream to the River Kagera (see Map).

At the end of this offensive period or, perhaps, before the war in Buhimba, a great famine, some say two, came upon the land. One tradition credits Ndagara with having sent the famine as a punishment for the overweening pride of the Bahima. "They came to him and asked for beer made of milk" — this was the form their haughtiness took! The famine, called Kalyebisingo, became very serious; the people were reduced to chewing skins for food and there were many deaths. Finally Ndagara begged help from Ruanda and its chief Kahindire sent millet, but it was cooked, for though he would succour a people in distress, he would not re-establish an ancient enemy by giving it seed corn. Ndagara then raided Ruanda for corn and a war ensued in which Kahindire was killed.

Many legends have grown up around Ndagara's skill as a blacksmith. He is stated to have worked alone, by night, and to have made all the articles now treasured in the old capital, which range from copper drums to iron spears and a few old broken jugs! (Hall, 17.) In the war with Kahindire magic is said to have been used extensively. Kahindire sent thunderstorms for two years, which Ndagara countered by forging a ring of iron, which he flung red hot across to Ruanda. This fastened itself on Kahindire's wrist and by its means all the houses in the land were burned. Ndagara then sent a plague of ants which entered all the food and water, so that nobody could eat or drink: and thus Kahindire died. Another account says that Ndagara slew his enemy by hurling a large iron hammer, fashioned, as usual, in secret, across to Ruanda, where it struck him dead.

Ndagara died, in all probability, about 1855, since his son, Rumanyika, had ruled for some years before Speke's arrival in 1861. Further, Ndagara's war for the recovery of Buhimba was fought against Rweswarura, who did not begin to rule much before 1850. Speke has some notes on the burial

of Ndagara as described by Rumanyika. His body was sewn in a cow's hide and set afloat on the lake (Speke's "Windermere") for three days. Then three maggots were taken from the decomposing body and given to Rumanyika, as heir, after which the body was taken up the hill of the dead chiefs, where a hut was built over it and five girls and fifty cattle were enclosed and left to die of starvation

II. THE BAHINDA, FROM THE COMING OF THE EUROPEANS

6. Rumanyika's Wars with his Brother, Rwegira.

During Ndagara's reign a colony of Arabs from Tabora was established at Kafuro, some few miles from Bweranyange. In 1861 Speke and Grant (11) arrived in Karagwe and from now on we are able to check the local histories by reference to the accounts of a number of explorers, British and German. But, in order fully to understand the events we are about to describe, some account must be given of the status of the Bahinda kings and the sanctions accompanying their rule.

The system by which the Bahima chose their kings was not without its merits, but it had disadvantages. These kings, like those of many other African nations where Hamitic influence had been strong, belong to the class called by Frazer, "Divine Kings." Their status in Africa has been discussed by Seligman (1a). Upon their health and well-being depends the prosperity of the kingdom. If the king's health fails, the health of the nation will fail. If the king loses his strength, physical or spiritual, the land will decline. In Ankole, when the king's powers waned through age or sickness, he took poison (Oberg, 3) and this, too, happened in Karagwe. Rumanyika, a few years after Stanley's first visit in 1876, committed suicide, it is said from pain due to an affliction of the eyes and also from grief at the death of his son, Kananga. His grandfather, Ruhinda VI, had also killed himself because, so Speke says, the people had begun to wonder if he would ever die and he himself thought it was time he made room for his son. We may be reasonably sure that both suicides were committed to prevent the failing powers of the king from being reflected in disasters to the country. A curious example of the king's fear of losing virtue occurs in von Gotzen's (12) story of his attempt to photograph Kasasura, chief of the neighbouring country of Rusubi in Biharamulo. "Kasasura now gave his decision that he could not, for the sake of his subjects, have his picture taken, for if he did smallpox would break out in the land." Just as the custom of suicide ensured that the throne should not be held by a king lacking the full possession of his powers, so the civil wars which broke out at his death ensured that he should be succeeded by the strongest among his sons. But this custom could only be effective if there were sons to fight and if one of them was strong enough to kill off, expel or otherwise effectively subdue, his brothers.

Rumanyika, in conversation with Speke, justified his succession to Ndagara with a tale that a small drum was placed before him and his brothers, Rwegira and Nyamunanagi, by the officers of state. It was loaded with charms so that only the rightful successor could lift it. Only Rumanyika could do this, but unfortunately, Ndagara had once said to the mother of Rwegira, the youngest son, that he would make a fine chief. Taught by her to expect the inheritance of the kingdom, he was deeply chagrined at the succession of Rumanyika and went to war against him. Many of the Banyambo followed him and Speke considered that he would have gained the kingdom but for the help given to Rumanyika by his other brother, Nyamunanagi and the Arabs at Kafuro. In spite of this opposition Rwegira was able to maintain himself in North Karagwe and was still there when Speke arrived. In his efforts to dislodge Rwegira, Rumanyika had turned to the Baganda for aid. Every call for assistance involved the payment of tribute and the process must have been well advanced before Speke came, for he regarded Karagwe as a tributary kingdom of Buganda. Four expeditions in all are recorded. The first did no more than lay down a line of division between the rivals. The second force, led by one Nyamujulirwa, was beaten by Rwegira; and a like fate met the third, under Kitunzi and Kisomoza. A fourth and stronger detachment, commanded by Ngobya, arriving about 1870, drove Rwegira out of Karagwe; first, according to Richter (2), to the inaccessible island of Shango on the Kagera, but finally into Mubari in Northern Ruanda, where he made himself chief. Rumanyika's other brother, Nyamunanagi, was placed in charge of Sina and Ibanda in northwest Karagwe and retained these districts in spite of raids by another Muhinda, a descendant of the former Mukama, Ruhinda VI.

The only other fighting of the reign was confined to repelling two raids from Kissaka and to driving out from Buhimba Mankorongo of Rusubi. War was entirely foreign to the nature of Rumanyika, to judge from the accounts of Speke and of Stanley (13), with their constant references to the "gentle Rumanyika." Speke's main impression was of a benevolent despot, with a keen intellect, while Stanley, in 1876, talks of "the placid temper, the soft voice, the mild benignity, and pleasing character of a gentle father," Rumanyika then being about sixty years of age. Soon after Stanley's departure occurred the suicide we have recorded above. The history of Karagwe henceforth is one of decline increasing with every reign.

7. Kakoko and his Brothers.

Rumanyika had six sons, Kayenje, Kakoko, Lwachendera, Kinyoni Kananga and Lwajumba. Kananga, as we have seen, died shortly before their father's suicide. The eldest, Kayenje, succeeded to the throne with the aid of his brother Kakoko, himself unable to become Mukama since he was left-handed. Kayenje was killed by lightning after reigning nine months, his son, Nyamkuba, succeeding him under the regency of Kakoko.

This Kakoko is an interesting figure. Grant (11), in 1861, had been much taken with him, he was "such a pet, and was so nice-looking, that his father never went anywhere nor did anything without taking the young prince along with him. He was mild and gentlemanly in manner, and would come to us every day, putting out his left hand (sic!) when wishing us good morning, and remaining to chat quietly for an hour at a time. Although none of these lads had more covering than a sheet of leather round the loins, it was so neatly put on, their ornaments were so becoming their persons so bronze-looking, their gait so polite and *distingué*, that we quite forgot their nakedness; more particularly when we saw the effect produced by pulling on a pair of white kid gloves upon Kakoko's hands, and seeing him strut away with the air of a Bond Street swell!" Kayenje, on the other hand, was "a slow, stupid fellow, very simple and a bumpkin in comparison with the others." Kakoko was evidently the outstanding personality among Rumanyika's sons and would have become Mukama, but for the disqualification of the left-handedness noted by Grant.

That so trifling a disability should have debarred him seems absurd until we remember the "divinity" of the Bakama and the need for them to be physically perfect. Seligman quotes a passage relating to another tribe where "any deformity or affliction" was sufficient to disqualify the sufferer from the throne. A parallel case, among another branch of the Bahinda is found in the district records of Biharamulo. "Mwihahabi died . . . whereupon a dispute arose as to who should succeed him. According to the normal laws of succession Ntare, as the eldest, should have succeeded his father, but he was left-handed. This oddity debarred him in the eyes of the elders and the people, and the drum of Buzinza was given to Ruhinda, who built his boma in the Bwina Peninsula. Ntare, however, was consoled by being given a special drum in the Uswi area." It was explained to one of us (J.F.) in Bukoba, that left-handedness is felt to be the outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual, and therefore of more important, abnormalities.

No doubt, then, Kakoko, perforce acquiescing in the prohibition of himself, nevertheless determined to have his share of power by supporting and controlling the most stupid of the remaining brothers. This he achieved, so Stanley (13a) says, by slaughtering seventeen (!) brothers and putting out the eyes of Lwaijumba, the youngest. Stuhlmann (14), while mentioning the fate of Lwaijumba, says only seven brothers. In any case, according to Richter (2), two brothers, Lwachendera and Kinyonyi, survived Kakoko; while according to local accounts, Lwaijumba's mutilation occurred after the death of Kakoko's first protégé, Kayenje. As we have seen, Kayenje was struck by lightning nine months after his accession and Kakoko was still able to retain power by installing Kayenje's young son Nyamkuba as Mukama, acting for him as regent during his minority.

Kakoko's rule was harsh, at any rate towards other Bahinda whose hopes for their own advancement were frustrated by his actions. One pretender to the throne was Ruhinda, son of Rumanyika's brother Nyamunanagi. He picked a quarrel with Kakoko by inciting him to kill another Muhinda, Kalija, whom he accused of killing Kakoko's youngest brother, Lwaijumba. Kakoko did not trouble to investigate and had Kalija killed; and then, discovering that Lwaijumba had actually only been wounded in the leg by some cattle raiders from Mpororo, put out Lwaijumba's eyes and cut off his tongue in revenge for the injustice done to Kalija.

Ruhinda, in fear of a like fate, then revolted and sent to Rwegira in Mubari for aid. Kakoko was hard pressed and in turn sent to Kiziba for help. A force came under Rushanzirana, a son of Mutatembwa, chief of Kiziba, which was beaten by Ruhinda, even without Rwegira's aid, and its leader was killed in the fight. Significant of the strength which Ruhinda had gathered is the fact that in the Kiziba tradition Rushanzirana is stated to have been killed in a war against Karagwe, though actually he was an ally of the rightful government of that country against an usurper.

Kakoko then turned to the Baganda for aid, for Ruhinda's victory had brought him within range of Bweranyange. One informant, in 1928, remembered that Ruhinda's men were unable to rush the stockade, but killed many of the cattle within with their arrows. Before the Baganda arrived, Kakoko made a sally and engaged Ruhinda, who was defeated and fell in the fight. Rwegira's men, who were too late to take part, retreated before the advancing Baganda and were forced to take refuge on the islands of the Kagera swamps, although Mutuntumuzi, leader of the Baganda, was killed in a rearguard action. Then came a second force, under Ngobya and Rugabambura, and Rwegira, after a stubborn fight at Kabwera, near the bend of the River Kagera, was driven across the river back to Mubari.

Kakoko reigned for some three or four years on behalf of his nephew, Nyamkuba. Eventually, however, the young Mukama and his two brothers, Kaketo and Mukakikonjo, tired of the avuncular domination and conspired together to get rid of him. "It appears," says Richter, "that there was disagreement between uncle and nephew over the attainment of the majority and the relinquishment of the regency. The young Sultan and his brothers, Kaketo and Mukakikonjo sought the expulsion of Kakoko and, since they did not find themselves supported in this object by the people, proceeded to murder him. Beside a watering place at Nyaishozi (four hours south-east of Bweranyange) Kakoko fell under the spears of his nephews." The present Mukama, however, tells us that this is erroneous. Kakoko was murdered at Bweranyange. Richter's mistake may have arisen because Nyaishozi was Kakoko's property, it having been given him by his father, Rumanyika, as a reward for prowess in war. Stanley, who appears to have been horrified at Kakoko's fratricidal activities (which, if indeed he did murder any of his brothers, were the

rule rather than the exception in such circumstances) waxes biblical over his end. "Then Mukakikonjo went in unto Kakoko as he lay on his bedstead sodden with malwa, and drove his sharp spear twice through his breast, and relieved the land of the tyrant." This is thought to have occurred in 1886 or 1887 and Kakoko's ward, Nyamkuba, assumed the throne with the title of Ndagara II.

It is perhaps useless to speculate on the influence of apparent trivialities on the course of history, but one cannot help wondering what might have happened had Kakoko not been left-handed. He would certainly have become Mukama and the circumstances which brought about his murder would not have arisen; and, although Stanley called him a tyrant, Richter's account makes it apparent that the people preferred him to his nephews. It is conceivable that had he been king instead of king-maker, the complete collapse of Karagwe, in spite of the disasters which now crowded upon it, might have been prevented, for, in the neighbouring country of Ankole, a strong Mugabe and, later, a strong Enganzi (chief minister), enabled government to survive both the disastrous epidemics of the nineties and the advent of the Europeans (Lukyn Williams, 72), though these were British, while Karagwe had to contend with the Germans. However, Kakoko was killed and Ndagara II reigned, apparently with the co-operation of his brother, Kaketo.

8. Ndagara II.

Stuhlmann (14) saw the young Mukama in 1891, "Ndagara, the son of Kyensi (Kayenje), also named Umyagumba (Nyamkuba), who, at sixteen years, came very young to the sovereignty and is now a long, shot-up youth, who does not wield much authority in the country. Many minor chiefs, especially those who live in the north-west, have already given their allegiance to Mukakikonjo of the Basambo." Here Stuhlmann seems to have erred. Mukakikonjo was a Muhinda, not a Musambo (another Hima clan) and the brother of Ndagara and Kaketo, not, as the same writer says, a distant relative. Perhaps then, as now, the word "ndugu" provided pitfalls for the interpreter. Certainly the reins of government now became looser and one consequence of this was that Ndagara was unable to resist the capture of Buhimba by Kasasura of Rusubi, shortly before Stanley's arrival in 1889. A few years later Ndagara died of smallpox. This must have occurred in 1892 or 93, for Herrmann (15), in an article published in 1894 and apparently written the year before, since he speaks of the year 1892 as if recently past, talks of "the present king, Ndagara, a young, foolish, cowardly and, withal, malicious man." At the end of 1893, however, he was certainly dead, for in October of that year Langheld (16) sent Lt. Graf von Perponcher and Sergeant Fabian, then stationed at Kitangule, into Karagwe, to obtain information about the struggle for the throne which was taking place there.

9. Kaketo and another Regency.

After his war with Ruhinda and Rwegira, Kakoko had established

his brother, Lwachendera, as his deputy in north-western Karagwe, and, at the time of his death, his sons, Kemandua and Rwahimba (father of the present Mukama) were at Ibanda with their uncle. The young Mukama, Ndagara II, or rather, his brother Kaketo, naturally had embarked on the usual job of removing these likely rivals. Kemandua was summoned to Bweranyange and, surprisingly, not only went there, but had the temerity to rebuke his cousin, Kaketo, with abusing his position. Kaketo stabbed him. Rwahimba thereupon fled to Ankole, taking with him Kemandua's two sons, Ruainamukaga and Lushatira. What happened to Lwachendera is not recorded, but the last remaining son of Rumanyika, Kinyoni, was poisoned and his son, Ndongora, stabbed by Kaketo in prison. In addition, Luvivi, grandson of Rumanyika by his father Kanaga, was also poisoned.

Into this confusion, on the death of Ndagara, old Rwegira, in the shape of his son, Mkwano, again raised the cry for war from across the Kagera. This was the news which von Perponcher brought back to Langheld, with a request from the "Sultan" Kaketo for help to drive out the rival "Sultan", Mkwano. In fact, although Langheld did not know it, Kaketo was not Mukama, for his brother Ndagara had left a young son, Kanyarosi, some two years old, and Karagwe again experienced the evils of a regency, managed by Kaketo. Of Kaketo there are none but hateful memories among the people, who blame him, perhaps rightly, for bringing Karagwe to such a pass that it fell under alien rule. On one occasion, for a trifling fault, he had the people of two whole villages exterminated and took all their property for himself. He was not a pleasant person, though Langheld had been impressed with him in 1895 "I found the Chief Kaketo in Nyakashozi. He is a pure Muhima, of pleasing manners and completely European features. Confiding and open, he had much interest in and understanding of our European affairs." Richter, however, thought otherwise. "His principles of rule are not such as will bring the land once more into eminence, in fact, the opposite, for they consist in showering the Bahima with large gifts obtained by extortion from the Bairu. No country has such a great number of emigrants. Endeavours towards independence, especially in Kigoye (Sina) and Ibanda, areas which from the remotest times seem to have been of uncertain loyalty, have gained ground as a result of this misrule and the completely unsettled conditions have finally compelled the Station to take over control of affairs."

Probably in 1896, a small force under Oberleutnant Richter left the German station at Bukoba (the foundation of which we will deal with below), to capture Kaketo; this he evaded for four months and then gave himself up at Bukoba. He was not imprisoned, but was given the village of Mafumbo, just outside the township. Later he was removed to Bumbire Island, used by the Germans as a settlement for political prisoners, and remained there until the British occupation in 1916. After settling in Karagwe for a short time — where he found himself a very unpopular figure — Kaketo went to Uganda, where he died.

10. Ntare VII and German Intervention.

In his place the Germans installed as regent a Munyoro, Bakahunga, who had been brought to Karagwe some years earlier by Rumanyika's brother, Nyamunanagi. This must have been a blow to Bahinda pride, but there does not seem to have been much German interference with local government until 1908. In that year the young Kanyarosi, son of Nyamkuba, Ndagara II, was installed as Mukama with the name of Ntare. But he soon showed signs of the same vicious tendencies as his predecessors and was deposed, Karagwe then being put under the authority of Chief Kahigi of Kianja, largest of the "coastal" chiefdoms, who ruled through a deputy, his son-in-law, Kiobia. The latter ruled from Bugene, while Ntare was allowed to maintain a titular authority at Bweranyange. Later he was moved from there to a village four miles distant, in order to sever the connection with the home of his ancestors. Finally, in 1914, it was felt that his influence in Karagwe was too pernicious and he was sent to Bukoba. He was next given a village near Kanazi, seat of Kahigi, and remained there till the outbreak of war, when he endeavoured to get into communication with the British in Uganda — or, possibly, was accused of doing so by Kahigi and Kiobia — and was hanged for treason by the Government.

11. The Coming of the British.

Kiobia then ruled alone until the British occupied Bukoba. He ruled firmly and gave the country a unity of administration such as it had not known since the time of Ndagara I; but he was an alien and therefore hated far more than had been the previous weak and cruel rulers of the rightful line. He also made many petty exactions, especially of women and cattle, which increased his unpopularity. In 1916 he was removed and Daudi Rumanyika, the eleven-year-old son of Ntare, was installed — but at Bugene and not at Bweranyange, which was too remote for administrative purposes. A regent, Isaac, a Muganda, was appointed while Daudi was sent to Uganda for his education. This continued until 1925, when Daudi became Mukama *de facto*. But eventually the long tradition of degeneration in his family line, from Rumanyika's son Kayenje, proved too much for him and he, in turn, was removed in 1937. We have suggested that had the strongest of Rumanyika's sons, Kakoko, not been debarred by his left-handedness, from ruling as Mukama, much of the political disorder in Karagwe might have been prevented. The present Mukama Ruhinda is a grandson of Kakoko and it is to be hoped that the inauguration of a new line may have initiated a change for the better in the fortunes of this potentially prosperous country.

III. THE DECLINE OF KARAGWE

12. An Early Opinion.

The internal politics of Karagwe as shown in the story we have told, of the quarrels of the Bahinda, were believed by contemporary observers

to have been the main cause of the decline of the country. Scott Elliot (18), the English botanist who traversed Karagwe from north to south in 1894, described the devastated condition of the country and had no hesitation in laying the blame, like Richter, on Kaketo. "The country of Karagwe was in a marked decline as I passed through it. . . . When the master hand (of Rumanyika) was removed, and a youth Kajeti (he means Kaketo), brought up in a dissolute and licentious court, came to the throne — things at once fell to pieces. Along the whole western border, that is, along the Kagera River, the country is completely uninhabited. I passed numerous banana plantations which are neglected and becoming overgrown with weeds, and destroyed. The two fringing semi-independent states on the west bank of the Kagera have . . . by their continual raids produced this effect. The people received no protection and were obliged to go. . . . Oppressions and robbery of the poorer people, as well as licentious and drinking habits in the King's entourage, are the inevitable consequences of a warlike and raiding state. They have, in Karagwe, as usual, produced utter destruction of the community after a very few years." This is a severe judgment and, it seems, Scott Elliot's indignation, in his penultimate sentence, led him into a *non sequitur*. But we now have to examine the extenuating circumstances.

13. The Buganda in Karagwe.

It was to the Kabaka Mutesa of Buganda that Rumanyika had turned for the help which finally allowed him to expel Rwegira. Mutesa, according to Speke, had a high opinion of Rumanyika and, although naturally exacting payment for his assistance, does not seem to have interfered much in the affairs of Karagwe during Rumanyika's reign. However, after his death the Baganda took advantage of the unsettled state of the country to interfere on a large scale. Stanley says, "The King of Uganda is greatly dreaded in Karagwe. . . . The Waganda, after the death of Rumanyika, had carried matters with such a high hand that they also taxed Ndagara's Arab guests with the same freedom as they would have exacted toll in Uganda. Two years before our arrival (i.e., in 1887) the Waganda were in force at Ndagara's capital and at Kitangule to command the ferries across the Alexandra Nile (the Kagera)." Kitangule was then a great trading centre, where the countries of the north made contact with the Arab trade routes of Tanganyika, and the Baganda, doubtless, were determined that the family feuds in Karagwe should not interfere with this important link with the outer world. Moreover, they were an imperialistic people and seized any opportunity to strengthen their hold upon neighbouring countries which they had long regarded as subordinate to themselves. Probably, also, the threat to their own independence, which they must have felt increasingly with the continuing arrival of the Europeans, stimulated their aggressiveness. Stanley and Emin wished to leave some sick members of their safari in Karagwe, but Ndagara said that "on no consideration would he permit the people to stay, as if it once reached the ears of the King of Uganda that he allowed strangers to stay in his

country, he would be so exasperated that he would not only send a force to kill the strangers, but that Karagwe would be ruined." Later on, marching down the shores of what is now Emin Pasha Gulf, Stanley remarks, "We were astonished at the number of human skulls about, and when we asked the guides the cause, we were informed that at Itari the Wazinja endeavoured to oppose the Waganda during their late invasion." He comments again, "In 1887, the Waganda in force in Karagwe, audacious and insolent and shooting Arab traders and invading Wazinja, and from Kishakka to the Victoria Lake the land one seething area of strife and bloodshed." Herrmann (20), three years after the arrival of the Germans in Bukoba, writes, "In general the Wasiba are contented and joyful at the coming of the Germans, who have brought an end to the Baganda reign of terror."

14. The Arrival of the Germans.

Stanley, in 1889, had rescued Emin Pasha and brought him back from the Southern Sudan through Ankole and Karagwe and thence to Bagamoyo. Arriving there, Emin, much to Stanley's chagrin, refused to be taken to Europe and exhibited. Instead, he took service with the German administration and was soon on his way back with six Europeans, including Stuhlmann and Langheld. Emin started on the building of Bukoba station in November 1890 (Schweitzer, 19). Rehse (20) later took down, in Kiziba, a native account which gives a vivid impression of the effect produced by the Germans on the local people. "The Europeans came to the country. They established themselves in the district of Kiamtwara at Bukoba. There the first to come was Herr Basha (Emin Pasha). Then Mukotani (of Kiamtwara) went to him and libelled Mutatembwa (of Kiziba). Herr Basha came to make war against Kiziba. He put the king's fortress to flames and stole the cattle. Then he went away. When he had left the country scarcely two days the cattle began to die and the sand fleas (jiggers) came into the country. The cattle nearly all died, only a few remained, and the sand fleas killed the people. Many, many died. We sat with our few cattle, which we had bought in Isheshe, when another European, Herr Korongo (Richter) made war on us. He stole the cattle and returned home. After he had returned to Bukoba Herr Kama (von Kalben) made war on Kiziba. He came before dawn. Karutasigwa was alone in the fortress. We sang and played and did not worry about the Europeans until they were near us and fired a salvo. Many people died."

The Germans in Bukoba, as elsewhere in what they called the "Zwischenseengebiet", the inter-lake zone, which included also Ruanda and Urundi, set up a system of indirect rule through the local chiefs, who were allowed to remain in power so long as they co-operated obediently with German aims. The Akida system established elsewhere in Tanganyika was not used (Sayers, 21). The various "invasions" recounted by Rehse's informant were, evidently, little more than demonstrations of the new power in Bukoba. One catches almost a note of regret from Richter

(whose long face, in a photograph published by Langheld, does, indeed, seem "korongo"-like).^{*} "Conflicts with the station and its troops besides being so exceptionally rare, are so harmless that one cannot call it proper warfare." Losses of lives, then, as a consequence of direct struggles with the Germans, were few. Moreover, in Karagwe, German interference was at a minimum until after rinderpest, smallpox and jiggers had completely devastated that already troubled land.

15. Jiggers.

We may consider the lesser of these plagues first. Herrmann noted that in Karagwe, in 1892, jiggers "were so vicious that one harvest had to remain standing because of lack of workers." The ecological significance of this pest was first pointed out by Baumann (22). Travelling through north-west Uzinza in 1892, a local chief, Mtikiza, had made him a common enough request in those days, for help against enemy tribes. Baumann continues, "Besides these human enemies, Mtikiza and his people had an animal foe not so easily attacked. It was known to me of old in West Africa and I found it here for the first time and cannot say I was overjoyed at the renewal of acquaintance. I mean the sand-flea, *Pulex penetrans*, that disgusting insect which buries itself in the toes and other parts of the human body. When, in 1885, I travelled through the Congo, the sand-flea which, as is well known, originates in Brazil and was brought by ships in sand-ballast to West Africa, was only at Stanley Pool. It reached Stanley Falls in the Congo steamers and spread itself over Manyema, whence it gradually came to Ujiji and Tabora. It was carried directly to the west coast of the Nyanza by Stanley's expedition. . . . Especially in regions where this animal is recently arrived and thus, where its treatment is not understood, it produces real disaster. We saw people in Uzinza with whole limbs rotted off, indeed whole villages, following this plague, have died out."

This account of the origin of the jigger (now called *Tunga penetrans*) is substantially correct. Baumann was describing a phenomenon, of which the rabbit and prickly pear in Australia and the English sparrow in the U.S.A. are classical examples, namely the rapid spread and unimpeded multiplication of a species introduced into a favourable environment in which factors resisting its multiplication have not had to develop. We do not know what natural enemies, other than man, control the jigger in Africa nowadays, but one form of environmental resistance is clearly brought out by Baumann. Every African today knows what to do with a jigger and comparatively few can survive their full cycle in the human skin. Failure to extract them would, of course, permit their rapid multiplication and it is not difficult to imagine the condition of severely infested communities who had no notion of proper treatment. There is little doubt that Rehse's informant was correct in saying that they killed people. We

^{*}Korongo=crane, in Swahili.—Ed.

may note in passing that Rehse remarks that the jigger was carried northward along the west coast of the lake by Stuhlmann's safari. Emin, in 1890, had come to Bukoba by canoe, but had sent Stuhlmann around on foot (Schweitzer) by a route on which he would have passed through the jigger infested areas mentioned by Baumann. Confirmation that Karagwe was infested from the coastal chiefdoms is found in the present belief that the jigger was brought into the country by a man from Kiziba.

16. Rinderpest and Smallpox.

We now come to the second of those biological weapons which so powerfully assisted the white man in his conquest of tropical Africa, the Rinderpest. Lugard (23) certainly regarded it in this light. "In some respects," he says, "it has favoured our enterprise. Powerful and warlike as the pastoral tribes are, their pride has been humbled and our progress facilitated by this awful visitation. The advent of the white man had not else been so peaceful." Lugard's belief that it was introduced into tropical Africa by cattle imported by the Italians into Somaliland in 1889 is still accepted (Mettam, 24, and Hennig, 25). It spread with tremendous rapidity throughout the continent, killing off nearly all the cattle and much of the game. It arrived in Bukoba District either in 1890 or early in 1891 and seems to have infested the "coastal" chiefdoms before entering Karagwe. Although it is possible that the Germans brought it with them, it is certain that within a few weeks it would have arrived of its own accord. Langheld describes its effect on the Government herd (doubtless acquired in the manner described by Rehse's Muziba). "Of over 600 head there remained to us only thirty-five." The first attack had come shortly before his arrival in January, 1891, after which there was an interval of recovery, with a recrudescence in June and July.

In March, 1891, Emin and Stuhlmann had set off on the journey which was to end in the former's murder in the Congo in October, 1892. They went via Kitangule to Kafuro, the Arab station near Bweranyange, where they stayed and made blood-brotherhood with Kaketo. Both travellers frequently noted the herds of cattle. Stuhlmann at Kafuro, at the end of March wrote "these extensive grass plains form a magnificent pasture-land and the handsome long-horned cattle of the natives bear witness to the nutritive quality of the soil." He goes on, in a passage which gives a good impression of the country and its people, "the whole of Karagwe is a grass-covered plateau, cut through by numerous, chiefly longitudinal, valleys, on which, here and there, great fig trees and *Erythrina* bushes stand; only in the valleys is there any thick tree growth. The villages . . . stand in large banana plantations in which the conical huts are scattered, or else, as kraals in the open. In the first type mostly dwell the aboriginal folk; in the latter the ruling class who are almost entirely engaged in cattle rearing. . . . The cattle, without exception, belong to the long-horned, humpless, Hima race, and are looked after with great care. They are driven to pasture in herds of 100 to 1,000 by men armed with spears, the

milch cows usually separately . . . The cattle are the wealth of the Bahima; some people own thousands of cattle." And then, in a footnote to this passage we find, "Soon after our visit, a cattle sickness broke out, which brought all to the ground, so that the Bahima are now forced to engage in agriculture."

What may be the first hint of rinderpest in Karagwe cattle occurs between April 7th and 10th. Emin had left Stuhlmann to follow later and had gone on to camp at Kavingo near the bend of Kagera around north-west Karagwe. Herr Stuhlmann caught him up on the 6th April (Schweitzer). They were being escorted out of the country by Mukakikonjo, whom we have already met. During their stay at Kavingo, which Emin, again in advance, left on the 11th, Mukakikonjo "made us a present of some oxen, principally in order to obtain from the Pasha a medicine to prevent the death of his cattle." The Pasha, however, could not help, remarking that Mukakikonjo, whose occupation was cattle rearing, should know more about their diseases than he (Stuhlmann). It is, in any case, evident that the rinderpest was not actually in Karagwe when they passed through, though by Langheld's testimony it was in the coastal countries some two or three months earlier. It was, moreover, already in Ankole. Before leaving Bukoba, Emin, on the 20th January, wrote, "To-day an embassy consisting of forty men arrived from the King of Ankole, inviting me to go and assist him against his enemies. A cattle plague has been decimating his live-stock, and he now insists that his neighbours have bewitched his cattle and desires to avenge himself."* (Schweitzer).

What was the immediate effect of the rinderpest? We have not discovered any eye-witness accounts (other than local ones) of the condition of the Karagwe Bahima later in 1891, but it cannot have differed much from that of their cousins in Ankole. Lugar was there in June and July. Ntare, the Mugabe, would not see him. "The messengers returned from Ntare to say that as all his cattle were dead, he was ashamed I should visit him in his poverty and starvation." Lugar says that the Bahima "were driven to eat of what the agriculturists could provide, and to endeavour to follow their arts, for the terrible plague had swept off their cattle . . . large numbers of the people, too, had died, unable to procure food or to accommodate themselves to an unwonted diet. The remnants are thin and half starved and much liable to a loathsome skin disease or "itch" which breaks out in large scabby sores and is most contagious." Baumann, too, was, this year, among the Masai. "At the first onset colossal numbers of the Masai, at least two-thirds of the whole tribe, were ruined. The warriors were, at first, able to carry themselves through by hunting and petty thieving, but the women, children and old men were completely abandoned to misery. Reduced to skeletons they

* Mwami Rutalindwa, a son of Mukakikonjo, told one of us (J.F.) that rinderpest did, in fact, enter Karagwe from Ankole.

tottered through the steppe, feeding on honey of the wild bees and on nauseating carrion."

The plight of the Bahima in Ankole and Karagwe was not quite so bad as that of the Masai, for they, unlike the latter, were at peace with, and the rulers of, the agricultural Bantu, who were not, of course, suddenly deprived of their food supply by the rinderpest. Nevertheless, for a people whose whole life was intimately bound up with that of their cattle, the rinderpest was an appalling disaster. Moreover, it was followed very closely by a smallpox epidemic and it seems likely that this was, in fact, the contagious disease seen by Lugard. It is a reasonable assumption that the sudden starvation of the pastoral people so weakened their resistance to disease, that the endemic form of smallpox rapidly became epidemic and, of course, also afflicted the agricultural population. The smallpox followed so quickly upon the rinderpest that the two diseases were confused and it was believed that cattle and men were both victims of the same plague (*mubiamo ya ngombe* and *mubiamo ya watu*), which was said to have produced similar symptoms in both. The rinderpest is generally agreed to have killed off about 95 per cent of the cattle (compare Langheld's figures), but what the mortality was among the human population from starvation and smallpox, with, as we have seen, the added torment of jiggers, is not known. It is certain, though, that the deaths by battle or murder during the preceeding twenty years can only have amounted to a fraction of those produced by the epidemics.

17. Causes of the Decline.

We are now in a better position to judge the responsibility of the Bahinda for the downfall of Karagwe. It must be remembered that the tale of violence and murder accompanying the struggles for the throne was a normal occurrence and confined to a small section of the community. In Ankole, remarks Oberg, the great chiefs who guarded the borders did not take part in the accession wars, so that some machinery of Government remained in spite of the chaos at the centre. It is doubtful, too, if the mortality, except among the small group of principals, was high. "The battle" says Richter, referring to the tribes of the coastal chiefdoms, "opens with an exchange of prodigious insults, for there is no proper war-cry. Angry tongues maintain, and the pombe flask stimulates, battle among the Wahaya, and forbid flight from the shock of war. On the warpath one visits the little spirit houses and places of sacrifice beside the dwelling places *en route*. Women, cattle and other property, and, if the battle goes badly, the disputants themselves, seek shelter in the numerous large caves . . ." One doubts, then, if the struggles, first of Kakoko and then of Kaketo and Ndagara with their own relatives, were important from the point of view of the number of lives lost in battle, or, for that matter, the wars with Rwegira or the Baganda invasions. Stanley's "seething area of strife and bloodshed" is, probably, a melodramatic overstatement, while native accounts are notoriously liable to hyperbole. A local account records the volume of obscene trophies collected by Kakoko's warriors

in one of his battles with Rwegira, but a rough calculation shows this to be the wildest exaggeration which could only have been accomplished by the slaughter of every male not only in Karagwe but in the whole of what is now Bukoba District. The importance of these events lay, not in the deaths due to them directly, but in the political disorganisation over a long period, to which they gave rise.

The tragedy of Karagwe resulted from the sudden onslaught of biological forces upon a society peculiarly ill-adjusted at the best of times to meet them, but now, itself, in a state of disorder. We saw that Karagwe society was composed of two ethnologically and economically distinct, though interdependent, groups, the purely pastoral Bahima and the purely agricultural Banyambo. It was an arrangement that had worked well for hundreds of years. The Banyambo were not unduly oppressed and, though the Mukama was a Muhima, they looked upon him, as did the Bahima, as the semi-divine guardian of their prosperity. In return for the taxation levied upon them, they obtained government, with full legal rights, and protection. The weakness of the system lay in the basic division of food economy, for the rinderpest, within the space of a few months, wiped out practically the entire food supply of the governing class, who had the choice of starving or of turning to a vegetable diet which was repugnant to them. This, of course, they did, but we have seen that in 1892, one harvest was lost because of jiggers, while the smallpox must have further greatly depleted the man-power available for agriculture. Nevertheless, the Banyambo, accustomed to a vegetable diet, must have been very much better off than their Bahima overlords, and Kaketo's extortion from them, of great gifts, which can only have consisted of food, for the Bahima, appears as a reasonable action without which government must have collapsed entirely. Likewise, the lack of protection given to the cultivators of western Karagwe, which so provoked the indignation of Scott Elliot, was an inevitable consequence, not of licentiousness and liquor, but of physical weakness resulting from famine amongst the military leaders and warriors.

It is true, however, that Ndagara II and Kaketo were weak and unpopular rulers. We have related that in Ankole a strong government had been able to survive the epidemics and to retain its position after the arrival of the British. It is evident that this might have happened, with a wise ruler, in Karagwe. But Kaketo was neither strong nor wise and the final blow to Hima pride in Karagwe must have been the installation, by the Germans, of a despised stranger at Bugene and the abandonment of the ancient capital at Bweranyange.

18. Failure to Recover.

The Germans did what they could to restore the economic resources of the country. In 1903, von Stuemer (26), writing of the District in general, says, "As to the cattle population, it is better than before, but, nevertheless, not large enough to provide adequate numbers for export. To that

extent the raising of the export duty on cattle last year was fully justified. A lively cattle smuggling trade is in progress west of the Kagera from Ruanda through Mpororo to Uganda. It has been partially controlled, but will be only fully suppressed by the erection of the projected Mpororo frontier post." Lt. Col. Delmé-Radcliffe (27), who, in 1903, was surveying the boundary between Karagwe and Ankole, implies that the Germans used, or at any rate turned a blind eye to, less legitimate methods. He mentions "reports continually made by the natives that the German officials were very anxious to increase the head of cattle in their territory, refusing to allow any to be exported and encouraging all their chiefs to increase their stock as much as possible. Paltry thefts are constantly taking place along the border and the chiefs on the German side invoke the protection of the authorities, to avoid being made to return them." To what extent they were successful is not known, but later, when the British offensive of 1915 again disorganised local administration, some of the remaining cattle owners of Karagwe seized the opportunity of migrating with their herds into Ankole. In any case, in 1903, German efforts to restore the prosperity of Karagwe must have been already too late. Although we do not know in which year it started, towards the end of the 19th century, *Glossina morsitans*, hitherto certainly not within the borders of Karagwe, spread northwards through its valleys, particularly the Mwishu, at great speed. By 1909 it had advanced at least seventy miles, for in that year cattle began to die in South Ankole (Simmons, 28) and in the next year trypanosomiasis was diagnosed.

Karagwe, where, in 1861, Speke and Grant had gone "tripping down the greensward" of "this charming land"; where, in 1891, Emin had remarked that Karagwe "is only suitable for cattle breeding" and noted, "for the future" that the presence of a few "flat-topped acacias" was "a sign that the hills of Karagwe would be capable of producing trees," is now a waste of tsetse bush, with its small population crowded into concentrations as a prophylactic measure against the spread of sleeping sickness.

Appendix I.—The Bakama of Karagwe and a Genealogy of the Later Bahinda

Circa 1580. 1. Ruhinda, son of Wamara and Njunaki.

2. Ntare.

3. Ruhinda II.

4. Ntare II.

5. Ruhinda III.

6. Ntare III.

7. Ruhinda IV.

8. Ntare IV.

9. Ruhinda V.

10. Ntare V.

11. Rusatira.

12. Mehinga.

13. Kalemera Bwiragenda.

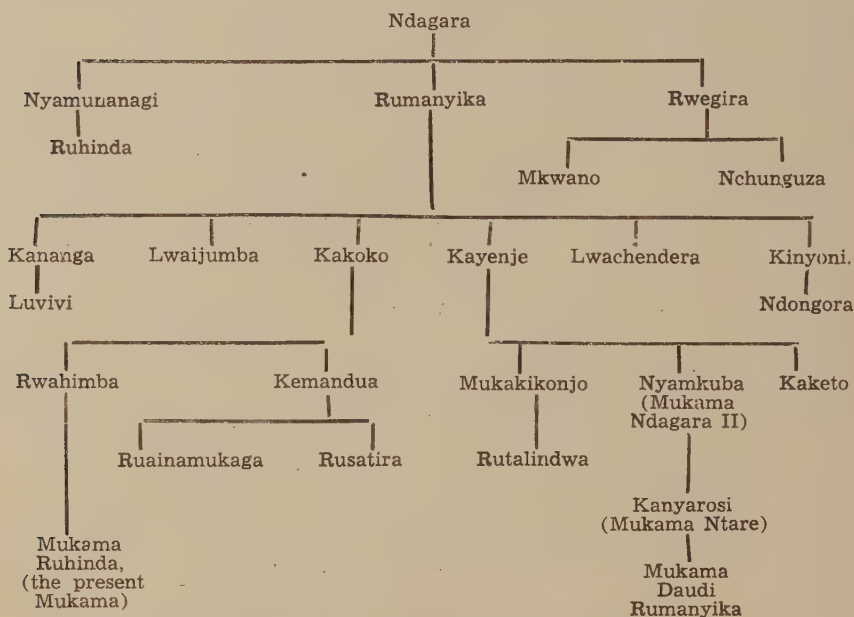
According to Speke's list.

Only one Ruhinda and one Ntare, in this list, are remembered.

Some duplication is possible.

- Circa 1770. 14. Ntare VI, Kitabanyoro.
 " 1790. 15. Ruhinda VI, Lwanyabugondo.
 " 1820. 16. Ndagara Luzingamchuchu Iwa nkwanzi.
 " 1855. 17. Rumanyika.
 " 1881. 18. Kayenje.
 " 1882. 19. Ndagara II, Nyamkuba. (Regency of Kakoko to 1887.)
 " 1893. 20. Ntare VII, Kanyarosi. (Regency of Kaketo to 1896.)
 " 1916. 21. Daudi Rumanyika. (Regency of Isaac to 1925.)
 " 1937. 22. Ruhinda VII.*

From 1896 to 1916 the administration was in the hands first, of Bakahunga, a Munyoro (1896 to 1908) and then of Kiobia, as deputy of Kahigi of Kianja, from 1908 to 1916. Ntare VII was hanged in 1915.



Corrections to this genealogy, which is based on that given by Richter, have been supplied by the present Mukama.

Appendix II—Sources

Section I is based on five separate accounts obtained in 1929. 1. The "Official History" compiled by Mukama Daudi Rumanyika, with the assistance of three elders, Paulo Byoma, Nchunguza (both Bahinda) and Busizore. 2. The individual account of Byoma. 3. The individual account of Nchunguza. 4. Statements by old men at Bugene. 5. Statements by old men at Bweranyange.

The "Official History" provided a useful general outline, which was largely confirmed by the old men, those from Bweranyange providing much additional matter about Ndagara I.

* The present Mukama is known as Mukama Ruhinda III, since the Official History does not include the four Ruhindas given in Speke's list.

Nchunguza, a son of Rwegira, was, in 1929, a man of about 60 to 65 years, who had taken a personal part in the war against Ndagara II (Nyamkuba), but who had later been allowed to return with his cattle to Sina, one of the few remaining small areas where stock-raising is still possible. He gave by far the most connected account of the time of Ntare Kitabanyoro and, in spite of having been one of the opposition, his story of later events in which he shared, proved far more accurate than that of the "legitimate" party.

Paulo Byoma supplied a long written account of the return of Ntare Kitabanyoro from Buha and also of the doings of Wamara in Karagwe. According to Byoma, Wamara crossed the Kagera and encountered Nono and, having disposed of him, built his capital at Bwehange. He then went elsewhere and made six drums, one for himself, the others for his sons and daughters whom he sent to rule the surrounding countries. This story also states that Wamara's death occurred at a place where ceremonies incidental to the accession of the chief were performed in later generations. It was not possible to discuss this account with its author, but it is rejected since all other accounts from Karagwe and those of other Bahinda dynasties name Ruhinda as the first invader and giver of the drums. Moreover, in several stories from Uganda, Wamara is associated with the disappearance of the Bachwezi rulers of Kitara and there is no suggestion in the Bunyoro legends as given by Gorju (4) that Kitara extended as far south as Karagwe. In view of the virtual disappearance of the Bahima from Karagwe, as a result of the loss of the cattle, it is interesting to note that many of the legends about Wamara and the end of the Bachwezi, recall that he committed suicide from grief over the loss of his herds.

The account which we have given of the parentage of Ruhinda is not accepted in the histories of other countries of Bukoba District, as recorded by Mwami Lwamugira, until recently Secretary of the Council of Bakama. In these the father of Ruhinda is named Igaba. In the Kiziba tradition, while Njunaki is still his mother, Igaba of the Babito was the father. This tradition, which was recorded by Rehse (20), is rejected for the following reasons:—

(1) According to Gorju the Bahinda in Uganda are admitted to belong to a superior race to the Babito.

(2) The totem of the Bahinda is a monkey (*nkende*), while that of the Babito is the bushbuck (*ngabi*).

(3) Father Césard (29) of the White Fathers Mission, has recorded independently the tribal histories and legends of Ihangiro and states that there, too, Wamara was the father of Ruhinda.

(4) Gray (10) suggests that the Babito of Bunyoro were originally of Nilotic stock, who supplanted the Bachwezi, but later, for diplomatic reasons, claimed to be related to them.

It is therefore suggested that the Kiziba tradition arose from a desire to place the Babito on the same level as the Bahinda and that this tradition has, perhaps unconsciously, been foisted on the other tribes of the district.

There was general agreement in Karagwe that Ruhinda conquered first the chiefdoms of the coast and entered Karagwe from the south. But the Ihangiro and Buzinza traditions have it that Ruhinda came first to Karagwe and thence to Buhaya (the coastal countries), Ihangiro and Buzinza and that he died in Ihangiro. We have, however accepted the Karagwe story, for the reason that Ruhinda was, traditionally, not merely a raiding warrior, but the owner of herds of cattle, seeking a new grazing ground (which, if there is anything in the story of his father's suicide, he might have been forced to do) and there is a legend in Karagwe that the leader of Ruhinda in his travels was a bull which died at Bwehange, where he made his first stronghold.

This is a slight foundation on which to build an hypothesis, but it is backed by the statement of a native of Bugabo, that he had been taught that Ruhinda landed in his country and thence passed down the coast and up to Karagwe via Buhimba.

In Section II the accounts provided by the informants noted above have been checked and supplemented, particularly as to dates, by the History written by Oberleutnant Richter and by the records of various travellers and German administrators, noted in the bibliography. Some further detail has been added and some corrections made by the present Mukama of Karagwe, a grandson of Kakoko, while Mwami Rutalindwa, a son of Mukakikonjo, was able to confirm some of the detail given by Emin Pasha and Stuhlmann.

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A Study of Land Tenure in Bugufi, 1925-1944

By R. de Z. Hall and H. Cory

INTRODUCTORY

Bugufi, situated in the north-west of the Tanganyika Territory, is geographically and ethnographically a part of the Urundi highlands, whose extreme north-eastern limit it forms. It is a small country, only some 250 square miles in extent, but densely populated, holding as many as 200 persons to the square mile over two thirds of its area. The rivers Kagera and Ruvuvu form the northern and eastern boundaries, and the foot-hills of these are virtually unpopulated, the people being concentrated in large villages on the top and sides of three roughly parallel ranges of high undulating hills. The altitude of these hills is 5500 feet on the average, touching 6000 feet at the extreme north, while the Kagera and Ruvuvu valleys are over a thousand feet lower. Climatically, the uplands are humid. The rainfall is about 40 inches a year, spread over the nine months from September to May, while even the intervening months are not wholly dry. Dew is very heavy and the hilltops are frequently covered in cloud for several hours of the day. The soil is fertile, and the conditions are accordingly excellent for both pastoral and agricultural activity.

The social organisation of the country is, as in Urundi, bipartite, composed of the dominant pastoral Batusi, and the subordinate agricultural Bahutu, the structure being crowned by the chief (*Umwami*). Traditionally, Bugufi has only been settled during the last two hundred years, long after the foundation of the line of Hima chiefs in Urundi. The ancestor of the present chief is said to have been given Bugufi by the chief of Urundi while it was still a wilderness of dense forests, remnants of which still exist. There may have been Bahutu families already settled there, but that the tradition represents actual fact is suggested by the continuance of immigration from Urundi up to the present time.

In any event, the new chiefdom was based on the same concepts and necessities as Urundi itself. As ruler of the Tusi, the chief was the owner of all cattle and of the land on which to graze them, and he required from them their services in war and in herding his cattle; as ruler of the Bahutu, he was conqueror and the fount of the land on which they depended for existence, and he required from them tribute and their services in war. The systems of tenure of land and cattle evolved to meet these necessities; the maintenance of the country and the cattle; and their essence was political, rather than economic.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The typical village is administered for the chief by the village headman, the *Umutwale*, who is responsible for all tribal duties, including the collection of tribute (now legally but not practically abolished), the allocation of lands, and the maintenance of all cattle in his charge. The *Umutwale* has a group of subordinates, large or small according to the size of the village; these assist him in executing the orders, standing and particular, of the chief, and are rewarded with cattle and a share of the tribute (and in latter days, of the headman's pay). Under the *Umutwale* are the Bahutu, tilling their land and setting a portion of the crops aside as tribute, and, in favoured cases, receiving a cow or several cattle to herd from the *Umutwale*. Finally, resident in the village but owning direct allegiance to the chief and little or none to the headman, are one or more *Intore*, literally "favourites." The *Intore* may be the wealthy possessor of 100 cattle, or he may have but one, but his independence is the same. His position has been gained by ingratiating himself with the *Umwami* or one of his clan in the past by service in war or by presents, nowadays only the latter; or if he be an immigrant Mutusi with a herd of cattle, by payment of cattle.

The normal position of the Mutusi in this structure, if long established in the country, is as a headman and, if a recent immigrant, as an *Intore*. No Mutusi family head is neither *Umutwale* nor *Intore*. But in addition a number of Bahutu have risen to the coveted positions, mainly in earlier times, through their prowess in war, though there is also a psychological reason predisposing the *Umwami* to elevate a Muhutu when opportunity occurs, namely, that the Muhutu does not possess the avaricious desire for cattle to the extent of the Mutusi. The Mutusi has no political loyalty to his chief: if he gets cattle to herd, he is content: if he has his own herd or can steal his chief's cattle, he will emigrate to wherever political conditions are stable and grazing good. This does not include the members of the chief's clan, all of whom are village heads, for they have a right to a share in the chief's cattle and their wealth therefore lies within their own country.

Other important factors affecting life in Bugufi are, on the one hand, the constant immigration from Urundi, which reached as much as 800 families a year in recent years, though it has now been checked by administrative measures on both the Belgian and the British sides of the border; and, on the other, the annual migration to Uganda for work. This has been estimated to take away two-thirds of the able-bodied males for part of each year, going to earn the small amount needed for payment of tax and the much larger amount needed to maintain the modern conventional standard of living, particularly in respect of clothes.

1925

THE VIEW OF THE CHIEF

The Chief in question has long since been deposed for general inefficiency. Interviewed by the then District Officer, he said:—

“If a Muhutu wants a piece of land or there is something which he wants from a Mutusi, first he will go to the Mutusi and make known his desires. Then the Mutusi will tell the Muhutu to settle at his place to work for him cultivating or herding cattle. His food is supplied by the Mutusi. The Muhutu will build his hut near to that of the Mutusi and food obtained from his work will go half to the Mutusi and half to the Muhutu. If he wishes to have a cow from the Mutusi to mind . . . he will always make beer and send one or two pots to the Mutusi every time he makes a brew. In the same way he will get from the Mutusi anything he wants in the shape of a hoe or a piece of bark-cloth. The Muhutu's duties to his overlord are to herd cattle, to cultivate, to fetch water and firewood and to carry the sleeping mat and bedding of the Mutusi when he travels. He must again build the Mutusi's hut, build the cattle kraals, clean up the cattle dung, take turns at guarding the cattle at night from thieves and all other work like a slave.”

A Mutusi supplemented this statement by saying that there were two classes of Bahutu, those who lived around the Batusi households, as above, and those who preferred to have their own land. The latter went to the village headman and received a piece of vacant land without payment. A pot of beer would generally be given to the village headman as a present at harvest time. Regarding the former, they were retainers, not slaves, since they could terminate the relationship at will. They accepted the position as they desired milk and the use of cattle and were willing to give service in return. This informant said that tribute in kind extended to beer but not food. The Batusi would assist their Bahutu if hard-pressed by paying their tax or giving them clothing or, in case of marriage, paying their dowry of goats, hoes or a cow. If Bahutu, helped in this way, left, the Batusi would demand the return of their goods.

Commenting on the above statements, as supplemented by his own enquiries, the District Officer (nowadays District Commissioner) at Biharamulo, wrote:—

“Instead of Mutusi, the term *Intore* is the one which governs the land system. An *Intore* is a man who has been allocated lands for his use by the Chief, usually in the first place as a reward for his services or upon payment of cattle. It is natural that as the ruling race is Tusi and that as the latter are the wealthy cattleowners, so the majority of landowners are likewise Batusi but there are however certain Bahutu who have similar holdings and are referred to as *Intore*. Practically all the best agricultural land in native use is

held by the *Intore*. The *Intore* have a duty to the Chief in that they are his retainers under a sort of feudal system and from time to time will supply him with cattle and beer, attend him at his house and accompany him on tour. The *Intore's* holding is divisible usually into two parts, the central or main position where he has his household, his cattle kraal, his agricultural land and his serfs' quarters, and the outlying portions where his retainers have land. The distinction has been made between serfs and retainers the more easily to explain the system."

1930. THE VIEW OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER,
SUPPLEMENTED BY REFERENCE TO NATIVE COURT
RECORDS OVER THE YEARS 1924-1929.

The writer was the first administrative officer to be stationed in Bugufi for any length of time, from 1929 to 1931, and undertook a preliminary investigation of land tenure, as the background for the introduction of a cash crop, coffee. Personal enquiry was supplemented by the analysis of the records of the Native Court over the years 1924-1929, a description which approach appears in *Africa*, Vol. XI, No. 4, in an article "The Study of Native Court Records as a Method of Ethnological Enquiry." The following paragraphs have been recast from contemporary notes and, though written in the present tense, refer strictly to that period.

The ultimate rights over land are vested in the Chief:—

Instance: The Chief sends a retainer to expel a man from his holding. A case arises because the retainer keeps possession of the land, the village headman challenging his right to do so successfully, though it is recorded that ancient custom was on the side of the Chief's emissary.

Grants are normally made by the village headman (*umutwale*). At the time of the 1931 native census, there were 46 such headmen, of whom 13 were Baganwa (Chief's clan), 13 Batusi and 20 Bahutu, the total number of taxpayers being 9000. The villages vary largely in size, but there was no connection between the size of the villages and the status of the headmen, save that the largest village was under the leading Muganwa, the chief's uncle. The total number was:—

<i>Taxpayers.</i>	<i>Baganwa.</i>	<i>Batusi.</i>	<i>Bahutu.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Over 1000	1	—	—	1
500—1000	1	—	2	3
250—500	3	1	3	7
100—250	6	2	4	12
50—100	—	8	8	16
Under 50	2	2	3	7

Most of the recorded cases were brought by villagers conceiving themselves to have a right of action against their village headman.

The Chief may make direct grants to followers, termed *Intore*.

Instance: An *Intore* sues a headman for making a grant of his land to another person, in spite of a grant by the Chief. The headman admits a slight encroachment and is adjudged to have no right to interfere with the Chief's disposition.

These *Intore* owe direct service to the Chief which may conflict with the normal village services demanded by the headman.

Instances: There are three cases in 1924 of *Intore* refusing to obey the village headman. In another case, in 1926, an *Intore* admits refusing to obey a headman and telling his followers not to work at the headman's orders.

Such grants to *Intore* may be of vacant pieces of land or of land already occupied by one or more holders, in which he acquires the right to their services formerly enjoyed by the *Umutwale*. In either case no duty is owed to the *Umutwale*. Duties to the Chief consist mainly in personal attendance, particularly when travelling. The term means, literally, "favourite," the *Intore* not only enjoys exemption from village personal service but shares with the Chief in the consumption of food and drink brought in as tribute. The tenure of the semi-nomadic independent Tusi cattle owners is also of this nature: they are found mainly in the neighbouring chiefdom of Busubi. Their position is usually acquired by the payment of one or two cattle to the Chief. They usually have their own following on arrival, who settle on the land granted.

A man seeking land will normally apply to the village headman, the *Umutwale*. This, whether vacant land or an abandoned plantation will be granted on payment of a small fee, such as a hoe or a piece of cloth.

Instance: A man paid Shs. 2/- and was later dispossessed by the headman. He was found to have borrowed the money back again and was told he could have his land again if he repaid it. He has then to make an annual payment.

Instance: A man was sued for failing to quit although he had made no payment for two years. His claim that he had rebuilt a minor house of the headman was unsuccessful. In another case, the headman claimed that this annual consideration was payment of beer.

Tribute in food, service on the land of the headman and, in general, performance of a share in maintaining the headman and in performing the duties for which the headman is responsible to the Chief, are also incumbent on the holder of land.

Grants may be for specific short periods.

Instance: Payment of milk and of a pot of beer are recorded for annual tenancies. In another case, Shs. 5/- worth of beans and -/20 cents worth of salt were paid for the right to cultivate for three years.

Subject to the above, and to due payments and performance of services, a man is secure on his land, unless he offends politically:—

Instance: A man complains that he has been evicted on a baseless accusation of witchcraft. Another is dispossessed on account of general quarrelsomeness in the village. Another loses his land for failure to pay tax and that of his followers (this was probably not for plain tax default, but for rejection of authority). Another complains against his headman for evicting him and proves to have abetted an absconding cattle thief; in this case the court decided to convert the produce of the land into beer for the Chief.

Or fails to occupy the land effectively:—

Instance: A man is sued for planting millet in another's banana patch. It is found that the other had been ordered to plant bananas (as an anti-famine measure) by his headman and had not done so. By the judgment, the land is divided. In a similar case, a man was alleged to have overstepped his boundaries when planting bananas. The Court finds that he did not and that even if he had, the complainant had no cause of action since he had not planted bananas himself. A claim to reoccupy land abandoned seven years previously fails, as does another precisely similar claim. But in another case a man built and planted bananas on land found to be in effective occupation by another, and he loses his case. Again, a man sues another for cultivating on his land and loses, because he is not making use of it: and the court further orders his headman to reallocate some more of his land, which he is not cultivating, to another holder.

As instanced above, effective occupation depends to some extent on the type of crop planted, whether annual or perennial, especially bananas.

Instance: A man has died and the headman has given the land to a new occupier; but a brother of the deceased appears and successfully claims a portion which has been planted with bananas. But, in another case, an emigrant of three years standing is not allowed to collect the produce of his bananas; and in another a claim to the produce of barkcloth trees is disallowed.

Occupation usually becomes ineffective as a result of emigration, and endeavours to recover possession by persons who have left their lands are normally unsuccessful.

Instance: There are several illustrative cases. In one, a man has emigrated for fear of revenge on himself by the relatives of a woman whom his brother has killed, and fails in his claim to reinstatement.

In another, a man returns after an absence of three years and claims his previous land without success, the court stating categorically that abandoned plots are available for others and do not remain the property of the original holder.

An emigrant has, however, the right to reap annual crops planted before he left.

Instance: A man emigrates and his uncle reaps the crops: he has to pay compensation.

An emigrant may be reallocated his land if he returns, if it has not been assigned to anyone else, but has no claim over such part as is in fresh occupation.

Instance: A man is given part of his previous land on returning after three years absence: he tries unsuccessfully to have occupiers of the remainder removed. In another case, an occupier allocates part of his land to another, emigrates, and on returning later sues the second occupant for overstepping his boundaries: he loses. In a third case, a man's son was called up for labour in default of payment of tax and absconded, followed by the father. The father successfully claims his land back on return but loses his court fee.

The right to occupy land is heritable.

Instance: A man emigrates, leaving his land in the possession of a younger brother. The brother dies and the original holder establishes his right to reoccupy the land. (But see the case quoted above, where the brother of a deceased occupier only established a claim over the part planted with bananas).

Provided that the claim is established in reasonable time.

Instance: A claim by inheritance from a nephew was unsuccessful as the land had been vacant for seven years.

The right of an heir can be exercised if an occupier emigrates.

Instance: A man dies leaving two brothers who divide the land equally. One emigrates and an immigrant takes possession of the land. The claim of the other brother to take over the land is successful.

In addition to stable rights to occupy of the type described, there is a much more tenuous form of occupation by natives who attach themselves to holders of land. Such will often cultivate for existing occupiers, receiving food, a place to dwell and a patch of land to cultivate in return, together with protection and, frequently, the possession of a cow. They will also be called upon by the landholders to perform tribal duties on their behalf. Such occupancies can be terminated at will by either side. Occupation of this kind is typical of new immigrants,

who after a year of tenure of this kind seek to acquire a plot of land from the *Umutwale* in the ordinary way or to be assigned land for regular occupation by an *Intore*.

1944. THE VIEW OF THE ETHNOLOGIST. (H. CORY).

All land is vested in the chief who holds it for the tribe. The Chief of Bugufi enjoys more than chiefs elsewhere the profits of his position and draws revenues from the land. He allots (or allotted) the land to the *Batwale* wholesale and to the *Intore* individually. All Bugufi, inhabited and uninhabited areas, has been divided up into districts, each headed by an *Umutwale*. This was done long ago and was accomplished at the time of Rusengo. The boundaries between these "utwaliases" have been fixed vaguely and disputes are now frequent on account of the growing population. The *Batwale* paid *Ngorole* (1) to the chief for their appointment. An *Umutwale* even now pays *ngorole* to the chief, usually a milk cow, for his nomination; he may be a favourite of the chief or not. The *Baganwa* are an exception to this rule. They receive an "utwaliasie" by virtue of their birth. The *Batwale* on their part receive *ngorole* for the allotment of land and have to give customarily half of the amount to the chief. This refers only to allotments in the *ishamba* (2) and not to allotment of an *inyugwa* (3). The *Batwale* have the right to allot land, whatever its size, without asking the Chief.

The *Intore* are the landlords, who hold their land through direct allocation from the Chief. The great majority of these allocations took place before all Bugufi was divided up into districts under *Batwale* but, in some places, after this division, since free land, even in the populated parts of Bugufi, was abundantly available. The last Chief under whom these allocations to *Intore* were regular was Rusengo. The instalment of new *Intore* is not impossible today but the cases are few and the circumstances special ones. The *Batwale* are much opposed to the appointment of new *Intore*, because they got nothing in this transaction, as *ngorole* and tribute go directly to the Chief, but the *Batwale* cannot refuse the legality of such an allotment because it is a customary right of the Chief. Sometimes also a powerful *Muganwa-Mutwale* has installed a landlord over inhabited areas. This cannot be considered a customary right, but the regents who were nearly always *Baganwa* felt themselves entitled to exercise the right of the Chief.

The inhabitants of an area who were *Ingabo* (peasant holders) become automatically, through the instalment of a landlord over this area, *Abanyetongo*, i.e., squatters.

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- (1) *Ngorole*.—The payment in money or in kind for allocation of land to the chief or to the *Batwale* or to the *Intore*.
 - (2) *Ishamba*.—Unallocated and uncultivated land.
 - (3) *Inyugwa*.—A holding which has been left by its cultivator and which contains bananas and sometimes coffee-trees.

The price for the position of *Intore*, including the adequate *itongo* (1). was and is customarily one or two head of cattle. The *Intore* has customarily to supply the Chief with beer and to render personal services. If an *Intore* dies his estate is divided amongst his sons with the provision that the eldest son receives a bigger share. He becomes the acknowledged leader of the family. On account of this inheritance law there already exist *itongos* of *Intore* which are inhabited only by family members. The title of *Intore* remains with the family head who has to fulfil the *Intore's* duties to the Chief. The other brothers have no title, but as they live on an *Intore* estate, not as squatters but as relatives of the *Intore*, they are under the immediate jurisdiction of the Chief with regard to all questions of the *itongo*. The squatters in the paternal *itongo* are divided amongst the sons and if there should be a change in squatters the son in whose share the plot of the squatter is situated would receive the accruing fees. If an *Intore* dies without a male heir his *itongo* reverts to the Chief, it becomes an *inyugwa* of the Chief, who will allot it to another man against payment of *ngorole*, and create thus a new *Intore*. The Chief has the right to expel an *Intore* from his *itongo*. It is done very seldom. The *Intore* are in any land question independent from their *Batwale*. They stand in this respect, but only in this respect, under the direct jurisdiction of the Chief. They have otherwise the same duties and rights as the rest of the population.

ALLOCATION OF LAND BY THE UMUTWALE

Ishamba.

An applicant may ask for an *itongo* of a size sufficient for a peasant holding. An applicant may ask for an *itongo* of a considerable size so that he can later allot parts of it to squatters (*Abanyetongo*). When the *shamba* becomes populated the *Umutwale* may think it necessary to appoint a deputy (called *Ichaliho*) to whom he will usually allot an *itongo* of considerable size.

Usually one man — and not a group of cultivators — decides for himself to open a new plot in the *ishamba*. He approaches the *Umutwale* of the chosen *ishamba* and if the *Umutwale* shows signs of agreement he will send him some pots of beer before he comes back for more definite negotiations. Finally the *Umutwale* sends the *Ichaliho* (his deputy) in charge of the part of the *ishamba* in question and the applicant for the plot with the order to demarcate it (fee for the *Ichaliho* is 2/-). Two or three witnesses of both parties accompany them. The boundaries of the new plot are not fixed in detail, but the *Ichaliho* goes round the plot

(1) *Itongo*.—(i) The estate of a landlord, i.e. a holding of such a size that it gives room for more than one family to live in and to cultivate in it the necessary crops.

(ii) The holding of a single cultivator—the peasant holding.

thus indicating its boundaries. If the holder later should overstep these vague demarcations by planting crops, there would be no reclamation, assuming there are no neighbours involved. Without witnesses the demarcation of boundaries could not take place. If the new plot is surrounded by plots of neighbours on one or more sides, the boundaries have to be fixed more carefully and probably reeds, euphorbia or some barkcloth trees would be planted. The man now starts cleaning his place and usually starts planting sweet potatoes and beans. He still lives in his old house. If he is satisfied with the harvest he will pay the *ngorole* to the *Umutwale* — before he starts building a house and before he shifts definitely to his new place. After he has paid *ngorole* he becomes an *Ingabo*. The amount of the *ngorole* depends on the means of the settler. If he has cattle it would be a good-sized calf, otherwise from 20/- upwards. If a man has no money the *Umutwale* may agree to wait for the *ngorole* until the man comes back from Uganda. With payment of the *ngorole* the liabilities of the peasant holder are not finished, although these liabilities are not fixed by agreement. They can be best expressed in saying that the peasant holder has to please the *Umutwale*. This means sometimes gifts of beer, sometimes service, sometimes just submissive behaviour. Also the *Ichaliho* expects some small gift of money and later beer and service. The *Umutwale* has the right to turn out the peasant holder from his holding though the force of public opinion may restrain him from doing so. The *ngorole* is not paid back in this case but the peasant holder is allowed to harvest his annual crop, (not the perennial). If a man, for good reason, should not come to live in his newly acquired *itongo* he can claim 'the repayment of the *ngorole*, but he can only do so before he has lived for few months in his new house. The *Ingabo* cannot without the consent of the *Umutwale*, give his plot to another man. He can allow other men to plant seasonal crops in his plot without asking the *Umutwale*. He himself can plant seasonal and perennial crops. A plot, in which has been planted a perennial crop and which is free for reallotment by the *Umutwale*, is called an *inyugwa*.

If a man wants a bigger area in the *ishamba* than he needs for his own use he has to approach the *Umutwale* of the *ishamba*. If the *Umutwale* agrees in principle, further negotiations are accompanied by pots of beer. Finally, after all questions have been settled, the *Umutwale* himself will go with the applicant for the demarcation of the estate. Both parties take witnesses with them. The boundaries are more carefully fixed than in the case of a common *itongo*. In parts where no natural boundaries exist the boundary will be fixed in that a man would go along it with a hoe and later barkcloth trees will be planted along it at some distance from each other. The applicant can either shift into the newly acquired land or leave it uncultivated until people come and ask him for plots in it. The *ngorole* for an estate depends on its size: two head of cattle or from 100/- upwards. Even such a landlord has from time to time

to supply the *Umutwale* with beer, especially if squatters should arrive to settle in his *itongo*. The landlord has no security of tenure. The *Umutwale* has the right to deprive the landlord of his *itongo*, but this happens very seldom and when it does the *ngorole* is not paid back. If *Abanyetongo* live in the *itongo* they have not automatically to leave with their landlord if he is deprived of his *itongo*. It is left to the new landlord how to decide about it. With regard to any affairs of his retainers the landlord is independent of the *Umutwale*.

If an *Umutwale* with big *ishamba* finds that he cannot properly supervise his district he usually looks for an *Ichaliho*, a deputy who is appointed for a certain part of his "Utwaliate." The *Ichaliho* receives also an *itongo*. The new official has to pay *ngorole* to the *Umutwale*. He has to pay a higher price, because he receives an office and an estate. If the *Umutwale* is not satisfied with the man's work he can deprive him of his office but leave him in his *itongo* or deprive him of both.

Inyugwa. (Abandoned holdings, containing banana and sometimes coffee trees).

If a man wants an *inyugwa* he approaches the *Umutwale* in the usual way (with beer). If the *Umutwale* agrees the applicant has to pay *ngorole*. The cost price depends on the size of the *inyugwa*; from Shs. 30/- upwards, but preferably one head of cattle (cow.) Some people state that if no cow is available the *ngorole* amounts to the market price of a cow. The holder of an *inyugwa* is called *Ingabo*. He can be deprived of his holding by the *Umutwale*. In which case he is allowed to harvest his annual crop, but not the pennial crop if he should be expelled before it is harvested.

Ubwatsi. (Fields of annual crops, both inside and outside a holding).

If a man wants to be allotted a field or arable land, he approaches his own or an *Umutwale* of another district. The *Ichaliho* of the *Umutwale* will go with him and demarcate the exact boundaries of the field. There is no payment to be made when the man starts cultivating, but if he harvests the crop he has to send beer or money (Shs. 1/- or Shs. 2/-) to the *Umutwale*. The allotment is valid for one year. If the cultivator wants to keep the field for another year he must ask for it again; therefore only annual crops are allowed to be planted. Any landowner except a *Munyetongo* can give to another man an *ubwatsi* in his plot.

Tingatinga. (Valley-bottom land).

(a) There is a part of the *tingatinga* bordering the dry slopes which has been cultivated individually for many years and the allocation of which has been made like that for an *ubwatsi*.

This type of land is called *Ishanga*.

(b) There is the actual swamp which has been communally cultivated and the cultivation of which was initiated by the Government. During recent years the cultivation has been greatly intensified and many of the plots which were cultivated individually (see (a)) are now included in the common work. The common work in the swamp is obligatory. Each man has to turn out; he is allotted a plot which he cultivates by himself whilst the necessary drainage is the common work of all men whose plots lie in the area for which the drainage is done. The cultivator returns each year to the same plot. The cultivator has to pay tribute in the form of beer to his *Umutwale*. If the plot of a man is not cultivated because he has died or migrated or for any other reason this plot is considered an *inyugwa* and a man who wants to cultivate it has to pay *ngorole* to his *Umutwale*. If an *Umutwale* has in his "Utwaliat" only a small *tingatinga* which is insufficient for the number of his men, his men are sent to a *tingatinga* which lies in another "Utwaliat" and which is bigger than the men of this *Umutwale* can cultivate. In this case each man has to pay *ngorole* to the *Umutwale* of the *tingatinga* (about 1/-).

THE TENURE OF THE COMMON CULTIVATOR

Ngorole.

The amount of *ngorole* is always a matter of agreement between the two parties and is an institution which may be considered, compared with the others, as having the least bad consequence on the life of the people. Its worst consequence is that its payment is sometimes the reason, amongst others, for the migration to Uganda. There are also cases in which its payment may be an obstacle for asking for a plot in an *ishamba*, if a man cannot see a way to obtain the necessary money; — but it is paid only once.

Tribute.

The annual tribute is naturally a continuous burden on the common cultivator. There exists hardly a transaction in land or even otherwise between the upper and lower classes which is not accompanied by payments of tribute, usually in beer. I think that even the customary delivery of beer during negotiations can be called tribute. A man's application for land would not even be listened to if it were not accompanied by deliveries of beer. The worst feature of this is that the tribute is in no way fixed. The annual tributes are enforced by the fact of the insecurity of tenure. The man has simply to please the authority which allotted him his plot. He can only achieve an illusion of security of his land if he sends beer regularly or renders the services he is asked for. Besides this vague but nevertheless certain tribute each *Ingabo* has to take beer every year twice to his *Umutwale*. One pot of beer is to be delivered in the middle of July (it is called *insoga*) and is forwarded by the *Umutwale* to the Chief. Two pots of beer are to be delivered by each *ingabo* in August (this tribute is called *ilali*) of which one pot is forwarded to the

Chief and one pot is kept by the *Umutwale*. Every year each *Umutwale* collects from each *Ingabo* one basket of sorghum and one basket of beans after the harvest and brings it to the Chief. The *Umutwale* receives a share of it. The *Intore* do the same independently of the *Umutwale*. These crops are traditionally used as stores in case of famine.

Ikirimbi (tribute by service)

This is another common form of tribute and may be:—

(a) of the *Intore* to the Chief: to accompany the Chief on journeys, guard the residence, look after the Chief's wives, build the little huts for ancestor worship, construct all buildings within the fence round the residence proper (*ikigo*), cultivate certain fields for the Chief, for instance plots in the *tingatinga*. (Such work, of course, is executed by their squatters).

(b) of the *Ingabo* to the Chief: building his houses, building his cattle kraals, guarding the residence under the command of *Intore*. Each *Umutwale* sends in turn about five men daily. Providing fuel and water for the Chief is done in turn by the *Gombololas Shanga* and *Mabawe*.

(c) of the *Ingabo* to the *Umutwale*: to build his house, cattle kraal, to cultivate his fields.

(d) of the squatter to the landlord: to provide him with water and fuel, personal service to landlord and family, to work whenever he is asked for.

UMUNYETONGO. (Squatter).

The applicants for a plot in a landlord's (*Intore*) *itongo* are now mostly the immigrants from Urundi, who arrive without property. (If a man comes with property he will probably pay the *ngorole* for an *inyugwa*). There live here and there also indigenous *Abanyetongo* on the estate of landlords. If the landlord (who is either an *Intore*, if he holds his *itongo* from the Chief, or an *Ingabo*, if he holds his *itongo* from the *Umutwale*) agrees to take the newcomer on as a squatter, the latter becomes a *munhu wi ntole* or a *munhu wi ngabo*. He must start working for the landlord. The time of service for an applicant varies. If the landlord agrees (perhaps the time for planting is near) he shows the plot to the applicant, which he intends to give him. No witnesses are necessary and the landlord will not agree that a boundary is demarcated, but he will point to a stone, a tree or a hole etc., and point out thus the boundaries. The applicant will then start with the cultivation of the plot and build his primitive hut. He will at the same time continue with his services for the landlord, because he still needs food. He will also plant bananas. From the first banana bunches he will make beer and send it to the landlord. After the plot has become a running concern he will be told the amount of the *ngorole*, 10/- or more. If he has

not the money he is supposed to go to Uganda and to pay the *ngorole* when he comes back. After the *ngorole* is paid the squatter is still dependent on the favour of his landlord and he always tries to please him with beer and service. (Most of the crop of the small *mtama* field is used for the eternal tribute).

The landlord can turn out the squatter at any time, but the squatter is allowed to harvest his annual crops. One natural reason for expelling the squatter is the increase in the landlord's family. As the children grow and arrive at a marriageable age, the father, or his eldest son or heir, will have to think of giving plots to the grown-up sons: he will take them from the squatters. The difference in the security of tenure between an *Ingabo* and a squatter exists only *de facto* but not *de jure*. The *Ingabo* is protected in his tenure by popular opinion. An *Umutwale* will have to find a plausible excuse for expelling an *Ingabo* from his holding because this is a matter of public interest*.

If a landlord expels one of his *Abanyetongo*, everyone considers such an action a private matter between the two. If the landlords have children, the *Abanyetongo* know that they must one day lose their holding. If the estate is big the danger may not be an imminent one, but the day must come when he or his children or grandchildren have to leave their home. It can be assumed that the knowledge of this fact is not an incentive to intensive agriculture.

MUNHU BINTORE. (Retainer of Intore).

If a man has no property whatsoever and he wants in time to acquire a plot, he must start working for a landlord. He starts working for the landlord with the intention of becoming himself a future land holder but many of these people, mostly immigrants from Urundi, like the dependent but sorrowless life of a serf and remain in this position for life. Formerly the landlord paid the tax for his retainers but now he often lets them be sent to the Boma as tax defaulters, when he provides them with food and sometimes a pot of beer for consolation. For some of them a relative who has been in Uganda may pay the tax or they themselves go to Uganda, because they are free to leave their master. Usually the master gives them such plots in his *itongo* as are sufficient to feed them (though not abundantly) and there is no land tenure whatsoever existing for this type of allotment. If a retainer goes to Uganda his wife does a part of the husband's work for the master. If he returns he is received by his master with pleasure, and as he is expected to make gifts all round the master will celebrate his return with a little beer festivity. The work a *munhu bintore* has to do is manifold; it consists of

* There are cases known in which a *Umutwale*, out of greed, started a campaign against his *Ingabo*. He had to stop it very soon as his subjects began to leave him and his inhospitable district.

assistance in house and field, and personal attendance on the master on journeys, etc. A landlord who has a serf sends him to all communal work instead of going himself. There is now amongst the serfs who have been to Uganda a tendency to leave the status of serf and become a *Munyetongo* or even *Ingabo*; but there are plenty of newcomers from Urundi, so that the big landowners are not at a loss. These newcomers are a type of men mostly lacking in personality and ambition who feel that they like protection from a strong man.

INSECURITY OF TENURE

The non-payment of tribute is a cause for the native authority to deprive a man of his holding. In the following I quote a joint statement of two *Batwale*, the one being a *Mtusi*, the other a *Muganwa*, the "Utwaliate" of both are in the vicinity of the Boma* and their statement was made in a sense of complaint, or at least in a sense of regret that for them the good times are over.

"An *Umutwale* whose district is near the Boma must be very careful. It needs nowadays really a big fault of an *Ingabo* before he can be deprived of his holding. The men here are not like they were before; but in the more remote district a *Umutwale* can do as he likes. Expropriations are quite frequent. The *Umutwale* simply tells the man "you have failed in such and such a way, you leave your field at once (or within a few days)." The holder is allowed to return for the harvest of his annual crop, but he has to leave his house within the time given to him. If a man should try to resist he is not expelled by force. He would be left to harvest his annual crop but then the fields would be allotted to someone else. A *Mutahe* would be appointed who would hinder the man from cultivation again, not with force but by explaining to him repeatedly how useless his efforts are as he is resisting the mighty whose powers, especially the spiritual ones, he is underestimating. Anyhow it is very seldom necessary to appoint a *Mutahe*, because a *Muhutu* does not think to resist an order given by his *Umutwale*. A *Umutwale* who needs money may look round for a victim or two and expel them under any pretext from their holdings. He would then allot the *inyugwa* to some other man and receive the *ngorole* for it. No *Umutwale*, of course, could follow such a policy for long because his subjects would soon leave him voluntarily."

.....*Umutwale* Stanislaus remarked: "I would like today to exchange my "Utwaliate" for one with plenty of *ishamba* and remote from the Boma." A *Umutwale* will never expel a man without giving the reason; this he has to do in order to appease the community."

* District office.

This statement refers only to *Ingabo* (peasant holders), whilst the *Abanyetongo* (squatters), as everywhere, have no security whatsoever. The insecurity of tenure reaches its climax where a landlord is appointed over existing peasant holders who then automatically become squatters. We must be careful not to exaggerate the situation. It would be wrong to imagine that all over the country peasant holders are continuously deprived of their holdings. Far the greater part of the population sits undisturbed on their holdings since receiving them, but one thing is sure — the possibility of being deprived of the holding is alive in the mind of the people. If things are left as they are at the moment it can be expected that in course of time the situation in Bugufi would adapt itself to modern ideas. The signs for the start of an evolution in the direction of betterment are unmistakable, but the development will be a slow one without guidance.

If we consider the system of land tenure and its ramifications, the situation for a common man can only be called unpleasant. The Muhutu is certainly accustomed to this situation but sub-consciously he must feel it and therefore he escapes from it when it becomes unbearable.

In conclusion, we find that the feudal system determined the form of land tenure. It is of a type which creates neither love for the soil, pride in the holding, nor hope for the future. Therefore the peasant is inclined to go out of the country and earn in other people's service what he should gain by labour on his own holding.

COMMENTARY

(the joint view of the Administrative Officer and the Anthropologist)

The records of 15-20 years ago are insufficiently detailed to permit of a strict comparison with the present and therefore to enable a full assessment to be made of the changes in the system of land tenure which have taken place. Further, neither then nor now are there sufficient data to show the customary extent of the various fees and services which are incumbent on the ordinary peasant. Nevertheless, a contrast of pictures emerges. Apart from the squatter class, who were all the Chief spoke about in 1925 and are still prominent today, the peasant of the earlier period appears to have held rights which are comparable with those typical of many other areas which have been studied. Subject to performance of political duties, his tenure was secure while backed by effective occupation and his heirs had a right to follow him: and even where an intermediate landlord was interposed, security was unaffected. There were payments to be made on entering on a holding and annual payments in kind or service, but not oppressive ones. In theory, these were commuted when the tax was increased in 1926/27 and at the same time the Chief and his headmen received increased salaries from the funds of the newly formed Native Treasury: but that these payments went on in practice was no fundamental hardship on the peasant. Wrongs

took place requiring redress, but an aggrieved peasant could and did have resource to the court. Both the records of the court and personal observation told the same tale.

In 1944, the position of the peasant has worsened immeasurably in relation to the holder of land rights. The fee on allocation of land has risen from a small, almost token sum, to one which represents over three times the amount of the tax paid to Government and may be half or more of the annual earnings in Uganda. The annual tribute may not be much greater in quantity, but is much more burdensome in effect owing to the absence of so many natives for half the year or more. And continuance of tenure appears to have become a privilege, rather than to be a right.

The causes of this change are to be sought in a change in the political nature of land tenure and in an increasingly economic attitude towards it. On the political side, traditionally land was nothing in itself. It was that on which the all-important cattle grazed and were tended and on which the herdsmen and warriors, who preserved the integrity of the country and its herds, subsisted. For the sake of political strength, it was to the interest of the rulers to attract new population and to give them, alike with the old, conditions of tenure of land, balanced against obligations of service, which afforded both sides a guarantee of stability. The change began with the imposition of peace and good order, a concomitant of European occupation. The security of the Chief and the dominant Tusi ceased to depend on the support of the Hutu, and the economic maintenance of the Chief's position was further assured later on by the grant of a substantial salary. He and his agents and favourites thus became free to exact ever-increasing toll from the peasantry without the fear of political consequences. Concurrently, the demand for land continued. If for no other reason, and this is not the place to analyse the causes, the pressure of population in Urundi was sufficient to expel a steady flow of immigrants into Bugufi. The poor settled down as squatters to begin with and might later pay *ngorole* and achieve the normal peasant tenure, while the better off become peasant holders right away. The attractions of the new lands were so great that the immigrants were prepared to pay a price, of which the holders of land rights were not slow to take advantage. The taxpayers of 1931 were some 9,000, including many recent immigrants: by 1944 they had risen to 16,500, and the older inhabitants were largely swamped, so that the tenure of the immigrant has become typical and that of the previous holders has largely become absorbed within it. Over the same period the number of villages administered by Hutu, of the old stock, had shrunk from 40% in 1931 to just over 20% in 1944; while Baganwa, of the chief's family, ruled in 1944 almost 60% of the whole compared with 45%.

Concurrently also, the cash wants of the people, and the insistence of the holders of land rights on securing an increasing share of the income of the people, have led to an annual mass migration to Uganda for work.

A few adventurous spirits used to set forth annually twenty years ago: by 1931 the number had risen, from recollection, to some quarter of the adult males; while recently the figure has been estimated at two-thirds of the adult males with a substantial number of youngsters in addition. The emergent administrative and social problems of such an exodus were recognised at the beginning of the period, when the foundations were laid of what promised to be a sound stabilising policy. The planting of coffee was introduced throughout the chiefdom, but development has been fitful and slow, an outcome diagnosed by the anthropologist as inevitable in view of the insecurity of land tenure. Remedies have been proposed to remove this pathological condition. They are drastic — stoppage of immigration, abolition of tribute and service, replacement of *ngorole* by allocation fees payable to the Native Treasury, and intensification of cultivation of both cash and arable crops are the main points — but the situation is such as to require drastic measures. And, — the practical justification for the writing of this paper —, the necessity of such measures is made the more vivid by the possibility of comparison with an earlier state.

From THE GAME WARDEN, LYAMUNGU, MOSHI.

Two Good Rhino Trophies

By Capt. M. S. Moore, V.C.

The photographs opposite may be of interest especially to those keen on big game. They are of two pairs of black rhino horns that have been taken from animals killed in Tanganyika since the outbreak of war in 1939.

The measurements are as follows :—

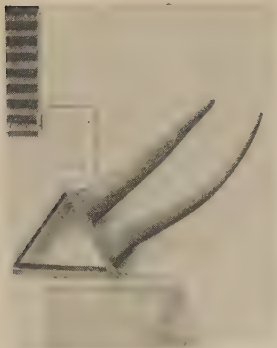
A. Cow.	Length front horn on outside curve	...	47½
	Length back horn on outside curve		16½
	Circumference front horn		18½
	Circumference back horn		18½
B. Bull.	Length front horn on outside curve		40½
	Length back horn on outside curve		32½
	Circumference front horn		21½
	Circumference back horn		21½

According to Rowland Ward's Records, 1935, the cow is the second world's known record and the bull 7th on the list.

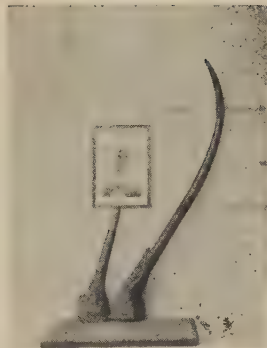
The cow was killed recently by Mr. J. van Rooyen of Oldeani. It had been raiding on his farm. Unfortunately for him he was not in possession of the necessary licence and so the trophy became the property of Government.

The bull was killed by a spear earlier in 1942, in the Ngorongoro country, by a Mbulu herdboy. It was apparently disturbing his goats. This trophy also became Government property.

Government has very kindly allowed these two magnificent trophies to remain in the Game Department collection where they can now be seen.



BULL RHINO



COW RHINO



MTAGATA HOT SPRINGS IN 1931.

The Hot Springs of Mtagata

(" Boiling Water ")

North Western Tanganyika Territory

By Capt. C. H. B. Grant

In northern Karagwe, one hundred and forty-one miles by motor road from Bukoba, lies the tin mine of Kerywa. Here the car is left behind, and carriers are collected. On the second day's walking Mtagata is reached, the first night out from Kerywa being spent at Nyakatuntu. Kerywa is 4700 feet above sea level and the footpath, after rising to 5050 feet, falls rapidly to the valley of the Kishanda at 4150 feet, and after crossing this dry river bed, rises to 5200 feet at Nyakatuntu. Leaving this place the footpath again drops into a dry river bed at 4450 feet, and rising to 5050 feet within a mile and a half of Mtagata, the Hot Springs are reached at 4700 feet above sea level. These springs debouch in a densely wooded valley on the eastern face of the stony Mtagata hills, the top of which are 5200 feet or 500 feet above the springs; the stream they form runs north into the Kagoi, which itself has a north-west trend to the Kishanda, and thence north to the Kagera. The Kishanda carries practically all the drainage of Karagwe north of Kabale and west of the escarpment bordering the western side of the valley of the Kajunju River, Kamakara and Kashasha swamps.

These Hot Springs were visited by Stanley in 1876 and 1889 ("In Darkest Africa", 1890, p.374), Stuhlmann 1892, Kollmann 1899, German Central African Expedition 1907, Messrs. H. S. Hill and J. Kargarotos (who published no record of their visit) in 1921, and A. D. Combe, Government Geologist, Uganda, in 1925.

Stanley ("Through the Dark Continent", Vol. I, p.467, 1878, and 1880 edition, p.296) states that there were six springs surrounded by tall trees, creepers and undergrowth, the gloom of which was very striking, the water having a temperature of $129\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F. at the source, and 110° to 107° F. in the pools, and gives an analysis by Savory and Moore, which shows it was faintly alkaline. Stuhlmann in 1892, gives the temperature as 126.5° F. Kollmann ("The Victoria Nyanza", 1899, p.62) gives a photograph of the Hot Spring which shows that apparently a great deal of forest and undergrowth had been cleared away since Stanley's visit. He gives the temperature as 122° F., mentions its supposed healing properties, that the basin had small huts for sick people round it, that the water tasted pure, that a bath had a very invigorating and refreshing effect, and that the water burst out in a tolerably strong jet. The 1907-08 Expedition's (Die Volkerstramme in Norden Deutsch-Ostafrika, 1910, p.83) photograph shows the spring cleared of much of the forest and undergrowth and gives the temperature of the water as 126.5° F. Egon Fr. Kirschstein in Zeit. Ges.

Erd. Berlin, 1910, p.525, and in *Wiss. Erg. Deutsch. Zeut. Af. Exp.*, 1922, summarize the known information and on p.527 of the former book, gives an analysis of the water, stating that it is slightly alkaline. A sample of the water was sent by me through the Medical Officer, Bukoba, to the Government Analyst, Dar es Salaam, Mr. W. Whitley, who reported that the sample was too small for a chemical analysis, but that the total solid matter amounted to 29.5 parts per 100,000, and that this amount was too small for the water to be called a "mineral water".

In the Geological Sketch Map of Bukoba Province (Geol. Surv. Uganda, Mem. 11, 1932), we see that the Hot Springs are situated in shales, mudstones and phyllites, and that Mtagata hill behind is composed of quartzites and quartzite sandstones; and on p.121 of this work Mr. Combe states that the springs issue in three centres of activity from joint and bedding planes in the Karagwe-Ankolean phyllites and that there were no mineral deposits.

Very few Europeans have visited Mtagata, and Stanley and Combe appear to be the only Frenchmen who have recorded their visits. During one of many part motor-car and part foot journeys carried out in the Bukoba District during 1931 and 1932, I was fortunate in having to spend a night at Mtagata on the 22nd July, 1931, whilst on my way from Kerywa to Mabira. The water is crystal clear and has no particular taste. It was flowing out in a steady stream, not forming a jet, nor issuing in gushets. I had no thermometer, but found that the fingers could be borne in the water where it came out of the hillside for only a very short time, that it was hot enough to make tea, and that even after being carried some 150 yards to my tent was far too hot to shave with or bathe in, without adding cold water. I am unable to confirm the invigorating and refreshing effect a bath had upon Kollmann. In the late evening and early morning clouds of steam enveloped the head of the wooded valley. There was only one hut and a bit of cultivation in the valley, the undergrowth had grown around the springs and it was clear that it was not being used so extensively as in the time of Kollmann and the 1907-08 Expedition. In the early days the people paid the Chief of Karagwe a Reale (4/-) for bathing; this fee being reduced to 2/- for some years after the German occupation, and was finally abolished altogether by the German authorities. It is still said that these Hot Springs have healing properties for all kinds of sores, wounds, venereal disease, and even broken limbs, and the natives still use the pools. As one might expect, this place has a legend to account for the hot water. — One of the ancient chiefs of Karagwe was travelling through with one of his wives; this lady wished for a drink, so cold water was caused to flow from the hillside. She then wished for hot water in which to bathe and this came also. This legend has its analogy in Exodus, ch. 17, v.6. Very little game was seen between Kerywa and Mtagata; two herds of Buffalo in the Valley of the Kishanda, a few Rhinoceros, a few shorthorned Reedbuck, and a small herd of Roan.

Kilwa in 1812

By Sir John Gray

In 1812 His Majesty's frigate *Nisus* (Captain Philip Beaver) was sent into the Indian Ocean on political missions to Mozambique and the Comoro Islands. For reasons which need not be discussed, those missions came to very little, but whilst at Mozambique, Captain Beaver came across a Frenchman named Monsieur Sausse, who gave him some useful information regarding the East African coast. Sausse appears to have been a resident in the recently conquered island of Mauritius.* Beaver tells us that his informant had navigated in these seas during the last thirty years and that he was told by him that "at Quiloa spars of all sizes, fit for masts and yards of line-of-battle ships, were to be procured in great abundance, and very cheap; and that they were, to use his own expression, *légers comme les Riga, et bien flexibles*.' On requesting a specimen of this wood to carry to the Admiral, he replied that he had none but his own masts to which, however, I was welcome provided that I made others. Taking him at his own word, I changed his fore-top gallant mast, and at the same time engaged him, if the Commander-in-Chief should think proper to send transports for spars, to pilot them to Quiloa and purchase the sticks that may be required."

"Reflecting the whole day," Beaver tells us, "on the importance of the supply which I had heard of to the Cape station, I determined to visit Quiloa, from Johanna, myself, and prevailed upon Monsieur Sausse to accompany us. If his statement be correct, I purpose receiving on board whatever spars may be ready cut; and to enter into a permanent contract with the king of the country. But, if the Frenchman had deceived me, my credulity will only add one more to that class of people, already so respectable in point of numbers, called dupes."

The *Nisus* sailed from Mozambique on August 22, 1812, and reached Johanna in the Comoro Islands two days later. After staying there only two days, the frigate weighed and made sail due east for the African mainland. James Prior, the surgeon of the *Nisus*, gives the following account of the ensuing voyage:

"The second night after quitting Johanna, we saw a large fire on the main, to the southward of Cape Delgado . . . Next day we ran along a low, woody shore, guarded by breakers, and several islets, studded here and there with villages. At the mouth of a considerable

* Guillain II. 49 says: "The clove is not a native of Zanzibar; it was introduced there at the beginning of this century or at the end of the last century. It is a M. Sausse, a Creole of Bourbon or Ile de France (Mauritius), who has endowed Zanzibar with this culture." It would appear very probable that Guillain and Beaver were both speaking of one and the same person.

river, named Mongallou,* a small fort displayed a flag, that was at a distance taken for French. On a nearer approach to the supposed enemy, it was found to be an Arab, and we stood off again to avoid dangers nigh the shore. An assemblage of huts appeared near the fort, and one or two canoes attempted to come off to the ship, but we would not delay. Before arriving at Mongallou, it is necessary to pass Cape Delgado, the boundary of the Portuguese dominion . . . In the evening we passed the mouth of the river Lindy, which is said by our passenger, Monsieur S—, to be large, and its bank well inhabited, for the convenience of communicating with the interior. The people, like those of Mongallou, and of other places in the vicinity, little known to Europeans, trade with the Arabs from Zanzibar for slaves, ivory and wax. Next morning we discovered the entrance to this magnificent harbour (sc. Kilwa)."

Before giving an account of the incidents of the visit of the *Nisus* to Kilwa, it is perhaps desirable to interpolate a few words regarding the previous history of the place. As is well known, the chronicles of Kilwa assert that the place was first settled by colonists from Shiraz in Persia in 975 A.D. and that for many years it was one of the leading sea ports of East Africa. In 1505 the place was sacked by the Portuguese and thereafter Kilwa never recovered its former prosperity. After sacking the city, the Portuguese erected a fort, but in 1512 they abandoned the place after the garrison had been decimated by fever. Thereafter Kilwa became independent, but its hereditary rulers remained on good terms with the Portuguese at Mozambique. In 1587 yet another deadly blow was dealt when Kilwa was stormed by the Zimba and three thousand of its inhabitants slaughtered. The place then sank into a state of feebleness and obscurity. In 1650 it was raided by the inhabitants of Pemba and, when in 1698 the Arabs of Oman wrested Mombasa from the Portuguese, Kilwa made its submission to the conquerors. In 1710 a report was received by the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa to the effect that there was an Arab garrison of fifty men at Kilwa and that "Manabacare" (Mwana Bakari), the ruler of the native Mahommedans, had gone to reside on the mainland. But this Omani occupation would appear to have been shortlived. The garrison had evidently disappeared by 1719, when the Portuguese Governor of Mozambique wrote "to the illustrious King of Quiloa" asking him for information regarding the movements of the Arabs in the region of Mombasa (*Brit. Mus. Add. Ms.* 20, 906 f. 212). In 1759 when Hassani bin Ibrahim bin Yusuf, Sultan of Kilwa, wrote to another Governor of Mozambique, it is very clear that the Omani yoke had been shaken off and that the Sultan had entered into friendly relations with the Portuguese.

* "Mongallou" is the "Mgau Mwanja or Mungulho River" of the *Africa Pilot*. It lies in latitude 10° 6' 43" S. and longitude 39° 59' 14" E. between Mikindani and Lindi.

In 1776 a French adventurer from Mauritius, Morice by name, arrived at Kilwa and entered into a treaty with the "King" of the place. That treaty was in the following terms :—

"We give our word to Mr. Morice of the French nation that we will supply him with one thousand slaves a year at 20 piastres a piece; and he will give the King a present of 2 piastres for each head of slaves. Any one else, be he French, English, Dutch or Portuguese etc., will only be allowed to trade in slaves when M. Morice has obtained his slaves and does not want any more. This contract has been made between him and us for one hundred years. As a guarantee of our promise we will give him the fort in which he can put as many guns as he likes and hoist his flag. The French and the King and people of Kilwa shall henceforth be as one. Those who attack one of us will attack us both. Done, December 14, 1776."*

According to Prior, the surgeon of the *Nisus*, who would appear to have obtained his information from Sausse, Morice "soon returned with a full cargo of slaves and ivory, in exchange for arms, ammunition, tobacco and some dollars. This success encouraged others. Several large vessels arrived from France to carry slaves to Java and other parts of the East, as well as to their own and the Spanish West-Indies. A frigate was also despatched from Mauritius, to form a permanent commercial treaty with the Sultan. This agreement fixed the price of prime slaves at thirty-two dollars, or about £8 sterling per head."†

Neither the Morice concession nor the subsequent treaty was destined to endure for long. Prior tells us that the Sultan of Kilwa "was attacked, and made tributary, shortly after the treaty, by the Imaum of Muscat, who had for some time been longing for his profits . . . By trading with Quiloa, the weakness of that kingdom became known, and the Imaum despatched a force that reduced the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Monfia, and ultimately Quiloa itself, leaving the king in possession of his authority on the continent, but exacting the better part of his revenue by means of governors and garrisons. The islands, however, were altogether detached from the Quiloan kingdom, to which they had belonged since its first foundation, a period, the natives boast, of above 1,200 years."

"The Imaum . . . made a gift of Monfia and Quiloa to his brother Sadi Ali, who, though resident at the latter place as governor, farms the revenue to a merchant named Abdullah, who is also governor of Monfia. The sum produced annually by these two places varies between 12,000 and 20,000 dollars. This is raised by duties on imports and exports, and presents for

* Coupland—*East Africa and Its Invaders*, p.78. James Prior informs us that in 1812 Sanji ya Kati, situated at the southern end of Kilwa harbour, was named Morice Islet, "after the first adventurer from Mauritius."

† According to Bordalo — *Ensaio Sobre e Estatistica* p.29, the French actually established a factory at Kilwa in 1784.

permission to trade, which are expected as regularly as the duties. Slaves pay a duty of eight dollars each. The Sultan seems to have little other emolument than what he may gain, like any other merchant, in the way of trade. The Arabs save him the trouble of collecting revenue, otherwise he is so far independent as to have the honour and trouble of a kingdom, without the substantial profits attached to it. Few kings, I believe, admire this division of things, and Sultan Yousoufoo, for so he is named, no more than others. Though poor in pocket, however, he is rich in the pride of ancestry. His pedigree may vie with some of the "families before the flood" of Wales and Scotland, and, though entirely destitute of soldiers, talks of driving out the Arabs with ease."

There is no record of any actual fighting on this occasion and it may well be that this resubjugation of Kilwa was a quite bloodless affair and was limited to the occupation by Omani soldiers of the fort on the north-west end of Kilwa Kisiwani. In 1812 this fort was the official residence of the Omani governor. It was also garrisoned by some dozen to twenty Arab soldiers, who were, however, armed only with spears. The fort itself was "an indifferent rectangular figure, having a round tower and embattled walls, with loopholes for the discharge of musketry or arrows; three small guns are mounted, and two of them pointed at the King's house." Though we are told that two of these three guns were unserviceable, their moral effect appears to have sufficed. The overlordship of the Imams of Muscat was not disputed.*

The *Nisus* dropped anchor in Kilwa harbour on August 31, 1812, and Captain Beaver, accompanied by James Prior, at once proceeded on shore in order to obtain an interview with the Sultan. They discovered that the Sultan was absent at Mongallou, the place where they had seen the Arab flags flying on the previous day and where the Sultan "had been for some months regulating the government." In addition, the Arab governor had left Kilwa only a few days previously on a visit to Zanzibar. This was most disappointing, but according to Beaver, "what was yet more mortifying, an acute and intelligent minister, Missago, who had long transacted the affairs of the King, was dead, and his place supplied by a stupid, inactive old man. However, to this person I stated the object of my visit, and received for an answer, that there were no spars ready; but that, as he expected the king back in about a week, I had better defer making

* The date of the submission of Kilwa to Oman would appear to have been between 1782 and 1784. Beaver tells us it took place "about thirty yearis ago," i.e. about 1782. Boteler II. 44 tells us that "the Imaums of Muscat . . . heeded not that place, until it was brought into notice by the French, who commenced a trade there, some forty years back (sc. about 1783), for slaves. Since that time it has been in the possession of the Muscat government." But a more probable date would appear to be 1784. In that year Seif bin Ahmed attempted to wrest Zanzibar from his brother Said bin Ahmed, Imam of Muscat. The Imam sent his son, Ahmed, to suppress the rising and on his arrival Seif bin Said surrendered. Ahmed also exacted from the Mazrui of Mombasa a written acknowledgement that they held that place as vassals of the Imam of Muscat. He may also, as Prior alleges, have used this opportunity to recover the Imam's possessions further to the south.

an agreement. Now, as I intended to remain only a couple of days, I desired him to send people to cut a dozen trees next morning, for which I would pay him handsomely. However, after much waste of words, all I could get was a promise to furnish me with men to show me where the trees grew and to assist in getting them down."

According to Prior the proposal made to this "minister," whom he calls Bona Teeboo (?Bwana Taibu), was that certain timber which had been promised by the Sultan to Monsieur Sausse should be handed over to Beaver and that a further contract should be entered into for the supply of a cargo of spars in a few months' time. Prior also tells that "Formo Sani", the Sultan's eldest son, was present at this meeting. He was "a fine-looking young man, whose gait and manners were not without dignity" and he also seemed to favour Beaver's proposals. But Bona Teeboo refused to commit himself to any kind of agreement. "There was no timber cut down, neither could he give any permission so to do, nor enter into a treaty for a future supply without the approbation of the Sultan." Undoubtedly Captain Beaver was in a hurry, but none the less it was very understandable that, in the absence of both Sultan and Arab Governor, Bona Teeboo was reluctant to do anything which might be interpreted as being binding upon his masters.

At daybreak the following morning a party of forty men in three boats from the *Nisus* set out "to attack the timber," but on landing on Kilwa Kisiwani, "the miserable old minister swore he had been unable to procure us any guides." Captain Beaver thereupon announced that his party would proceed alone and would cut what timber he pleased without paying anything for it. Presently Monsieur Sausse, "with all the natural powers of a Frenchman, fairly out-talked the assembly, and prevailed on Formo Sani, and several attendants, to act as guides." These guides took them up "the southern channel of the northern branch of the sea"* for a distance of thirteen or fourteen miles. There they were led inland for another three miles "to a thick brown forest of stunted wood," where they felled three trees. There was a small stream of fresh water near by, down which Beaver proposed to "exploit" the spars to the principal stream, but the tide being already high, he was unable to carry out this project forthwith. The party therefore returned to the boats. "By six o'clock," wrote Beaver, "we got back to Quiloa, when the minister promised to send a sufficient number of men to launch and bring down our sticks. On this better acquaintance, I complied with his earnest request, to leave him a pair of topmast studding-sail halliards."

The next day Captain Beaver had to record still further vexations. "After breakfast," he tells us, "I went to Quiloa, taking with me M. Sausse, to enter into some agreement with the minister relative to supplying a

* Afterwards named Beaver Port (Africa Pilot).

cargo of spars, as a trial; and to leave presents for the absent king. On arrival at the old rogue's residence, we learnt that nobody had gone to launch or tow down the spars; at which I indignantly upbraided him; and convinced that no faith was to be placed in any of his promises I reclaimed the studding-sail halliards, and turned abruptly from him."

Before daylight the next morning one hundred men from the *Nisus* set out to bring down the spars — only to discover that their labour was entirely thrown away. "The largest tree, with considerable labour, we launched into the creek, when, to my great mortification, it sank like a stone!" There was nothing left to be done but to return to Kilwa. The party arrived back, hungry and worn out, between nine and ten at night. On reaching the island, they were informed that the Sultan had returned to Kilwa. Captain Beaver decided that he ought at once to pay him a visit and accordingly proceeded with Monsieur Sausse to the royal residence.

"Here fresh vexations awaited me. His Majesty appeared peevish and sullen; he was sitting in a long hall, with seats around, on which were forty or fifty armed men. I congratulated him on his *safe* return to his capital; but it was easy to perceive that my words were not well taken. I then entered upon the subject of my anchoring at Quiloa, and he captiously promised to load a ship with spars, remarking that those he should cut would float well enough, because he knew which to choose. He then rose and retired, desiring Monsieur Sausse to follow him . . . In five minutes, the King and the interpreter returned, and I was exceedingly mortified, as much as surprised, at learning that, on his passage here, one of my boats had pursued his, fired into her, and killed two of his men; moreover, that the same boat had attacked another, in which was his brother, Solimani, though fortunately without killing anyone. I protested that the treatment which he had received was to me incomprehensible; and, although it had been my intention to sail very early, I would assuredly remain a day, on purpose to do him justice."

At midnight Beaver returned to his ship and demanded an explanation of the second lieutenant, whom he had left behind in charge of the *Nisus*. That officer informed him that, "seeing three dhows coming round the point, towards the evening, he had sent an officer to examine them, and that they not bringing to, he had continued chasing and firing at them." What Captain Beaver said to the two officers concerned is not recorded. Perhaps this is as well. What Beaver put into writing was this:

"Now one of these dhows had Arab colours, and another an Arab pendant flying; we knew the King was expected from the southward every day; and it scarcely required sagacity superior to that of a brute to discover at once that these were his vessels. That the officer com-

mitted murder, and deserves condign punishment, I have no hesitation in declaring.”*

Next day at three o'clock in the afternoon the Sultan brought his dhow alongside the *Nisus*. An inspection of the dhow fully confirmed his story of the previous night. Not only were their bullet holes in the hull and sail, but blood stains in two parts of the deck. But, “at this moment,” as Beaver tells us, “I was so earnestly solicited by all the natives to take no further steps in the matter, especially as *only two slaves* were lost, that, to get rid of their importunity, I gave a promise which released myself as well as others from the unpleasant dilemma.”

Beaver decided to take advantage of the Sultan's good humour to renew the question of the contract for spars. The Sultan readily assented to entering into such a contract and Beaver thereupon “drew up one, consisting of only four articles; and his secretary, “Bona Feeboo (? Teeboo), immediately translated it into Arabic with a facility, and so much like a man of business, that I was perfectly astonished. I then made the Sultan a present of five barrels of gunpowder and twenty muskets; with about half a dozen more to his relations or attendants; and on his leaving the ship a little after five, as happy and satisfied as I believe any man could possibly be, I saluted him with nine guns.”

Prior supplies us with a few more details in regard to the contract. The Sultan said — as was indeed too obvious — “we had felled the wrong species, as the wood contained a variety of others infinitely larger and finer, and of this a cargo is to be provided within six months, to be paid for in muskets, ammunition and dollars. Should this object be fully accomplished, it will be highly useful to our naval interests, and confer credit on the spirited exertions of the officer by whom it was accomplished; for, without a provision of this kind, the naval dominion of these seas is ever precarious, as vessels losing their masts in blockading Mauritius had no nearer resource than Bombay.”

The signing of the contract concluded Beaver's business at Kilwa, but contrary winds detained the *Nisus* for a further six days. It was not until September 10 that the vessel was able to beat out of the harbour and make sail for the Seychelles. In the meantime certain of the ship's officers availed themselves of the opportunity to explore the island of Kilwa Kisiwani and the adjacent mainland. Beaver and Prior, in particular,

* The explanation of the officers concerned has not been placed upon record, but one would venture to suggest that those officers may have acted under the belief that the three dhows in question were actively engaged in the slave trade. Despite the severity of Captain Beaver's remarks, one instinctively feels that, though their zeal may have outrun their discretion, neither officer was acting in an utterly irresponsible manner. The dhows had refused to heave to, when called upon to do so. Such refusal may well have led the officers concerned genuinely to believe that they were dealing with slave traders.

devoted their attention to ruins on Kilwa Kisiwani and on the adjacent island at "Pagoda Point" (Songomanara).*

One and all were agreed that Kilwa was a city of the past. "The present town," wrote Beaver, "if town it should be called, consists merely of a number of huts, scattered from the margin of the sea, to a mile from its shore; the glittering white of only two stone houses enlivens and embellishes the cocoa-thatched metropolis. One of these, a spacious, but irregular and low building, is occupied by Yousoufou; the second belongs to the King's brother, Solimani."

According to Prior it was a place of little trade. "Quilwa seems to offer only ivory and tortoise shells for commerce, both of which can sometimes be procured in considerable quantities. The number of slaves formerly exported amounted to many thousands, but at present the demand is confined to the Arabs, who do not take many. The articles principally in request here are arms, ammunition, dollars, tobacco, coarse cloths, and hardware. Refreshments, I have before remarked, seemed scarce, and the natives poor; for though we did not make particular enquiries after the former, they were not offered for sale; and shipping, therefore, on a voyage will not have much inducement to call, were it even more in the route than it is."

"The people are generally good figures, being tall and well-made, and possessing regular and expressive features . . . They domineer over the negro nations within their reach, and are in turn compelled to submit to the soldiers of Muscat; on the former they sometimes make war to procure slaves, but more generally get them in traffic with people that come from a considerable distance in the interior. The common dress is a piece of cotton cloth wrapped round the middle, and extending to the knee, and another loosely thrown over the shoulders, which is as often carried under the arms. They profess Mahometism, but do not very strictly adhere to it."

The officers of the *Nisus* discovered that from constant intercourse with Mauritius, Bourbon and Mahé many of the inhabitants of Kilwa had learnt to speak French tolerably well. There was also "an established interpreter, paid by those who require his assistance." Of the English, on the other hand, "the Quiloans scarce know more than the name." With the exception of a brig, the *Nisus* was the first British man-of-war to ride in Kilwa harbour. What little information the inhabitants had ever gleaned about the British had been derived from the French, who in the opinion of Captain Beaver could not "be justly reproached for representing the British in too favourable a light." It was only too apparent to the people of Kilwa that it was the British who, by the capture of Mauritius, were responsible for the falling off in the slave trade and the consequent diminu-

* See Appendix I.

tion of their wealth. It was manifest to Beaver that "the English character cannot yet be very popular at Quiloa; and it is to necessity I may assign Yousoufou's so readily concluding the contract with me.

None the less Beaver did not despair of establishing more cordial relations with the people of Kilwa. "Yousoufou, I know, wishes to drive the Arabs off his territory, but without some powerful protection is afraid of the consequences. He, however, makes silent and cautious preparations, and has several canon, with small arms and powder, concealed in his house; even the muskets and ammunition which I gave him, he landed in the night." If at the written request of the Sultan, the British were to ship the Arab governor and his garrison back to Muscat with a message that they were not wanted in Kilwa, "I am inclined to think we should hear no more of Arabs at Quiloa; and for thus rendering him independent, all I should require on the Sultan's part would be a scrupulous fulfilment of the contract I made with him; that is, that he should supply us with four hundred large spars annually, for which he should regularly receive the stipulated price. Do this, I say, and the Quiloans will be attached to the British for ever."

The other incident, which occurred during the visit of the *Nisus* to Kilwa, recalls the fact that the Slave Trade Abolition Act received the royal assent in 1807, and that from 1808 onwards, despite the calls made upon the service by the exigencies of the Napoleonic wars, the officers and men of the Royal Navy devoted themselves in a veritable crusading spirit to the task of extirpating the traffic in slaves. Contemporary letters of naval officers show how great was their detestation of the trade and how firmly resolved they were to use their utmost endeavours to stamp it out. An entry in Captain Beaver's journal shows that the officers of the *Nisus* were not behind their brother officers in their hatred of the trade. On September 4, 1812, Beaver records that "several of the officers having requested my permission to purchase, and of course to liberate, each a boy; and conceiving that, in allowing it, I should be not only doing an act of incalculable benefit to the lads in question, but also furthering the intentions of the British legislature, I sanctioned the measure. The prices varied from twelve to seventeen dollars, and having vacancies, I put the purchases on the ship's books as boys of the third class."

It would rather appear that the liberation of these boys was the only lasting benefit which resulted from the ten days' visit of the *Nisus* to Kilwa. Philip Beaver died at Cape Town on April 5, 1813, very shortly after the close of this voyage. Sir Reginald Coupland tells us that his recommendations for the expulsion of the Omani Arabs from Kilwa "lay sterile in his journal." In any event, as Captain Owen was to learn some twelve years later when he tried to establish a British protectorate over Mombasa, the British Government was at this date not disposed to intervene in disputes between the Imam of Muscat and local rulers in East Africa.

One also hears nothing more of the spar contract. As Beaver brought back no samples, it may well be that the Admiral commanding at the Cape did not feel disposed to ratify the agreement concluded by his subordinate. The possibility that the contract might be one of little value evidently occurred to James Prior, when he wrote that "the Sultan, indeed has the inclination, and he says the power also, of driving out the intruders; but, in that case, wishes for the protection of England to prevent their return, which might be done without difficulty or expense, as the name alone would ensure his quiet; should the timber, however, not prove valuable, this measure will be of no advantage."

History is also silent with regard to Sultan Yusufu's secret hoard of arms and ammunition. As Prior says, it must have been obvious to the Sultan that, without external support, any attempt on his part to expel the Omani Arabs from Kilwa must be doomed to failure and could only result in the loss of those few relics of sovereignty which remained to him. If his overlords were aware of the existence of this secret hoard, they took no action in regard thereto and Yusufu would appear to have been allowed to end his days without molestation. When Lieutenant Christopher of the *Tigris* visited Kilwa in 1843, he interviewed the Sultan, and not the Arab governor.* But at some date between that visit and the death in 1856 of Seyyid Said bin Sultan, Imam of Muscat and Ruler of Zanzibar, a change took place. Burton gives no details, but he tells us that before his death "the late Seyyid Said seized and deported to Maskat Muammadi, their last sultan, and thus the tribe was scattered abroad." Thereafter Kilwa Kisiwani sank into complete obscurity and had perforce to yield pride of place to Kilwa Kivinji, which is on the mainland further to the north and which, according to Burton, "was built by the Islanders when flying from the fleet of the late Seyyid Said."†

APPENDIX I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINS FOUND AT SONGOMANARA IN 1812.

(Note.—The following description of the ruins near Songomanara is taken from Prior pp. 76-79. Captain Beaver also made notes regarding the ruins in his journal, but they are not so full as Prior's and supply no additional details. Prior's account should be compared with that of M. H. Dorman in *The Kilwa Civilization and the Kilwa Ruins* which has been printed in the sixth volume of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*. That account contains some excellent plans and a useful bibliography.)

"In returning we discovered a large well, situated in an extensive copse, which had formerly been inclosed by a wall, part of which is still standing. The well seemed about twenty-five feet in depth and ten in

*Coupland *op. cit.* p. 332.

†Burton.—*Zanzibar; City, Island and Coast*, II. 341, 366.

diameter, apparently hollowed out of a soft calcareous rock, while from the bottom grew a tree, now in a great measure decayed, affording steps by which an attendant descended, and found the water dirty, ill-tasted, and small in quantity, though bearing traces of having been formerly of much importance. Further on, towards Pagoda Point, appeared several decayed huts, tenanted by bats and reptiles, two small burying grounds amid a cluster of small trees, and, about a mile distant, the ruins of regular stone edifices, which, appearing unexpectedly, induced Captain B——, Monsieur S——, and myself to re-visit them the next day."

"The first object was a small cemetery, about forty feet square, inclosed with stone, and raised two feet above the ground; the graves were convexly raised, as in Europe, with stones at the head and feet, the bodies lying east and west, but no trace that we could find of inscriptions. To the eastern end of this inclosure was attached the remains of what appeared to have been a place of worship, above twenty-three feet by twelve. The walls now remaining seemed about sixteen feet high, built of stone, cemented by mortar formed by the bastard coral, or madrepora, and in which were wedged many pieces of cocoa-nut shell, that seemed of no other use than of emblems, probably, of the value of the divine gifts, as they crumbled into dust on being touched. An arched door in front, and two in rear, formed the entrances, and a circular white stone raised above the ground may, perhaps, have received the inclined knee of many an humble suppliant for divine mercy. Behind the ruin is a steep descent to a bed of mud, thickly lined with mangroves, which, though seemingly dry, forms an island at high-water, that, at the conclusion of the first days' excursion, occasioned us some uneasiness."

"Two or three hundred yards from this spot lie the ruins of a stone building, larger than any at present possessed by the Quiloans, except the residence of the sultan. Its apartments have been numerous, some large, others smaller, and a third class, with still minuter divisions, separated by thick walls, but opening at one end into a passage common to all. The walls, at least the present remains, are broad, though not so firmly built as those of the smaller edifice, and judging from the quantity of rubbish, their height might have been considerable. Several thick trees, of a spongy texture, issue not only from among the fallen ruins, but from the substance of the walls which seem held together merely by clay. These form various convolutions, and, by a kind of heterogeneous union, living wood seems inseparably combined and coexistent with stone. Captain B. thought he could distinguish the remains of Saxon arches; but this resemblance is probably accidental."*

* Regarding these arches Captain Beaver wrote: "I was much struck, on entering the east doorway, to observe on either side two perfectly *Saxon arches* — an arch as different from the Moörish horse-shoe, as it is from the Gothic." The italics are Beaver's. He was, of course, commenting on the resemblance of these arches to Saxon arches and was not attributing a Saxon origin to them.

"The perfect forms or uses of these structures it is now difficult to ascertain. The first, perhaps, was a kind of chapel; the second, either a palace or a mosque; probably the latter, as a religious edifice, improperly called by strangers pagoda, formerly existed in the vicinity, and formed a mark for the harbour, but is no longer visible. This, indeed, might be considered the same, were it not three or four miles from Pagoda Point . . ."

"The discovery of the ruins had nearly occasioned us a night's lodging in the woods, for the evening now drawing to a close, it became necessary to seek the spot where we had disembarked in the morning, to meet the boat, but to our great consternation this could not be found . . . The place appeared altogether different. We traversed to and fro in vain for an outlet, the sea washing one side of what we soon found to be a peninsula, and a part of the harbour the other, which communicating at highwater, in the rear of the burying ground and ruins, rendered the part where we had landed an island, and which, being low tide, was not then perceptible; we had therefore either to wade through this stream . . . or wait till the tide was out."

APPENDIX II.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED.

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- Burton, Richard F.—*Zanzibar: City, Island and Coast* II. 329-371 (London, 1872).
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- Dorman, M. H.—*The Kilwa Civilization and the Kilwa Ruins* (*Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 6, Dec. 1938).
- Guillain, Captain M. — *Documents sur l'Histoire, la Géographie, et le Commerce de l'Afrique Orientale* (Paris, s.a.)
- Prior, James.—*Voyage along the Eastern Coast of Africa to Mosambique, Johanna, and Quiloa . . . in the Nisus Frigate* pp. 65-81 (London, 1819).
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MTWARA BAY

Mtwara Bay

by P. H. Johnston

“A great ship must have deep water”

When African fishermen first dwelled beside and fished upon the waters of Mtwara Bay cannot be told, but the earliest traces of Arab civilisation on the Mikindani coast are believed to be at Msemo, a small village at the base of the tapering sandspit which stands out as the eastern guardian of the entrance to Mtwara Bay. Here, opinion has been recorded that Shirazi Arabs first came in the 1000th year of the Muslim calendar and the foundations of a wall surrounding a crumbling mosque and an old and large stone grave have been traced.

Whether the “Pioneer” ever entered the landlocked waters of Mtwara or whether Livingstone sailed or walked there during his stay in Mikindani from the 24th March to the 7th April, 1866, is not recorded. In 1874, however, the Royal Navy first charted the waters of Mtwara Bay and the approaches thereto* and the chart then produced has been unaltered until the recent hydrographic survey was undertaken, but it was from the promising figures of the original soundings that Mtwara, nearly 75 years later, was to be selected as the site of a great new port. The old Headman of Mtwara and his aged cousin at Msemo claim to remember the first survey taking place, but this, alas, must be gravely doubted.

The Germans occupied Mikindani in 1890, and during the years of their rule, land was alienated at Mtwara for a sisal estate. No other alienations took place in the neighbourhood. In 1916, during the first world war, British warships, which had first entered Mnazi Bay, entered Mtwara Bay and even, it is reputed, Mtepezezi Creek, before steaming into Mikindani Bay and, by a shell fired into the present Customs buildings caused Mikindani's one and only casualty in that war.

Under British Administration, the freehold over the sisal estate alienated by the Germans was recognised and the size of the estate was subsequently extended by British leaseholds to a total of 3,730 acres. Under modern conditions this small estate was not, however, considered

* Sir John Gray has sent the following translation of a note on the Survey which appeared in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for 1875 (Vol. XXI p.118):

“Dixon, J. W., *Mikindani Bay, East Coast of Africa* (*Nautical Magazine*, October 1874, pp.840-841).

The survey by the surveying ship *Nassau* led to the discovery of this hitherto unknown harbour of Mto Mtwara in Mikindani Bay, north of Cape Delgado. The harbour, which is three nautical miles long and one mile broad, lies three miles from the eastern cape of Mikindani Bay and has three villages on its shores.”

Sir John Gray adds that another notice in the *Mittheilungen* for 1876 announces the publication by the Hydrographic Office in London of a chart of “Mto Mtwara and Mikindani Harbours” (Vol. XXII, p.120).—Ed.

Mikindani Bay

Indian Ocean.

Mikindani Bay

Sangam K V

Mto Mtwara

M. Kindani H²

M, Kindanl.

No Prize.

2 Coral.

Reduced from a Chart Published in London at the Admiralty 10th May 1875.

to be an economic unit. No further alienation in the Mtwara area has taken place but the rights of the Arab owners to their coconut shambas on the peninsula north of Mtwara Bay and facing the Indian Ocean and Mnazi Bay have been recognized.

The sisal estate built a small wharf at the west side of the entrance to Mtwara Bay and here the sisal produced has been loaded into dhows and transhipped to Mikindani. The coasters "Tayari" and "Askari" occasionally used to go alongside this wharf on flood tides. Where the Sisal Factory now stands, the future Signal Station is likely to be built, a site with a fine view out to sea and into the Bay.

In the early twenties a film company operated in Mtwara Bay while shooting scenes for the silent version of de Vere Stackpole's South Sea Island story "The Blue Lagoon." A second film unit, late in 1928, attracted by the beauty of Mtwara, made its camp at Kiromba on the East side of the Bay and took shots there before proceeding to the Ruvuma and beyond. Strange but unfounded tales reached the home press as a result of this incursion into Mtwara.

Thenceforward the quiet and placid life of Mtwara was undisturbed. The fishing village of Mtwara itself, on the foreshore, encircled by the sisal on the cliffs above, maintained its existence with its inhabitants undertaking their cultivation far afield. Only Shangani village on the 1874 chart, is now a sisal field beside the Indian Ocean. The second world war did not affect the lives of the local people, nor did the mooted Groundnut project seem likely, at first, to have any local repercussions; now it is to cause a revolutionary upheaval at Mtwara, one that will advance the area and its people and provide opportunities of such progress in so short a time that none would ever have dreamed possible.

The needs of the vast Groundnut project in the Southern Province demanded port facilities that were not in existence anywhere in Tanganyika. Considerable development and construction were required at whatever harbour might be selected. The Harbour Commission appointed by the Ministry of Food was originally to have visited Lindi and Kilwa-Kisiwani only, but Mtwara was added to the list and after the disadvantages of Lindi has been made apparent, the Commission aboard the "Azania" sailed into Mtwara Bay on 21st February, 1947, and when they departed on the following afternoon it had been decided to recommend the construction of an entirely new port at Mtwara to meet not only the needs of the Groundnut project but also such further requirements as future development beyond the groundnut areas might one day call for. A great decision had been taken; one that will be, beyond doubt, the turning point in the history of at least one small part of Africa and its people.

Once the recommendation was approved at the end of March, preliminary work began apace. A detailed hydrographic survey was commenced. Plans for the wharf area were drawn. Cores from the sea bed were bored, a topographical survey started. As soon as sufficient data were available, contractors' representatives came to see upon what they were to base their tenders, and the successful firm will not long delay its first operations. The Consulting Engineers are already established. Water boring to supply the contractors' needs (the one anxiety at the time of writing*) is under way. In due course the water requirements of Mtwara, reckoned at 1,000,000 gallons a day, may be drawn from Lake Chidya or from the Ruvuma River, if possible sources of supply nearer to Mtwara should prove inadequate. Sea, land, aerial and Railway surveyors have all been at work. "V.I.Ps." from Government and from outside have visited Mtwara in considerable numbers that will not now decrease: few, if any, have failed to be impressed by the natural beauty of Mtwara and by the opportunities offered for future development; the villagers of Mtwara already speak of their village as a future Mombasa.

In May, 1947, Government acquired the whole of Mtwara Sisal Estate as the site for the new port and town-to-be. This area forms something of a plateau bounded on four of its five sides by the waters of Miseti Creek, the Indian Ocean, Mtwara Bay and Mtepwazi Creek.

The entrance to Mtwara Bay lies at the south-eastern end of Mikindani Bay, which itself extends for more than three sea miles from Ras Paman to Ras Msangamkuu, where lighthouses may well be erected as beacons for ships approaching the new port. The channel into Mtwara Bay never has less than 10 fathoms of water, it narrows to 900 feet opposite to the old stone wharf and is over 1,000 feet wide at the turn between the Msemo sandspit (which hides the actual entrance and the Bay beyond) and Mtwara village. A distinguished naval visitor has stated that he would have no hesitation in bringing in a battleship, so that navigational difficulties cannot be considered great; within the Bay lies anchorages for numerous vessels of any size and draught; certainly there is space enough to cope with all requirements for the new harbour that can be foreseen. The mangrove swamps of Mtepwazi Creek extend inland from the south-western corner of Mtwara Bay, while at the easterly end only half a mile divides Mtwara Bay from Mnazi Bay beyond with its oyster beds and fishing grounds. To the south, east of Mtepwazi Creek, a suitable site is available for a large airfield.

The resident of the future can look forward to fine bathing, fishing and sailing. A likely site for a golf course has been spotted. The airfield will not be too close to the residential area. Interesting coral formations can be studied among the shoals on each side of the channel approaching

* September 1947—Ed.

the entrance to Mtwara Bay. An unusually cool climate for the coast, due to the plateau standing open to winds of each monsoon, gives Mtwara an added attraction and although mosquitoes are far from being unknown they are much fewer than is general on the coastal belt and good drainage should make their elimination no very difficult matter.

Never before in East Africa has there been the opportunity of developing a major port "from scratch". No vested interests or local rights stand in the way of sound planning on this chosen location with its foreground of blue waters and its background of hills. Let it be hoped, therefore, that our planners will really plan soundly.

Some Rivers of Southern Tanganyika

By R. de la B. Barker

Tanganyika between lake Nyasa and the sea is, as seen from the air, a vast carpet of forested country with few land marks in the way of peaks. Early 'planes seeking the lonely administrative station Liwale found difficulty. One returned to the sea to refuel and then followed the road. These forests however keep the air cool so that the stations of Liwale, Tunduru and Newala are pleasant spots, although they are a mere two thousand feet or so above sea level. Newala is on the southern part of a plateau which overlooks the Ruvuma and Portuguese East Africa beyond. Tunduru is midway between the lake and the sea and is the southernmost station in British East Africa.

The Mahenge plateau is a mere three thousand feet in altitude but the climate is praised by those who live in that isolated spot. There it is that pinnacle rocks are covered with moss induced by the damp and coolth. Natives scratch off the blackish growth with sticks and so make drawings or write their names, which appear white as the surface is thus bared. These stones have enabled the building of a great cathedral, as impressive as the one in Dar es Salaam and possessing monstrous bells so big that one was a complete lorry load. Their chimes can be heard sixty miles away.

Rivers with permanent water flow on all sides of the Mahenge massif. To the north is the Kilombero, a winding deep river teeming with fish and possessing the most ferocious hippopotamuses, which overturn canoes and once toppled a native out of the administrative officer's heavy forty-foot safari canoe by a sudden assault from below. Elephants are seen from the banks of this inland waterway and on one occasion, a party of elephants lived on an island during the flood season. They did not care to risk swimming the sea of raging water around when caught by rising waters from the Livingstone mountains to the west.

This Kilombero or Ulanga river flows placidly along for more than a hundred miles before it tumbles down from its inland shelf into a north and south reach of the southern part of the Rufiji River. Roaring cascades of divided streams foam through mighty boulders among pretty wooded islands and join the waters of the Luwegu and Barangandu at the Shuguli falls deep in the Selous Game Reserve. With these two tributaries which collect their waters from the Songea highlands and the Tunduru district, the waters from the west flow north, running placidly through a long reach bound by shelves of rocks and grassy slopes. After a hundred miles they fall in a deep chasm at the Pangani rapids and turn east into the Rufiji proper. The water spread out after leaving a gorge and deposit the alluvial flats where once there existed a sea arm of the Indian Ocean. These flats are the Rufiji administrative district.



FISHING.



SORTING THE CATCH.



SMOKING RACK.





HIPPO HARPOON.



HIPPO HARPOONERS.



IN ACTION.

The Ulanga district is liable to floods with all these waters collected from wide points of Southern Tanganyika and, after the Ruaha from the Iringa and the Mbeya highlands joins near the Pangani rapids, the Rufiji, in its beds of deposits with many former courses marked by lakes in the dry season, can become a sea of flood waters which are never forgotten by those who have seen them. During the war, in 1917, thousands of Europeans experienced the big flood which comes along every dozen years or so and their stories spreading through the world are the main reason why the Rufiji still has a bad name.

The Ulanga or Kilombero fishermen use nets and dry their catches for shipment to Kilosa. Their river is famous for its hippo harpooners who have been imported to Rufiji in an effort to control the hippo menace there. They eat the killed hippos which is an encouragement to their hunting and prowess. In Rufiji natives will not eat hippo flesh because of the coast influence of Islam.

Although the Kilombero is navigable, the two series of rapids and falls prevent intercommunication. During the floods of 1936, a large mahogany canoe was however carried to Utete two hundred miles and more downstream and for that reason the flood is called "Ifakara". The owner came from Ifakara, the trading site on the Kilombero and headquarters of the ferry to the Mahenge, to claim and sell his canoe in Rufiji. He travelled nearly five hundred miles by road, rail and road to Rufiji. The flood of 1936 was also called "Kigori Mwali" after the nickname of the late Captain C. C. O'Hagan, who then was in Rufiji demanding ten shillings tax from all the idle unmarried youths and, because the sum coincided with the initial payment to parents before bride price (or marriage dower), used to crack a joke to cheer up their glum faces and say he was their *Kigori Mwali*.

The Rufiji is navigable to small vessels for a hundred miles or so and when plantations existed a stern-wheeler served the river. The German cruiser Königsberg and her supply ship hid in the waterways of the delta and some small steamers were sunk by them far up the Mbuni creek which is the northern-most arm of the delta as the Mohoro creek in the southern-most. Both at one time connected with the river proper and the Germans made or rather deepened a channel or canal to enable traffic from the Mohoro creek with its busy dhow service to enter the river.

The Mbuni creek served a large plantation in the grass lands north of the apex of the delta. None of these ventures was an economic success due to the fall in the price of rubber, unsuitable soils and far upstream floods wrecking a number of riverside plantations. Rice grown by the indigenous population with skill born of long usage succeeds both in the Kilombero and the Rufiji. Cotton also does well, especially that planted in the silt after the river recedes from annual spate levels. Maize grows well in such mud too and often after a flood has ruined rice plantations,

the bumper crop of maize following, planted in the deposited mud, has revived the fortunes of the river peoples.

The delta is ever pushing out its mud banks and sand shoals towards the island of Mafia and casuarina trees grow at the very ends of the advances consolidating the pioneering lands born of silt from far places in southern Tanganyika. At other parts of the delta the sea, as though resenting intrusion, has encroached, destroying forests of mangrove trees and eating away the peat-like earth which once nourished valuable timber.

Much of Southern Tanganyika is infested with tsetse fly but crosion is seldom seen. The extraordinary high ridge which reaches from Kilwa to Songea and along which a railway or road has often been contemplated, has, near Tunduru, a few places where its sides have washed away under the heavy rainfall, but these are in uninhabited places as a rule. Cattle exist in the Songea area, at Mahenge, along the sea coast and of course in the highlands east of lake Nyasa. There the climate is cold and the scenery mountainous. Numerous crater lakes feed perennial torrents.

The country between Masasi and Tunduru is remarkable for its tall pinnacle peaks and round topped monstrous boulders of gneiss. On these there grows a curious brush-herb which makes excellent tooth brushes and also a light sage-like bush whose tea is much appreciated for medicinal purposes, especially for chest complaints. West of Masasi a mass of these mountains, as they become, form the Kilimarondo heights by the mission of that name. The priests there, being Swiss, climb perilous heights among the klipspringers and yodel with effect. The echoes lasting many seconds come from the far faces of cliffs.

The gneiss eminences behind Masasi are so wide and flat topped that a game of football might be played on them. The Bishop of Masasi used to sit on one peak near his cathedral and signal to his fellow missionaries at other peaks in the interior, with a heliograph. Thus he obtained bearings for the excellent maps he supplied. Because he was a chaplain in the 1914-1918 war he may have seen the helio-service which telegraphed military information from Nyasa to the sea using one station at the very source of the Barangandu, where it touches the Songea road on the famous Ngulungulu ridge or watershade between the Ruvuma and the Rufiji.

The Mbemkuru river which rises at Gulamahiga from the same lily ponds where the Lumusule river rises to travel south to the Ruvuma, is noted for the mineral deposits along its banks and for the wonderful ancient bar filled with bones of prehistoric animals. This sand bar now ten feet below the surface of wooded country was the estuary of a river which once flowed east from Nyasa. The Gulamahiga hills have gold and it is recovered from the sands in the river of that name and also from the bed of the pretty palm-lined Liwale river which flows north-east from Gulamahiga.

Notes

NGERENGERE RIVER BARK CANOE

Mr. James Hornell ("*African bark canoes*"-*Man* 1935) states that "the geographical range of the African bark canoe extends from Southern Rhodesia (Pungwe River) eastwards to the coast of East Africa." I have been able to prove a much bigger extension of this area. During a research safari for the King George V Memorial Museum, I met several officials, who mentioned different bark canoes which they had noticed passing on small streams in the Central Province, east of Manyoni, such as the Gombe and Nkululu. The descriptions of those canoes were similar to those described from the Pungwe river in the paper quoted above: such canoes serve mainly as a ferry in shallow water. After many searches I succeeded in finding a bark canoe on the Ngerengere river, which is now the property of the King George V Museum. It has a great resemblance to the "Barwan" of Australia (see: *Man*, August 1939)—with the difference that its prow is less straight and sharp. According to Mr. Hornell's views, the Ngerengere canoe would be included in the "sharp ended bark canoe (b)," but it is difficult to fit it in with the classification he gives. The Ngerengere canoe differs in the following points:—

- (a) It has no stiffening.
- (b) It has no cross ribs.
- (c) The frame is not composed of "oblique rib sticks".
- (d) It lacks the usual continuous pliant withies.

Thus the Ngerengere canoe can definitely be accepted as an undescribed type of Bark Canoe.

Description:—Length (straight line between tops of ends):—141 inches;
Length inside: 76 inches; Width: 22 inches; Depth: 9 inches.

The canoe is made of one strip of *Brachystegia* bark along which run two rude (not even exactly matched) poles, forming gunwales. They are sewn to the bark by strips of bark or sisal string (sisal is very common near Ngerengere). This framework is strengthened transversely by two double and one single stick, supported by struts resting on the bottom. Both ends of the canoe are fixed in a bent-up position by strings fastened to the transverse frames.

In further contrast to the Australian Barwan canoe, the Ngerengere canoe is operated by a single wooden paddle.

Dr. W. Korabiewicz.

RECOVERY OF RINGED STORK

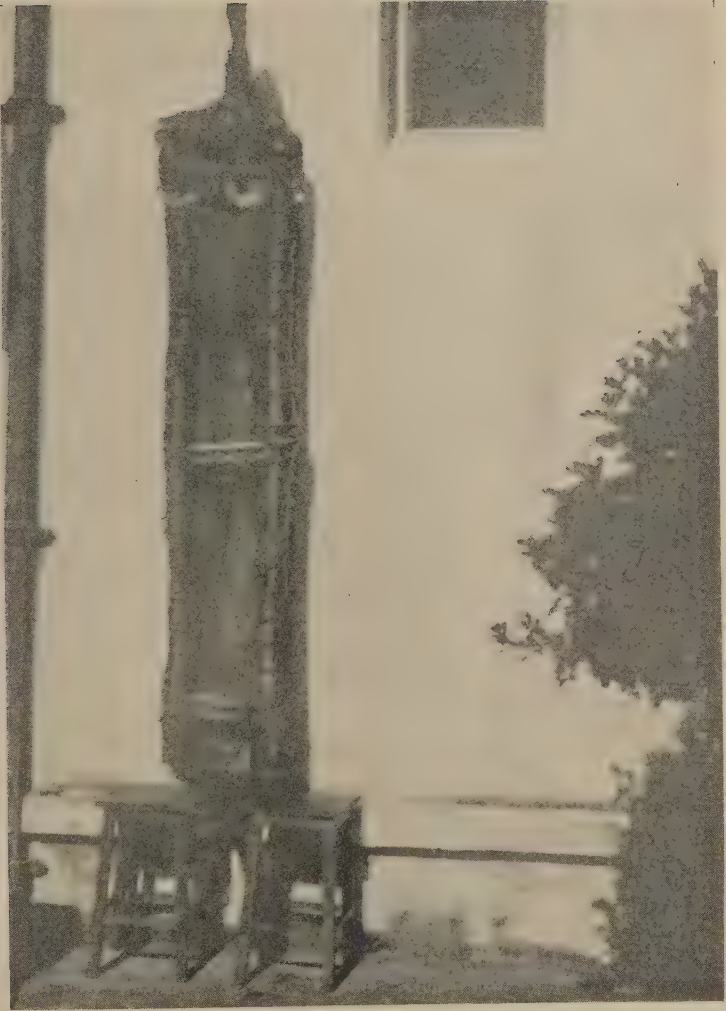
Information has been received that the European Stork (*Ciconia ciconia ciconia* (Linn) reported in Tanganyika Notes and Records (1941), No. 11, p.66, bearing a ring marked BB5885, was ringed as a nestling in June 1937 at Uschballen district, Insterberg, East Prussia.

Nothing more can be learnt unfortunately of the Warsaw bird 501740B reported on the same page, as all the records of the Polish Museum of Zoology have been lost.

A. F. Morrison.



NGERENGERE RIVER — BARK CANOE



BARK CANOE

Correspondence

Tanga, 20 May, 1948.

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records,
Dar-es-Salaam.

Sir,

Reading Pepys' Diary of 20 October, 1663, I came across the following:

"It seems she is so ill as to be shaved and pigeons put at her feet."

About 18 months ago I had occasion to visit an African friend of mine in Tanga who was gravely ill and I noticed that three pigeons were tethered to the leg of the bed at the feet end.

I wonder if any reader of the Journal can offer any information on this apparent similarity of the treatment of the seriously ill in London in 1663, and in Tanga in 1947.

Yours faithfully,
G. W. HATCHELL.

Singida, Tanganyika Territory,
4th July, 1947.

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records,
c/o Secretariat,
Dar-es-Salaam.

Sir,

In your June, 1946, issue, page 40, Mr. G. W. Hatchell errs where he writes, 4th line down, of "General Smuts' first big move around Longido"... The column which left Longido on the 5th March, 1916, was General Stewart's and after a night and day forced march we made our first bivouac at the swamp into which the Ngare Nanyuki then flowed. Smuts was then attacking von Lettow Vorbeck on the east of Kilimanjaro at the nek between Latema and Riata kopjies, after by-passing Solaita hill where Malinson had attacked a few days before Smuts took charge. Solaita had no water on it and the waste of shells fired at it after the unsuccessful attack by South African infantry was sad. The enemy built dummy trenches on its slopes and surprised our troops with a withering fire at close range from bush-concealed trenches at the foot of this isolated hill. They can be plainly seen to this day from the railway when approaching Taveta.

The 25th (not the 5th as Mr. Hatchell writes later). Royal Fusiliers, Frontiersmen's battalion, who served right through the campaign to the grim fight at Mahiwa on the Lindi advance, were on the rearguard of Stewart's column of Indian foot and mounted troops, together with the East African Mounted Rifles, the Calcutta Battery, and the Bombay Machine-guns on that fateful day when the enemy (Major Fischer's force of a thousand or so askari) failed to engage us but cut off our unescorted guns which were the last to leave Geraragua camp where we had awaited supplies brought from Ngare Nairobi. I remember the bullets whistling high overhead and heard the distant firing. We scouts were sent to see what the shooting meant and then followed much confusion and conjecture.

A Major Jolly of the Indian Army and Colonel Driscoll and a native scout and I were all whispering together below a hill on which four of our European scouts had encountered troops entrenched or bivouacked who fired on them. Each of the four returned to us unscathed and each reported himself the sole survivor from the burst of fire which routed them. Jolly said they must be British troops and my native scout, whose intelligence collected by stealthy approach and listening to the talk of the troops on the hill, was being interpreted by me, declared they were German askari. Driscoll said as we had a company of Fusiliers and a machine gun we should therefore attack. I much regret to record that the end of this midnight quandary was a most ignoble panic by the said company who knocked the scout upon Driscoll and bumped Jolly and me without shame. Watching bushes at night in wild Africa was not the *forte* of troops who might be heroes in Flanders where they "knew where the enemy was." Ambushes had already unnerved some of our men who had been shot up on patrols on the railway. One of our north-country sergeants had rescued his front files by a swift advance and such rapid firing that he routed an enemy many times stronger than his small party.

Later that night some porters carrying fresh butter, fruit and vegetable addressed to a German Major from his wife walked into our native scouts and calmly handed over the much prized provisions with that strange stoic fatefulness of the Bantu in adventure.

25 lines down in Mr. Hatchell's article, page 44, I think "Schaefer's Farm" should be "Schaedell's farm", where Major King now has his sisal estate near Mingoyo.

The coastal advance is of great interest to us of the other inland columns. It is probably worth mentioning the pursuing of Neuman north-east of Dodoma in 1917. He was a kind of de Wet, of Boer War tactics, and broke back north of the central line when our troops had reached Mahenge and Kilwa. He marched with cattle, women and at one or two trading sites and stations collected hut and poll-tax from the inhabitants. Foot troops could not run him down. At Pienaar's Heights between Babati and Kondoa Irangi he marched through our surrounding troops in the night with the ease the wild country permitted.

Mounted troops were thought necessary and the 10th South African Horse were, therefore, raised at Pretoria and Maritzburg in Natal to run him down. Captain Green's Johannesburg squadron were first complete and preceded the other three squadrons from the Union by some weeks. They harried Neuman thoroughly and he admitted that his troops soon found no time to cook their food with the Mounted on their heels. A captured South African dispatch-rider released by Neuman told us Neuman had said that when driven he would entrench himself on Luita Hill which lies north Mpwapwa and a little south of Kibaya. Cattle and cultivations on the flat top of this isolated mountain were, he thought, a source of food supply. Water was plentiful. The sides were steep and the position could be easily held.

In due course we drove him into this retreat but the arrival of the Indian Mountain Battery, whose guns were carried in sections on mules, upset Neuman's camp with shrapnel fire at odd hours of the night. His cattle suffered severely. The arrival of a howitzer drawn from the railway by two Leyland or Albion lorries (I forget which, but they were similar to those still on duty in Dar-es-Salam) so alarmed the enemy that when they saw it being put in position at dusk a native was sent with a message in the night and a flag-of-truce preceded a party of officers at daylight, who concluded terms of surrender with Colonel Morris of the Cape Corps and Colonel Bretenbach of the South African Horse. Captain Hallier, who has now retired from the Tanganyika Administration, was present and I lurked in the bushes of the hillside watching the brass-hats as they strolled back in pairs to our camp at the foot of the hill.

Many of Neuman's askari had khaki four-pocket "settler" tunics commandeered from shops. One approached within a few feet of me at the dawn-brush we had at Zoisa a day or two before they climbed Luita hill and built ramparts of stone. At Zoisa the enemy thought there were merely four mounted men because they had seen with binoculars four horses grazing in a grassy flat the evening before. Motor cars of most known makes had brought the unmounted Natal squadron to Zoisa where, under Major Pat Addison, they gave the enemy a repulse from which they did not stop until they climbed the hill retreat. I heard their officer near me telling his askaris in the fog of the dawn that there were only four of us. There were about two hundred of us, with two machine guns.

The man who brought the howitzer was furious that he was not allowed just one shot into the Luita position, after all his bother in bringing the heavy weapon over bush, sand and *donga* from the line. The transportation of the Natal squadron from Dodoma was equally astonishing. Pioneers cut down trees to enable us to drive through. An Akida from, I fancy, Nyangalo was of great help to us throughout this operation and the eventual termination of the effort at Luita. I have wondered who he was and if he was rewarded.

At the end of 1917, all European and South African troops including the Cape Corps were withdrawn from the campaign. African troops carried on the fighting in Portuguese East Africa, where a chief's son told me the Portuguese were running away from the Germans and the Germans from the British. I remember Portuguese leaders who made very gallant stands, however, but German tactics were brilliant, especially at Ngamano where they pretended to be in small force in November, 1917, and drew the garrison to a fatal sortie. It may be remembered that earlier in the campaign a small force of Germans were defeated at Ngamano on the Ruvuma by the Portuguese led or assisted by some British hunter or traveler. Natives at the spot have told me all about both actions.

Many soldiers from street-homes preferred campaigning in Europe and I remember a few verses one made during the advance from Tanga or rather Mombo, Handeni, Lukigora, to Morogoro.

"Yes, your King and country need you,
And it's there that comes the rub,
For you'd sell your King and country
To be near a decent pub.
But pubs don't grow on bushes
Nor whisky on a tree,
So God help we poor blighters
Till we beat for open sea."

Another verse by this poet included :—

"Blaspheming at the heat,
Or cutting pieces from your boots to ease your aching feet.
And it's bully beef and biscuits and biscuits granite hard
And when you start to eat them, you're ordered off on guard!"

"Yes, it's trek, trek, trek, with your shirt a-dripping wet,
And your helmet hot as flaming coals and your eyes all sore with
sweat.

Oh, it's bush, bush, bush or shadeless scorching sands
And thorns that tear your knees to hell and lacerate your hands."

At Mahiwa the Fusiliers went in 120-strong, remnants of 1,250 who came to East Africa in 1915, and came out with only 38 unwounded. The enemy lost very heavily. West African troops were between two enemy columns when they advanced from the north. Nyangao, a few miles west, was the enemy clearing station for casualties and their news of dead and wounded was received by the Horse at Lukuledi, from where we advanced to the Ruvuma more or less mixed with enemy columns retreating and surrendering. I was column interpreter with the Mounted.

Yours, etc.,

R. de la B. BARKER.

Tanga, 28th July, 1947.

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records,
Dar-es-Salaam.

Sir,

I am obliged for your letter of the 18th inst.

Mr. de la B. Barker is of course quite correct that the Longido move was led by General Stewart and I should have been more accurate if I had said "the Commander-in-Chief's first big advance in the Kilimanjaro area", or "into German East Africa".

The 5th should have read 25th and I apologise to that famous Corps for the slip, which I am glad to see corrected.

As to Schaefer's farm: there were in fact two "farms" which were 'bones of contention' in the Lindi area, viz. Schaefer's, situated just below Kitulo Hill on its landward side and Schaedle's which, as Mr. de la B. Barker says, is near Mingoyo. It was near the latter that the Germans sited their Koenigsberg Gun.

Yours very truly,
G. G. HATCHELL.

The Treasury, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
14th August, 1947.

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records,
c/o The Secretariat,
Dar-es-Salaam.
Tanganyika.

Sir,

I have been enjoying the (just arrived) June issue (No. 21) and Mr. Hatchell's reminiscent article on the East African Campaign of 1914-1918.

The names of two more ships come to mind — the H'wong Mo and the Salamis. But I have a feeling that these two may perchance be none other than Mr. Hatchell's Wun Lung I and Wun Lung II.

May I add a brief note to the article. Some years after the War I traversed much of the area in the company of two Germans who had served with our opponents. Particularly I recollect their criticism of the way we marched in "column of route" and thereby offered their one and only gun a "sitting" target.

Somewhere round about Mtama on the Lindi-Masasi Road was a well-tended War Cemetery put up by the War Graves Commission — but near by, only a mile or so away I think it was, I found when scrambling around just off the tracks, the remains of another quite small cemetery consisting solely of a few graves with, as head-stones, the sides of old kerosene tins stuck onto iron rods or sticks. My recollection is that the names — now faint and nearly illegible — were all men of the Loyal North Lancs. I conjectured that may be the German criticism had not been so wide of the mark.

Tanganyika can hardly claim for this war an intimate personal chapter as it can for 1914-1918, nevertheless one met here and there in Addis Ababa or along the Hargeisha-Jiggiga-Harar Road many of Tanganyika's "personalities" and surely among them, they must carry the nucleus of many interesting and, I dare say, amusing reminiscences which would make attractive reading in the Notes and Records.

Yours sincerely,
G. G. GIFFARD.

Mbeya.
27th December, 1945.

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records,
Dar-es-Salaam.

Sir,

Regarding the article "Stanley versus Tibboo Tib" by Sir John Gray in the 17th Number of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, the following yarn about Tibboo Tib may be of interest to your readers:

My profession of elephant hunting led me to that part of the Belgian Congo—Northern Rhodesia border which runs between the north end of Lake Mweru and the south end of Lake Tanganyika. I was there for about 12 months during 1923 and 1924. The old slaving route roughly followed this boundary line and tapped the upper sources of the Congo, Lualaba and Luapula Rivers. All this was Tibboo Tib's country and it was along this route he brought many slaves and ivory to Moliro on the shore of Lake Tanganyika. From Moliro this "produce" of the country was shipped by dhow to Ujiji or directly across the Lake and thence by foot to Tabora and on to the coast.

At the time I was operating in that area there were a number of men in their late middle age who had lively recollections of Tibboo Tib and it was with great awe and reverence they mentioned his name. About half way between the two lakes and just on the Rhodesian side of the

border was a chief named Sirimani who claimed to be a son of Tibboo Tib by an African mother. From his appearance I would certainly say he had Arab blood in his veins. Nearer to Lake Tanganyika and living exactly on the border was another chief named Tambala (Rooster) who had been one of Tibboo Tib's lieutenants. He was a huge fat man and although his comparative greatness had dwindled to a mere dozen tumbled-down huts, he still retained the manner and personality of a leader.

Tibboo Tib had a fort at Pweto on the north shore of Lake Mweru. This fort was eventually demolished by a British Expeditionary Force from the south. Amongst other stories I heard of Tibboo Tib was one of how on receiving news of the approach of this British Column he happened to have very large stocks of ivory in this fort but very few slaves with which to get it away to the coast. He therefore detailed some fifty slaves and an armed escort to carry this ivory to some distant secret cave to hide it. The slaves made a number of journeys and when the last tusk was in the cave the mouth of it was sealed. The slaves returned to the fort for the last time and were then slaughtered together with their armed guard. Only two of Tibboo Tib's trusted lieutenants knew of this hiding place.

I cannot remember now what Tibboo Tib did but I believe it was said that he left before the British Column arrived. Tambala fought in the battle for the fort and was wounded. Sirimani, then a boy, escaped with his mother and a baby brother during the fight and when it was seen that the day was lost.

Both these men swore that this story of the cache of ivory was true and that it had never been found. I believed the story and still do, in fact I wasted three months prospecting for it. So did another Englishman named Purdue who about that time got the same information from another and even more reliable source. He prospected for the cache but so far as I am aware it has never been discovered. It is a fact that the British Column found no ivory in the fort when they took it.

Regarding Merere's Wall at Utengule and situated just south of Mbeya Peak, mentioned in Mr. C. Gillman's article on "Stone Structures in East Africa." Many years ago I spoke to an old Msafwa about this fort and during our conversation I asked him if the young fighting men did not find time hang heavily on their hands when they were confined to the vicinity of the fort on the occasions when columns of fighting Wahehe or Wazito were on the rampage. He replied, not at all, as they had many ways of passing the time. One of the favourite amusements provided by Merere was a decisive gladiator-like fight between two men. Occasionally a man was convicted of a capital charge and in those days there were more different capital charges than to-day. The accused was paraded in the arena and any young man could challenge him to mortal combat. The conditions

of the fight were, the accused fought naked and unarmed, the challenger also fought naked but was allowed a knife and, if he wished, a reim and knife sheath to be worn round his waist. Should the accused win the fight by killing the challenger he was given full freedom. If the challenger killed the accused he was given a prize of one or two oxen. The value of the prize was stated before the preliminaries took place and the value of it depended on the prowess and strength of the accused. Fair enough, and a good method of preventing the troops becoming bored, as such a combat would give them cause for endless discussion covering many days and nights.

Yours faithfully,
G. G. RUSHBY.

