



TANGANYIKA NOTES and RECORDS

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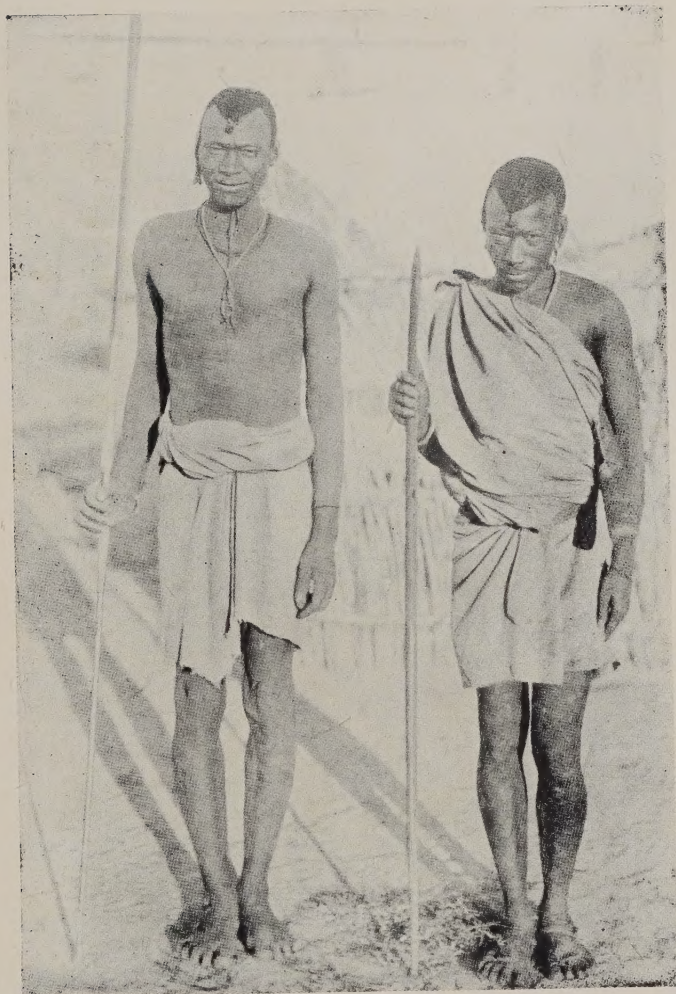
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A Mósiroi (left) and a Masai of the 'L-Aiser Clan. The photograph was taken at Kibaya. They have exchanged their weapons.

Photo by McCall.

Il-Torobo

By R. A. J. Maguire.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The following article was written over twenty years ago and appeared in the Royal African Society's Journal in 1928. Acknowledgment is made to the Royal African Society for permission to reprint it here. I have made little or no alteration to the text as it was first published. It may well be that some of the statements made are not in accordance with the facts as they are today and that some of the conclusions drawn are erroneous, but little has been written about *Il-Toröbo* and perhaps the re-publication of these notes will have a certain interest.*

Subsequent to publication, I sent a specimen of the arrow poison used by the *Mósiro* Dorobo and others to Professor E. A. Werner of Trinity College, Dublin, for analysis. His report was as follows:

"I have examined the preparation and so far as I can judge, from the tests I have made, there is no alkaloidal poison present. I believe the material contains a glucoside; the reactions were not sufficiently decisive to enable me to say that Strophanthin was the particular poison. The tests for the substance are not by any means characteristic, unless one can get the material pure. I am inclined rather to the belief that 'Ouabain' is the more likely poison, as I failed to get any decisive test for Strophanthin, while a red coloration with sulphuric acid was obtained (this is about the only test for Ouabain) with the product isolated after precipitation of the glucoside from alcoholic solution by ether. The material contained much insoluble matter, which appeared to be clay, and as I had not much of the preparation to examine, I could not obtain more definite results. I may add that Ouabain is probably identical with what is called pseudo-Strophanthin, and is closely allied to it in composition."

I think I am correct in stating that Ouabain ($C_{30}H_{46}O_{12} + 9H_2O$) is well known today as an arrow poison.†

In the photograph accompanying the article, the man on the left, who is a *Mósiroi*, exhibits a typical example of what is known, I believe, as platiknemia. This forward curvature of the shin bone is not infrequently to be met with among the Dorobo, but is seldom seen in the Masai.

The footnotes signed "Ed. J.R.A.S." were written by the late Miss Alice Werner who was kind enough to correct the proofs for me.

* and encourage others to add to this study.—Ed.

† See 'Tanganyika Arrow Poisons' by W. D. Raymond, *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 23, June 1947.

NOTES ON THE VARIOUS TYPES OF *Dorobo*¹ FOUND IN THE MASAI DISTRICT OF TANGANYIKA TERRITORY AND CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS.

The name *Dorobo* is a familiar one to almost every European in East Africa to-day. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that the *Dorobo* are commonly supposed to be a nomad tribe or clan of hunters living for the most part with, or near to the Masai, little would appear to be known about them. The *Dorobo* are referred to in many ethnical works of comparatively recent date, and they are mentioned in a number of books on African sport and travel, but I am unaware of any published work purporting to deal exclusively with these interesting people.

The following very incomplete notes on the *Dorobo* of Tanganyika Territory have been compiled from various sources,² but mainly from discussions with the *Dorobo* themselves, throughout Tanganyika Masailand. My chief informant has been "Jumbe" Lekite of the Talamai³ *Il-Mósiro*. The death of this intelligent old man in July, 1926, deprived me of much interesting information.

During three years spent amongst the Masai I have had better opportunities than most people of getting to know the *Dorobo*. The peculiar conditions obtaining in a Station such as Kibaya, isolated in the middle of a vast area populated almost entirely by nomads, necessitated the employment by my predecessor of *Dorobo* as guides on several occasions. Owing to their intimate knowledge of the more remote parts of the country, no better guides could be found. Thus, contact once made with these shy and elusive people, whose dormant distrust and fear of the European is quick to awake, cordial relations were speedily established mainly owing to the fact that we have always been willing, when possible, to employ them as trackers and hunters.

The early (and not original) discovery that all *Dorobo* are not alike and that some differ so widely from others as to appear to warrant the assumption that they have not a common origin encouraged me to further investigations. At the outset, however, it became apparent that I was twenty years too late. Many points, upon which it is obvious that further information is necessary before a conclusion can even be hazarded, still remain subjects for speculation. It is felt, however, that the result of my

¹ I have called them *Dorobo* throughout, though it may be that certain writers would prefer *Andorobo* or *Wandorobo*. I think it will be agreed that the latter, at any rate, is inadmissible. I have clung to the name without a prefix, as these notes look, perforce, at the *Dorobo* through Masai eyes and the Masai; *Ol-Toröböni*, *Il-Toröbo*, when shorn of the article, is prefixless. The initial D has been substituted for T as being more customary to the European ear.

² The authority consulted is quoted in every case.

³ Talamai (or "Kijungu," as it is called by the Wanguu and Wazigua of Handeni and also by the inhabitants of the small Bantu settlement thereat, mainly Wasukuma) is a range of hills to the north of and overlooking the main Kondoa-Handeni road, about 45 miles east of Kibaya village. Its map reference is: C 5; Masai Steppe: L II; d; 3, 4. The name Talamai refers primarily to the hills, whereas Kijungu is the settlement.

labours (undertaken because the matter interested me, and carried to their present incomplete stage because the interest grew) and the very tentative conclusions I have ventured to draw therefrom may have some interest to those qualified to speak with authority on matters of ethnology and philology.

Reference has been made to the Dorobo by Mr. Hobley,¹ who mentions the fact that previous to the arrival of the Masai and A-Kikuyu the East African highlands are believed to have been inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe — possibly the *Okiek*² — who may have been the ancestors of the Dorobo. If this is the case (and it would seem not improbable), my assumption that all Dorobo have not a common origin may have to be modified except as regards the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat*, reference to whom will be found further on in these notes. These Dorobo differ patent-ly from the others about whom I have collected information.

The *Okiek* are stated by Hobley to have been a scattered race “without any great social coherence.” This description admittedly tallies with the characteristics of the Tanganyika Dorobo of to-day, but the latter are, even now, violently opposed to fusion with the surrounding Bantu. This may be a characteristic acquired from the Masai, but it does not argue descent from the more accessible and less exclusive *Okiek*.³

The name “Dorobo” would seem to have displeased more than one writer on these subjects. As Sir Claude Hollis says, the name has probably nothing to do with the Masai word *dorop*, short.⁴ At any rate, I have been unable to discover any grounds for the belief that it has. The Masai, when asked, will always say that the Dorobo are so called on account of the resemblance their habits bear to those of the tsetse fly.⁵ “The Dorobo,” say the Masai, “live in the bush and used to prey on cattle in the old days. The tsetse fly lives in the bush and is one of the greatest enemies cattle have. In many places, Dorobo and tsetse fly are the principal inhabitants of a bush area. What other reason, then, is there for so calling the Dorobo?” While I do not assert that there is no other reason for the name, I think it will be agreed that we are not in possession of sufficient data to justify our writing it down as absurd. The derivation of the name “Dorobo” here given is at least as reasonable as that of the word “Swahili” cited in the last sentence of Bishop Steere’s preface to the first edition of his *Swahili Handbook*.

Once it had been definitely established that Masailand was inhabited by more than one clan or tribe of Dorobo, an effort was made to obtain

¹ A-Kamba and other East African Tribes, C. W. Hobley (Cambridge, 1910).

² Sir Claud Hollis informs me that most Dorobo whom he has met call themselves *Okiek*. The name is unknown to me in this connection, but I do not assert that the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory are ignorant of it. (See p. 306, s.v. “Tribe,” *The Nandi; their Language and Folklore*, Sir C. Hollis.)

³ Hobley, p. 135.

⁴ Hollis: *The Masai; their Language and Folklore*.

⁵ Masai: *En-toroböni*; pl. *N-toröbo*; the tsetse fly.

the names by which these clans or tribes were known. The Masai were singularly unhelpful in this regard, and I ceased to question them when I realised that their ignorance was as great as my own. The Dorobo themselves were willing to answer all questions (when encouraged and at a loss for a reply, they proved to be most powerful romancers), but were little better informed than the Masai. After many weary months of suggestion and counter-suggestion, involving the accumulation of a mass of extremely inaccurate information, it appeared that there were grounds for assuming the existence of the following types of Dorobo.¹ I give the names in the singular and plural forms.²

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1. Ol-Balañgai	Il-Balaña
2. Ol-Kinyalañgati	Il-Kinyalañgat
3. Ol-Mósiroi	Il-Mósiro ³
4. Ol-Médiaki	Il-Médiak
5. Ol-Kisankasai	Il-Kisankasa
6. Ol-Aramanik	Il-Aramanik
7. Ol-Kitokordai	Il-Kitokorda
8. Ol-Kisangara	Il-Kisangara

These names, all preceded by the Masai article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Masai have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Masai idiom. On this it is not possible to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dorobo having been unearthed, it remained to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Mósiro* Dorobo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Talamai, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Masai. On being questioned, the *Mósiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Masai, but stated that there were other Dorobo⁴ whose language they (the *Mósiro*) did not know.⁵

¹ I do not call them clans. I think it will be agreed, later, that their relationship is more distant than that between clans or families. On the other hand, it would not seem, from the existing evidence, that they can all be definitely labelled as distinct and different tribes.

² The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the type as a whole.

³ According to Hollis, *Il-Mósiro* is the name given to a clan of the Chaga people by the Kenya Masai. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Masai of Tanganyika.

⁴ *Il-Aramanik*.

⁵ [It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the Wasanye, whose relation to the Galla resembles that of the Dorobo to the Masai, now all speak

For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorobo.

Il-Balañga

The *Balañga* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Balañga* elder named Payàna, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,¹ has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai District. The *Balañga* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Balañga* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,² and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by other Dorobo women. The *Balañga* have no language except Masai,³ will tell you that they *are* Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. None the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye can very often pick out the *Balañga* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Balañga* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *farouche* in the physiognomy of the *Balañga*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men.

In this connection it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met "some Masai-Dorobo" in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi (see p. 10 and other references *infra*). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balañga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balañga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo⁴ district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country — in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is

Galla, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the names of the Sanye clans are identical with those of Galla clans.—Ed. J.R.A.S.]

¹ The area bordering the Pangani river, north-west of Korogwe.

² Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in an article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Balañga*, whom he considers to be merely impoverished Masai.

³ Except Kiswahili, of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kitëto area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

⁴ Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F I K.)

certain that there now are *Balañga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balañga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears¹ (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balañga* but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balañga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balañga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balañga* are the descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balañga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balañga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balañga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyalañgat

The *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa² Masai what the *Balañga* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyalañgat*, live on the southern border of the Masai District and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni

¹ The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

² *Oikop*. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the 1914-18 war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle.

Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro but as many *Kinyalañgat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except inasmuch as it refers to the *Kinyalañgat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyalañgat* (who have no language but Masai),¹ and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyalañgat* call themselves Lumbwa,² live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kinyalañgat* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

The *Kinyalañgat* are now almost indistinguishable from the Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and probably about the same time as the *Balañga*. They are good bushmen even to the present day, but are not born to the bush life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kinyalañgat* elder of the 'L-aimer age³ named Mwanamsunde lives at Mtambalo on the Handeni-Masai border. He is one of the oldest men in Masailand, but has little or no influence though he is termed *Ol-aigwenani*⁴ by courtesy. He speaks no language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

I have not written much about either the *Balañga* or the *Kinyalañgat*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and the latter 'l-Oikop. I am unable to put forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated. It may be argued, therefore, that the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat* are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and not of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the *Balañga* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation. In adopting this bush life they had before them the example of the people with whom it is now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be called Dorobo.

Il-Mósiro; Il-Médiak; Il-Kısankasa

The three names given above would seem to denote one and the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any difference between

¹ See note 3, p 5.

² Kwavi, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

³ Circumcision of 1874 approximately, according to Hollis.

⁴ Spokesman.

them. Curiously enough, although I have met many *Mósiro* and *Médiak* I have, so far, failed to come across an individual calling himself *Kisankasa*. I am inclined to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both of the others. It is possible that these names may denote clans or families,¹ after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Médiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous² (for Dorobo), and in some cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.³ He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,⁴ but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.⁵ More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the duration of which is in inverse ratio to its tastiness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai

¹ More probably the former.

² Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.

³ See note 3, p. 2.

⁴ Above: in this case meaning the north.

⁵ The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.



**Mósíro Dcobo using their swords to cut out
the cheek-fat of an elephant.**

as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to game meat. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling—or sleeping-places.

A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He would be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird¹ in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience.

¹*Indicator indicator*: a small drab bird rather smaller than a thrush. It has a short, but sharp, bill, a white underside and dark-brownish back. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows as likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sego*; the Masai call it *En-johóroi*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chekeandee*; the Nandi, *Chepkeche*.

nience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endulee*¹ which every *Mósiroi* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiroi* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiroi* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment² of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and 'surutya earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiroi* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtaails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária*³ and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiroi* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiroi* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiroi* to-day seems reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiroi* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiroi* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiroi* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiroi* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

¹ See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

² *Ol-okesenà* (Masai).

³ A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among many Nilotic tribes.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtailed are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mósiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mósiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mósiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. I once made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mósiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do in given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mósiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mósiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter, he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.¹

¹ My predecessor at Kibaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Mósiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had

The *Mósiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and many of them have accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Mósiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows are, of course, poisoned,¹ and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophile. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

If trouble is in the wind, the *Mósiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best — the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Mósiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber² with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Mósiro* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes.

The majority of the *Mósiro* (if not all) would seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Masai District. There are a few living in Handeni, but close to the southern Masai border and within a day's march of Talamai. North of L'ol-Kisale I have not met with *Mósiro*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Mósiro* in the vicinity of Lo'sokonoi. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Masai west of the Rift Wall, in the Ketu-m-beine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Mósiro*, but are *Aramanik*.

recently killed; the *Mósiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

¹ See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

² This tuber, called *Kicherembwee*, is also known to the Kiteto Masai and is called by them *Ol-kiserembwa*. This is a corruption of the *Mósiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

Many *Il-Mósiro* are members by adoption of the 'L-Aiser and *Il-Molelyan* clans of the Masai, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Marumae* family of the *Il-Meñgana* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Mósiro* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly odoriferous "dug-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scooped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Mósiro* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence.

Il-Aramanik

I must confess at the outset that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting information and from whom, in the event, I succeeded in extracting the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan" of Dorobo who lived at Moipo and who were fishermen¹ by occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect.

There are *Aramanik* living with the Moipo Masai, but they live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo methods of life. They differ from the *Balañga* only inasmuch as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a language of their own. This language (for examples of which see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Mósiro*.² I have had personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other.

An *Aramanik* named Serkala, of Moipo, gave me the following bald account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We come from Kigogo,³ from a hole there used to be therein but which has since closed up, near Ol-doinyo-'le-Lepisiek. We came south with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around Moita and Ol-oitip, but have now come down here to Moipo. Others of us went north to the Serenget' plain. We are not Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly,

¹ Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fisherman clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Ruvu river valley.

² See *Die Masai*, M. Merker (Berlin, 1910), p. 229 *et seq.* I think the Dorobo dealt with are *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and *Mósiro* may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 257.

³ The *Aramanik* name for Kisongo. See note 4, p. 5.

the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serenget' plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.¹ Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai District and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,² are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balañga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai District are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippotamus.³ They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peiáya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.⁴ They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mósiro* tongues to be observed in it, certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai. There are certain other words which the *Mósiro* say the *Aramanik* have taken from them. The *Aramanik* say the reverse is the case. For instance, an ox, in the *Aramanik* tongue, is *kirigit*. The *Mósiro* call it *kirigi*.

Numbers of words in the *Aramanik* language have no known plural form, and the language as a whole, to the ears of a very inexperienced amateur philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the *Mósiro*. Its most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded *k*—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the *Aramanik* numerals differ from the Masai up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my *Aramanik* informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the remainder were borrowed from the Masai. This

¹ See p. 5. The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Balañga*.

² About 4000 in number.

³ I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

⁴ According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

does not altogether satisfy me.¹

Investigation of the Dorobo living adjacent to the I'-Oita, Purko and Ol-Oitokitok Masai would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are *Aramanik*, but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As in the case of the *Il-Mósiro*, some *Aramanik* are stated to have been adopted, in their fathers' time, into various Masai clans — mainly the 'L-Aiser.

The Masai smiths (*Il-Kunono*)² had a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Masai. However, it was universally agreed to be a bastard Masai, and the *Kunono* were never asserted to be anything but Masai. I do not think they can be indentified with any of the types of Dorobo we have seen so far.

*Il-Kitokorda; Il-Kisangara*³

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these peoples. Whether they are two distinct types of Dorobo or whether they are as closely connected as the *Mósiro*, *Médiak* and *Kisankasa*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* live in the country of the Wanguu and Wazigua,⁴ and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Masai District in 1923, the Wanguu and Wazigua inhabiting the Talamai-Gitu-Mtambalo area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*. Rumour says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Masailand where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wanguu and Wazigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Masai language, as a general rule, but know Kinguu or Kizigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them

¹ See Merker: *Die Masai*, p. 257. I could discover no *Aramanik* who knew all the numerals here given, but as *Die Masai* was first published in 1904, presumably the list of numerals was obtained at least twenty-five years ago and probably more.

² Mainly drawn from the *Il-Kipuyoni* family of the *Il-Molelyan* clan (Hollis).

³ The names here given are probably not the true names of these Dorobo. They are the names current among the Masai and the Dorobo in Masailand, but it may be that different names are used in the Handeni country.

⁴ To the west of Handeni Station.

speak the *Mósiro* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Mósiro*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni-Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo may be impoverished Wanguu and Wazigua, but I think it more likely that they are Nilotic¹ in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a bushman. The few *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kinguu or Kizigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because as, I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai District and calling themselves "Dorobo". In the Burungi area of the Kondo District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same relatively speaking, as the *Balañga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

DOROBO ARMS

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the

Il-Mósiro.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is said to be manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balañga* and *Kinyalañgat* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe often carry spears.

The bow (*kueanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-porowee* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its original whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown through use and con-

¹ Perhaps it would be better to say Hamitic.

tinuous contact with hands and bodies which are frequently anointed with *Ol-kária*.

The bowstring (*inee*) is made from the sinew embedded in the dorsal muscles of an ox, eland, greater kudu or hartebeest. Occasionally it may be manufactured from the tendon of a giraffe's leg.

The quiver (*mootiet*)¹ is a cylinder of ox-, eland- or kudu- skin about two-and-a-half feet in length and capable of containing from fifteen to thirty arrows. A strap runs down one side and is attached to the removable cap. When this cap is put on, the strap, taut over the wearer's shoulder, keeps it in place. The quiver is the same in all respects as that used by the Masai, and an illustration of it will be found on p. 356 of *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis).

The arrows (*katik*; sing. *kate*) vary in length according to the size of the owner. They are generally between twenty and thirty inches long. Many kinds of wood are used for the making of the arrow-shaft (*muliandee*). The arrow-head (*sivelda*), which is made from any scraps of iron that can be obtained (since the decline of *Il-Kunono*, no iron is smelted in Tanganyika Masailand, and swords and spears are made, almost exclusively, by the Chagga and the Wanguu), consists of a single barb. The hole bored in the shaft to receive it is reinforced with sinew (*Mäisie*) from the leg of an ox. This is bound round the aperture, and then the work is smeared with a kind of gum (*itè*) obtained from the *Ngoisiandee*² tree. arrow feathers are those of the vulture (*Arat'chee*) or the long-legged insect-eating bird called *Endera'hi*. The feathers are bound to the shaft with thin gut and the whole (including the nock) is then coated with a sticky paste obtained by chewing a tuber (*siköitie*). This paste is smeared on and allowed to dry in the sun, when the result is surprisingly strong and well-knit. Dorobo arrows are workmanlike and extremely durable, but they are seldom if ever embellished or ornamented in any way.

The arrow-head is generally (when coated with fresh poison) covered with a strip of soft hide — often that of reed buck or impala — worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstances.

A small supply of fresh poison, *ngwane(t)*, is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.³

¹ Cf. the Masai *Ol-motian*.

² Cf. the Masai *Öl-ñgoswa* (*Balanites* sp.; Hollis). The same tree.

³ That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriañgeti*) and a fire-block (*sasamda*). A small flat spoon (*kanuléuandee*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried — this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orueta silélé*.¹ A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulee*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulee* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu(t)*.² This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

THE MOSIRO AND ARAMANIK LANGUAGES

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

¹ Literally, "Small knife."

² This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oiren*.

According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oiren* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

ñg occurring in a word has the same sound as in the English *singer*. In other cases the *g* is hard as in the English *finger*.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

An acute accent denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

A final letter in brackets, e.g. *dalo(k)*, denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where a circumflex accent appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a very open but short sound. In the case of *shôdahat*, the *ô* is so open as almost to sound like the *a* in the English *father*.

A grave accent denotes that the vowel beneath it has a short, clipped sound. In *ilè*, the *è* is pronounced like the *a* in the English *fat*.

A dot beneath a letter means that it has a slurred sound. *p*, *b*, *v* and *w* in the Masai and *Mósiro* tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of numerals given, the similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* words (up to 5) will be apparent at once. The Aramanik *one* and *two* are unlike anything else in the list, unless *kindei* can be said to resemble *akeñge* or *epei*.

The Somali, Masai, Latuka and the two Dorobo words for six are all alike, but the *Mósiro* word for *seven* and the Aramanik *two* (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several counts. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Nandi *seven*.

Turning to the list of nouns; only the word for *ox* is the same, or practically so, in *Mósiro* and Aramanik. No other corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance in these tongues (except *asita* and *ajit*) or in Masai. However, the remarkable similarity between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi list will not fail to be noticed at once.

The names of the game animals, in the *Mósiro* language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai in some cases. There will also be observed a certain similarity between *Mósiro* and Aramanik in the word for *hartebeest*, and the word for *wildebeest* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between *Mósiro* and Nandi will here be noted again.

Some of the simpler verbal forms from Masai and Nandi have been taken and the *Mósiro* equivalents inserted. The similarity between the last two is again manifest. It is to be regretted that I am unable to submit examples of the Aramanik verbal forms. These are extremely primitive and very difficult to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very hastily-written examples I have had the opportunity of obtaining.

It may be as well to mention that the *Mósiro* examples given herein were all written down before I had access to Hollis's book on the Nandi.

I have left them just as they were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional proof (if any be needed) that the *Mósiro* and the Nandi are very closely related. On checking them over with the *Mósiro* and with Hollis's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the *Mósiro* words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Hollis's Nandi spelling. The language of the *Mósiro*, though undoubtedly at one time pure Nandi, has become, owing to Masai and other influences, considerably modified, and I think that a *Mósiroi* from Talamai and a Nandi might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

The difficulty of setting down verbal forms which sound extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the difference in intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the *Mósiroi* is no respecter of persons, in the sense that "ye want" and "they want" are more or less the same to him. He rarely troubles to be accurate about his verbs (the same remark holds good when he is speaking Kiswahili), merely differentiating between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to elucidate the precise meaning.

Very few examples are given. It was thought that a longer and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and unscientific paper of this nature.

No.	Somali.	Maasi	Latuka.	Nandi.	Turkana.	Suk.	<i>Mósiro</i> .	<i>Aramanik</i> .
1	Kau.	Obo; <i>m</i> . Nabo; <i>f</i> .	Abodi	Akenge	Epei	Okofigō	Akeēfige	Kindei
2	Laba	Aare; <i>m</i> . Are; <i>f</i> .	Arrega	Aefig or Oiefig	Ngare	Oghiefig	Aen 1	Laam
3	Sadeh	Okuni; <i>m</i> . Uni; <i>f</i> .	Guniggo	Somok	Ngauni	Somok	Sömok	Samak
4	Afär	Oongwan; <i>m</i> . Ongwan; <i>f</i> .	Angon	Añgwan	Nemwon	Añgwan	Añgwan	Ongwen
5	Shan	Imyet	Niyet	Mut	Ekan	Mut	Moöt	Imyet
6	Leh	Ille	Elle	Ilo or Kullo	Ekani kapei	Mut ngō 2 Okofigō	Ela	Ille
7	Tadoba	Oopishana; <i>m</i> . Naapishana; <i>f</i> .	Attarit	Tisap	Ekani gare	Mut ngō	Saal 3	Naapishana
8	Sided	Isyet	Ottōgoni	Sisiit	Egañgaun	Mut ngō Somok	Isyet	Isyet
9	Sagal	Oudo; <i>m</i> . Naudo; <i>f</i> .	Ottongon	Sokol	Ekan kumwon	Mut ngō Añgwan	Endoro(j) 4	Endoro(j)
10	Toban	Tomon	Tomon	Taman	Tommon	Mut ngō Taman	Taman	Tomon

The Somali, Latuka and Turkana counts given above have been taken from Sir Charles Eliot's introduction to *The Masai: their Language and Folklore* (Hollis). The Nandi and Suk counts have been taken from Hollis and Beech respectively. The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* spelling is my own. The remarkable similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* numerals (up to 5) will be noted.

1 The final *g* is so faint that I have omitted it altogether.

2 Six, seven, eight and nine in Suk are often represented by the Turkana word (Beech).

3 Sal is also used by the Masai for nine (p. xv, introduction to Merker's *Die Masai*).

4. The Masai also use *Endoro(j)* for nine.

	Masai.*	Nandi.*	Mósiro.	Aramanik.
Goat	En-gine	Ngororiet	Ngarárie	Oferit
Sheep	Ol-kerr	Kechiriet	Kejirie	Haau
Ox	Ol-kitefig	Teta	Kirigi	Kirigit
Hand	Eng-aina	Eut	Eetu	Moŋgo
Foot	En-geju	Keldo	Kelda	Yeéh
Nose	En-gume	Serut	Seru(t)	Etinga
Head	El-lughunya	Metit	Metit	Sogo(k)
Man	Ol-tuŋani	Chiito	Chiich	Kinde
Woman	E-ŋgoróyoni	Korket	Karaka	Maito
Child	En-geral	Lakwet	Lagwe	Uo
Knife	Eng-alem	Chepkeswai	Siléle	Pandeu
Bow	Eng-áuo	Kwanget	Kuanda	Matu
Arrow	Em-bae	Kótet	Kate	Gare
Sword	Ol-alem	Rótuet	Rótue	Joo
Sun	Eng-oloŋg	Asista	Asita	Ajit
Moon	Ol-apa	Aruwet	Araúe	Leheuk
Day	En-dama	Ekonet	Fetinda	Ajóta
Night	En-gewárie	Kembaut	Laŋgat	Eramesa
God	Eng-al	Asis	Tororéta	Oyet

* The Masai and Nandi words given are prefixed by the singular article.

	Masai.	Nandi.	Mósiro.	Aramanik.
Zebra	Ol-oitigò; s. Il-oitigòshi; p.	Sigiriet-ap-tim; s. Sigiriok-ap-tim; p.	Sikirie; s. 1 Sirkon; p.	Shijio
Elephant	Ol-tome; s. Il-tomia; p.	Peliot; s. Pelek; p.	Peliandee; s. Pelek; p.	Fánaku
Hartebeest	Ol-kondi; s. Il-kondin; p.		Orobout; s. Iroboutsiiie; p.	Naboru
Giraffe	Ol-meuti; s. Il-meuti; p.	Ingotiot; s. Ingotnik; p.	Tianganyiet; s. Taanganyo; p.	Giaiesuk
Rhinoceros	E-muny; s. I-muny; p.	Kipsirichet; s. Kipsirichaik; p.	Nyiee; s. Nyioosie; p.	Ndovuk 2
Hippopotamus	Ol-makau; s. Il-makain; p.	Makasta; s. Makasuek; p.	Makaita; s. Makai; p.	Dalo(k)
Lion	Ol-ŋgatuny; s. Il-ŋgatunyo; p.	Ngetundo; s. Ngetunyik; p.	Ngetunda; s. Ngetunyik; p.	Merok or Majok
Buffalo	Ol-Osokwani; s. Il-Osokwani; p.	Soet; s. Soen; p.	Saie(t); s. Saieeni; p.	Shódahat
Wildebeest	O-engat; s. I-engatin; p.		Engaita; s. Engatin; p.	Engat 3

1 Cf. the Masai word for donkey, *O-sikirie*, *I-sirkon*.

2 Cf. the Kiswahili *Ndovu*, meaning an elephant.

3 Obviously the same word in the three languages.

In Masai, Nandi and Mósiro there are many alternative names for the animals listed above. Only one example of each has been given to save space. The Aramanik words given have no plural forms. It will be noted how similar are the methods of forming the plurals in Nandi and Mósiro.

In the Mósiro tongue the use of the article is vague in the extreme, and it is often a matter of some difficulty to ascertain whether it is being used or not. However, I think it exists and that some individuals use it more or less habitually, but the word seems to gain nothing from its inclusion or otherwise and it would be difficult to lay down any rule about it.

The Mósiro, despite their laxity in the use of their own article (assuming it to exist), are, curiously enough, surprisingly accurate in their use of the Masai article when speaking that language. (See p.xxii of the introduction to *The Suk; their Language and Folklore* (Beech). See also p. 52 of the text of that work.)

A COMPARISON BETWEEN SOME OF THE SIMPLER VERBAL FORMS IN MASAI, NANDI AND MOSIRO

	Masai.	Nandi.	Mósiro.
I follow	A-suj nanu	A-'sup-i ane	A-mateñ (<i>anet</i>) 1
Thou followest	I-suj-iyē	I-sup-i inye	A-mateē inyet
He follows	E-suj ninye	I-'sup-i inendet	A-mateñ anet
We follow	Ki-suj iyook	Ki-isup-i achek	Ki-mateñ eechek
You follow	I-suj-usuju 'ndae	O-'sup-i okwek	O-mateñ aakwek
They follow	E-suj ninje	I-sup-i ichek	'mataien eechek
I do not follow	M-a-suj	M-a-'sup-i	M-amateñ
Thou followest not	M-i-suj	Me-i-'sup-i	M-amateē
He does not follow	M-e-suj	Me-'sup-i	M-amateē
We do not follow	Mi-ki-suj	Ma-ki-isup-i	Mi-mateiya
Ye do not follow	M-i-suj-usuju	Mo-o-'sup-i	Amo-mateē
They do not follow	M-e-suj	Me-'sup-i	Mai-mateē
I do not know	M-a-iyolb-u	Maonget	Mangun (<i>anet</i>)
Thou knowest not	M-i-'yolo-u	Minget	Mingun inyet
He does not know	M-e-iyolo-u	Minget inne	Mangun anet
We do not know	Mi-ki-'yolo-u	Mokinget	Makingun eechek
Ye do not know	M-i-'yolo-lo'	Menyu mwonget	Moongun aakwek
They do not know	M-e-iyolo-u	Menget icek	Maingun eechek
I followed	A-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-a-'sup	Ara-mateñ
Thou followest	I-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-i-'sup	Ara-mateñ
He followed	E-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-'sup or Ki-ko-'sup	Ará-ko-mateñ
We followed	Ki-tu-suj-u-tuá	Ki-ki-isup	Ará-ke-mateñ
You followed	I-tu-suj-usuju-tuá 2	Ki-o-'sup	Ar'-oo-mateñ
They followed	E-tu-suj-u-tuá	Ki-'sup or Ki-ko-'sup	Ara-ke-mateñ

SOME MOSIRO FOLK-TALES, FOLK-LORE AND SUPERSTITIONS

"Epüte dimda kitiò" 3

Thus answered a *Mósiroi* Dorobo whom I rallied on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tanganyika Masai District.

The bush and what can be wrested from it — wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Ol-mukutan*⁴ tree, fibre for plaiting into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals — these things bound the horizon of the Dorobo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dorobo at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Masai is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the *Mósiro* themselves and admitted by the Masai to be Dorobo in origin.

1 May be, and often is, omitted.

The negative present of the Nandi verb "to know" as conjugated above is taken from Sir Charles Eliot's introduction to Sir Claud Hollis's *Masai Language and Folklore*. The spelling of the other Masai and Nandi tenses is derived from Hollis's works on the Masai and Nandi. The examples of tenses in *Mósiro* given above (especially those without the pronouns) are submitted with diffidence. As I have said elsewhere, the *Mósiroi* is not a respecter of persons, and verbs seem to depend largely for their meaning on the context and on the conjoint pronoun. Very few *Mósiro* have any idea at all of conjugating a verb. The effort to reduce the *Mósiro* tenses to some form of lucidity entailed more work than I should have believed possible. The results are submitted for what they may be worth — I cannot vouch for their accuracy.

2 Or I-tu-suj-u-tuá?

3 "I am listening to something in the bush." Cf. the Masai *En-dim*, bush.

4 *Albizzia anthelminthica*, according to the authority quoted in Hollis. It is used as a remedy for worms and to produce a large appetite. It is highly prized by the Masai and is scarce in the Kiteto localities.

The Dikdik and the Elephant.—The dikdik, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: "Thus am I incommoded by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in like manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one place, and thus in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of dikdik dung, showing that many of these animals have used the same place, are often seen in the middle of a bush path. (A story very like this is told by certain Coastal tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyæna.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich snake. The latter had cattle and donkeys. The tortoise was selected, after much discussion, as the one to kill the snake, because the snake did not fear him (for his bones were outside his body) and would be likely to be off guard in consequence. Neither did the tortoise (whose bones were outside his body) fear the snake. While the tortoise and the snake were fighting, the hyaena made off with the cattle and the hare took the donkeys. The hyaena being greedy, ate all the cattle and then stuck their tails upright in a muddy place. He then ran to the hare, crying: "See! all my cattle have fallen into this swamp and only their tails can now be seen! Woe is me!" The hare, however, refused to allow himself to be deceived by the hyaena or to part with any of his donkeys, and went off to live with them. He has now ceased to herd them, and they have become the striped donkeys¹ one sees on the plains. The tortoise at length succeeded in killing the snake after a long battle, and looked round only to discover that he had been cheated and deserted by his companions. To this day he has been unable to catch them, as he is such a slow walker, but he has not given up the pursuit and still goes through the bush, calling to them always: "Koo! Koo!" (the distinctive and bell-like note of the tortoise that Africans say is so often heard).

*The Sun and the Moon.*²—The sun and the moon quarrelled. The reason for this was because the moon wanted to appear in the daytime. The sun refused to agree, and they fought. The moon was worsted and was also badly wounded, a big piece being knocked out of it. This is why it is not round like the sun and why it goes low down in the sky nearly always and is only seen at night. It wishes to avoid the sun, of which it is afraid. When the sun disappears from view at night, it awaits a favourable opportunity and then, when it is cloudy, rushes across the sky to the east again (so fast that no man can see it). It then rests until it is time to begin work on the following morning.

The Dikdik and the Eland.—Of those whose meat is tender, the eland is the largest animal and the dikdik is the smallest. This makes the latter feel jealous. He hates the eland on account of his superiority in size and strength, and to show that he is every bit as good as the eland, he has grown a long tuft of hair on his forehead just the same as an eland

¹ Zebra.

² No sex for the moon is here given. See Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 273, 274. Orde-Browne: *Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, pp. 217, 218.

bull. The eland has a habit of rubbing his forehead in his urine.¹ This causes the tuft on his forehead to grow strong and thick. The dikdik follows this custom also, partly to increase the growth of his frontal tuft and partly in order to prove that anything an eland can do, he can do as well.

*The Wart-Hog and the Lion.*²—(About four miles south-east of Kibaya there is a curious cave in a bank beside the river bed. The floods of years have washed away the earth from beneath a flat, granite-like rock outcrop which forms the bank in one place, and the cavity thus made (at no point more than three or three-and-a-half feet from floor to ceiling) has often been used in the past as an *Ol-pul*³ by the Masai. While taking shelter in this cave one day during a downpour of rain, a Dorobo told me the following tale.)

"A wart-hog once came here to rest. Finding the place warm and comfortable, he lay down and was speedily fast asleep. He awoke to find that a lion had entered the cave and was advancing on him with the intent to kill him, for wart-hogs and lions are deadly enemies. The wart-hog brought all his wits to bear on the matter of making his escape, for he greatly feared the lion, who was very big and strong. Suddenly an idea came to his mind, and standing on his hind-legs, he pretended to support the roof of the cave with his tusks, calling out meantime in a frightened voice: 'Lion, lion, come and help me to hold up the roof, as it is falling and we shall both be killed!' The lion, deceived, hastened to the spot and supported the roof with his fore-paws, for he had no tusks. Whereupon the wart-hog said: 'You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up.' The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

(History does not relate how long the lion remained holding up the roof before he realised that he had been duped by the cunning wart-hog. This story is very popular and is always received with roars of laughter.)⁴

The Dorobo plays the part of buffoon or low comedian in many Masai folk-tales.⁵ The Dorobo themselves are well aware of this and regard it as a huge joke. A tale told by a Masai in which a Dorobo figures in an absurd light generally elicits hearty applause from the Dorobo present. I select the following example.

The Dorobo and the Cow.—The Dorobo is an impatient man. Once he was given a cow, and some days afterwards this cow was crossed by a bull. The Dorobo waited a month. Then he waited another month. He tried to milk the cow, but no milk would come. He thereupon said:

1. This fact has, I understand, been authenticated. I have never seen eland performing the act, but an examination of the frontal tuft of a mature bull eland will lead one to believe in the assertion. Cf. *The Journal of a Disappointed Man* (W. N. P. (Barbellion), p. 191: "The common Eland is known to micturate on the tuft of hair on the crown of its head, and it does this habitually, when lying down, by bending its head around and down—apparently because of the aroma, perhaps of sexual importance during mating time, as it is a habit of the male alone."

2. Cf. *Æsop*; Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 196-198.

3. Slaughter-house. The place in the woods where the Masai warriors go to eat meat.

4. [Some Bantu tribes tell it of the Hare—Ed. J.R.A.S.]

5. For further examples of this see Hollis.

"What sort of a cow is this? It will not give birth; it has no milk; it is altogether unsatisfactory." He then went away to sleep, saying: "Perhaps it will have given birth by the time it is morning." In the morning all was as it had been before and the efforts of the Dorobo to milk the cow met with no more success. The Dorobo, who was determined at least to obtain milk, thereupon seized his knife and split up the cow's udder (for all Dorobo are impatient men), but no milk came, and his knife penetrating too deeply, the intestines of the cow fell out and it died. The Dorobo was very surprised and said: "This is a bad kind of cow and I do not understand it." He then proceeded to eat the meat until it was all finished.

I was surprised to discover so little resemblance between *Mósiro* folklore and folk-tales and those of the Nandi as given in Sir Claud Hollis's book. There is more affinity between the *Mósiro* and the Masai in this respect. This may perhaps be explained by the comparatively long period the *Mósiro* must have lived in the country of the Kiteto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as they are themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.¹ No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.²

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balaña* and no *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impos-

1 See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

sible to find *Balañga* or *Kinyalañgat* who lead a life of hunting. These people (being Masai and 'l-Oikop, if my conclusions are not erroneous) are pastoralists at heart, and all the elders have their own small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Masai and 'l-Oikop respectively to all outward seeming.

The *Aramanik* (in the Moipo area) are also rapidly becoming Masai, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to this cause. My opportunities for investigating the *Aramanik* of the northern areas (O-subuko L'oltatwa¹ and round the northern end of Eyasi lake) have been extremely limited, but it would seem that they are far less susceptible to Masai influence than are their brethren at Moipo and Lo'sokonoi. The *Aramanik* present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a distinct language and the very meagre information about them contained in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to put forward any theory as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Masai, as are the *Balañga*.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo (if these be their true names) might also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Dorobo dealt with here.

Among the *Mósiro* Masai influence waxes yearly, and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Masai are willing to pay for *Mósiro* women; the fact that the Masai are always ready to employ the younger *Mósiro* men as herds; the stricter enforcement by Government of the Game Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of bush life by the *Mósiro*, who are lazy but far from uncivilisable.

I believe the *Mósiro* to have been very closely allied to the Nandi at one time, if they were not pure Nandi.² The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a more difficult matter to explain how the *Mósiro* of Talamai penetrated so far south — assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi that may have been noted throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Mósiro* possess and use a four-stringed lyre³ of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on page 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Mósiro* are skilful performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Mósiro*, as far as I have been able to discover.

1 Ngorongoro localities. These Dorobo are entirely distinct from the *Kangeju*, written about by Mr. F. J. Bagshawe (see note 1, p. 13).

2 See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 2.

3 *Kiipokandet* (Nandi); *Hoombi* (*Mósiro*).

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Aramanik* and *Balañga*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Mósiro* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Moran within the last five years or so.¹ Some were even fresher. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

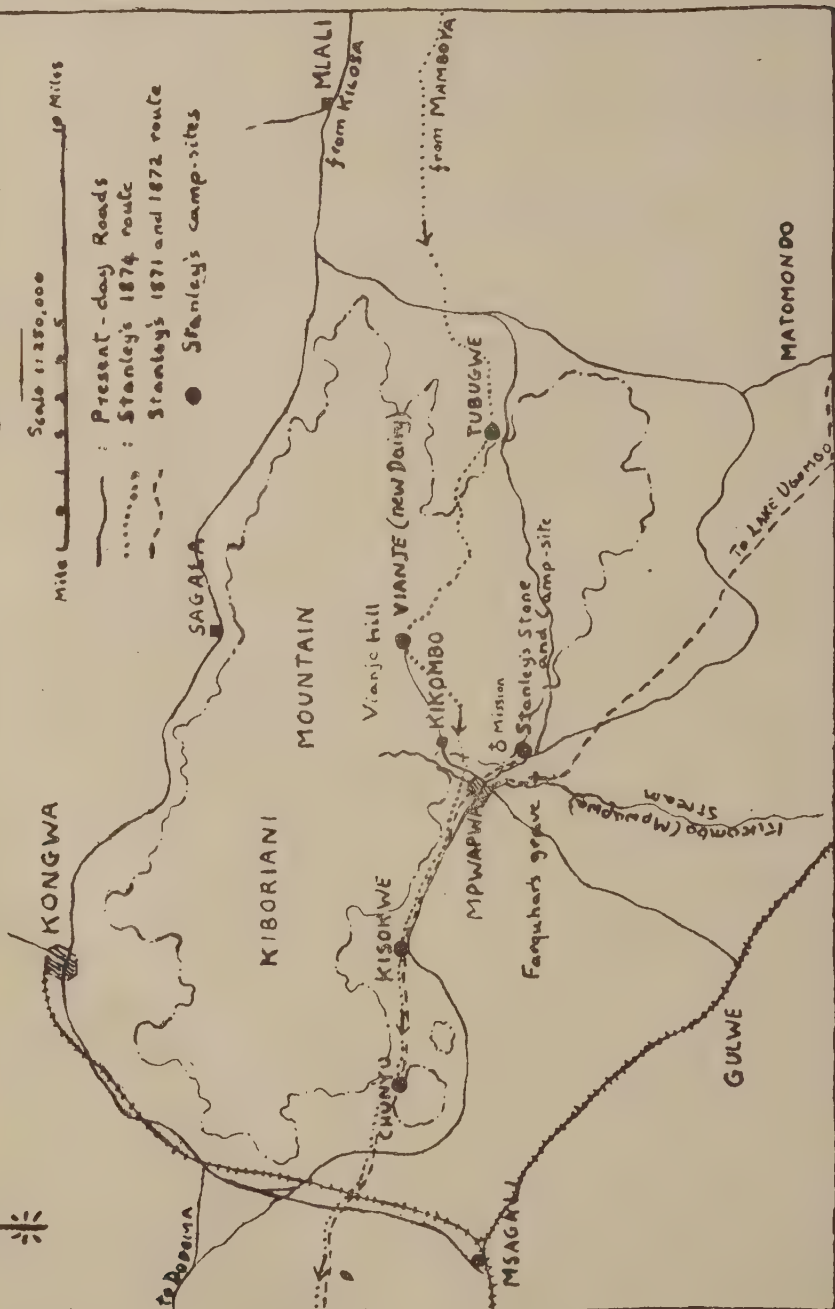
To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kwavi, Gogo and even the Arusha warrior when in panoply might all seem to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily apparent, but the outstanding dissimilitude, curiously enough, would seem to me to be the variations in the several manners of speaking Kiswahili. The pronunciation of the Kwavi, once heard, is never forgotten. It is nasal and unmelodious, with invariable pauses after such words as "but" and "and". The Dorobo method is characteristically lazy. Syllables to which the full value could quite easily be given are slurred over for no apparent reason. *Kutapika* commonly becomes *Kuta'ia*. *Faru* is often rendered *Faoo*—but this may be due to Wanguu influence.² The Kiswahili-speaking Masai is more correct and enterprising. He often acquires curious words and expressions, and by virtue of his volubility and his employment of peculiar constructions cannot be mistaken. The Arusha speaks like the Kwavi, but without the pervasive nasal quality.

It is hard to differentiate on paper, but in conversation with representatives of the tribes mentioned the average European ear will not fail to detect the differences after a little experience.

¹ When the Masai Moran go into *Ol-pul*, they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally *Mósiro*. The duties of the latter are to plait the Masai warriors' hair, cook and make themselves generally useful. Their reward is as much meat as they can consume.

² [*Fau* is sometimes heard in Kenya Colony. It is a well-known tendency in Kiswahili — somewhat exaggerated by the Akamba — to drop intervocal consonants, especially *l* and *r*.—Ed. J.R.A.S.]

SKETCH-MAP OF STANLEY'S ROUTES THROUGH MPWAPWA



Stanley's First and Second Expeditions Through Mpwapwa and W. L. Farquhar's Grave

by T. Griffith-Jones.

The following notes are concerned with the halts made by Sir Henry Morton Stanley at Mpwapwa, both on his way to find Dr. Livingstone and also when traversing the 'Dark Continent' from East to West. They have been compiled with the aid of various books¹ and also by questioning old men, two of whom were alive at the time. The chief narrator is an old Msagara named Mapuga Chipanjilo. This man appears to have been about six to ten years old in 1871, when the story opens. He is the son of the chief of Mpwapwa at that time, one Chipanjilo Lusito—more commonly known as Lukole, which latter name agrees with Stanley's version, and is father to the present chief Ismail Mapuga.

Before continuing with the happenings about to be related, it would be as well perhaps, to give a general idea of Mpwapwa as it must have appeared to Stanley in 1871, and to explain how and why Stanley came here at all.

Mpwapwa was a small village in Usagara, a neighbouring tribal district to Ugogo, one of the frontier villages of which was Kikombo now a station on the Central Railway Line near Dodoma. The main slave and caravan routes from the coast to the lakes joined up at Mpwapwa making it a general stopping place for travellers. The caravan route followed by Stanley in 1874,² passed through Tubugwe, through the hills and over the saddle into the present Veterinary Reserve, past the "New Dairy" at Vianje and along the valley known as Kikombo. The route that he took in 1871 and 1872, came from lake Ugombo (Mpwapwa-Kilosa border) and was therefore further south. I am informed by the old men that for the last two or three miles of this route, a traveller must needs follow the course of the Mpwapwa stream, where it now flows to the south of the Native Treasury.

The site of the village of Mpwapwa differed considerably from its position to-day. The present "duka" portion was mainly thick bush, while the now flat and cleared area extending from the Welfare Centre and Pombe Market to the Native Treasury consisted of "shambas" and huts.

¹ H. M. Stanley's "How I found Livingstone in Central Africa."

H. M. Stanley's "Through the Dark Continent."

R. Coupland's "The Exploitation of East Africa" and "Livingstone's Last Journey."

Livingstone's "Last Journals."

² vide "Through the Dark Continent."

The chief lived on the high ground, east of the Native Treasury, which was also a mass of "shambas" and cleared land, while much of the land south of the Dodoma-Kilosa road, which is now clear, was thick bush. It was to such a village that Stanley came on 17 May, 1871.

At this time there were conflicting rumours of Livingstone's whereabouts, and Stanley had been commissioned by the "New York Herald" to find him. As a result he left Bagamoyo on 21 March, 1871, passed through Mpwapwa, on to Tabora, and eventually met Livingstone at Ujiji on 10 November, 1871. A short time later they parted, and Stanley returned to the coast again by way of Mpwapwa, which he reached on 7 April, 1872. He then sailed for England, was present at Livingstone's funeral, and returned to East Africa commissioned jointly by the "Daily Telegraph" and the "New York Herald" to complete the work left unfinished by Livingstone. Using the more northerly route, already described, he passed close to Mpwapwa on 12 December, 1874.

From the above it will be seen that Stanley actually camped three times in the Mpwapwa area. One of his party, W. L. Farquhar, met his death here, and his place of burial has not hitherto been established. It is this, and the actual sites of Stanley's camps which I have tried to verify and place on record, before the deaths of those living at that time makes this impossible.

In 1871, Stanley's caravan consisted of himself, two other Europeans, and one hundred and eighty-nine followers, chiefly African porters. The two Europeans were J. H. Shaw and W. L. Farquhar, the latter a Scotsman who had been mate of a ship. These two appear to have been heavy drinkers¹ and in consequence relations were strained between Stanley and his companions. Stanley, wishing to make all speed to find Livingstone, was, no doubt, irritated by Farquhar's ill-health, which, so he hinted to Livingstone later, was brought on by drink and dissipated living. On arrival at Mpwapwa he planned to leave Farquhar behind if he was not well enough to continue the journey. Farquhar apparently agreed to this.

Mapuga states that the chief's hut was near a Mlumbulumbu (*Fagara Merkeri*)?² tree. This tree may still be seen, and is undoubtedly of great age. It is just west of the present mission and one hundred and fifty yards north of the Dodoma-Kilosa road. Stanley and the two Europeans are said to have pitched their own tents under the tree with their servants round them; the porters etc., camping at the usual camp near the site of the present Native Treasury. This appears likely for Stanley in "How I found Livingstone" writes . . . "within two miles of the camp the road led up a small river bed, wide as an avenue clear to the khambi of Mpwapwa, which was situated close to a number of streams of the purest water "

¹ vide "How I found Livingstone in Central Africa." Livingstone's "Last Journals."

² Perhaps more probably Mlimbolimbo *Euphorbia* Sp. *Fagara* is a small inconspicuous thorny tree.—Ed.

Coming from the direction of Ugombo, he would follow the Mpwapwa stream still "wide as an avenue" where it flows near the present Native Treasury.

Within Stanley's camp area, until recently completely overgrown, there is a large boulder on which Stanley is stated, by one old man, to have done some carving while resting in the camp on his return journey. The rock is unfortunately now so worn through the effects of sun and weather that it is almost impossible to decipher the inscription. Parts of the boulder have split and fallen off. One piece bearing an inscription, which has been dug up and replaced as far as possible in its original position, appears to complete the word "MAY": before the word May there are two figures resembling a two and a seven. Another portion on the same line shews a number of the letters contained in "W. L. Farquhar," and as it is clear from "How I found Livingstone" that the date of Farquhar's death was on or about 27 MAY, it is likely that this line bears reference to his date of death. On a line above there is an inscription which might be read as "Livingstone" although this is not as clear as the lower line. From the fact that the old man states that this carving was done on the return journey, one can imagine that Stanley was elated at his success in having found Livingstone and having achieved a "journalistic scoop," so that the earlier secrecy attached to his journey was no longer necessary.

When Stanley and Shaw departed Farquhar was left behind in a tent, according to Mapuga. He subsequently moved from the camp site to the boma round the chief's hut: a not improbable course, since Shaw at Chunyu also horrified Stanley by pitching his tent on a dung heap! Mapuga mentioned that he only saw Stanley and the others from a distance as children of his age were chased away, and as a result he does not know the full facts of Farquhar's death nor was he allowed to be present at the burial. He remembers, however, that Farquhar was ill, and that he died and was buried by the four following people:—

Nyakuti, Mboma, Muhaga, Magambo.

Mapuga was later shewn the actual burial place by his elder brother, Samson Chipanjilo, who died in 1946. At this point his narrative differs slightly from that of Stanley, but it should be borne in mind that Stanley only received news of Farquhar's death at Tabora, hence Stanley's information that Farquhar's body was "taken out, left naked, and not buried" would be hearsay. There is every reason, as I shall shew later, to prefer Mapuga's account and to believe that the body was buried.

Local tradition, mainly based on Samson's eye-witness account states that Farquhar was buried in a hole in a gully, and that the body after being covered with grass was buried some few feet down. Stanley mentions leaves, but it must be remembered that the Swahili word "majani" means either leaves or grass. If the gully later silted up through the rush of rain water, it would account for Stanley not finding any bones when he searched on his return journey.

After the death, Lukole, the chief, is reputed by his son Mapuga to have taken charge of Farquhar's belongings, some of which were put in the hut. The articles which he remembers most — and what child would not — are:—

A tent, mattress and a gun which he says was known by the porters and servants as "Kiroboto," meaning a flea. (Stanley's record states that he left Farquhar a Starrs Carbine, which is a smaller and shorter weapon than a musket or rifle.)

Stanley's narrative mentions that Lukole told him that Farquhar's servant made off with a blanket, gun, cooking-pots and clothing.

When Stanley appeared on his return journey on 7 April, 1872, heading for the coast, his narrative explains that he went to inquire about Farquhar's death. Apparently he was told much the same as he was at Tabora, and was shewn the place where the body had been laid but could find no bones. Nevertheless he managed to "raise a mound of stones near the banks of the stream."

About two hundred yards from the Mpwapwa-Kilosa road, on the southern side near the Mpwapwa stream, Mapuga shewed me twenty-three stones, close to one another, saying they were collected on Stanley's orders just before he left, and were used for building a cairn about three feet high and two feet wide. He went on to say that at this spot, as one can still clearly see, there was a hollow which curved round and which in those times was partly full of water. He said that the body was pushed into a hole in the bank a few feet from the cairn, underneath a large tree in what was then thick bush. Seeing that Mapuga can speak but little Swahili and can never have read the description in which Stanley refers to a hollow in which the body was laid "in the jungle," and a cairn built on the bank of a near-by stream under a large tree, these are most significant facts. As a result of this I decided to choose a position for digging operations, where Mapuga considered the centre of the hollow to have been and opposite where the cairn had stood. After two days work, small fragments of bone, obviously of great age, were found about four feet down. Digging was continued for a further two days, but only small fragments were again found, all much worn with age. These have been submitted for expert examination, which has proved them to be disintegrated fragments of human bone, one of which is the lower end of a fibula.

Digging was resumed after the examination in the hope of finding larger pieces, but in vain. However, by the colour and texture of the earth, there is no doubt that the spot where the remains were found was at one time a hollow or gully, for underneath the black top-soil of the present-day shamba, there is red sand brought down by the flow of water



The stone as it is to-day.



Stone touched up with whitewash.



**Site of Farquar's Grave, stones of Stanley's
cairn on left.**



**Stanley's cairn rebuilt and new memorial
to Farquar.**

Mapuga tells me that Stanley only stayed a day or so. This is correct for he was anxious to get news of his "journalistic scoop" back as soon as possible, and one reads that he was in the Mukondokwa Pass by the 12th April. Seeing that he had never been greatly enamoured with either Farquhar or Shaw, (the latter had tried to murder him) it is doubtful if he bothered himself to find out all details of Farquhar's death.

NOTES:—

1. The cairn has now been rebuilt, and a small memorial built at the place where the bones were discovered.

2. With regard to Stanley's last camping place, that used by him in 1874, and depicted in his book *Through the Dark Continent* as "Our Camp at Mpwapwa":—The print in the book is taken from a photograph, but the picture is not really distinct, and for an accurate study of background is not satisfactory. It shews a line of hills in the background, while the narrative explains that he visited Mpwapwa on the 12 December, 1874, having previously camped at Tubugwe — a different route from his 1871 journey. Mapuga states that he camped under a large Mkwaju (Tamarind) tree at Vianje; i.e. the area of the carpenter's shop at the "New Dairy" in the 'Veterinary Valley.' The camp site here is good and near good water. Several old men bear witness to the fact that a tamarind tree stood here before it was cut down by the Germans. However, the most significant fact of all lies in the background. After a careful study of the background to several large trees, the only hills resembling those in the photograph fit exactly from this spot at the "New Dairy". The background appears to be the saddle to the south-west. Examination of the picture will shew an apparent hill behind the saddle, but I am of the opinion that this is not a hill but a faulty line in the printing, for at no place in Mpwapwa does such a hill of this shape appear behind a saddle, and at no place does a saddle fit as perfectly as in the picture except at Vianje. I would add that other existing trees in the neighbourhood which would be suitable for a camp site in no way resemble the one in the print, particularly as regards density of foliage.

With Stanley's departure for the Atlantic Ocean, it may be said that a period of the history of Mpwapwa ended; slave gangs camping under the welcome boughs of the tree at the present Pombe Market were becoming less frequent; the majority of the great explorers who had rested their tired limbs had been seen, while the bearers of the body of Livingstone having camped, as tradition has it, (I am unable to check this) under the Pombe Market tree, had continued on their way to Baga-moyo.

Then in 1876, a new period commenced. The first mission station was founded near Lukole's hut, after which others were built; one at Chamhawe (approximately mid-way between the District Office and Kisokwe) where five graves bear witness to the effects of the African climate, and another at the present mission station, not far to the East of which, at Beheru, are three more graves surrounded by six Milangali (Euphorbia) trees.

Of these eight graves, only two of those at Chamhawe, have headstones, inscribed as follows:—

Kwa ukumbusho wa
HENRIETTA
mke wake na Kipendi chake
Henri Kole
Aliyelala Katika Isa
22 Jul 1883
Mkononi sina kitu naushika insalaba
Wote Wapitao wafikilie mwisho wao.

In loving memory of
ELLEN MARION (NELLIE)
Missionary of the C.M.S.
The beloved wife of Charles Stokes, C.M.S.
who was called to her rest on the 26th March, 1881.
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

The Livingstone Memorial at Ujiji

by C. M. Coke.

[The following records are drawn mainly from files in the District Office, Kigoma. I am also indebted to the late Mr. C. Gillman and Mr. R. C. Jerrard for information on certain points and for photographs of the old mango tree taken in 1921 and 1930, and to the former in particular for helpful advice and criticism.—C.M.C.]

The Memorial is erected on the site of the mango tree under which according to tradition Stanley met Livingstone on 10th November, 1871, near the house of an Arab which Livingstone was occupying. The tree then stood on the lake shore. The water's edge is now some 500 yards to the west of the site and twenty to thirty feet lower, the level of the lake having dropped during the '80s following the breaking or scouring of the natural barrage at the entrance to the Lukuga River at Albertville which flows from Lake Tanganyika to the Congo River. The tree was in existence up to August, 1930, when it was finally felled, but for years had suffered seriously from decay, and little more than the trunk was then left. There must be many people however still in the Territory who have seen the remains of the old tree on the site before that time.

The German administration first marked the site by putting a concrete slab round the base of the tree about the beginning of this century. The Belgians, during their occupation from 1916 to 1921, repaired or rebuilt this slab with a concrete block on which was engraved "Stanley — Livingstone 1871." Later opinion held that the slab had indeed helped to accelerate the spread of disease and decay in the roots. By the time of the British occupation the tree was somewhat crowded round by houses of Arab and native type.

In 1925, the then District Officer of Kigoma, Capt. C. H. B. Grant, took up the matter of preserving the site and corresponded with the Royal Geographical Society and the Secretariat. His efforts gained their approval of the idea. With the advice of Mr. T. H. Marshall of the Agricultural Dept., Dar es Salaam, he had grafts made by "in-arching" from the remaining branches of the old tree onto sound mango seedlings. Two of these were taken by Mr. Marshall to Kew Gardens and are believed to be growing well there: others were planted at the corners of the plot surrounding the tree, but only one of these has survived, that now standing a little to the west of the Memorial in a bay of the stone-walled terrace that was later built the better to preserve the site and make it attractive. Further grafts were taken up to 1928, but with what success the records do not tell.

Meanwhile leisurely plans were in progress for erecting a memorial on the site of the old tree whose collapse appeared imminent. The Government agreed to grant funds for this purpose, and in 1926 a design for a concrete obelisk was approved. In 1927, the Royal Geographical

Society sent a bronze plaque to be placed on the base of this obelisk, the inscription reading—

“ Under the mango tree
which then stood here
Stanley met Livingstone
10th November 1871.”

The site included parts of four house plots, ownership of which were claimed by an Indian and three Arabs: at the instance of Capt. Grant they made free gifts of the land to Government for the memorial. The construction was however postponed while the grafts from the tree were being established; and Capt. Grant left Kigoma without seeing the completion of the plan. In April, 1928, the Provincial Commissioner requested the Director of Public Works to have the memorial erected; and in July the obelisk was constructed a little to the lake side of the tree, the remains of which were still standing, and the plaque from the R. G. S. set in its base. The final result however was not of pleasing appearance. There is a current rumour which has some substance, that the reason underlying the construction of the memorial at that particular time; apparently in rather a hurry, was that King Albert of the Belgians was then visiting the Congo from April to July, 1928, his itinerary as originally planned having included a visit to Kigoma and Ujiji en route from Albertville to Lake Kivu: at the last moment however his visit to the Lake Tanganyika area was cancelled. There is of course nothing in the records to verify this rumour; but his intended itinerary is a fact and the coincidence of the dates lends some credence to the story.

The remainder of the old tree was eventually felled in August, 1930, and pieces of it were distributed to a number of recipients, among them being the Royal Geographical Society, the Dar es Salaam Museum, the Africana Museum in Johannesburg, and the White Fathers' Mission at Ujiji. The accompanying photographs taken by the late Mr. Gillman in 1921 and by Mr. R. C. Jerrard in 1930, show the mango tree at those dates and the obelisk.

Recently (1946-47) a new Memorial has been erected, replacing the unsatisfactory obelisk, its design being of more dignified appearance in the form of a block of rough-hewn granite, with the plaque again set in it.

The question of the site.

The site of the Memorial is undoubtedly a good one and is visible from the steamers passing on the lake at some distance out. There are however some grounds for questioning the strict historical accuracy of this spot being the exact meeting place, though it cannot be far away from it. Tradition has it that the explorers met under a mango tree: presumably therefore the tree was of a sufficient size in 1871. Yet it seems strange that the tree as shown in Mr. Gillman's photograph in 1921 fifty years later, was of such small girth for a mango tree of its assumed age.¹

¹ Mr. Gillman (in litt.) shared this doubt.

Again, Stanley's account of the meeting in his book "How I found Livingstone" (pp. 330/1) makes no reference to a mango tree at the meeting place, though he mentions trees (type unspecified but quite probably mangoes, the type most frequently planted by the Arabs) along the street down which his way led to the meeting; this lack of reference however is inconclusive. Similarly Livingstone's "Last Journals" make no mention of a tree; but such a trivial detail is not the sort that Livingstone was likely to record. Both accounts show that the meeting took place just in front of the house that Livingstone was occupying. But neither gives the name of the Arab owner from which it might have been just possible, by enquiry among the oldest inhabitants of Ujiji, to locate the exact house. From incidental references in Stanley's account one gathers that this house was but a short distance from the lake shore — he writes of their strolling from the house down to the shore to enjoy the cool breezes, — also that it faced a square capable of holding a crowd of natives that he put at a thousand. Now Stanley's account certainly contains some 'purple patches', inaccurate and unreliable: one that relates to the present question is his description of a physically impossible view from the verandah of Livingstone's house on the evening of his arrival, looking back to "the rampart of mountains" he had crossed that morning, roughly north-east of Ujiji, a view that is visible not from the old town of Ujiji which slopes westwards to the lake but from the top of the ridge above the town. But the minor unimpressive details that he records incidentally, these one can regard as likely to be correct. Therefore one may reasonably assume the accuracy of the references to the house quoted above. It would then seem probable that the square onto which the house faced was the market square of that time, which is likely to have been a little way back from the lake shore near the centre of the old town. This consideration, taken together with the lack of girth of the old tree, suggests that in this instance tradition as to the tree is inaccurate. It was apparently entirely native tradition in Ujiji that gave that particular tree as the site, and one may hazard a guess that when the Germans, who apparently were the first to try and identify the site, made their enquiries, the elders of Ujiji to avoid unpleasant consequences from any uncertainty pointed out what seemed a suitable tree. And still notwithstanding all this, though one may question the strict historical accuracy of the tradition about the mango tree and the exact site of the meeting, the Memorial can hardly be more than a few score yards from the true but unidentifiable site; and in the circumstances these doubts should not weigh against the obvious suitability of the present site for a Memorial to that historic meeting.



**The Livingstone mango tree in June, 1921, and Mr.
C. Gillman.**
—Photograph by Mr. Gillman.



**Remnant of the mango tree and Memorial in August,
1930, shortly before the tree was finally felled.**
—Photograph by Mr. R. C. Jerrard.

A Journey by Land from Tete to Kilwa in 1616

By Sir John Grey

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The journey hereinafter described would appear to have been the first ever to be made by a European through the interior of what is now Tanganyika Territory. The story of it appears as Chapter CXLV in *Extractos da Decada* by Antonio Bócarro. The author was appointed to the post of Keeper of the Archives and Chronicler of India at Lisbon in 1631, and held that post until his death, which occurred in or about 1649. In his official capacity he had access to official correspondence and other documents relating to the affairs of India and East Africa. His work may therefore be deemed to be authoritative. The chapter of his book, which is translated below, would appear to have been taken from an official report regarding the journey. It is open to the criticism that it is perhaps an even more bald narrative than Xenophon's *Anabasis*, but the author's apology for this form of writing is that he hopes that the details, into which he enters, may provide useful information for some adventurer (*ventureiro*), who may hereafter seek to pass through the same country.

The *Extractos* were dedicated to Philip III of Portugal (1612-1640), but were not actually printed until 1876, when they were published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon.

The person who undertook the journey was a certain Gaspar Bocarro. One surmises that he must have been a relation of the author, but I have been unable to glean any information regarding him beyond what is given in the relevant chapter of *Extractos*, namely, that he was of noble birth, had been brought up in the household of the Marquis of Ferreira, and in 1616, had already been living for a considerable time on or near the banks of the Zambesi. According to Manoel de Faria y Sousa, who makes cursory mention of this journey in his *Asia Portuguesa*, Gaspar Bocarro "ended his days at Mozambique."

At the time when this story opens Gaspar Bocarro was serving under a certain Diogo Simoões Madeira, regarding whom other Portuguese chroniclers besides Antonio Bocarro have written a good deal. About 1607, Diogo, who appears to have begun life as a trader, claimed to have discovered silver at a place called Chicova, on the southern bank of the Zambesi some distance above Tete. He and a small party of Portuguese armed with arquebuses had assisted the local chief of those regions to recover his territory. In return for this service the chief ceded the silver mines to Diogo in a document, which was formally drawn up by a notary. By the same document Diogo transferred his rights to the King of Portugal. In 1613, Diogo was directed to proceed to Tete and take possession of the mines at Chicova. His subsequent trials and difficulties are set out at length in the *Extractos* and the already mentioned work of Faria y Sousa.

They were in part due to trouble with the local inhabitants, but they were also due to the want of support and definite obstruction from the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique. Soon after his arrival at Tete Diogo erected a fort at Chicova. It was attacked by a tribe called the Makalanga, who were successfully driven off, but thereafter the garrison became short of supplies and provisions of every description. Eventually Diogo had to abandon the fort. For this act he was outlawed.

The account of Gaspar Bocarro's journey as given in *Extractos* must be allowed for the most part to speak for itself, but I venture to make one or two observations as to facts which can apparently be deduced by reading between the lines thereof.

Firstly, though it is not easy to plot out Gaspar Bocarro's line of march upon the map, it is evident that he must have covered between seven and eight hundred miles through country which had hitherto been *terra incognita* to the Portuguese.

Secondly, it is to be noted that between the upper Zambesi in the region of Tete and the banks of the Rovuma the land appears to have been peaceful and the dwellers therein prosperous. This portion of the journey took Bocarro and his companions through two countries, each of which had a paramount chief exercising authority over a relatively large tract of territory. The first of these territories was called Bororo and was governed by Muzura, whose friendliness and hospitality rivalled that of the ruling chiefs in the lake regions of Central Africa two centuries and a half later. Muzura appears also to have been a very intelligent man. His influence, if not his suzerainty, carried from his own land into the adjacent territory of Manguro and even across the Rovuma into what is now Tanganyika Territory. All this influence was placed at the disposal of Gaspar Bocarro. Without it Bocarro's journey would have been much more difficult, if not impossible.

It was only when Bocarro crossed to the north bank of the Rovuma that he began to find signs of a less prosperous condition of affairs. He had at this stage reached an unnamed district which had a certain Manhanga for its paramount chief. In traversing the country between this chief's headquarters and the coast Bocarro had on three occasions to journey for several days across wide tracts of uninhabited country. One of these tracts was quite close to Manhanga's capital and it took seven days to cross. This abomination of desolation had been caused by the ravages of a tribe called the Zimbas, who were said to be cannibals and regarding whose activities on the banks of the Zambesi and on the east coast of Africa more than one Portuguese chronicler has a good deal to say. On each other occasion it took Bocarro four days to cross each of the remaining belts of uninhabited country, but these are each of them described as *terra deserta*, which suggests that they were uninhabited owing to scarcity of water or poverty of the soil, and not owing to the ravages of man.

None the less, despite these extensive tracts of uninhabited land and despite the fact that his capital was apparently situated at least a fortnight's journey from the coast, it is worthy of note that Manhanga's people were evidently in the habit of making their way to the coast at, or in the vicinity of, Kilwa Kisiwani, and that Manhanga himself had obtained cloth from those regions. The presence at this date of a Portuguese factor at Kilwa Kisiwani is a further indication that there was a regular trade between that place and the countries in the interior. Nevertheless, this trading was apparently not as yet upon any extensive scale. The days of trade caravans were apparently yet to come. The Wangwana or coast people, whom Bocarro calls "Moors" in contradistinction to Arabs, appear to have been cultivators of the soil near the coast and not yet to have taken to the road in pursuit of commerce. There is no mention whatever of Arabs. The "Moors" were not encountered until Bocarro was only some five or six hour's distance from the coast opposite to Kilwa Kisiwani. Their village, Bucury, appears to have been the extreme racial outpost of the tribe to which the rulers of Kilwa belonged.

Mention of internal trade calls for reference to one other piece of purely negative evidence. The fact that Muzura was ready to make presents of female slaves to his visitors and to neighbouring chiefs shows that domestic slavery, which was a centuries old institution in Africa, existed in Bororo and the countries to the north thereof. But it is to be noted that between Lake Nyasa and the coast adjoining Kilwa there was apparently none of the organised slave trade on the vast and far reaching scale, which Livingstone and others were to encounter just over two centuries later and which was to depopulate so much of the hinterland and the lake regions of Central Africa. That trade would appear not to have developed to any large proportions until about the middle of the eighteenth century, when the demand for labour by the French for the recently colonised Ile de France (Mauritius) and Bourbon (Réunion) and by the Spaniards for their South American colonies made the traffic an exceedingly profitable one.

One more observation ought to be made. The author of *Extractos* may mar a curious tale in the telling of it, but what he says is enough to enable us to appraise the character of the man who made this journey. Obviously, the expedition would never have reached Kilwa, if Gaspar Bocarro had not been well fitted for the task. He was clearly not only a man of considerable energy and resource, but also a person of exceptional tact in the handling of the chiefs and peoples through whose territory he passed. The fact that this journey was without incident is in itself a tribute to the character of the man who made it.

In conclusion it must be stated that, despite Antonio Bocarro's expression of hope, no *ventureiro* attempted to follow in his namesake's footsteps for over two hundred years. Then at some date between 1853 and 1856, Antonio da Silva Porto, a Portuguese trader who was in business in Angola on the west coast of Africa, made his way from Benguela to the

mouth of the Rovuma. He must have passed somewhere near to Lake Nyasa, and one of his personal slaves is said to have seen it.* The first Europeans to set eyes on Lake Nyasa were David Livingstone and his companions in 1861.

It will be realised that in the course of his lengthy wandering through the African continent David Livingstone must more than once have crossed the earlier tracks of Gaspar Bocarro. As, however, a great deal had happened in the two centuries which separated these two men's travels, it appears impossible to identify any of the places and peoples named by the earlier traveller with those named by Livingstone. Nevertheless a comparison of the accounts of the journeys of these two travellers is not without interest. The best accounts of Livingstone's travels in these regions will be found in the following works:—

Livingstone, David and Charles — *Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries.*

Waller, Horace — *The Last Journals of David Livingstone.*

Coupland, Sir Reginald—*Kirk on the Zambesi. Livingstone's Last Journey.*

* Coupland — *Kirk on the Zambesi* p. 22.

THE 'EXTRACTOS DA DECADE'

CHAPTER CXLV.

Of the journey which Gaspar Bocarro made through the land of Cafraria from Tete to Quiloa with the silver which Diogo Simoes Madeira sent to His Majesty.

At the time when Diogo Simoës sent the silver to His Majesty by means of the religious of Saint Dominic, who perforce had to pass by the fortress of Moçambique, and to go from thence to India, there were in the rivers of Cuama (1) certain persons dissatisfied with Diogo Simoës, who said openly that the Captain of Moçambique ought to seize the silver and send it on his own orders to His Majesty; and some wrote that this should be done. When Diogo Simoës heard this, he was very angry. For this reason Gaspar Bocarro, a man of noble birth, brought up in the household of the Marquis of Ferreira, who had spent many years in these rivers, offered to make the journey by land from Tete (2) to the coast of Melinde (3) so that he could put Moçambique out of his way, and from the

(1) The name given at this date to the country in the region of the Zambesi delta

(2) A town about 270 miles up the Zambesi, where at this date there was a fort.

(3) In contemporary Portuguese letters and chronicles the coast between Cape Delgado and Cape Guardafui is usually referred to as "the coast of Malindi." When Vasco da Gama visited Malindi in 1498, he struck up a friendship with the "king" of that place, which enabled the Portuguese to obtain their first foothold on the east coast of Africa.

coast pass to Ormuz (4) and from there make his way by land to Spain, (5) and deliver the silver, which Diogo Simoës had given to him, to His Majesty: which journey he would make at his own expense, so as to serve the said lord: and he also would lend two thousand cruzados (6) to help to maintain the fort at Chicova,(7) for which no provision had come from India.

Diogo Simoës was pleased, accepted his offer, and received the said money, which Gaspar Bocarro gave him for the maintenance of the fort; then he delivered to him two frasilas (8) of silver ore, in one of which there was a small stone of pure silver, which appeared to have been smelted, but was pure in origin: (he also gave him) authenticated papers and credentials, so that he might deliver all to His Majesty. When this had been arranged and concluded, Gaspar Bocarro provided himself with necessities for his very long and risky journey.

Gaspar Bocarro left Tete in March, 1616, taking in his company ten or twelve of his slaves. He crossed to the other side of the River Zambeze and made his way through the lands of Bororo.(9) After two days' journeying he reached the village of Inhampury,(10) where he bought a thousand bracelets of copper wire, which are made by the Cafres of this village, because they have plenty of copper there. These bracelets serve as money for petty expenses on all these roads in Cafraria. Bocarro gave Inhampury a present of some garments and beads, which came to seven cruzados. They left there and slept at Baue, a village of the same Inhampury, where one of his wives lived, to whom he gave another present,

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- (4) An island at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, which was at this date in the possession of the Portuguese.
 - (5) Portuguese historians call the period 1580-1640 "the Spanish captivity," it being the period during which their country was ruled by the kings of Spain. At this date Philip III of Portugal (1598-1621) was also Philip IV of Spain.
 - (6) The cruzado was valued at 400 reis. According to Theal (*Records of South-Eastern Africa* V. 471) at the beginning of the seventeenth century 400 reis were worth about 5s. 4d.
 - (7) On of the banks of Zambesi above Tete cf. Introductory Note.
 - (8) The frasila weighed 35-36 English pounds.
 - (9) Chapter CXL of *Extractos* gives a full account of an earlier expedition to this country. This had been undertaken about a year previously, on the invitation of a chief named Sapoe, by a Portuguese soldier, named Antonio Lopes and two Mulattos. These three do not, however, appear to have gone very far from the banks of the Zambesi. The information obtained by Lopes is in a number of respects at variance with that given subsequently by Gaspar Bocarro. In the circumstances the more reliable information would appear to be that of Bocarro.
 - (10) Lopes (cf. Note 9) reported that "from Empanzo going upstream to opposite to Chacengue, are the lands of another Cafre, who is called Inhampury, and is the lord of many vassals. In his lands, opposite to Chacengue, our people disembark and leave their vessels. Thence our people begin to make the journey by land to Chicova, and travel about one league along very bad roads, which are subject to Inhampury, and then enter the lands of Samanongo, an important Cafre, but subject to a Cafre king, who is called Bundy, with whom the merchants of Tete do a trade in ivory."

which was worth three cruzados. Thence they made their way for three days through thickets and desert land to Danda, a town subject to Muzura, who is the biggest Cafre Lord in all the lands of Bororo. To the governor of this town Bocarro gave cloths and beads, which were worth two cruzados. After this they slept at Bunga, a large village, subject to Muzura, where he gave the governor one cruzado's worth of cloth and beads. Thence Gaspar Bocarro sent Muzura word of his coming and sent ahead of him a present, which the Cafres call "the mouth", consisting of cloth and beads, which were worth five cruzados. On reaching the town, in which he dwelt and which is called Marauy, he went to see Muzura and gave him garments, and beads, and silk cloths, which were worth seventy cruzados. He also gave him his bed which included the hangings, a bolster of damask, and linen sheets, because it was a heavy weight to carry such a bed on the shoulders for such a long journey (11). Muzura gave Bocarro two tusks of ivory, which were worth eighteen cruzados, and a black woman, and food during the fifteen days that he stayed there (and he also gave) to all his people plenty of millet, rice, hens, capons, cows and figs, and he also gave him three Cafres, who were his subjects and were to act as guides and to guard them safely when passing through his lands.

With these three guides Bocarro left Muzura and slept at Moromba, a town of Muzura. He gave the governor thereof, who was called Inhamocumba, garments and beads, which were worth two cruzados, and he gave Bocarro three more Cafres to accompany him and to be his guides. Near this town of Moromba is the great river Manganja, (12) or lake which looks like a sea, from which flows the river Nhanha (13), which enters the Zambesi below Sena (14), where it is called the river of Chiry (15). From Moromba Gaspar Bocarro set out with this three additional guides, and made his way alongside this river Nhanha, and slept on its shore, and on the following day crossed over to the other side in vessels belonging to the native Cafres (16). (Then) he made his way North and slept at the town of Caramboe, a son of Muzura, to whom Bocarro gave garments and beads which were worth seven cruzados. Thence he dined at a village called Mocama and slept at another village called Mogombe, to the gover-

(11) In Linschoten's *Travels* there is a contemporary picture of a Portuguese official being carried on the shoulders of his slaves, as he reclines upon a bedstead, which is reproduced opposite.

(12) "Manganja" appears to be a Portuguese corruption of some Bantu word which has "nyanja" (cf. Note 13) as one of its roots. Manganja is clearly identifiable with Lake Nyassa.

(13) Apparently the common Bantu word "nyanja" meaning an expanse of water such as a lake.

(14) A town about 150 miles up the Zambesi, where at this date the Portuguese had a fort.

(15) Sc. the Shire, which flows out of Lake Nyassa and joins the Zambesi a little below Sena.

(16) Bocarro evidently made his crossing in the upper reaches of the Shire very close to its exit from Lake Nyasa, but never actually reached that lake.



Hof

Hof

Portrait of a Dutchman first

nor of which he gave cloths and beads which were worth one cruzado. There he slept on the confines of the lands of Muzura's son.

From here onward begin the lands which are called Manguro, and are subject to Chicoave, who is a friend and quasi-vassal of Muzura, for he is afraid of him. He began to make his way through these lands and slept at the village of Machambe, to whom he gave cloths and beads which were worth two cruzados. From there he slept at the village of Muzunguira, to whom he gave bracelets and beads which were worth one cruzado. From there he slept at the town, in which dwelt Chicoave, the lord of these lands. Before he came to him he gave him in advance for "the mouth" one hundred bracelets, one cloth, and some beads, which were worth seven cruzados. When he spoke with this Cafre, he gave him another present, which was worth seven cruzados, and the Cafre gave him a tusk of ivory, which was worth three cruzados. Muzura sent this Cafre a present so that he might give the road and guides to Bocarro, and he gave him his son, who thenceforward accompanied him together with the other guides of Muzura. Thence he crossed a river called Ruambara, which he crossed in boats. After leaving the town of Chicoave he slept at the village Chipanga and after at the village of Changuessa, to whom he gave a cloth and a bundle of beads. Thence he slept in an uninhabited place and on the following day at the village of Mauano, to whom he gave a cloth and a necklace of beads. Thence slept at a village called Rupapa, the lord of which was Quitenga, to whom he gave three cloths and twenty bracelets. From there he slept in a thicket and on the following day proceeded along the river Rofuma (17) to the village of Muangongo, to whom he gave fifty bracelets, two necklaces of beads, a machira, (18) and a cloth. He ferried Gaspar Bocarro and all his people in his boat to the other bank of the river and accompanied them for three days.

(17) sc. the Rovuma. Just over two hundred years later, "a respectable slave merchant" informed the C.M.S. Missionary, J. Erhardt, that in the upper reaches of the Rovuma "a floating bridge of reeds is thrown across the stream, on passing which a toll of glass beads must be paid" (Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for January, 1856). At the date when Erhardt received this information the slave trade between the coast and Lake Nyasa had been carried on for some time on an extensive and organised scale. This increased traffic probably necessitated the substitution of a bridge for a ferry.

(18) "A sort of cloak or upper garment worn by the Cafres" (Michaelis-Portuguez *Inglez*). "They are all dressed in pieces of cotton cloth, but are poorly covered. These cloths are made on the other side of the river (sc. the Zambesi) and are woven on low looms very slowly. I saw some at work near Sena. These cloths are called *machiras* and are about two and a half varas long and one and a half wide. They gird these *machiras* round their bodies and cross them over the breast, and the rest of the body is uncovered." (Father Monclaro as quoted by Theal — *Records of South Eastern Africa* III 229.) The vara measured slightly more than the English yard (Michaelis op. cit.) In Chapter XII of the first book of *Ethiopia Oriental* Dos Santos says the machira was "thrown over the shoulders like a cape, with which they cover and muffle themselves, always leaving a small portion of the cloth sufficiently long on the left side to trail on the ground, and the more it drags the greater their majesty and importance." Chapter CXXVIII of Bocarro's *Extractos* also mentions the fact that *machiras* were used for carrying sick or wounded persons. Hence the word, spelt as "machila", came latterly to be used to denote a hammock.

The lord of the lands, which extend from this river Rofuma as far as the salt sea, is Manhanga.(19) Leaving this river Bocarro slept at the house of Darama, to whom he gave six bracelets and a few beads. Thence he slept at the village of Davia, to whom he gave twenty bracelets and a necklace of beads. From there he slept in the town in which dwells Manhanga, the lord of these lands. Before he came to him, Bocarro sent in advance to acquaint him as to his coming, and sent as "the mouth" two hundred bracelets and a machira. When he came to him, he gave him a further six hundred bracelets. Muzura likewise sent this Cafre a hundred bracelets, and a machira, and a black girl, so that he might make the roads through his lands free to Bocarro. He (sc. Manhanga) gave Bocarro a tusk of ivory and sent to Muzura a present of garments, which had come there from the coast of Melinde,(20) because this Cafre is obedient to Muzura. Here Muzura's three guides returned, and also the three guides of Inhamocumba, the governor of Moramba, and also Chicoave's son. From here Bocarro travelled onwards with guides, who were given to him by Manhanga and to whom he gave forthwith twenty bracelets. They made their way for seven days through country, which was uninhabited, because it had been destroyed by the Zimbabwas,(21) who passed that way making war. At the end of seven days they reached the village of Chiponda, brother of Manhanga, to whom he gave fifty bracelets and a machira; and he (sc. Chiponda) gave him a small tusk of ivory; and he also gave him another Cafre to act as his guide and to accompany him on the road from there to the seashore, to whom Bocarro gave twenty bracelets. From there they made their way for four days through desert lands, and at the end of that time came to the village of Ponde, to whom they gave a few beads. Thence they went to the village of Morengue, to whom they gave a machira and a few beads. Thence they travelled through desert land for four days and came to Bucury, a village of Moors,(22) where they slept. The next day they came to the shore of the salt sea at the hour of midday. From there they embarked and passed over to the island of Quiloa,(23) which is opposite to the shore, where were the factor and other Portuguese, who made Bocarro their guest.

The inhabited lands along this road abound in foodstuffs, that is to say, millet, rice, fruits, hens, sheep, cows and goats, all of which are cheap. Gaspar Bocarro spent fifty three days on the road and also spent more than one hundred and fifty cruzados in presents and for his own food

(19) As to the probable meaning of this name cf. Appendix I.

(20) Probably from Kilwa Kisiwani cf. Note (3).

(21) As to the history of this tribe cf. Appendix II.

(22) Like other Portuguese chroniclers Bocarro used the word Moor (Mouro) to distinguish the coast inhabitant of mixed Arab and African blood from the pure Arab from Asia.

(23) Kilwa Kisiwani was at this date ruled by a "Moorish" Sultan, who was independent of the Portuguese, but was on friendly terms with them.

and for the food which he gave to the people who accompanied him on the road. Though Gaspar Bocarro spent fifty three days on the road with all his servants, they (sc. the servants) were able to return from Quiloa to Tete, travelling light, in no more than twenty-five days.(24)

At Quiloa Bocarro took ship for his voyage to Ormuz. On reaching Mombaça (25) he heard that the roads in Persia were being obstructed by the Shah, and the land was at war. Therefore he decided to return to Moçambique and thence to the rivers of Cuama, where he arrived safely.

I have written all the details of this journey, the names of the villages and the lands, and their lords, and the expenses incurred by Gaspar Bocarro, because, if any one in time to come wishes to make this journey, the adventurer, who makes it, may know about the road and the expense.

APPENDIX I.

MANHANGA.

I venture to suggest that the name Manhanga is a Portuguese corruption of the Bantu word Ma-Nyanja and that it is in reality not the name of a chief, but the name of a tribe over which the chief in question ruled.

It should be observed that Portuguese chroniclers have more than once mistaken the name of a Bantu tribe for the name of the chief of that tribe. An example of this occurs in the case of the translation given by De Barros in *Da Asia* of the Arabic chronicle of Kilwa. In the translation it is stated that a certain Matata Mandalima, king of Xanga, once conquered the island of Kilwa,(26) whereas the Arabic version of chronicle, which was printed in 1895 in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, shows that the invaders actually were a tribe called Matamandalin (27).

If my transliteration is correct, then Ma-Nyanja means "the people of the lake," that lake obviously being Lake Nyasa. In this connection it is perhaps not out of place to refer to a report which was made by the explorer, Joseph Thomson, who was sent in 1881, by the Sultan of Zanzibar to examine and report upon some coal deposits which were alleged to exist* in the upper reaches of the Rovuma. At Kwamakanja, near the cataracts

(24) When the C.M.S. Missionary, J. Erhardt, wrote his "*Memoir on the great inland sea of Unyamwezi, or Nyassi*" (printed in *Mittheilungen Petermann's* for January, 1856), he stated that he had been informed "by a respectable slave merchant" that "the journey from Kiloa to the banks of the Lake generally takes thirty days."

(25) Mombasa was at this date in possession of the Portuguese.

(26) G. M. Theal — *Records of South Eastern Africa* VI. 241.

(27) J. A. Strong — *History of Kilwa* p. 388; G. Ferrand — *Les Sultans de Kilwa* (*Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines* XVII. 248, 249).

*and do in fact exist—Ed.

of the Lujende, he found the remnants of a tribe called the Manyanja, who came from "near Nyassa." At that date they were only represented by a few people scattered here and there among the various other tribes. "They are closely allied to the Matambwe, though properly they do not belong to the region under consideration." (28)

These scattered groups may have been the exceeding small remnant of what had once been the predominant tribe in these regions, but whether or not they were the tribe which Bocarro found there in 1616, is an open question. As the writings of Livingstone and others show, this region suffered considerably during the early nineteenth century from invasions from the South by the Maviti and also from slave raids, which must have led to considerable tribal movement. "The people of the lake," who appear to have been in these regions in 1616, may therefore not necessarily have belonged to the same tribe as "the people of the lake" who were in the same regions in 1881.

APPENDIX II.

THE ZIMBAS.

Some account of the history of the Zimbabwes is given by the Portuguese Missionary Dos Santos in his *Ethiopia Oriental*. They would appear to have reached the north bank of the upper Zambesi in about 1580. According to Dos Santos they "not only eat the men they kill in war, but also their captives when they are old and no longer fit for work, and they are not content with eating what is necessary for their sustenance, but the remainder they sell in the market as though it were the flesh of oxen or sheep." In 1589, somewhere in the vicinity of Sena on the Zambesi "a Cafre Muzimba . . ., who was lord of a little village and a few vassals, but who was very ambitious," collected an army, which is said by Dos Santos to have numbered eventually fifteen thousand men. This army marched northwards, "destroying and plundering all they found, and every living thing, not only men, women and children, but also cattle, cats, rats, snakes and lizards, sparing none except Cafres who came to them and wished to accompany them in their enterprise and whom they admitted into their army."

They reached the coast opposite to Kilwa Kisiwani. Being unable to cross over to the island, they blockaded it by land for several months. Eventually through the treachery of one of the inhabitants of Kilwa, they managed to gain an entry by night into the island, the inhabitants of which they murdered, killing and devouring some three thousand persons.

From Kilwa they made their way to Mombasa, which was at the time being blockaded by a Portuguese fleet. With the approval of the Portu-

(28) Joseph Thomson — *Notes on the Basin of the River Rovuma, East Africa*, —P.R.G.S. (N.S.) IV. 70, 72, 76.

guese commander they crossed over to the island and repeated the atrocities, which they had perpetrated at Kilwa.

Thence they continued their way northwards to Malindi and attacked that town, which was defended by the inhabitants, aided by thirty Portuguese. Whilst the Zimbabwas were attacking the town, the Mosseguejos (Wa-Segeju) attacked them in the rear and put them to flight. According to Dos Santos, all of whose figures must be accepted with some caution, only the chief of the Zimbabwas and a hundred of his followers escaped from the slaughter.

It would appear to have been this horde of Zimbabwas which raided 'Manhanga's country' on the way northwards in 1589. It would also appear that the scars of their ravages still existed a quarter of a century later.

‘Mens Sana’

by *Kenneth Austin Dobson.*

18th April, 1948.

In a paper read by her at a meeting of the Royal Empire Society on July 30th last year, Mrs. Elspeth Huxley, while discussing some of the difficulties that confront us in East Africa, called attention to a problem that — perhaps because it is a problem of the mind — is given less attention than it merits. ‘But on the psychological side, I fear,’ she said, ‘we are still like children playing blind man’s buff in the dark. We do not know how to . . . hold his [the African’s] loyalties to us politically, in face of a far more resourceful and unscrupulous opposition.’*

There is here a dilemma and a challenge. The dilemma forms the background to all the other problems of which the African is the subject. The challenge is to our skill in meeting it.

What are the natives of East Africa now thinking? The majority of them of course think little. They are concerned only with obtaining food, with birth, death, beer and witchcraft. They see no further than the pebbly tree-lined stream-bed that forms the boundary of the chiefdom in which they live; the world outside is a mystery that they have no need to explore; and the questionings of those who laboriously study print are beyond their ken and outside their interest. They are important only so far as they are the clay which is moulded by governments or those who oppose governments.

It is the minority, the small active band of questioners who, in history, have always counted and who count now in East Africa. This minority have in recent years acquired a considerable measure of political-mindedness. They have begun to criticize the present order of things; they are asking why life is as it is.

Naturally the curiosity of the African (and by ‘the African’ I mean now and henceforward this questioning minority) is directed first to the material aspects that he sees around him. He wonders why he is poor — and, of course, why the European is, by comparison, so rich. It is always easier to perceive the faults of others than one’s own, and very understandably he comprehends little of his own irresponsibility, unreliability and inaptitude for sustained effort. The European can hammer away on a typewriter or can drive a lorry; so can he; and yet he is paid far less. It is only a short step forward to discover a conspiracy to defraud him.

Once this conspiracy is suspected everything else falls into place. The European has come to Africa for what he can get out of it; indeed he talks quite openly of exploiting (odious word!) its resources. He is to use

Africa to redress the adverse balance of his own (hardly outwardly visible) reduction in wealth. He will not provide cheap piece-goods because he prefers to send all the cotton to his own country to be expensively manufactured there for the benefit of his own people, rather than take the obvious course of establishing a factory in the country where the cotton is grown. He encourages local economic crops, it is true, but only because thereby he can buy the produce at a low price and increase the tax. Politically, he talks glibly of 'the road to self-government' while imposing a system of Native Administration by chiefs some of whom are completely illiterate. He reluctantly admits a few Africans to the Legislative Councils, but carefully restricts their numbers so that their voice is hushed and subdued. When more and yet more education is asked for he pleads the poverty of the country. And finally he retains large portions of African land on the ground that the uneducated African would only misuse them if he had them. The conspiracy is obvious.

The African has begun to read, and what he reads adds fuel to the fire. Much honest reporting in the papers is misunderstood. In addition there is plenty of literature designed specifically to inflame. Too often it succeeds in its purpose.

Then there is this matter of freedom. During the last two years the African has heard much of members of the Commonwealth attaining independence and self-government. Already he is beginning to wonder when and how he will come into this blissful picture. Mr. E. M. Hyde Clarke, the Labour Commissioner in Kenya, referred to this question at a meeting of the Royal Empire Society held to discuss Mrs. Elspeth Huxley's address. This is an excerpt from the report of his remarks: 'He [the African] was imbued with the spirit which we ourselves were preaching, that of a nation ruling itself, and he [Mr. Hyde Clarke] was absolutely convinced that what was in every African's mind was how soon they could get rid of what they regarded as the master race. That must be clearly understood because it governed all their actions. This was not confined to East Africa, it was all over Africa. There was a feeling of, "Even if we make mistakes we make them ourselves, so let us do as we want." He did not see any solution'.

The idea of self-government as a way of escape in the end from the European plot has already impinged itself on the African's consciousness.

The African is deeply suspicious and more bewildered than he admits. He has learned to admire civilization. He has of course mistaken civilization for something which it is not. He believes it is synonymous with material possessions and that the darker the colour of a man's skin the less he is allowed to have of it. He does not know that civilization is a way of life, that it is measured by its thought, its literature and its art. He sees only that in material things he is at the bottom of the list. He is

convinced that he is there not by his own default but by the will of others. He reads that in some countries there is a thing called a colour-bar.

The African is tending rapidly to become a victim of morbidity and self-pity. There is a conspiracy against him because of the blackness of his skin. The conspiracy is universal and complete.

This psychological problem is the most formidable of all on the long list of questions without answers which haunt the minds of those who occupy themselves with Africa. Also, because it is the least tangible and the least understood, it receives the least publicity and the least attention. Economic and political development are comprehensible purposes that can be grasped and striven for; more ingenuity is required to deal with an attitude of mind. And yet, as Mrs. Huxley has said, there is a resourceful and unscrupulous opposition to be contended with. Is there not at least something positive in that?

Mr. Hyde Clarke does not see any solution; Mrs. Huxley does not know how we can hold African loyalties to us politically. There is of course no ready-made answer to any of the problems of Africa of which we can say: this is the remedy and, if you apply it, it will work. But that does not mean that we must despair.

Consider whether in fact economic and political development can be of any value if, while they are pursued, the loyalty of the African is estranged.

Surely of very little value and equally surely it is incumbent on us to formulate and face this problem and to seek the lines on which it can be tackled.

The only method of meeting the problem that has so far been attempted is to issue reminders to the African that our main objective is to teach him to govern himself. These trite and comforting *douceurs* are thrown out by responsible persons on frequent occasions. So much overt evidence of our colonial intentions in this respect has recently been given to the world that even the most suspicious may believe that self-government is, in fact, our aim. But the doubt here is not whether or no the colonies are to become self-governing units, but whether within any foreseeable time the African will be in a position to manage his own affairs without external assistance. Those who know Africa best are inclined to think the process of acquiring the necessary stability will, in East Africa, cover a period of several generations. If that is so, it would be wiser to temper every allusion to the aim with the honest comment that the goal is far off and the way to it as twisting and rugged as the paths of this hard and unyielding country. Unqualified assertion of the aim may be misleading and harmful.

I suggest that there are two main lines of approach to the problem. First, we have to clarify and revise our own attitude. Secondly, we have

to convince the African that there is no conspiracy and, on the positive side, to attract his loyalty and friendship.

Our own attitude must be based on recognition of the fact that a problem exists; that contention with it is urgent; and that it merits the status of a first priority. Further we must be very clear as to the nature of the problem, and the methods of attack we can use.

Few people would now deny that a problem exists, but there are some, I believe, who tend to depreciate its magnitude and urgency. They are misled perhaps by the fact that the questioning Africans are only a small minority. Further they observe that among them many favour an almost childish mixture of colour in their dress; that many prefer to sit squatting on the ground; that reading brings the stertorous breathing that accompanies excessive effort; that what is read is scarcely comprehended; and they conclude that such persons are too immature to be reasoned with. They are inclined to dismiss the matter with a smile, a shrug of the shoulders and a consoling reflection that it is all 'growing pains,' and that it can be dealt with later on.

It is dangerous to allow morbidity to become a habit. The fact that the education that has reached most Africans is the dimmest smattering of ill-digested information, that it is superimposed on a life in which indigenous custom still counts for more, that the recipients of it are the children of people who wore goat-skins or bark-cloth intensifies the difficulty; it does not solve it or make it suitable for postponement. That the criticism of the African is sometimes childish, that it is based frequently on lack of knowledge, that it is the criticism of persons who as yet see through a glass very darkly so that the perspective is unfocussed and the lines blurred makes the impasse more complicated and the search for a way out more urgent. To neglect a child because he is young, to deny him answers because he is immature is useless.

We are committed to running a number of colonies on democratic lines. It is the most difficult way to run them. Democracy implies that people may write, talk and think what they like within reason — and reason in this case is a pretty wide term. It also surely implies that the governing power must inform the people of its aims and policies in such a way that the people fully understand them. This is sometimes very hard to do.

But every effort should be made to do it. If the people are ignorant and poorly educated the governing power must pay more attention to the task of pressing home the message of hope and reason that it ought to bring. If the people suspect a conspiracy it is incumbent on the governing power to redouble its efforts and to disprove it. There is a resourceful and unscrupulous opposition; then that opposition must be engaged and resisted with equal resource and with the weapon of scrupulous honesty and 'good ideas'. It is the weapon the use of which Commander King-Hall in 'National News-Letter' has long advocated in the war against fascism

and communism; its use is equally applicable in the colonial sphere against the enemies of ignorance and misunderstanding. We have to convince the African that democracy as we interpret it has something worth while to offer him.

How are we to convince him? How are we to assure him that there is no conspiracy? How are we to win his trust and loyalty? Not by any number of councils and committees on any number of planes and levels with any number of communities and interests represented — that is certain. Not by any honeyed and meaningless words of comfort with our tongue in our cheek. By propaganda — propaganda in the good sense, meaning the dissemination of truth and knowledge on those subjects about which misunderstanding has arisen.

This propaganda must be constant, organized and liberally financed. In using it we must be prepared to take up the issue with bad propaganda and answer it with vigour; we must explain ourselves, not in apologetic undertones, but firmly and in such a way as to create an atmosphere of goodwill. At the same time we must be frank with the African — brutally frank if need be — on the subject of his own shortcomings and the reasons for his backwardness. All this will not be easy for us because we are not used to this kind of thing. But we shall reap the reward, for the African is not only avid for information; he is anxious for friendship.

How to reach him, how to put over ideas is an aspect of the problem that requires research. Efforts until now have been in the nature of shots in the dark; the results require co-ordinating. The whole subject needs extensive study. I would suggest that the establishment of a propaganda research organization is the first essential. It is not sufficient to think of ways of disseminating knowledge; it is necessary that the results should be studied and the effects gauged.

At the same time the Public Relations or Information Offices of the East African governments should be expanded to a size suitable for the control and direction of a large-scale system of propaganda. These offices should be assigned a foremost place in the list of departmental precedence. They should be most liberally financed.

It may be of value to review some of the more obvious methods employed for the dissemination of knowledge, and to reflect on the small extent to which we have made use of them.

The African reading public is growing rapidly in size; reading material is the strongest weapon. There is an acute need for more books in English and vernacular languages; at the same time it is essential that there should be an organization that is employed on the most careful selection of material. How many people, I wonder, have escaped the distressing experience of finding on their clerk's table a copy of some inferior English novel — a work either of doubtful morality or of miserable sob-stuff — and of knowing that the clerk has picked it up somewhere either because he could

get nothing else or nothing better. The provision of a government sponsored magazine is an admitted necessity; in Tanganyika 'Mambo Leo' makes little appeal to a public at least part of which has outgrown it. In the sphere of literature as a propaganda weapon we are at the moment found utterly lacking. But the fact is recognized and an East African Literature Bureau is being established. There is every hope that it will tackle its massive task in the right way. But will it be voted the liberal funds that will be necessary if it is to succeed on a sufficient scale?

The cinema is a potentially powerful weapon; some good work has been done in this sphere, but the scale has been lamentably restricted. The possibilities of broadcasting to people few of whom possess receiving sets is obviously limited, but this approach also needs further exploration. The rapid delivery of news of government activities to the independent press is, of course, a constant essential.

The school, which with the expansion of education is touching a larger proportion of the population than before, is a ready-made field for propaganda. Here it should be possible to prepare good ground on which the conspiracy complex will not take root. The opportunities for explaining the Commonwealth and what it stands for are unlimited. More — it should be possible to inculcate a positive loyalty; young minds are imaginative and quickly absorb ideas of patriotism and communal effort; the flag can become to them what it is — the emblem of freedom, co-operation and goodwill. At present only a limited use is being made of these possibilities; and the average African child leaves school not proud to be a citizen of a great Commonwealth, nor proud to be the member of a tribe, but only vain of his abilities to fill — if he can get it — the post of junior clerk.

In his report for 1946, the Tanganyika Social Welfare Organizer records that lectures at Social Welfare Centres 'are moderately popular'; lectures are apt to be dull affairs at the best of times. Discussion Groups on the other hand, the Social Welfare Organizer describes as 'of greater value'. These latter institutions have cropped up of late in many different places. If European and African members are mixed they can be of immense help in the struggle against misunderstanding. If they are sympathetically conducted the African has a chance to 'get things off his chest'; the European on his part obtains a clearer view of the magnitude of the misunderstandings which arise. They have a further value in that they are, to some extent, a solution of the social problem — probably for the moment the only one. Provided they are carefully organized the more of them the better.

Social Welfare Centres assist in the war of ideas simply to the degree that they encourage sound intellectual activities and the distribution of good literature. Their other functions do not concern us here.

In the Provincial Administrations the East African governments have at their command propaganda machines of considerable potential power.

More than anyone else the Administrative Officer can reach the people and is concerned with every detail of their daily life. The African remains still uninterested in systems and wedded to the idea of personal rule. Individual contact is therefore of immense significance. Unfortunately the Administrative machine is at present so constructed that the Administrative Officer is unable to give adequate time to the task that is of all the most pressing — that of retaining personal touch with the people. Further, no device has yet been secured for eliminating the constant changes in the staff in charge of districts; and the African, beset by his desire to attach himself to a person, continues to be bewildered and distressed by them. From all point of view this situation is unsatisfactory; in connection with the problem before us it is a disastrous waste of one of the best weapons at our disposal.

But in this campaign for the dissemination of truth everyone who treats the educated, the semi-educated, or the slightly educated African as a human being and talks to him as such is fighting on the right side. Everyone who does not pooh-poo his aspirations, who spares a few minutes to chat to him about his problems is helping. All kinds of persons are acting, frequently without knowing it, as good propagandists.

The best way to attract the African's loyalty is to establish a mutual understanding. But we must not dismiss as of no account those outward and visible demonstrations of loyalty which are made by the holding of ceremonies and the exhibition of emblems. So anxious are we to elude the vulgarities of excessive 'flag-wagging' that we go to the other extreme, and almost hesitate to include the African in those moments of sentiment which we really prize. When we include him, we are apt to impose our own particular method of demonstration without thought to the reaction that it may cause in him. In the result a suppression of loyalty may be effected.

In November, 1947, the marriage of the heir to the throne took place in London amid moving scenes of unity and rejoicing. This was an occasion that could be comprehended by the simplest African villager; it was a situation that made a direct appeal to the imagination of educated and uneducated alike. It might have been made an unforgettable day in the memories of the people. But in Tanganyika the display was curtailed by demands for economy. Parades were held and speeches were made, it is true; but they were a poor substitute for the lavish distribution of meat and beer which Africa expects of royalty. There is a potential loyalty asking to be allowed to express itself. We must help it.

We give too little thought to items of routine display; and almost none to the effect they produce. It is well known that the African is impartial to photographs which show only the head and shoulders; yet in places where photographs of Their Majesties appear by official direction, they are frequently not full length ones. We cause flags to be exhibited in suitable circumstances; yet it is not unknown for the flag outside a District

Office to appear blurred, tattered and weary with old age. Again, as a people we tend to be uninterested in ceremonial. But to Africans ceremonial is a very important thing, and the informality of high officialdom — which we prize as being a sign of a democratic attitude — strikes them as being incongruous and out of place. It fails to appeal to their imagination. And loyalty and imagination have, after all, something to do with each other.

If we are to rid the mind of the African of the idea of conspiracy and to attract his loyalty to the Commonwealth we have to 'put over' and force on to his consciousness the conceptions that we believe to be 'good ideas'. We can effect this only by systematic propaganda. The degree to which the message is put over depends on the ingenuity with which it is applied and the scale on which it is pursued. No amount of apparent achievement eliminates the necessity for research, the analysis of results, and the strictest co-ordination of effort.

The scale on which it is pursued rests on the amount of money made available. Here, of course, is the rub. Many will agree with what I have said but will shy at the financial implications. To do the job properly would be very costly indeed. And we have not the money?

That depends. It is not really a question of available money but of deciding priorities in expenditure. I repeat that all the money that is now being put into development, economic and political, will go for little if, in the process, the confidence of the African is lost. Bearing that in mind we have to allot from the resources at our disposal.

We must in this matter clarify our own minds and be bold and frank and resolute. The African wants to know whether democracy is a positive or a negative force; we must show him. We are engaged in this continent in the greatest social experiment in history. It is an experiment that can succeed. But we shall need to apply all our skill to it — in the sphere of the mind as well as of the body.

Some Sukuma Bird Names

by C. Whybrow.

For people who are still close to the land, the ignorance about birds of the average African is surprising. He knows little if any more about the birds of his own country than the average Englishman knows about his. A year or two ago an enquiry among elementary schoolmasters in rural Hertfordshire revealed that hardly any could recognize as many as twenty species, and I doubt whether the average Msukuma knows the names of twenty Sukumaland birds.

There is rather a tendency for Sukuma, and doubtless other tribesmen, to invent names on the spur of the moment for the sake of pleasing the enquirer. A regular informant is soon cured of this, but one must be on guard with the casual. There is one name in the following list which sounds as though it might be an invention though my informant assured me that it is not; Shivyanduhu is said, not very reliably, to be the Steel-blue Pintaile Whydah (*Vidua hypocherina*) and also the Paradise Whydah (*Steganura paradisaea*). Now, Shivya is a Mousebird (*Colius striatus*), so that Shivya nduhu, as two words, should mean "Just a Mousebird." My informant agreed, but still stuck to the name. All three species, be it noted, have long tails but little else in common.

The present list is, of course, very far from being exhaustive. Such as it is, however, it has taken some time to compile and it is offered now in the hope that it may save other enthusiasts some initial spade work when they come to Sukumaland. I venture to suggest that, whether or not they contribute their own lists of native bird names to "Tanganyika Notes and Records," they should at any rate ensure that these are recorded in the District Book where they will be accessible to future bird watchers.

Except in the one or two cases noted in the list, the Sukuma names have been collected within a couple of miles or so of Bwiru, which is four miles north of Mwanza. It is necessary to state this because I find that names, especially for the less important medium-sized birds, vary tremendously in different parts of Sukumaland, even from *gunguli* to *gunguli*. This undoubtedly accounts for many of the alternatives in the list, for of my three chief informants, all of whom have a very considerable knowledge of birds, one was born and bred at Usagara, fourteen miles South of Mwanza, the second, an elderly man, has lived all his life at Bwiru, while the third comes from a few miles east of Mwanza along the Musoma road. A number of other casual informants are from various parts of northern Sukumaland. It is important to make sure that one's informants are not members of other tribes, such as Wakerewe, of whom there are large numbers near the lake shore.

Moreau and Haldane have both made clear the difficulty of being sure that the name given to one for any particular bird is correct. Even

if two people independently give the same name there is no certainty. I should feel inclined to accept the testimony of three separate witnesses, while if four give me the same name for the same bird I feel quite sure that I have got the right one. In the following list I have attempted to assess the degree of reliability as follows:

- 4—certain; name in common use.
- 3—almost certain; several independent informants.
- 2—probably correct; at least three independent informants.
- 1—needs confirmation; two or at most three informants.
- 0—not reliable; one or at most two informants.

Bilibili	4	<i>Centropus superciliosus</i> , White-browed Coucal
Bidiuru, Bidyuru (onomatopoeic)	1	<i>Onychognathus morio</i> , Red-winged Starling.
Bushesha	1	<i>Melittophagus pusillus</i> , Little Bee-eater.
	0	<i>Prinia mistacea</i> , Tawny-flanked Longtail.
Busilili, Buzelele	2	<i>Uraeginthus bengalus</i> , Red-eared Blue Wax-bill.
	1	<i>Granatina ianthinogaster</i> , Purple Grenadier.
Busili gitii	2	<i>Granatina ianthinogaster</i> , Purple Grenadier.
Buyenzegele	1	<i>Spermestes cucullatus</i> , Bronze Mannikin. (but Punze is commoner)
Changalucha	1	<i>Tchitrea viridis</i> , Paradise Flycatcher.
(greet the morning)	2	<i>Cossypha heuglini</i> , Heuglin's Robin.
	0	<i>Thamnota cinnamomeiventris</i> , Cliff Chat.
Chenya	0	<i>Oenanthe oenanthe</i> , Wheatear.
Dede	4	<i>Cisticola</i> spp., Grass Warblers.
Dede zululu	0	<i>Prinia mistacea</i> , Tawny-flanked Longtail.
Detemela mbula	0	<i>Falco</i> ? <i>naumanni</i> , Kestrel sp.
(trembles before rain)		
Dhela, Ndela	4	<i>Bubulcus ibis</i> , Cattle Egret.
(the white one)	3	<i>Mesophoyx intermedius</i> , Yellow-billed Egret.
	3	<i>Egretta garzetta</i> , Little Egret.
Doma	1	<i>Sylvietta whytei</i> , Crombec.
	1	<i>Camaroptera brevicaudata</i> , Glasseye.
Dululima	1	<i>Halcyon leucocephala</i> , Grey-headed Kingfisher.
	1	<i>Ispidina picta</i> , Pigmy Kingfisher.
		These two birds are thought to be male and female of the same species.
Duruduru	0	<i>Vidua fischeri</i> , Straw-tailed Whydah.
Dule, Dure	2	<i>Actophilornis africana</i> , Lily-trotter.
Furubeji	3	<i>Porphyryla alleni</i> , Allen's Reedhen.
(noise made by ejecting water from lips after gargling— Ku-furubira)	3	<i>Limnocolaptes flavirostris</i> , Black Crake.

Galya	0 <i>Eremopteryx leucopareia</i> (immature) Fischer's Sparrow-lark.
	0 <i>Anthus</i> sp., Pipit.
Gihi, Gii	3 <i>Bubo africanus</i> , Spotted Eagle-Owl.
Giri, Gili	1 <i>Estrilda subflava</i> , Zebra Waxbill.
Gwengele	2 <i>Pycononotus tricolor</i> , Yellow-vented Bulbul. (But Kongotoro preferred)
Gwlegwle, Guleegulee (onomatopoeic)	3 <i>Stephanibyx coronatus</i> , Crowned Plover.
Halaliji	1 <i>Ardeola ralloides</i> , Squacco Heron.
Momangi	1 <i>Apalis flavida</i> , Black-throated Warbler.
	0 <i>Dryoscopus cuba</i> , Puffback Shrike.
Hoyogo, Ng'huyuku	4 <i>Cuncuma vocifer</i> , Fish Eagle.
Huji	1 <i>Columba guinea</i> , Rock Pigeon, in Kwimba District.
Hungwe	4 <i>Milvus migrans</i> , Yellow-billed Kite.
Ichwangi	1 <i>Onychognathus morio</i> , Redwing Starling.
Jika magembe (Hoe-hider)	4 <i>Tchitrea viridis</i> , Paradise Flycatcher.
Jiji	4 <i>Lagonosticta</i> spp., Firefinches, Ruddy Wax- bills.
	1 <i>Granatina ianthinogaster</i> , Purple Grenadier. Jiji is the word for various small waxbills which are said to live in or near human habitations and therefore must not be eaten.
Jiji ngoro	2 <i>Estrilda erythronotus</i> , Black-cheeked Waxbill.
	1 <i>Granatina ianthinogaster</i> , Purple Grenadier. Jiji ngoro, like Jiji, is a rather vague term and covers small waxbills which are not associated with human habitations and so may be eaten.
Jiji kwimpa	3 <i>Pytilia melba</i> , Melba Finch.
Jilili	1 <i>Pytilia melba</i> , Melba Finch.
	2 <i>Quelea cardinalis</i> , Cardinal Dioch.
	0 <i>Actitis hypoleucos</i> , Common Sandpiper.
Kasaka	3 <i>Pandion haliaëtus</i> , Osprey.
Kasoju, see Soju	
Kawatala	3 <i>Trachyphonus darnaudii</i> , Ground Barbet.
	2 <i>Lybius albicauda</i> , White-tailed Barbet.
Kele, see Ng'hele	
Kekera	0 <i>Spermestes cucullatus</i> , Bronze mannikin. (Punze preferred)
Kengese	2 <i>Turtur chalcospilos</i> , Emerald-spotted Dove.
Kimilanzoka	4 <i>Ardea melanocephala</i> , Black-headed Heron.
(snake-eater)	2 <i>Ardea cinerea</i> , Grey Heron.
Kipatakuli	2 <i>Buteo rufofuscus</i> , Augur Buzzard.
(Lizard-catcher)	

Kipalanyonga,	0	<i>Dryoscopus cubla</i> , Puffback Shrike.
Paranyonga	1	<i>Melittophagus pusillus</i> , Little Bee-eater.
(scratcher of snail shells)	3	<i>Lampromorpha klaasi</i> , Klaas's Cuckoo.
	3	<i>Lampromorpha caprius</i> , Didric Cuckoo.
Kiporo	0	<i>Thamnolaea cinnamomeiventris</i> , Cliff Chat.
	1	<i>Xanthophilus xanthops</i> , Golden weaver.
	1	<i>Chlorocichla flaviventris</i> , Yellow-bellied Bulbul.
	0	<i>Campephaga flava</i> , Black Cuckoo-Shrike (female).
Kishora	2	<i>Cossypha heuglini</i> , Heuglin's Robin.
	2	<i>Turdus libonyanus</i> , Kurrichane Thrush.
		These are thought by most Sukuma to be respectively male and female of the same species.
Kisolabulimi	2	<i>Melittophagus pusillus</i> , Little Bee-eater.
(picker up of things in the shambas)		
Kongotoro	4	<i>Pycnonotus tricolor</i> , Yellow-vented Bulbul.
Kolomizi	2	<i>Serinus mozambicus</i> , Yellow-fronted Canary.
	2	<i>Polioptila angolensis</i> , Yellow-rumped Seed-eater.
Kunguwiru	1	<i>Pycnonotus tricolor</i> , Yellow-vented Bulbul.
Lubundaji	3	<i>Caprimulgus</i> spp., Nightjars.
Lukia	0	<i>Steganura paradisea</i> , Paradise Whydah.
	0	<i>Vidua hypocherina</i> , Steel-blue Pintailed Whydah.
Lwelwe	4	<i>Sphenorhynchus abdimii</i> , Abdim's Stork.
Mabu, Mavu	1	<i>Muscicapa striata</i> , Spotted Flycatcher.
(ashes)		
Mazwi, Madzwi	4	<i>Passer griseus</i> , Grey-headed Sparrow.
	0	<i>Batis molitor</i> , Chinspot Flycatcher.
Mafofero, Mafefero,	4	<i>Fringillaria tahapisi</i> , Cinnamon-breasted
Mafifiro		Rock-Bunting.
Makisenge	3	<i>Sagittarius serpentarius</i> , Secretary Bird.
(unpoisoned arrows)		
Mamaye wa mbalaga	1	<i>Emberiza flavivenetris</i> , Golden-breasted
(Tchagra's grand-mother)		Bunting.
Mbalaga	4	<i>Tchagra australis</i> , Brown-headed Tchagra Shrike.
Mgeni, Mugeni	4	<i>Scopus umbretta</i> , Hammerkop.
Mhambi, Munhambi,	4	<i>Hirundo</i> spp., all species of swallows and
Mhambee		martins.
Mila	0	<i>Passer griseus</i> , Grey-headed Sparrow.
Nanda	2	<i>Buteo rufofuscus</i> , Augur Buzzard.
	1	<i>Aquila rapax</i> , Tawny Eagle.
	1	<i>Polemaetus bellicosus</i> , Martial Eagle.

Ngalya	2	<i>Campethera nubica</i> , Nubian Woodpecker.
	1	<i>Picidae</i> spp., all other woodpeckers.
Ngayabura	1	<i>Actitis hypoleucos</i> , Common Sandpiper.
(having no intestines)		
Ng'hele	3	<i>Streptopelia semitorquata</i> , Red-eyed Dove. Used for any large dove, but not <i>Columba</i> .
Ng'hulu, Ng'huru	4	<i>Stigmatopelia senegalensis</i> , Laughing Dove. Used for most small doves.
(onomatopoeic)		
Ng'hunga, Mhunga	4	<i>Larus fuscus</i> , Lesser Black-backed Gull.
	4	<i>Larus cirrocephalus</i> , Grey-headed Gull.
	4	<i>Gelochelidon nilotica</i> , Gull-billed Tern.
Ng'hunguru	3	<i>Corvultur albicollis</i> , White-necked Raven.
Ng'hwenge	2	<i>Thamnotlaea cinnamomeiventris</i> , Cliff Chat.
Ng'huyuku, Hoyogo	4	<i>Cuncuma vocifer</i> , Fish Eagle.
Ng'ong'oli	3	<i>Balearica regulorum</i> , Crowned Crane.
Nguo	0	<i>Lampromorphe klaasi</i> , Klaas's Cuckoo.
Nhindili	4	<i>Columba guinea</i> , Speckled Rock Pigeon.
Nhurununu, Nhununu	3	<i>Laniarius funebris</i> , Sooty Boubou Shrike.
Ngobo ya ng'wenga	2	<i>Dryoscopus cubla</i> , Puffback Shrike.
(bride's trousseau)		
Nunu	0	<i>Eurystomus afer</i> , Broad-billed Roller.
	0	<i>Turtur chalcophilos</i> , Emerald-spotted Dove.
Nyabuhanda	0	<i>Hypochera ultramarina</i> , Indigo Finch.
Nyamabu, Nyamavu	1	<i>Muscicapa striata</i> , Spotted Flycatcher.
Nyamadasu	4	<i>Euplectes hordacea</i> , Fire-crowned Bishop, males in breeding plumage.
(madasu means worn-out clothing)	1	<i>Euplectes gierowii</i> , Black Bishop, males in breeding plumage.
Nyamaseko	3	<i>Halcyon leucocephala</i> , Grey-headed King- fisher.
(the laughter)		
Nyamasele	4	<i>Motacilla aguimp</i> , Pied Wagtail.
Nyamkokoma	2	<i>Ardea gloath</i> , Goliath Heron.
Nyamukoro	2	<i>Corvus albus</i> , Pied Crow.
Nyarukutu	0	<i>Lanius collurio</i> , Red-backed Shrike, female.
Nyawawa	4	<i>Hagedashia hagedash</i> , Hadedah Ibis.
	3	<i>Threskiornis aethiopicus</i> , Sacred Ibis.
	1	<i>Anastomus lamelligerus</i> , Openbill Stork.
Nzela, Dhela	4	<i>Bubulcus ibis</i> , Cattle Egret.
(the white one)	3	<i>Mesophoyx intermedius</i> , Yellow-billed Egret.
	3	<i>Egretta garzetta</i> , Little Egret.
Nzuli	2	<i>Turix sylvatica</i> , Kurrichane Button-Quail.
Punze	4	<i>Spermestes cucullatus</i> , Bronze Mannikin.
Paranyonga, see Kipalanyonga		
Sedi	2	<i>Scopus umbretta</i> , Hammerkop, in Maswa Dis- trict.

Sekela (the laughter)	4	<i>Ceryle rudis</i> , Pied Kingfisher.
Sese wa mbalaga (slave of the tchagra shrike)	2	<i>Emberiza flaviventris</i> , Golden-breasted Bunting.
Shemedi	3	<i>Buphagus erythrorhynchus</i> , Red-billed Oxpecker.
Shenganyaruguku (having a hump like an ox)	3	<i>Steganura paradisea</i> , Paradise Whydah.
Shivya, Shibya, Sivya	4	<i>Colius striatus</i> , Speckled Mousebird.
Shivyanduhu	0	<i>Vidua hypocherina</i> , Steel-blue Pintailed Whydah.
	0	<i>Steganura paradisea</i> , Paradise Whydah.
Soju, Kasoju, Soji, Suju	4	<i>Phalacrocorax carbo</i> , White-breasted Cormorant.
	4	<i>Phalacrocorax africanus</i> , Pigmy Cormorant.
	4	<i>Anhinga rufa</i> , Darter.
Sole	4	<i>Sitagra jacksoni</i> , Golden-backed Weaver.
	3	<i>Sitagra capitalis</i> , Yellow-collared Weaver.
	3	<i>Sitagra nigriceps</i> , Spot-back Weaver.
		The same word Sole is probably used for all the "yellow" weavers.
Somhe	3	<i>Euplectes hordacea</i> , Fire-crowned Bishop, males in eclipse and females.
Sopu	2	<i>Phalacrocorax</i> spp. and <i>Anhinga</i> (cormorants and Darter), in Nasa and Masanza II.
Sunzu	3	<i>Nectarinia erythroceria</i> , Red-bellied Sunbird.
	4	<i>Cinnyris mariquensis</i> , Marico Sunbird.
	4	<i>Cinnyris venustus</i> , Yellow-bellied Sunbird.
	4	<i>Chalcomitra senegalensis</i> , Scarlet-throated Sunbird.
		Sunzu appears to be used for all species of Sunbird, both male and female.
Surudi	2	<i>Colius striatus</i> , Speckled Mousebird.
Tilibojo	4	<i>Serinus mozambicus</i> , Yellow-fronted Canary.
	3	<i>Poliospiza angolensis</i> , Yellow-rumped Seed-eater.
Tindila, Tindela	0	<i>Turdoides melanops</i> , Black-faced Babbler.
	0	<i>Ispidina picta</i> , Pigmy Kingfisher.
Toju	3	<i>Eremopteryx leucopareia</i> , Fischer's Sparrow-Lark.
Tomba chiguru (mates on an anthill)	2	<i>Thamnotula cinnamomeiventris</i> , Cliff Chat.
Tuju	1	<i>Motacilla flava</i> , Yellow Wagtail.
Yokomile	1	<i>Anaplectes melanotis</i> , Red-winged Anaplectes

Zezeze	2	<i>Euplectes hordacea</i> , Fire-crowned Bishop, male in breeding plumage.
Zone	1	<i>Actitis hypoleucos</i> , Common Sandpiper.
	1	<i>Motacilla flava</i> , Yellow Wagtail.
Zululu, Dede zululu	1	<i>Prinia mistacea</i> , Tawny-flanked Longtail.

Some Lakes and Waterfalls of Central and Western Tanganyika

by Captain C. H. B. Grant.

Lakes and waterfalls have always had a peculiar attraction, and even in the most civilized countries the tourist and the hiker are irresistibly drawn to these areas. Perhaps one reason is that in this type of country man's hand has not been able altogether to mar its natural beauty.

In Tanganyika Territory there are many lakes and waterfalls each with its own particular charm, some of which are well known and can be seen from the motor roads and some so remote that they are seldom or never visited by a white man. The majority of these naturally lie in the more mountainous areas and especially those areas bordering or within the rift valley. I was fortunate between the years 1921 and 1932, of being in a position to explore and map the Kondoa Irangi, Bukoba and Kigoma districts, into the remotest corners of which my administrative duties took me.

Lakes :

In that extraordinarily sanded and eroded area around Kondoa Irangi where the rivers are broad, dry, sandy beds, sometimes three-quarters of a mile wide, and where the flood water tumbles and roars along immediately after a heavy storm, to disappear almost as quickly as it came, it is rather remarkable to find permanent lakes.

There are however three or four swampy patches, mainly extensive reed beds with open water at the centre, and the most interesting of these is Lake Haubi, eighteen miles north-east of Kondoa town. The approach to this lake is up a ten-mile rough and rocky path from Kolo, and one debouches on to a plain through deeply eroded and wide channels with steep crumbling walls and sandy bottoms. Lake Haubi lies in the centre of this plain at 650 feet above Kolo (4,800 feet), surrounded on all sides by rocky hills culminating in the forest-clad 7,070-foot sacred Michiulu Mountain in the north-eastern corner. On the northern and eastern side these hills drop steeply to the flat country 1,000—1,200 feet below. This lake is one and a half miles long by one mile broad, bordered by a wide bed of reeds (though most of it is open water), and the upland plain in which it lies is three by three and a half miles across. It drains the inner walls of the surrounding hills and has an outlet at the south-eastern corner which takes the excess water to the Dalai and Karema Rivers. There are no crocodiles and no fish, and consequently no canoes, but it is the home of spur-winged geese which fly mornings and evenings to the grass on the surrounding plain. Its depth is unknown.

One mile south-east of Kondoa town lies a small lake one mile long and half a mile broad with a considerable amount of open water down the centre. It is the catchment area of the Baula and Segha Rivers, their

tributaries to the north and east and the hills immediately eastward. It has an outlet over flat ground at the south-eastern end. Local cattle frequent its shores and it is the gathering point for very considerable numbers of duck and geese, and shooting only once a week my season's bag was some two hundred and fifty birds. I was informed that in 1934 this lake had dried up, the bottom having "dropped out of it."*

In the Kasulu district about eighteen miles north-east of Kasulu Boma and just south of Nyagwenda and Mligombe ridges lie two small circular lakes, Moyo and Musimu, no more than a half to three-quarters of a mile in diameter, both within an area of two miles. These are remarkable in that their sides drop abruptly into deep water and there is nowhere a shelving beach, and no similar ones are to be found among the small lakes and ponds elsewhere in the district. Their almost circular shape and precipitous banks point to their being crater lakes, and this is supported by the fact that Kasulu is within the Birungu volcanic ring.

In the Bukoba district on the Tanganyika Territory side of the Kagera River where it forms the boundary with the Belgian Congo south of the Kagera Bend, are some twenty-two so-called lakes, all of which are connected with the river and are therefore really overflows on to the depressions where the hills lie back from the river valley. These have however the appearance and character of lakes, even though one at least is only divided from the river by a belt of papyrus, and occur along a sixty-five mile stretch of the river. All have a charm and beauty of their own and perhaps the most beautiful of all of them is Lweru Ruabishonga, nine miles long by two and a half miles broad, which was named Lake Windermere by Captain Grant when he passed that way in 1862.† Its shape and setting do support Captain Grant's impression, and it is so protected by the surrounding hills that the wind never ruffles it and the calmness of the glassy surface of such an extent of water is truly remarkable. So calm it is that a canoe can be at once detected by the light catching the ripples of water. A fine view of this lake can be obtained from the top of the 4,900-foot Mashaigi Hill at the southern end near the village of Mushaigi, 4,300 feet. There are no hippopotamus. Another lake, Kazinga, is shallow at its south-eastern corner where it is reedy and muddy, and boasts a small open plain from which the trees are absent as no doubt this is flooded during the heavy rains. This corner is full of hippopotamus and herds of antelope come there to drink just before dusk. It was indeed an experience (which grows rarer every day) to be able to sit in one's camp chair and see so many beasts in and around the water. They showed no fear and had probably seldom or never heard the report of a rifle. The largest of these lakes is Mujunyu, nine and a half miles long by three and a half miles broad.

* But was again holding water by 1941.—Ed.

† "A Walk across Africa," 1864.



Lake Kasinga, Karagwe, Bukoba District.



Bugonzi Fall, Kamachumu, Bukoba District.

The Kagera River on its northward and eastward course between the southern Bukoba boundary and Kigagati ferry flows calm and muddy through fringes of dense papyrus, but between the latter point and near to Kabuer it is mainly a tumbling picturesque series of rapids and pools cut through a rocky stretch of terrain, once again becoming a calm muddy papyrus fringed waterway on the flatter lands for the remainder of its course to Lake Victoria.

Down the centre of the Bukoba district a depression runs north and south and within this lie large expanses of papyrus and reedy swamps which at the time of my visit had been only imperfectly mapped. These are the Kamakara, Kashasha, Burigi and Kazinga lakes, the two former are one and cover an area twenty-six miles long and three and a half miles broad at the widest and were not previously shown on any map. Stanley in 1889* passed down the eastern side of Burigi, but in his map does not show the wide arm of the Kazinga running eastwards from the north end of Burigi proper, and yet my examination of it did not show that it had been formed since Stanley's visit. Burigi is fifteen miles long and the Kazinga part of it is also fifteen miles long, both being three miles broad at their widest. All the water of this central depression has a northward trend along the Kajunju and debouches into the Kagera by the Mwisa River, two miles west of the Kyaka crossing on the Bukoba-Kampala road. This depression is fairly well populated.

Eighteen miles south west of Bukoba lies Lake Ukimba only a short distance from the motor road. This is a considerable sheet of water of fifteen by ten miles and has an outlet at its western side into the Rubare and thence into the Ngono, Kagera and Lake Victoria. The hills stand some way back from this lake and its shores are fairly thickly populated. Stuhlmann mapped the western, eastern and southern end in 1891, from Kasinga rise at the north end. Judging by his map in *Peterm. Geog. Mitt.* P1.16, 1892, this lake has not appreciably altered, and although at its north-eastern corner it would appear to be likely to flood the motor road this should not occur unless the outlet at the western side becomes completely blocked. Ravenstein's map of 1882, does not show this lake, but it is found on Stanley's map in his account of the relief of Emin Pasha 1887-89, and also in the map in a paper by Lugard in *Royal Geographical Society's Journal* 14, 1892.

Waterfalls :

In the wet season many mountain streams have larger or smaller waterfalls, but are either dry or mere trickles at other times of the year, and the perennial waterfalls are therefore comparatively few in number. The mountainous country of the Bukoba district with its extensive patches of forest and perennial streams contains a good many very picturesque and beautiful falls, the greatest of which is that of the Bugonzi north of Kamachumu and twenty miles south of Bukoba. It is formed by the

* *"In Darkest Africa,"* 1890.

rocky stream of the same name which flows past the Rotabo Mission and falls a sheer 530 feet down a precipitous scarp. This column of water can be viewed from the top and from the bottom. At the top it can be reached by car and at the bottom is a very short walk from the motor road. It is situated in very wild scenery with rocky scarps, trees and banana plantations, and the pool at the foot is deep. It is perhaps particularly attractive when a wind sways the column into a serpentine shape and spray breaks away down wind. To the north of Bukoba and two miles south of Gera on the Gera to Katima motor road is a small but very pretty fall which can easily be overlooked as it is immediately under the road and cannot be seen from it. Its situation in dense untouched vegetation is particularly pleasing. In southern Ihangiro and about three miles south of Karambi a twenty-foot fall is to be found at the Gashara River which flows westward and lies to the west of the footpath from Karambi to Bugarama. This fall is some sixty miles south of Bukoba as the crow flies, and, though small, is prettily situated under a screen of creepers which have to be parted and crept through before the fall is seen in its setting of rich vegetation and ferns.

At the southern end of Lake Lweru Ruabishonga some eighty-five miles as the crow flies south-west of Bukoba and to the north of the footpath from Mutukula to Mwibalie, the Mutukula River flows in from the south-east through a savanna type of country. Some three and a half miles upstream from the lake, close to where the footpath crosses the river some 650 feet above the lake, is a fall over a thirty-foot ledge. This is a picturesque fall with no unusual feature.

The fall of the Kimbwebwa in central Ihangiro lies east of the footpath from Chianga to Kakoma and is some forty-seven miles south-south-west of Bukoba as the crow flies. This small fall lies in steep rocky country and is most attractively situated in picturesque surroundings.

In the Kigoma district there are the three waterfalls on the Malagarasi River; the Ngoma Itale, the Igamba, and a fall between the Bulega and Gagwe Hills which I was unable to visit. The Ngoma Itale and Igamba are one and a half miles apart, and the latter is, according to native legend, the wife of the former. Both may be reached in five and a half hours walking from Lugufu station on the Central Railway line. The Ngoma Itale Falls comprise the northern rapids and the main fall on the southern side. The main fall is a perpendicular drop of seventy to eighty feet and some one hundred to one hundred and twenty yards wide, and the northern rapids are some eighty yards across, most of the water flowing beneath the honeycombed sandstone, but in the dry season only the main fall carries water. At the height of the rainy season the whole is a rushing volume of water, but when I was there on the 13th July, 1926, the river had started to fall, and it was possible to walk across the rocks to the far edge, and look down into the pool, with the main fall almost directly facing one; the northern rapids find their way through the honeycombed rock under one's feet, and fall into the pool from the undercut cliff below.



Ngoma Itale Falls, Malagarasi River.



Kondwe Fall, Tongwe, Kigoma District.

Although not to be compared with the great falls of the world it has a grandeur and beauty of its own, and this is enhanced by being remote from human habitation. As we look up river the tumbling waters come rushing towards us, as we look down river the same broken waters go tumbling away far below, and almost at our feet the roaring waters drop sheer over the fall into the foaming pool, and mist and spray soon wet us through, and we have to shout to be heard at all. But I think the best view of the fall could be obtained from the southern bank, for here one could see both the main fall and the northern rapids as they debouch from the honeycombed perpendicular sandstone face; but unfortunately I had no time to scramble over the trackless stretch of rough escarpment from the village below the Igamba Falls on the south bank of the river.

The Ngoma Itale, i.e. "the Drum of the bare Rocks," is so named for beneath an upturned flat rock near the northern edge of the main falls is a rock worn by the rushing waters into the shape of a native drum, and this is held in reverence by the Mteko and her people, who propitiate it with presents of food. The late Mteko was wont to go into the pool below the main falls, and remain there for long periods, and when he re-appeared at his village his body was covered with a white substance. My guide said this was foam in which the spirit of the falls had covered him. Originally, so my guide told me, this rock was a perfect replica of a drum, with the drum sticks lying across the top, and even the pegs around the edge which hold on the skin. But many years back a party from Tongwe, who had been raiding into Uvinza, were returning home, and as a last act wrenched off one of the drum sticks. But the spirits of the drum and falls were infuriated with this act of vandalism, and when the party tried to cross the river above the falls they were all carried away and drowned. At the time I was there I was able to see a greater part of this rock projecting from the rapids flowing beneath the upturned flat rock, but no pegs or drum sticks could be seen. I pointed this out to the guide and he at once answered: "That is not the drum, it is not there. The main falls have taken it away and it is doubtless at this moment in the pool below. No doubt the falls will put it back after you have left."

Very different are the Igamba Falls, only twenty to thirty feet high, but these are interesting double falls, one about one hundred yards upstream from the other. The upper tails off to rapids on the northern side, and the lower does the same on the southern side. Here there is a canoe crossing over some three hundred yards of water to the village of the Mteko on the southern bank.

On the eastern side of Tongwe in the Kigoma district the Kondwe fall in southern Butwamba lies two miles north-east of Ijelula, and has a drop of one hundred feet into the Lumba River. It is broken into some three or four separate columns of water in the dry season, but no doubt in the rains it is one sheet of water. One is able to walk under this fall, and the cavern behind it is cool and moist and the rocks are covered in a profusion of maidenhair and other ferns.

Also in Tongwe in western Busongoro and about two and a half miles south of Kasanga, just below where the footpath from that place to Bambilo on the Lugufu River crosses the Sitembe River, is the thirty-five foot fall of the Sitembe. It lies about six to seven miles north of Bambilo and some nine hundred feet above that place up a very picturesque and rugged valley ending in a stiffish climb to the Sitembe crossing and on to flat ground beyond. The fall is immediately below the footpath in a small gorge so surrounded by trees and vegetation that it is difficult to obtain a good view of it.

In the north-eastern Bukombe area of Tongwe is the fall of the Lujega River, which flows from the Situnda scarp eastwards to the Sindi swamp, but this is hidden in such thick bush that it was impossible to get view of it or to estimate its height.

The Angoni of Tanganyika Territory

by G. W. Hatchell.

The home of the Angoni of Tanganyika Territory is usually regarded as the Songea District but, there are numbers who have settled in other parts of the country and a short account of their early history and movements, based on accounts furnished by old people in Songea and elsewhere, some 15 or 20 years ago, may be of interest.

The Angoni are usually supposed to be of Zulu origin but there seems to be reason to suppose that they are descended from the Abe-nguni, a people who lived in Natal as far back as 1600 A.D.; and that towards the end of the reign of the Zulu King, Chaka, and as a result of his aggression, they migrated northward under the leadership of Izongondaba and crossed the Zambesi about 1835.

They were capable warriors and had adopted the Zulu methods of warfare so that their progress was marked by raids on the peoples through whose country they passed and their reputation as fierce and ruthless raiders went ahead of them. In due course they reached the country east of Domira Bay, in Nyasaland, and there they rested and established, what eventually became, a permanent settlement. Izongondaba then embarked on an expedition which had as its object the western shore of Lake Tanganyika, but it is not clear whether he intended to prolong his northward migration and to abandon the Domira Bay settlement. The expedition was a failure due to the barren nature of the country and the tsetse fly encountered and Izongondaba returned to Domira. Once more he set out northward but, this time his object was the eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika and Ufipa. The Chief of Ufipa, Nsokolo, hearing of the threat to his country, seems to have succeeded in coming to some agreement with the invader and Ufipa was spared the horrors of an Angoni raid. Nevertheless, Izongondaba went to Ufipa and, in fact, died there at Chapota, where there used to be a grove of trees marking his burial place. On this expedition he was accompanied by his brother, Ntabeni, and his sons Mpenzi and Mombera and their respective mothers, the junior of whom and the mother of Mombera was Qutu. On the death of Izongondaba his brother Ntabeni used his influence to bring about the proclamation of the younger son, Mombera, as successor. Considerable internal friction resulted and Mpenzi and Mombera returned to the Domira Bay area. No information as to the subsequent doings of Ntabeni was available, but two sections of the original force remained in Tanganyika and their subsequent activities are of some interest.

The first section came under the leadership of an Induna named Mtambalika associated with another, named Mtambarara, and with the senior wife of the former, whose name was Mbonambi. Mtambalika led his followers northward to Mpimbue at the head of the Rukwa valley and having subdued the Wa-pimbue, organised raids on Ukonongo on the

Ugalla River and on Ukabende, near Mount Kungwe, on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. At this time Ukabende was in the hands of the Baholoholo who had but recently crossed the Lake; having been forced to do so by pressure from the south which had its origin in Izongondaba's abortive expedition to the south-western shores of the Lake. The Baholoholo were stout hearted and capable warriors and took the war into the enemy country at Mpimbue where their Chief, Swima, lost his life. They put up so stout a resistance that when Mtambalika resumed his journey northward he left Ukabende alone and made for the Malagarasi River. He then proceeded to launch an attack on Ujiji but suffered a reverse and accordingly struck north-eastward until he reached the Runzewe country in the Kahama District where he established himself. However, he was not done with fighting for he joined forces with Mirambo until they were defeated at the battle of Sasa Magazi in or about 1878, and he is known to have reached the shores of Smith Sound on Lake Victoria. After these adventures he seems to have settled down at Runzewe. He had two wives: Mbonambi who bore him a son who died in childhood, and Nwasi who bore him four sons named Mpangarara, Mvumba, Mini and Muvi. He died at Mgomba, where his grave was preserved and, was succeeded by his son Mtambarara, who, in turn, was succeeded by his son Mtambalika. Mbonambi, in spite of her ill success in producing heirs, seems to have been a woman of personality and influence, for less knowledgeable informants speak of her as the leader of the Angoni and seem to know little of Mtambalika. She died at Kungene where her burial place is an object of respect and reverence.

The second section of Izongondaba's force which remained on in Tanganyika came under the leadership of Zuru and Mboanani of the Gama clan but it may be that the latter was of the Njere clan for some informants spoke of him as such. They led their followers south-east through Usafwa, Ukinga and Upangwa until they reached the plains around Songea where they settled down. They were not, however, the first immigrants from the south to reach that area for they found there, established at the hill of Mbunga, some forty miles north-west of Songea, another section of Izongondaba's original force which had broken away under the leadership of Mputa, sometimes called "the Smiter", after the crossing of the Zambesi and had found their way northward up the eastern side of Lake Nyasa. Mputa was of the Mseko (probably = Pied King-fisher) clan of the Amaswazi and bore an evil reputation for raids and pillage. He is known to have reached the coast at Kilwa and it has been stated that he even got as far as the Digo country south of Mombasa.

Zuru and Mboanani seem to have come to some agreement with him based, probably, on spheres of influence but it is unlikely that Mputa ever tolerated the interlopers for in due time he succeeded in murdering Mboanani and scattering Zuru and his followers. However, they were to have their revenge for shortly afterwards, when Mputa suffered a reverse at the hands of the Yao south of the Ruvuma and was in flight, Zuru's

followers captured him and hanged him. His body was taken to Mbunga and there buried, but another account states that it was wrapped in an ox skin and burnt in the dried bed of the Ruhuhu River which his followers had dammed for the purpose, after which they released the waters to flow over the remains. Mputa's followers were scattered: some fled to the Mahenge area where they founded the present tribe of Wa-mbunga, while their Wandendahuli serfs, whom they had found in the Songea district and enslaved, fled to Tunduru where they proclaimed themselves as Angoni and are still jealous of their acquired status.

On Mboanani's death he was succeeded by his son Chipeta and he and Zuru established control of the whole country between the Ruvuma and Pitu Rivers. They raided down to the shores of Lake Nyasa where Muharule, Zuru's third son, was famous for his ruthlessness. At one time there could be seen the remains of pile villages which the Lake shore dwellers built for themselves in order to escape from the Angoni whose aversion to crossing water was well known. Zuru was succeeded by Muharule who was succeeded by his nephew Chabruma. On the death of Chipeta a dispute arose between his sons, Mpepo and Chabruma, in which Mpepo was defeated and he retired, with his followers, to Mkasu in the Mahenge district, where he founded a sub-division of the Angoni.

It will be seen, therefore, that the original Izongondaba migration was scattered over much of East Central Africa and that its descendants are now settled in Nyasaland, Songea, Mahenge and Kahama. As has been stated the foregoing account is based on information supplied by elderly people some 15 or 20 years ago: people now dead; but it might be of interest to discover how, if at all, the story which has been handed down has varied in the passage of years. Perhaps readers of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* who are in touch with the peoples of these areas might think it worth while to make some enquiries and to publish the results.

Down Lake Tanganyika in the 'Liemba'

by Bishop J. Holmes-Siedle, W.F.

A good time can definitely be had by all who decide to spend their local leave travelling down lovely Lake Tanganyika in the 'Liemba'. The only reservation I would make is that a still better time can be had by those travelling down it in a motor-boat, for by this means of transport one can travel much closer to the shore and thus get a better view of its varied nature, its bizarre rock-formations, its multiple little villages and islands, its crocodiles and hippos and its native life. It has been suggested to me that I write an article on the points of interest to be seen on this voyage, and since I have spent 13 years on or near this lake, I suppose I am as well qualified to do it as most people.

The 'Liemba' sets out from Kigoma every three weeks, usually on Thursday evening. Kigoma and its neighbouring Ujiji have nothing particularly interesting to offer other than their historical associations with Livingstone and Stanley and the memorial to their meeting at Ujiji, recently repaired by Italians from Tabora internment camp. Kigoma as a town has the advantage of a good water supply. The story goes that the wife of an administrative officer, straight from a station where the water-supply was padlocked and measured out by the cupful, asked immediately on arriving at Kigoma if there was any drinking water there. The reply was "Yes, Madam, 400 miles of it." Tanganyika's water is quite drinkable, unlike nearby Lake Rukwa, which is extremely salty.

The first part of the down-Lake trip is rather uneventful. Apart from passing the small lime station of Ulombola and the mouth of the Malgarasi, there is nothing special worth mentioning. The Malagarasi, as is well known, is one of the biggest rivers in Tanganyika and serves as a drainage system for part of Urundi, nearly the whole of Buha and Uvinza. Its source might perhaps even be called the most distant source of the Congo River, since its waters flow into the Lake and the overflow goes through the 'safety-valve', the River Lukuga in Belgian Congo near Albertville, thence into the Congo and out into the Atlantic, some 1500 miles away as the crow flies. Another 20 miles further on, you will pass quite close to Cape Kabogo. Kabogo is a 'mzimu' (spirit) much feared by the local fishermen because when the Lake is rough, the rushing of waters into a hollow cave at the extremity makes a noise that can be heard nearly a mile away. When they hear this, the natives say that 'Kabogo is hungry and thirsty and is calling for his food'. They hasten to appease his wrath by placing offerings of beer and maize near the cave.

Meanwhile, the 'Liemba' coasts along the Buholoholo country, known locally as the 'Southern Wilderness', because the whole place is practically uninhabited, apart from a few diminutive fishing-villages along the shore. There are several causes for this depopulation, but two very important

ones were the custom in the old days of ordeal by poison and of drowning many new-born babes whose top-teeth happened to grow first. Within living memory of the missionaries stationed at Karema, the population of this country has diminished considerably. Writing some thirty years ago about the last-mentioned custom, Bishop Lechaptois, in his book "*Aux Rives du Tanganyika*" said: "Since the Europeans took over the government of this land, this custom has disappeared to a large extent. But in the remote villages, too far away or too small to be visited by the authorities or by the missionaries, the practice continues in secret, only instead of throwing the babies into the lake or exposing them in the bush, they are made to disappear by the simple process of sticking a needle into the brain." As for the ordeal by poison, there have been cases of this much more recently.

At dawn on Friday morning, the *Liemba* stops at the little port of Logosa, one of the most beautiful spots on the lake. It is dominated by the enormous mass of Mkungwe Peak (8250 ft.) arising almost sheer out of the water. Some years ago, an article appeared in '*Tanganyika Notes and Records*' in which an administrative officer, the late Mr. O'Hagan describes how he climbed it and planted a flag at its summit. The writer mentions the native tradition of the quarrel between Mkungwe and his 'son' which culminated in a fight. The upshot of this was that Mkungwe flung his son across the lake where he can now be seen in a battered form on the Congo side. Mkungwe was so exhausted that he lay down, in which posture he can now be seen from the north, his head towards the lake, his knees bent as one who sleeps.

Mr. O'Hagan mentions also the local fear of Mkungwe and the tradition that anyone who dares to climb it and to sit on his head will die, and he gives several instances of this actually happening. I can add another curious coincidence. In 1917, a Belgian called Messenier was travelling in these parts in a canoe. Seeing some goats on the mainland; he asked the sailors whom they belonged to. He was told that they belonged to Mkungwe, having been offered up to him. Whereupon, Mr. Messenier suggested shooting one for food. The sailors were aghast at the idea and tried to dissuade him. Despite their warnings, Mr. Messenier shot a goat. On his way back to Karema he started fishing with dynamite. A stick of dynamite exploded in his hand and he was blown to pieces. I think the reaction of the rowers was: "We told you so."

After skirting Mt. Mkungwe, which can thus show itself from all its angles, the '*Liemba*' steams alongside mountainous country until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when it docks for the evening in the shelter of Kibwesa Bay. The motor-boat is lowered and the fishermen among the passengers descend into it with their troll-lines. Sport can vary. On some days, one's only bag is a few 'yellow-bellies' or tiger-fish, although an Oxford professor as long ago as 1904, listed 93 different species of fish and many more have since been discovered. On one occasion however, I went out with one companion and in the space of two hours, with two

lines out, we caught 65 fish weighing 163 lbs. Foreseeing that future generations of 'Liemba' fishermen might be inclined to raise incredulous eyebrows when told the tale, we took the wise precaution of being photographed on the deck with our 65 fish strung out behind us.

At midnight, one may be awakened by the sound of the 'Liemba' lifting anchor and thumping along, somewhat crab-wise if there is much wind, at its easy cruising speed of 7 knots, to Karema, where it arrives and stops at about 7 knots to Karema, where it arrives and stops at about 7 o'clock in the morning. From here on the character of the country changes. The coast and the hinterland of Ufipa are well-populated with very agreeable unspoiled people, and dotted along the shore are a series of White Fathers' missions. Lake Tanganyika has been defined as 'a piece of water entirely surrounded by White Fathers' and the population of Ufipa is over 65% Christian.

Karema has the most historical association of all the places in this part of L. Tanganyika. In the slave-trade days, Mpala, on the Congo side, and Karema were transit camps' for slaves en route from the Manyema to Tabora. In 1879, these two places were accordingly occupied by the Belgians, members of the Association Internationale, who ransomed as many slaves as they could. The Karema foundation was known as Fort Leopold. The entire village of Karema was handed over to the White Fathers on 30th July, 1885, and to them fell the formidable task of feeding and clothing these ransomed slaves, besides themselves ransoming others, meanwhile being obliged to have sentries posted day and night to give the alert when the warlike Wabende would come along to attack the mission. What the Fathers feared most was fire and as a precaution they covered their grass roofs with a layer of earth, as the Wanyamwezi do today. Those were the days when a very necessary item of missionary equipment was a good rifle. These attacks went on for many years, until the Wabende were won over and peace established. Nothing remains of the old Belgian fort save the site, which is where the White Sisters' convent actually stands. But the White Fathers' mission, built in 1893, still has ramparts in the corners with slits in the walls large enough for a rifle to pass through.

The church was built in 1890. The date 1898 can still be seen on the gateway of the cemetery, on the main road leading from the lake to the mission. A monument to Mr. Raemakers, one of the Belgian pioneers of the Association, was erected on a hill dominating the mission, in 1920, by the White Fathers and paid for the Belgian government.

When the first missionaries arrived at Karema, they disembarked at the foot of the hill on which the actual mission is built. Now the water-edge is more than half-a-mile away; practically the whole of the village is built on this stretch which was formerly under water. This does not mean that the Lake-level is going down. Debris of pottery etc., found at a depth of several feet in this plain between the lake and the mission

prove that this part was inhabited in the old days, and that the actual level of the lake corresponds more or less with the old. The 'high tide' of the 1890 period can be explained by the 'Lukuga River on the Congo side being silted up temporarily. It is possible that some rocks fell into the lake near the mouth of this river, and vegetation, reeds and even trees got caught up and formed a sort of dyke. When the water-pressure broke down this barrier, the lake subsided, and the waters of the Lukuga flowed with such a speed that native canoes on the Congo side had to keep well out not to be carried away by the current. Stanley mentions this Lukuga obstruction and foresaw that one day it would break down, with a consequent lowering of the level of the lake.

When visiting Karema, the traveller should not miss seeing Dr. Adrian Atiman, the 83 year old mission doctor, to hear from his own lips details of the story briefly given here.

Setting out from Karema, the 'Liemba' sometimes stops at Utinta, with its magnificent bay dominated by its charming little Gothic church. The Major Seminary for the African priests who help the White Fathers was formerly at Utinta before being moved to its present home at Kipalapala near Tabora.

Rounding Cape Pimbwe, the promontory near Utinta is sometimes quite an adventure for native canoes in rough weather. It is one of these places on the lake they call 'pita-unaswe' ("if you pass, you may be caught") because the conflicting currents sometimes cause whirl-pools which have been known to suck canoes and their passengers to destruction. I have also seen water-spouts on the lake.

Thence to Kirando, a prosperous plain where the natives live very comfortably on the revenue of their 'dagaa'-fishing and their rice-growing. Kirando rice is of an especially good quality and usually fetches a few cents more per kilo than other rice.

The 'Liemba' now weaves a passage through a series of picturesque little islands, one of which, Nvuna, was formerly considered to be a very powerful 'mzimu'. A serpent was said to live on it, and local superstition demanded that it be placated by various offerings. The Arab traders of Ujiji, more superstitious even than the natives, used to leave large quantities of cloth on this island, so that Mvuna might see them safely along the lake to their destination. Another of these islands, far out from the shore, Mkondwe by name, was used as a 'stepping stone' by the natives when travelling in their canoes to the Congo.

Between Kirando and Kipili port you may be intrigued to see, overlooking the lake, some ruins, dominated by a church. This is what is left of the old Kirando mission. A few years ago, it was moved to Itete, a few miles away, in order to be nearer the centre of population.

On Saturday evening, if the steamer is on time, you will 'dock' in the natural port of Kipili, where the passengers for Sumbawanga, away in

the mountainous hinterland of Ufipa at 6000 ft. altitude, will disembark.

Half-way between Kirando and Kala is a tiny island near Msamba which is not one of the 'Liemba's' scheduled stopping-places. Perched among the rocks on the island is a huge stone which, when you strike it, rings out just like a bell. On a clear day, it can be heard at Msamba, on the mainland a mile away. This island is also a crocodile's den, and the native 'singa'-fishermen have many a tussle with crocodiles who try to snatch the fish out of their nets.

The next stop is usually Kala mission (founded 1892), perched up over the lake. The entire coast-line around Kala is infested with crocodiles. There is no doubt that more creatures living along L. Tanganyika die from crocodiles and snakes than from lions and leopards.

After Kala, the lake widens (opposite Cameron Bay), so that for the first time of the whole trip, one cannot see the Congo coast. Then comes Kasanga, the Bismarckburg of German times and former capital of the district. The Germans built their 'boma' on a promontory which has a full view of the coast on all sides, so as to make a surprise attack difficult, a wise thing to do in those days. A little farther down, one passes at some distance from the famous Kalambo Falls, which unfortunately cannot be seen from the lake but which can be easily visited from Mpulungu by road. I stand subject to correction when I say that they are the second highest in Africa. The flow of water is however rather small, and these Falls are best visited towards the end of the rainy season.

Finally, you leave Tanganyika waters and imperceptably glide into Northern Rhodesia, and you see the coast-line close in around you. You are at the foot of the lake. Your arrival in Mpulungu will be greeted with relief by many parched Northern Rhodesians, who take the opportunity of slaking a three-weeks' thirst on board the hospitable 'Liemba'.

Notes

SOME STONE-BUILT DEFENCES ON UKEREWE ISLAND

by T. H. E. Jackson.

During a recent visit to Ukerewe Island, from 25th June—1st July, 1948, I had occasion to visit the rocky headland to the south-west of Nansio Port, called Dwakahangara. The easiest line of approach is from Nansio itself, where a path leads more or less direct to the hill along the edge of the Lake. The hill or headland is a granite kopjie, similar to many others in the Musoma-Mwanza area, but is heavily overgrown with bush and consists of two high-points with a small saddle in between.

I climbed the nearer of these from the path and forced my way to the higher of the two across the saddle; this being the point nearest to the shore. The bush here is dense and in trying to find a path through it, I came across a stone-built wall across a small gully between large boulders. Further investigation revealed a whole series of concentric defences right to the summit of the hill, every line of approach being filled in with walls and the last line of defence, right on the top, being a natural circle of enormous boulders. Furthermore, the walls are exceedingly well built, of undressed stone, some 4—5 feet wide, carefully fitted, so that even to-day one can stand on the edges without displacing stones. No form of mortar was used.

It was impossible, of course, to map the defences correctly, since this would involve the complete clearing of the bush, but I saw enough to realise that the hill must have been impregnable to primitive weapons. A final interesting point is that the summit is covered in a forest of castor oil, no doubt planted originally by the defenders of the stronghold. To-day it is only visited by grass-cutters in the very few spaces in the bush. I made enquiries from the local inhabitants around Nansio as to the origin of the defences and received two different stories as under :—

1. from the owners of a hut near the hill, where I sheltered from a storm; the defences were built by the M'ruli tribe (Maruli ?), who are now absorbed among the Ukerewe. The reason was unknown and it was many years ago, not, at least, in the memory of anyone alive to-day.
2. from the Chief at Nansio; they were built by a Chief of the Ukerewe, called Mtate, many years ago. In those days the Ukerewe Chiefs were at war with each other and each section lived on the top of a hill for defence against their neighbours !

I find it hard to believe the latter story and it seems much more likely that they were built by some original inhabitants of the island, of considerably superior intelligence, against invasion from outside. I was told, incidentally, by the Chief that the Masai reached Ukerewe and that,

when he was a child, one could walk across from the mainland through water no deeper than one's knees.

It would be interesting to hear if anything is known about the hill and if other similar structures have been found.

NOTE ON GERMAN GRAVEYARD AT OLD MOSHI.

by H. W. E. Ginner.

One hundred yards due north of the entrance to the main classroom block of the Old Moshi School is a graveyard containing the graves of twenty-four German Army Officers and civilians who were buried at Old Moshi during the German occupation of the Territory before 1916.

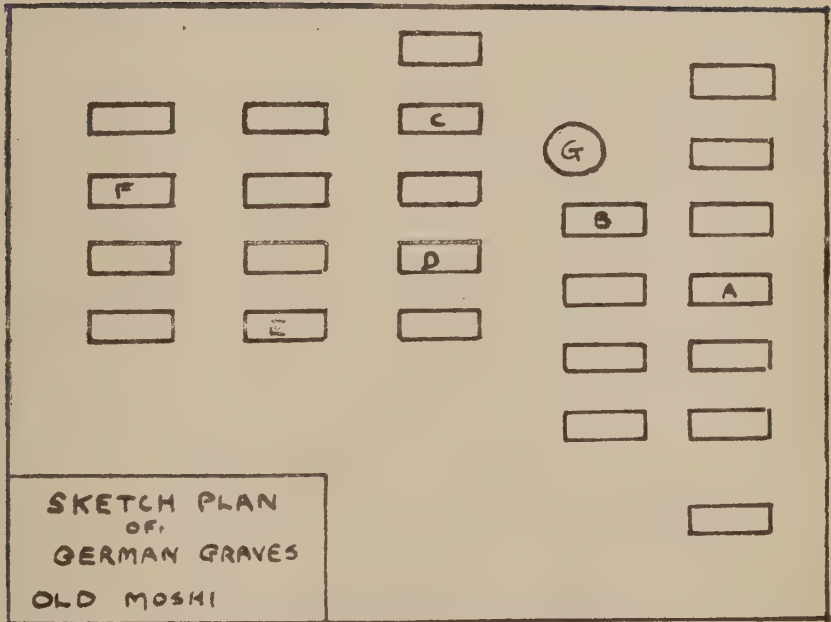
This graveyard has, unfortunately, been neglected in the past to such an extent that it had become completely overgrown with thorns and bush and the graves, built with stone and lime mortar, had been split and disintegrated by roots. Only six of the twenty-four graves remained with any inscription.

In view of its historical interest, permission was recently given for this graveyard to be cleared and for the remaining inscribed headstones to be preserved. This has now been done; The graveyard has been cleared of stone and rubble, levelled and replanted with lawn grass which can be kept short and under control. A single stone memorial has replaced the individual gravestones and the six surviving headstones have been built into this memorial. A fine Albizzia tree which would appear to be older than the graveyard has been left standing near the centre.

A sketch plan of the actual grave sites is given below and the key shews the only six graves which could be identified.

As a matter of interest it can be recorded that the large Mvule tree standing alone some 60 yards to the south-east of the graveyard is still venerated by the local people as having sprouted from the centre pole of Rindi's hut. Rindi, of Mandara, as he was known in his younger days, was the chief of Moshi at the time of the visits of the Rev. Charles New in 1871, and Sir Harry Johnston in 1884. In the latter's book "First Expedition to Kilimanjaro," published in 1886, the sketch facing page 119 clearly shews Mandara's village standing where the Mvule tree now grows.

NORTH



SOUTH

Key :

- A. E. Ramasco, died 1913
- B. Wilhelm Wolfrum, Lieutenant,.....killed in action 1892
- C. Emil Ax, Lieutenant, killed in action 1893
- D. Hilfried Haupt, Techniker, died 1909
- E. Infant Son of Otto and Susanne Barry died 1913
- F. Dr. Robert Hermann Plötze, died 1909
- G. Albizzia Tree.

Correspondence

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records.

Sir,

With reference to Sir John Gray's very interesting article (in your June 1947 number) on Rezende's Description of East Africa in 1634, page 15 and note (61), the "Pitch" is probably Gum Copal, formerly an important article of trade along these coasts and still appearing in the Customs Returns. "Pitch bearing trees" are therefore most probably *Trachylobium verrucosum* Oliv. Large quantities of this gum have been dug out of the sandy soil which formerly carried stands of these trees (Swahili product-name Mandarusi; Zaramo name Mnango). The "Montondolos" refer most likely to the Alexandrian Laurel (*Calophyllum inophyllum* L.; Swahili, Mtondoro). I believe saw-timber sizes of this tree are still available in the Jozani forest in Zanzibar Island. The seed yields an oil and the species is still used on the Indian coasts for boat construction. Both these instances appear to give considerable support to the authenticity of the information upon which the account is based.

Easily accessible accounts of Portuguese Colonial enterprise in East Africa seem to be extremely scarce and I suppose there must be original sources in, say, Lisbon which have never been published in English. This Colonial enterprise has possibly been much more important than ordinarily supposed, (cf. the mention of 9,000 European Colonists in the Zanzibar Islands) and I think more articles of the same kind would prove of general interest.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd.) LEONARD T. WIGG.

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records.

Dear Sir,

May I be permitted to supply a few dates in respect of events recorded in Messrs. Ford and Hall's very interesting *History of Karagwe*, which appeared in Volume 24 of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*.

It is recorded therein that Rumanyika committed suicide "soon after Stanley's departure" in 1876. His death apparently occurred in 1877. In *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* XXII. 138, are extracts from

a letter addressed by the Rev. C. T. Wilson, one of the two first C.M.S. Missionaries to reach Buganda, to Speke's companion, Colonel J. A. Grant. One passage reads "You will be sorry to hear that your old friend Rumanika is dead." Unfortunately, the date of the letter is not given, but it was written between June and November, 1877, at a time when Wilson was temporarily at the southern end of Lake Victoria.

The Muganda chief Ngobya, who came to the assistance of Kakoko in his struggle with Rwegira, appears to have invaded Karagwe in 1883. In his journal of a boat voyage from Buganda to Kageyi (published in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, May, 1884), Alexander Mackay wrote the following entry on July 2, 1883:—

"Soon after we landed on an open beach near Mbroyaga, the country seat of Mungobya, who has just returned from a war in Karagwe, whither he was sent with an army, to put a certain grandson of Rumanyika on the throne, and plunder some other claimant; he had returned with a large booty of cattle, women, and slaves as is the custom in Buganda."

In *Ahmed bin Ibrahim — The First Arab to reach Buganda* (*Uganda Journal*, Vol. XI No. 2) is an account of the manner in which Ahmed bin Ibrahim came by his end in Karagwe in late 1885 or early 1886, about one month after the assassination of Kakoko.

One matter concerning the economic history of the Central African Lake Regions has always interested and intrigued me. During the first half of the nineteenth century Karagwe was a "corridor state", which provided the means of passage to Buganda and Bunyoro of all merchantable commodities, which had been carried up from the East African coast. Emin Pasha's Article "On Trade and Commerce among the Waganda and Wanyoro", which appears in *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, shows how highly developed this commerce became. What, however, Emin Pasha does not explain is why this trade route did not skirt the western shores of Lake Victoria but proceeded as far inland as Karagwe. In so far as I know, there were no serious physical obstacles on any route which closely followed the shores of the lake. I, therefore, conceive that the obstacles must have been a political character — possibly due to tribal warfare in the "heptarchy" abutting on the lake.

As an alternative theory one would suggest that the Karagwe route was primarily intended as a corridor leading north-west into Bunyoro and that, when Buganda influence became dominant in Karagwe, much of the traffic was diverted through Buddu into Buganda proper.

The fact that Lake Victoria itself did not serve as a means of communication is easily understandable. Goods such as firearms, gunpowder, tusks and slaves could not very safely be carried across the open lake by canoe. It was only when Arab and Swahili traders began to build dhows that this traffic was diverted to the lake. The first dhow to sail the lake appears to have been that which Stanley found the Swahili Songoro build-

ing at Kageyi in 1875, and there can be no doubt that the arrival of such vessels diverted to the lake a great deal of traffic which had hitherto passed through Karagwe.

Emin Pasha also refers (op. cit. p. 469) to yet another blow to the Karagwe transit trade, which occurred in about 1885, when Ntare of Ankole closed the route to Bunyoro.

Yours faithfully,
J. M. GRAY.

Note to Contributors: 'Notes and Records' continues to depend very largely on a few but staunch regular contributors. Papers by new writers are always very welcome and should be addressed to the Editor, c/o The Secretariat, Dar es Salaam. It has been decided that in future 20 'separates' of each paper published will be supplied free to the author. A larger number can be supplied, if requested in good time before printing, at cents 5 per page.

BACK NUMBERS

TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS.

New subscribers and others frequently enquire whether back numbers of the journal are available. Regrettably very few are, although consideration is being given to the reprinting of some papers of lasting interest. Apart from a certain number of special papers and 'separates', e.g. J. W. T. Allen's *Arabic Script for Swahili students* (Shs. 5/-), C. Gillman's *Dar es Salaam 1860—1940:—a story of growth and change*, and W. D. Raymond's *Tanganyika Arrow Poisons* (Shs. 2/- each), the following back numbers are available at Shs. 5/- each or in the case of No. 24, Shs. 7/50:—

No. 4(October 1937)

Introduction of Trout into Tanganyika, H. Fraser; *The Rufiji River*, R. de la B. Barker; *Migrant Birds in Tanganyika Territory*, R. E. Moreau; *Some East African Native Songs*, H. Koritschoner; *Iron Smelting in Fipa*, R. C. H. Greig, etc., etc.

No. 5 (April 1938)

A Tribal Museum at Bweranyange, R. de Z. Hall; *Mangrove Woods of Tanganyika*, D. K. S. Grant; *Land Tenure in Usukuma*, B. J. Hartley; *Some African Pastimes*, M. M. Hartnoll; *Flowering and Ornamental Shrubs and Trees*, H. A. Lindeman; *Mlau Cultivation in the Rufiji Valley*, H. Marsland; *Sea-Fishing near Tanga*, G. W. Hatchell, etc., etc.

No. 11 (April 1941)

Notes on the Shirazi of East Africa, E. C. Baker; *African Dugouts*, W. Wynn Jones; *The Population Trend*, A. T. Culwick; *Nutrition and Tanganyika*, W. D. Raymond; *Musings from the Air*, C. Gillman; *Ships that have Passed*, G. G. Giffard; *History of Mfia*, D. W. I. Piggott; *Indian Elephants in Tanganyika*, A. Sillery, etc., etc.

No. 22 (December 1946)

Education of African Rural Communities, N. Langford Smith; *Game Animals*, G. G. Rushby and G. H. Swynnerton; *Birds of the Rufiji*, L. A. Haldane; *East Africa and America*, Sir John Gray, etc., etc.

No. 23 (June 1947).

Rezende's Description of East Africa in 1634, Sir John Gray; *The Valley and Swamps of the Malagarasi River*, Capt. C. H. B. Grant; *S.S. 'Liemba'*, Col. L. B. Cane; *Tribal History and Legend*, E. C. Baker; *Tanganyika Arrow Poisons*, W. D. Raymond, etc., etc.

No. 24 (December 1947).

The History of Karagwe (Bukoba District), J. Ford and R. de Z Hall; *Land Tenure in Bugufi 1935-1944*, R. de Z Hall and H. Cory; *Kilwa in 1812*, Sir John Gray; *Mtwara Bay*, P. H. Johnston; *Some Rivers of Southern Tanganyika*, R. de la B. Barket, etc., etc.

THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

Membership, application for which may be forwarded together with the annual subscription of Shs. 10/- to the Hon. Secretary, King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam, covers the two annual issues of Tanganyika Notes and Records, entrance to the Society's lectures and, also, the borrowing of books from the Museum Library, the rules for which are set out below.

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