

TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

	Page
The Lion-men of Singida. By A. W. Wyatt.	3
Mirambo, "the Napoleon of Central Africa." ... By Ronald J. Harvey	10
Mikindani Bay before 1887. By Sir John Gray	29
The Maji-Maji Rebellion in the Liwale District By R. M. Bell	38
A Visit to the Island of Godziba in Lake Victoria	
By J. E. S. Griffiths	58
Ornithology in Tanganyika By R. E. Moreau	64
Notes—Utenzi By J. W. T. Allen	
Patterson's Eland By R.E.S.T.	
Correspondence	83

JANUARY, 1950

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Tanganyika Notes and Records

Editor: J. P. MOFFETT.

Editorial Committee: W. D. RAYMOND, O.B.E., PH.D.
A. M. B. HUTT, O.B.E.,



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- Number 28 -

PUBLISHED FOR THE EDITORIAL BOARD AT DAR ES SALAAM

Contents

	Page
The Lion-men of Singida. By A. W. Wyatt.	3
Mirambo, "the Napoleon of Central Africa." ... By Ronald J. Harvey	10
Mikindani Bay before 1887. By Sir John Gray	29
The Maji-Maji Rebellion in the Liwale District By R. M. Bell	38
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Tanganyika Society Notices

Renewal of Subscriptions.

Members are reminded that subscriptions for the two numbers to be published in June and December, 1950, were due on the 1st January, 1950. A renewal of subscription form will be found at the back of this number.

Need for New Members.

Subscribers and other readers are earnestly invited to assist the committee by encouraging new members to join the Tanganyika Society. The position is quite simply that unless the number of subscribers, at present standing at about 500, can be increased by 50 per cent. to 750, it will be necessary to increase the rate of subscription.

For some time the production of this Journal has been financed from reserves accumulated during the period when it was printed as an official publication by the Government Press. But it is now necessary that we should be self-supporting and if the present size of the journal, the number of illustrations and the general standard are to be maintained, while allowing a margin to cover and extend the other activities of the Society, this can only be done by an increase of Membership or by abandoning our low and attractive rate of subscription.

The Committee — and it is felt most of our members — would prefer the former alternative and it could easily be achieved if each member would persuade one non-member friend to fill in the application form printed as the last page of this issue and send it in with his subscription at an early date. Further application forms can be obtained on request.

Back Numbers and Separates.

The following back numbers are at present obtainable, Shs. 5/- each to members, Shs. 7/50 to non-members :—

No. 4, 5, 11, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26.

The following separates and supplements are available :—

Arabic script for students of Swahili, by J. W. T. Allen (Shs. 5/-).

The International Red Locust Control, by A.P.G. Michelmores (Shs. 2/-).

Rezende's Description of East Africa in 1634 by Sir John Gray (Shs. 2/-).

Tanganyika Arrow poisons by W. D. Raymond (Shs. 2/-).

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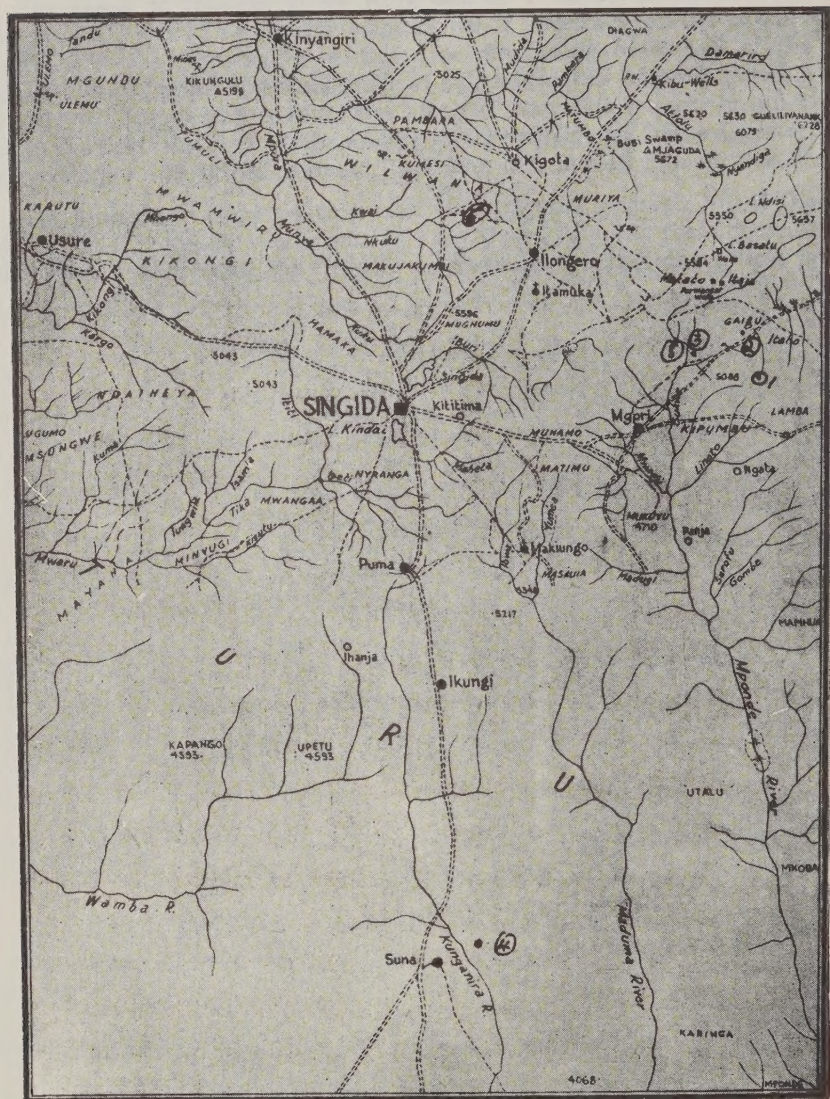
Separates at Shs. 2/- each of all papers which have appeared in Notes and Records Nos. 25, 26, 27 or the present issue.

ASSISTANCE TO DAR ES SALAAM MUSEUM.

The Board of Trustees of the King George V Memorial Museum has stated that it would be greatly appreciated if Members of the Society would assist the Museum by donating or purchasing on behalf of the Museum any articles of ethnological or other scientific interest suitable for display. Members are, therefore, asked to bear this request in mind, and to forward any such contributions to the collections to the Curator, King George V Memorial Museum, P.O. Box 511, Dar es Salaam.

The Museum is prepared to refund any expenses incurred, but if the sum involved is greater than Shs. 20/-, the Board requests that inquiries may first be made from the Curator to ascertain whether the article is in fact required.

THE SINGIDA "LION-MAN" AREA



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The Lion Men of Singida

By A. W. Wyatt

Beginning in May, 1946, a number of lion killings were reported from the Unyanganyi chiefdom in the East of Singida District. Game scouts sent out to trap the lions were unsuccessful and declared the killings were not the work of lions but of a mysterious human agency against which they were powerless. The natives of the area affirmed that the deaths were caused by "mbojo," lion-men invisible to all but the sorcerers who controlled them. These persisting rumours led the authorities to institute diligent enquiries, as a result of which some 30 killings ranging over a seven months' period, were found to be attributed by the natives to "mbojo." Deaths continued to occur with alarming frequency, even in the immediate neighbourhood where enquiries were being made.

This was not the first time that the activities of lion-men had been suspected in this part of the country. In 1920, Captain W. Hichens, then a Political Officer, described terrifying personal experiences he had in the Usure area adjacent to Singida, (Mkalama) with "antu-nsimba" (Ki-Nyiramba: lion-men). He relates how he investigated a spate of some 200 killings in the area declared by the people to be the work of "lion-men", and after disposing of 8 lions, which were undoubtedly responsible for many deaths, found there were witch-doctors who not only practised extortion by threatening people with death by lions which they claimed to control or to be able to change into, but actually perpetrated murder through the medium of assassins (A). He mentions one lion which was hunted down after attacking a party and proved to be a sturdy youth dressed in a lion's skin with its clawed paws worn like gloves over his hands and feet. He was hired out for five shillings by a witch to clients who consulted her. The youth was said to spring on his victim from behind, drive a knife through the heart and then claw the body to resemble the mauling of a man-eater. The Chief of Usure area admitted complicity with the "antu-simba" to extort wealth from his credulous people and was imprisoned. Hitchens thought that the "antu-simba" were drugged with bhang (hashish) before attacking their victims since sachets containing this drug were found in their huts. He attributed the affirmation of eye-witnesses in some cases of lycanthropy to terror in the subconscious mind overwhelming the conscious faculties to such an extent that people really believed they saw what they imagined. An interesting sidelight on this view is given by the fact that two old native women related separately to an Administrative Officer now stationed in the Singida District identical and detailed accounts of how they saw a dog turn itself into a lion.

(A) "Lion men of Usure" by Capt. W. Hichens, three articles in *Wide World Magazine*.

Whilst there is an almost universal belief among the average Turu tribespeople that a lion will not attack mankind unless caused to do so by some malign human influence, there seems great ignorance as to the nature of this influence. It may be a "lion-man" or a real lion under control of a human being or some other animal changed into a lion by a human being. When such an attack is made the usual practice is for the relatives of the victims to consult a witch-doctor whose profession usually makes him sufficiently intelligent and knowledgeable to divine the supposed real cause of the attack as someone known to have reason for bearing a grudge against the victim or his family. This course was strongly advocated by the chiefs as the only effective means of stopping the killings and some of them quoted instances of its efficacy in the past when the guilty party had been so discovered and punished. These beliefs underline the importance of prompt and careful enquiry by competent civil authorities into unnatural death reports so that the cause can be determined before superstition has had sufficient opportunity to react on the primitive mind.

Mr. H. Cory, the Government Anthropologist, undertook a short study of the tribal structure of the local tribe with special reference to the new "mbojo" outbreak. He commented on the fact that surprisingly little seemed to be known by the peasants about "mbojo" but suspected that straight murders were committed for personal motives through the agency of a clique of wizards who hired out assassins. He felt that many people were aware of and feared these witch-doctors and their wares and that the best chance of suppressing them was to institute a resistance movement among the people themselves by officially recognising, to some extent, the clan and sub-clan elders. These had been submerged for many years by the alien organisation of jumbes and village headmen instituted by the German Government and subsequently fostered by the British regime. It was thought these elders had a far more intimate knowledge of local happenings and were still in a position to control their clansfolk if supported by the Government. As a result several meetings of clan and sub-clan elders were held in June, 1947, and subsequently, but the crime wave had by then spent itself for reasons which are still conjectural.

Meanwhile, several barazas were held by various officials with the object of enlisting the active cooperation of the people and their chiefs in coping with what had now become a reign of terror. Neighbouring chiefs were called into the area to assist the police in their investigations, since the chiefs of Unyanganyi proved hopelessly inept and clearly lacked the support of a section of the people. The people themselves, primitive, apathetic and full of superstition, seemed resigned to the menace and had no remedies to suggest to their would be helpers. Careful sifting of the numerous reports showed that many of the deaths were caused by real lions, always numerous in Singida, though usually confining their attentions to game and livestock. One man however was found who

related how he had been kidnapped while a child, given animal skins to wear and kept in a pit with others while they were trained to kill with knives. He failed in his first attempt at assassination and was turned out. He was mentally deficient. Another man told how he had "changed" a girl child relative into the shape and habits of a lion by repeated doses of drugs (B) then hired her out to kill for Shs. 30/-. Eventually from a great welter of allegations and inferences the police were able to bring 15 definite cases for trial in which various accused persons were charged with murder. In 9 of these cases the accused were discharged or acquitted either in the first place or on appeal. In the remaining 6 cases however murder was proved and the extreme penalty exacted. (C).

In the first of the proved cases, a woman was found dying of wounds and accused two men of the crime. When arrested, one of the men made a confession that he had assisted the other to kill his sister, by a "lion-man" and related how he had helped to fetch the "lion-man" for the purpose. Two women witnesses said they saw the "lion-man" dressed in skins, armed with knives and eating native porridge. Later, the first accused withdrew his confession saying he made it up, while the alleged "lion-man" himself was traced and proved a complete alibi. The motive for the murder seemed to be the failure of the deceased to supply native beer to the accused. A witness testified to stab wounds in the woman's body but no immediate report of the murder was made and exhumation did not take place till some 4 months later when the body was decomposed. The judge found that the two accused had themselves committed murder, one of them trying to introduce the "lion-man" as a blind.

In the second case four women and a man were charged with the murder of a woman. Two women accomplices testified to agreeing with one of the accused women to get a "lion-man", after which they accompanied her to the hut of the male accused and saw her pay Shillings 30/- for a "lion-man" which walked back with them on a rope. The "lion-man" was a young woman dressed in monkey skins with knives. These same two women watched some of the accused hold the victim while the "lion-man" stabbed her. They saw one of the accused take the deceased's small child away saying she would change her into a leopard later on. The child was seen soon after by other independent witnesses but has never been found again. The motive for the murder seemed to be a quarrel among relatives over a debt. Only some pieces of the dead woman's body were ever found and these provided no clue as to the cause of the death when examined months later. The judge found there had been a conspiracy to murder which was executed through the agency of a hired and trained assassin. He convicted all five accused but three were acquitted on appeal, those hanged being the chief mover in the

(B) The Police thought the drug was hashish from the description.

(C) Criminal Sessions Case Nos. 187/1947, 188/1947, 189/1947, 216/1947, 219/1947 and 409/1947.

conspiracy who hired the assassin and the one who abducted the dead woman's child.

In the third case four women were charged. The evidence of three witnesses made a coherent chain showing how two of the accused hired a "lion-man" for Shs. 15/- from a third and took it to a fourth for whom they were acting. The "lion-man" was a man wearing lion and baboon skins. The son of the fourth accused, with whom she had quarrelled over his neglect to provide for her, was killed while herding goats as a result of this conspiracy. A boy companion of the accused said he thought it was lion who sprang on the deceased after killing a goat. A disembowelled goat was found near by some human remains terribly mutilated. It was impossible to tell the cause of the death when the remains were medically examined some 4 months later. The judge found all four guilty of murder by assassination but only the conviction of one was upheld on appeal. She was the one who handed over the lion-man on payment and received it back again after the killing.

In another case three women were charged with killing a boy. The motive was that he was a disobedient child and his father would not maintain one of the accused, his relative. Witnesses testified that two of the accused conspired to hire a "lion-man" for Shs. 15/- from a third in order to kill the boy. All three accused were seen with the "lion-men" later. It wore monkey and lion skins and spoke with a woman's voice. An eye witness described how the boy was killed and cut to pieces by the "lion-man" with one accused assisting while another accused caught and helped kill the witness's goat because she had refused to subscribe towards the hire of the "lion-man." Only a few bones of the boy were found afterwards and when these were medically examined some 5 months later it was not possible to form an opinion as to the cause of death. The judge found all three women guilty of murder by assassination, for which crime they were hanged.

In the fifth case three men were charged with the murder of a woman. The motive was revenge. The wife of one accused said she saw her husband and another man bring a "lion-man" dressed in skins to the house saying they were going to kill the deceased. The "lion-man" ate native porridge and cooked meat. Later she followed them and watched the "lion-man" spring on deceased, stab her while one of the men held her, and drag her away. Two other women also gave corroborative evidence while strange tracks were found in the hut where the "lion-man" was kept similar to those where the killing took place. The corpse was recovered and medically examined, it had terrible wounds which appeared to have been made with a large knife or axe. Both accused made confession at first to the effect that they hired a "lion-man" and helped him to kill and cut up the victims. Later they retracted the confessions but could give no reason for apparently concocting the same tale in the first place. All three were convicted of using the uncaught "lion-man" to commit murder and two of them were executed.

In the last case three women were charged with the murder of another. Two of them confessed that they hired a "lion-man" for Shs. 20/- in order to kill a neighbour of whom one was jealous. The "lion-man" wore skins and could talk; it ran on all fours. They watched it kill the victim and hack the body about. Medical evidence indicated that a knife was more likely to have caused the wounds on the body than an animal. The confessions were later retracted, but the judge found so much corroboration between them and the known facts as to warrant conviction. All three women were hanged, including the keeper of the "lion-man."

In addition to the public barazas and court trials, small police posts were established in the affected areas from which regular patrols were made. These posts were withdrawn after twelve months had elapsed with no fresh "lion-man" cases and their cost levied at a flat rate per head on the inhabitants of the region in which the courts found the "lion-men" murders had occurred. During this period, an intensive campaign was instituted against real lions. This met with little success at first and experienced hunters commented on the great cunning shown by the beasts in not entering baited traps set near a kill but going on apparently to make further kills in distant areas. One trapper, Mr. de la Bere Barker (D) remarked on the number of lions heard and their terrifying effect on the superstitious tribespeople making them prone to manufacture a story of "lion-men" out of any lion tragedy. Promptly-held inquests established that 50 people were killed by lions during the period October, 1947, to February, 1948, lion pug-marks at the scene of the tragedy, typical lion wounds and beasts being seen at the kill being conclusive evidence. Gradually however the continuous trapping made progress and by July, 1948, 38 lions had been accounted for.

Statistics show that 30 killings in which "lion-men" were suspected had been reported by the end of 1946 when the chiefs and police combined to make a thorough investigation at Mgori, the centre of the affected chiefdom. As a result some 61 Africans were detained for further examination. Meanwhile the suspicious killings continued and spread to other areas so that by July, 1947, a total of 103 such cases had been reported. It was established that many of these killings were the work of real lions and in several others there was insufficient evidence to support any definite conclusion. In the 6 cases where convictions for murder were upheld, 4 occurred in late 1946 and 2 in early 1947, the last incident being on 29th May, 1947. The first "lion-man" trials were held at the end of June, 1947. The last allegation of a "lion-man" murder was made in July, 1947, but was not substantiated on investigation. After that while violent deaths continued to be reported and occasional hints dropped that a "lion-man" might have been the cause, there were no more definite accounts of "lion-men" being employed as given in the

trials. The measures taken had therefore either stopped the people concerned from using "lion-men", if such ever existed, or stopped them from terrorising large sections of the population by professing to employ such killers for the most trivial reasons.

Careful search has failed to reveal any trace of the lion-men assassins who were identified by name in the various trials. Enquiries indicated that they were persons who had disappeared years before. The question remains therefore whether these assassins who were so strangely accoutred to commit murder had been secretly trained for years for the purpose and were successfully concealed again or made away with after the hue and cry had become too pressing, or whether they were a figment of imagination used to hide the identity of the real killer? That the tribespeoples' imagination centres round the lion as a symbol is known, while the author who spent several years among them experienced several instances of the individuals' belief in lycanthropy but never an example of it. Whatever the truth there is no doubt from the bearing and conversation of the people in the most affected area that they have completely overcome the terror of "mbojo" which was so noticeable among them in 1947. It is difficult to account for this change of attitude if large numbers of them know that the menace is merely awaiting a favourable opportunity to break out again.

The most notable example of the part played by the lion in customary Turu tribal lore is shown by the women's dance of Inmala, forbidden to the male gaze, in which only initiates may join. The dance is performed by neophytes, i.e. women who have borne a child, under the leadership of the older women as an instructive fertility rite. It is also said to placate the spirits who are angered by the birth of twins and can cause the lightning to strike offenders. Married women who remain barren after eighteen months or so attend to benefit, also young girls. The proper time is supposed to be sunset. It is customary to wear the mane of a lion or the skin of a baboon as a head-dress. The neophytes are sent off into the bush with instructions to bring back a lion. They return later apparently dragging something round which they gather closely. Meanwhile the older women have prepared a cooking pot by stretching a wet goat-skin over its mouth. A quiver is then reversed over the skin and a wetted hand rubbed up and down it, the resulting friction producing a round like the grunting of a lion. The neophytes sing:—

"We bring it from X (a neighbouring locality).

It has pads, ehoo, a lion!

Sisters let us run away

It is a dangerous beast

It comes from X

It is a lion, ehoo!"

Usually a good deal of native beer is consumed by the older women before the party breaks up. Next evening they assemble again, the "lion" grunts and is taken down to the water hole to drink surrounded by the

young women who appear to be struggling with a fearsome and powerful beast. They sing :—

“Let us fly from this dangerous beast, a lion

It sleeps at X (a place)

It has pads, ehoo, a lion.”

After being taken back to the hut the “lion” is made to roar again. One of the young women takes the part of the lion in the excursions, being dragged along in mock ferocity by the others. After several similar performances in the manner the “lion,” surrounded by the women, is taken to a special tree which the women strike with their girdles, while the lion “roars” and dolls made of gourds ornamented with beadwork are then passed round. The dance finishes after feasting and merriment with the release of the “lion”.

The veneration of the lion by the women, its connection in their mind with avenging spirits and their familiarity with simulating its appearance may not be without significance in the “mbojo” cases. The tribesmen certainly attribute the “mbojo” trouble to the women while more than half those executed as a result of the trials were women. Even if the women simulate the appearance of a lion in order to have a murder committed however it is clear that no mystical significance is attached to the despatch of the victims but this is done for the basest motives.

What are the conclusions to be drawn? Do trained assassins masquerade as wild beasts in killing their victims? This cannot yet be definitely answered but the trials and enquiries made it clear that human life is held very cheaply among the Turu, though they were never a warlike tribe. Among such a debased community there may well be persons with no compunction about trading in assassination under the cloak of the local bogey. It is certain that unless lions which become man-eaters are destroyed, their depredations will again provide an opportunity for the revival of the “mbojo” superstition which so clearly fosters wild accusations, extortion and widespread terror. Further, that the prompt holding of a careful enquiry into deaths by violence is an important check on the superstitious imaginations. This in turn requires efficient local administrative and police work to ensure that violent deaths are reported and witnesses traced without delay. The preventive measures necessary were aptly summed up by one of the Turu chiefs when asked to what he attributed the sudden cessation of the “mbojo” killings in his reply, “Too many eyes are watching now.”

Mirambo

By Ronald J. Harvey

Some fifty miles north-west of Tabora in Tanganyika Territory lies the country of Urambo. It sprawls across the old caravan route which led from the Arab settlement of Tabora to Lake Tanganyika and the dark Congo. To-day,* it is sparsely inhabited and infested with tsetse fly. In 1936, as a measure against sleeping sickness, the Government was compelled to concentrate the natives near their eastern border, some miles from their capital, Iseramagazi. To the casual observer the chiefdom which has been known since the introduction of Indirect Rule as the Native Authority of Urambo would seem of little interest. It is an area with slender reserves; so precarious were the finances of its treasury that it was deemed expedient to amalgamate with its neighbours so that the combined purse might be more useful to the inhabitants. The financial amalgamation left untouched the authority of the chief, but Urambo is in humble state. It is an insignificant unit. It was not always thus. Time was when the Chief of Urambo was great throughout all Unyamwezi, the name given to all the country from Unyanyembe to the lakes, Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza. The name of Mirambo was one which instilled fear into the hearts of those who heard it. English mothers hushed their babies with Napoleon's name, but the cry of 'Mirambo, Mirambo!' caused whole villages to decamp in terror, leaving behind their worldly goods. In the recent concentration the co-operation of the people was complete but there could not fail to be some who were reluctant to abandon to the bush many places intimately connected with the memory of their great chief. The scenes of so many warlike levies, so much division of spoil, so many bacchic feasts will soon surrender themselves to the oblivion of the bush. The very grave of Mirambo was threatened by this abandonment, but his memory was too great to be forgotten, and the leaders of the people requested and were accorded the right to maintain their caretaker at his tomb, although it is outside the area demarcated for the concentration. It is not unnatural that some were impelled to consider the days of old. It will be our task in these pages to show something of Mirambo's position among his fellows and attempt to recall the spirit which animated him.

The search for the origins and antecedents of Mirambo leads into the labyrinth of native legend. It is fortunate indeed that there remain accounts from the pens of his contemporaries and acquaintances. The Chief told his story in detail to Dr. Southon of the London Missionary Society who in the period of more than two years during which he was resident in Urambo gained his friendship and confidence.¹

It is not unnatural that the Chief's story shows his ancestry in the richest light. He is the legal descendant of royal parents and there is

* This article was written in 1937—Ed.

the simplest of genealogical tables to illustrate these facts. Both his mother and father were the direct lineal descendants of one Mshimba, a mighty king who ruled the empire of Usagali, stretching from the shores of the great lakes to the country of the Wagogo. This monarch was the father of a large progeny and, sometime before his death, he divided his kingdom, as did the feudal kings of Europe in the Middle Ages, among his sons. When he died, they became independent in their own domain. One of these, Kibinga, was the ruler of Ulyankuru and another, Mbunda, of Uyowa. Both Uyowa and Ulyankuru lay on the southern bank of the Igombe River, north-west of the Arab settlement, known as Kazeh or Tabora. Maseri, Mirambo's mother was the descendant of Kibinga; Kasanda, his father, was the descendant of Mbunda; in the person of Mirambo both lines were united.

Mr. Willoughby² has given another account of Mirambo's origins; in some aspects it resembles that recorded by Dr. Southon, but there are also grave differences. In ancient times, there was a King of Usegula who had under him many chiefs. When he was well stricken in years, the chiefs conspired against him and each proclaimed himself independent. One Kazowa set himself up in Uyowa. He was succeeded there by Mvulwo who in his turn was followed by Mtelya. Mtelya had no sons, but his daughter, Makasi, was married to an immigrant whose name was Kasanda. The son of this union was called Mtelya, but when he had become a great chief, he called himself Mirambo.

Other accounts would show that there was room for doubt in the matter of the blueness of Mirambo's blood. Stanley, clearly repeating stories current among the Arabs, wrote³ that his origin was humble; he had been a porter in Arab employ. Power he had seized "with the usual knack of unconscionable rascals." He had gathered round him a band of desperate youths who harrassed the peaceful and weak. When the chief of Uyowa died, Mirambo forcibly possessed himself of the country.

Other authorities tell us that in his youth he had been sold to the Arabs and had been employed in their caravans. His natural qualities caused him to be selected as leader of the caravan, but his natural strength of character made him rebel against the too frequent use of the whip in which his master indulged. A fierce hatred of the Arab was engendered in him and finally he deserted.⁴ Further information goes to show that he had been brought up among the Watuta, or Wangoni, tribesmen akin to the Zulus, who wandered in predatory bands about the country north and west of Tabora. Mirambo certainly spoke Kingoni and always imposed great faith in his Wangoni soldiers.⁵

It is indeed likely that Mirambo went to the coast with the Arab caravans; this was the safest, almost the only means of seeing the high life. There seems to have been no social stigma in such labour, and we find that Fundikira, the Chief of Unyanyembe, was actually on his way to the coast as a porter when he was recalled to inherit a kingdom.⁶ The

Wanyamwezi have always boasted their qualities as porters. Natives who knew Mirambo for long periods referred to him as an upstart and there seems no reason to suppose that his birth was exceptionally illustrious. Authorities are unanimous in regarding Uyowa as the country of his origin, and, in correspondence, there is a reference to his mother as a chieftainess. Cameron was informed that Mirambo was originally the chief of a small district in Unyamwezi, and having regard for the mass of evidence this is probably very near the truth. In those troublous times it would not have been difficult to discover among his ancestors men who had called themselves chiefs, for society was subject to perpetual upheavals and chiefs liable to sudden dissolutions. His birth was probably not more distinguished than that of many of his contemporaries; unremitting inter-tribal warfare opened a promising field to anyone who possessed energy, courage, and leadership. We shall see that Mirambo displayed all these qualities in rich abundance.

We look in vain in the records of Burton and Speke for a mention of the name of Mirambo. On their journeys in East Africa between 1857 and 1861 they passed through country over which Mirambo was later to rule. Describing the events of June 1871, Stanley wrote "This Mirambo of Uyowa, it seems, had for the last few years been in a state of chronic discontent with the policies of the neighbouring chiefs."⁷ The advent of Mirambo must, therefore, have taken place between 1861 and 1871. On his second journey Speke noted a great change in the country west of Tabora. Formerly in 1858 he had experienced no difficulty in obtaining sufficient porters, but in 1861 he found that prosperous and happy villages had been denuded of their male population which had gone to the wars. In Unyamwezi, the Arabs had just established a puppet chief, Mkasiwa, a member of the royal house, but one who would obey their commands. Such conditions as these would be favourable indeed to a man of Mirambo's ambitions. It is interesting to read in "The Journal of the Discovery of the Sources of the Nile" the causes of the deposition of Mkasiwa's predecessor, Manua Sera.⁸ The major cause was that he had attempted to levy a toll upon all merchandise passing through his country. It was precisely a similar reason which later precipitated the war between the Arabs and Mirambo.

Early in the sixties Mirambo must have begun his acquisitive career. Until 1871, he was growing in power and acquired a name as a brigand chief. He was chief of a wide area of land north of the Igombe River, but had collected about himself a band of young warriors who were eager to seize all that war could give them. This body of men were the famous "rugaruga"; so daring and cruel were their exploits, so great the terror they instilled that to the unfortunate inhabitants of Unyamwezi every sound in the bush seemed to whisper their approach.

As leader of the band Mirambo gained an invidious name. It was his custom in these early days to assist those chiefs who found themselves in difficulties with their subjects or their neighbours, provided that the

remuneration was sufficiently attractive. In this way he quickly came to exert an influence throughout Unyamwezi. In 1871 Stanley says he had already "carried war through Ugala to Ukonongo, through Usaguzi to the borders of Uvinza."

There is no reason to suppose that the Arabs viewed with serious apprehension the initial stages of his career, since they had, no doubt, been witness to the rise and fall of many another barbarian chieftain. When, however, he began to carve for himself a large kingdom and wield a wide influence, they took alarm. In native legend, there is a wealth of story pointing the causes of the bitter feud between Mirambo and the Unyanyembe Arabs. It is related that he had been cheated in a commercial transaction with a certain Arab and so fierce had been his anger that he had vowed eternal war upon all the race. Discussing the war, sometime after peace had been established, Mirambo told Dr. Southon that the war had been precipitated by the Arabs. He said that some slaves of the Arab, Hamisi Abdallah, whom Stanley calls "bold and brave", had deserted and fled to Usinge which had recently admitted the suzerainty of Mirambo. Manua Sera, Mirambo's lieutenant, was immediately sent by his master to investigate, but the Arabs were impatient, alleging wilful dilatoriness, and attacked Mirambo's border villages. Whatever may have been the immediate cause of the war, the essential causes were more fundamental and require analysis.

In 1870, there were in that region of Central Africa with which we are concerned, two principal Arab settlements. The first of these was Tabora which must be understood to include not only what is now the township, but Kwi-hara, Kazeh, and Itetemia where was the palace of the Chief of Unyanyembe. The importance of Tabora was described by Burton :

"Here the Arab meets his compatriot returning from the Tanganyika Lake and from Uruwa. Northwards well-travelled lines diverge to the Nyanza Lake, and the powerful kingdom of Karagwah, Uganda, and Unyoro; from the south Urori and Ubena, Usanga and Usenga, send their ivory and slaves; and from the south-west the Rukwa Water, K'hohoro, Ufipa and Marungu must barter their valuables for cotton, wires, and beads. The central position and comparative safety of Unyanyembe have made it the headquarters of the Omani or pure Arabs, who, in many cases, settle here for years, remaining in charge of their depots, whilst their factors and slaves travel about the country and collect the items of traffic."⁹

The other principal settlement was Ujiji on the shores of Lake Tanganyika and the importance of this port has been explained by Captain Hore who visited it for the first time in 1878. He wrote :—

"Ujiji for over half a century at least had been the terminal depot for those Oriental colonists, travellers, and merchants (chiefly Arabs), who have so long exploited for us the ivory of these regions and from whom chiefly we have information and assistance enabling

us to enter them. From this point their expeditions and their influence extended further afield, and now their terminal depot is Nyangwe and Kasongo in Manyema, and Ujiji has become rather a station on the road to those places than a position of independent importance. Ujiji is quite a little Egypt. Representatives of all the tribes come to it for trade and diplomatic purposes."¹⁰

Between the two settlements there was constant communication, but not only did the Arabs of Tabora have commercial and social contact with their fellows of Ujiji, they were interested also in the roads which led south to Ukonongo and north to Lake Victoria Nyanza and thence to Uganda where great Mtesa reigned. It was essential that these arteries should remain open and unencumbered; they could not bear to think that their consignments of ivory should be hampered or their supply of comely Manyema maidens jeopardised. They had experienced no difficulty with petty chiefs whose friendship could easily be won by a few yards of tawdry cloth or a handful of beads, but a chief of Mirambo's energy and ambition constituted a problem. In Unyanyembe they had established a puppet, but Mirambo early indicated that he would never allow his position to approximate to that.

Now, Mirambo's country lay across the best route from Tabora to Ujiji, and by his conquests and alliances he began to exert an influence along a portion of the road to Lake Victoria Nyanza. Even the southern route through Ukonongo was liable to his raids.¹¹ Never until his advent had the Arabs been denied the freest access, but Mirambo clearly announced his intention of carrying out the policy which had caused Manua Sera's downfall. It was his determination that all caravans should pass through his country and be subject to his dues. Such a policy threatened to decimate the profits of ivory and slave-trading and hence the dramatic outburst of "handsome, courageous Soud, the son of Sayid bin Majid," as reported by Stanley: "Are we prepared to give up the ivory of Ujiji, of Urundi, of Karagwah, of Uganda because of one man?"¹² There was nothing original in Mirambo's policy, but he was strong enough to enforce it. It was in 1870 that he began active measures and when Stanley arrived in Unyanyembe in 1871, he found a state of war existing between the Arabs and Mirambo. The usual route to Ujiji was closed and, unfortunately, he was persuaded by brave words to join the Arabs. Mirambo had explained to his enemies that they must respect him as a great and powerful chief. He was willing to do business with them. He had brought order into parts unaccustomed to it, and considered it just that the Arabs should pay for this enhanced security. To arrogance the Arabs replied with arrogance. Mirambo, conscious of his power, determined to be a mighty prince, was resolved to show the Arabs that they were aliens liable to his dues, and, threatened with a wholesale reduction of their profits, it was natural that the Arabs were able to show such fine indignation. They would march against this upstart; they would teach this filibuster the respect due to them; they would reduce him again to

the servile condition whence he had risen. The susceptible Stanley was impressed. We know how he marched with them into Ulanyakuru on the borders of Mirambo's country. Here the allies showed their worth, since, after a preliminary success, they were discomfited and fled so precipitously that Stanley was almost captured in his bed. The Arabs fled each to his own house. On the 22nd of August, Mirambo attacked Tabora with 3,000 men. It was anticipated that he would continue his attack as far as Kazehe and Itetemia, but after burning a few houses in Tabora, he retreated to Kazima about six miles north. Here his men caroused with stolen victuals, and on the 27th a further retreat was made. Stanley passes from the picture since he set out to find Livingstone at Ujiji by a southern route through Ukonongo. Some speculation as to Mirambo's reasons for retreating may be hazarded. It was natural that his men should want to break training, but it is also likely that the chief himself was unwilling to test the Arabs too far in their own stronghold, especially as Stanley's party was well armed. If victorious, he might have drawn upon himself a large expedition from the Sultan of Zanzibar.

A state of war continued until 1875. It was not always in Mirambo's favour. Even in September 1871, the Arabs repulsed him at Mfuko on his border. In December a large force was assembled to attack him and for some time he was in severe straits.¹³ In June, 1872, however, Mirambo, by a lightning stroke routed his enemy, and in July we find that most of the Arabs had scattered to their own homes. Throughout the war he was assisted by the timidity of his opponents and their inability to take concerted action. Few of them relished meeting Mirambo's men who had become skilled in battle. Some of the poorer Arabs thought, not unnaturally, that the war was one from which they had nothing to gain; all successes would be for the benefit of a few wealthy merchants. It is related that Mkasiwa's men who were their allies suggested that the Arabs should remain at home since their example on the battle-field was so devastating in its effects upon the morale of all; the death of one Arab caused a general stampede.¹⁴ The Sultan of Zanzibar was not seriously concerned with the plight of his nominal subjects in Unyamwebe; they were notorious for their intrigues. Said Burgash was, moreover, in no position to send an expedition since it would be expensive and not altogether popular with his counsellors.

From 1872 until 1875 there were no combats on the field, the roads were dangerous; commerce was at a standstill. Mirambo had proved himself more than a match for his enemies, and, at length, the Arabs sent overtures of peace through one Marjani, the servant of Said Salim who had always shown himself unfavourable to the war. Peace was concluded, but what the terms were it is impossible to know precisely. It is evident, however, that Mirambo gained his point. He had taught the Arabs a sharp lesson, and years later Mirambo's grandson was proud to show a necklace of eighty-five teeth drawn from the mouths of Arabs slain by Mirambo.

The end of the Arab war was not the end of Mirambo's military career; this was to continue to the very day of his death.

In 1876 and 1877, he appears to have been occupied in the north. In 1871, he had administered a severe rebuke to certain of the Wavinza chieftains on the west; they had thought to derive benefit from his troubles with the Arabs. He had, however, turned speedily upon them and reduced them to abject submission.¹⁵ He had, therefore, little to fear from the east or west, and it would seem that he turned his attention to a problem which had often exercised his mind, the subjugation of the Wasukuma. He had entered into alliance with Rwema, the tyrant of Uzinza, a country on the southern shores of Victoria Nyanza. This chief was constantly at loggerheads with his subjects and was compelled to beg Mirambo's aid for which he was prepared to pay heavily. In 1876, Mirambo had despatched an embassy to Mtesa, the King of Uganda, hoping that he might prevent any hostility from Uganda and even secure an alliance. His overtures were summarily rejected since the King could not forget the spoliation of one of his caravans by 'rugaruga' who invoked Mirambo's name.¹⁶ The desire to increase his influence in the north was but part of his general policy of bestriding all the commercial routes of the Lake regions. In November 1877, Mr. T. O'Neill of the Church Missionary Society wrote: "He has command of all the principal roads to Karague, Uganda, the Tanganyika and latterly part of the coast at Nguru in Usukuma." He was not entirely successful in his efforts against the Wasukuma, and he was never permitted to push his power beyond the borders of Urima. On several occasions, at later dates, he assembled his forces to march against them but was compelled to abandon the project. It was an irony that he who had tamed tribesmen, fierce in battle, should have been thwarted by the unwarlike Wasukuma; there is no doubt that the memory was unpleasant to him and he would clearly have liked to obliterate it.¹⁷

In July 1878, Captain Hore of the London Missionary Society arrived at Mirambo's "Kwikuru" or palace and was entertained there for a few days by the Chief. The captain was leading an expedition to Lake Tanganyika on whose shores he hoped to survey new fields for missionary enterprise. The chief quickly asked that his capital should be the permanent headquarters of a mission field, promising every assistance if his request were granted. Even before he had entered Urambo, Hore had written to the Directors of London Missionary Society suggesting that Mirambo's country would be particularly suitable for the establishment of a station. Hore and his companions had started their long journey from the coast with a string of ox-wagons, but they had not progressed far before it was impressed upon them that this type of transport was impracticable and that head-porterage would for many years be the usual method of transport, despite the youthful suggestion of one missionary that a light railway would solve the difficulty! It appeared essential that there should be a station between Mwapwa and Ujiji; it is true that the Church Missionary Society had tentatively opened a post at Uyui, but it was still on trial

and was not situated in the country of a chief who would be able to protect the persons and property of the missionaries. Mirambo would be able to offer them safety of travel through a large area and exemption from constant subjection to dues of passage (*mhongo*). Further, the invitation of the chief might be the means of a fruitful harvest to the evangelists. When Lieutenant Smith and the Church Missionary Society party were on their way to open a mission in Uganda, Mirambo had invited them to visit his *kwikuru*, but they were hurrying to Mtesa's court in response to Stanley's challenge and their route did not pass that way. The chief's reputation was not so attractive as to cause them to deviate unnecessarily. Hore and his companions were the first white men who came unhesitatingly and designedly to the capital of Mirambo whose reputation was of a murderous, swashbuckling upstart, whose very name was derived from the multitude of those he had slaughtered.

It will be our endeavour later to discuss the attitude of Mirambo to the European and to analyse the reasons for his eagerness to have missionaries in his country. It must suffice here to say that the reasons were not religious. The visitors promised that they would use their influence to persuade the Director to open a post, and the result was that in 1879 Dr. Ebenezer Southon came to Urambo to initiate the station. He chose a site, a few miles from the *Kwikuru*.

About this time, 1878, Said Salim, the Arab to whom we have already made reference, was in communication with Mirambo. At the time of the Arab war he had been the Governor of Unyanyembe, but even at that period his pacific attitude had been remarked, and he had after the termination of the war been driven from office. His successor was Abdallah bin Nasib, more commonly known as Kisesa, and Said bin Salim was attempting to create difficulties for him with a view to regaining the governorship. Said laid claim to certain goods in Tabora and Mirambo appeared to support him. Although Said had retired to Uyui, he frequently visited the *Kwikuru*, and relations between Mirambo and the Arabs were strained. Relying upon native rumour and the bellicose words of the Arabs, some of the missionaries reported that war was imminent; others even reported that it had broken out.¹⁸ Such fears were increased by the news that one of the Church Missionary Society's men, Penrose, had been brutally murdered by the Wanungu, allies of Mirambo. There is no shred of evidence to connect him with this tragic incident, but it was not unnatural that he should be suspect for the air was full of his name and his nominal allies were many. Every marauding band used his name as a weapon and a cloak. One missionary exclaimed that, despite professions of friendship for the European, "he is a robber at heart and perhaps worse."¹⁹ In Ujiji there was panic when it was rumoured that he was coming to attack the town.²⁰ It is certain that he never came near to Ujiji at that period, although he did later in the year make an expedition into Uha; in May, he ravaged there extensively as the ally of Luzunzu, a chief of the Wavinza. At Ujiji, the inhabitants were con-

vinced that the presence of the white man alone saved them. To increase the bad odour which surrounded him came the seizure of Mr. Dodgshun's loads. The London Missionary Society had made an arrangement with M. Broyon who was engaged in commerce between Unyamwezi and the coast, for the transport of a large convoy of its goods to Ujiji. Mr. Dodgshun, a member of the Mission, accompanied Broyon as far as Uyui where a camp was made while the Europeans went to visit Unyanyembe. It appears that Mirambo had also contracted with Broyon in respect of some ivory; the ivory had been transported to the coast, but return had not been made as Mirambo required. He therefore sent his messengers to Uyui to bring Broyon to the capital. Neither Broyon nor Dodgshun was there and the messengers seized the goods. Perhaps, judged by European standards, such action was highhanded, but there were no courts of law to which recourse might be made. Mirambo was autocratic, but later it was found that the bales had been subjected to surprisingly little pilfering. Dr. Southon who investigated the affair found the Chief's attitude very reasonable. There can be little doubt that the Arabs consistently used their influence to Mirambo's detriment; any traveller who visited their houses in Unyanyembe would be told of his misdeeds. It was unfortunate that Dodgshun did not go himself to interview Mirambo. The missionary, however, was unaware of the true facts, and the Chief's action could only be viewed as one of deliberate hostility.

Happily in September 1879 Said bin Salim died and with his death the immediate prospect of war passed. We find Mirambo ravaging Uha, but, at the same time, directing a large proportion of his energies to the erection of a new palace on the grand style. Southon passed through Urambo on his way to Ujiji in September, and returned in November to take up his duties. Between these two dates Mirambo led a small foraging expedition into eastern Uvinza.²¹

In 1880, Ruhaga of Uha visited his capital bringing gifts, but he returned to his own country a disappointed man because Mirambo would not commit himself to an alliance with him against his brother Khanza. "Fight it out yourselves," he said, "and I will support the victor."

Later in this year, the Chief assembled a great army of seven thousand men; he was about to march south of the Ugala river against Takuma, a chief with whom he was displeased. When he arrived at his destination, Sassagula, he found that all the people had fled. There seemed to be nothing for it but to return to Urambo and disband the army. At that instant, however, an unexpected opportunity arose. An offer of alliance from Chief Simba who ruled an area south of Unyanyembe on the Ugala, was received; he wished to attack the Wapimbe, a tribe living in the northern part of the Rukwa trough. Mirambo somewhat readily assented for it was unpleasant to lead an army which had no hope of spoils. The combined forces marched against the village of Kasogera. Fate was working hard. It happened that on the night when Mirambo and his troops bivouacked for the morrow's attack, Messrs. Carter and Cadenhead

of the King of the Belgians' Elephant expedition returning from Karema, had made their camp at the village. The headman of Kasogera had insisted that they should camp within the village as he was expecting an attack. On the next day at a very early hour, the vanguard assaulted the stockade of the village. When this had been carried, the warriors advanced 'trough the village until they came to a stand before the European tents. There was a period of vacillation during which the two Englishmen remained on the defensive. At length, some of the attackers opened fire and a struggle began. The European party retaliated, but the fight against such odds did not last long. Both were killed. Mirambo was not in the village at the time. Had he been, he would certainly have prevented any such catastrophe. It was unfortunate that he should have been concerned with the death of Europeans with whom he desired nothing but friendship. Although later Dr. Southon was able to vindicate him in an enquiry, the deaths of the two Englishmen alienated sympathies which had been consistently favourable to him. Sir John Kirk, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, had used his influence on Mirambo's behalf on several occasions, but the events of June 1880 convinced him that Mirambo was unworthy of any special support. The suspicion cast upon the chief by these untoward events brought him for a fleeting moment to the knowledge of Englishmen who opened their copies of "The Times" to read about him. The Sultan of Zanzibar made a show of action, but was pleased when the incident was forgotten.

In 1881, Mirambo led an army against the Wataturu who had vaunted themselves. He harried their country without mercy. In this year also, he visited the country north of Urambo and settled affairs in Msalala. Later also he began the erection of another house at Kanongo.

The notorious slave-raider Tippu Tib had created trouble in Ujiji in 1881, and in the next year began his march to the coast where, rumour had it, he was to be invested by the Sultan of Zanzibar with the Governorship of Unyanyembe and Ujiji. He was escorted by the usual motley array of slaves who were compelled by hunger to prey upon the countryside. In Uvinza, they had been particularly rapacious, and Mirambo was annoyed as he considered Uvinza as his tributary.

Tippu Tib, however, realised the error of judgment which he had committed and sent ample apologies to the chief. Further, some agreement was made for the easy passage of caravans, and from that day commerce increased on all the Lake routes.

During the last two years of his life, Mirambo was engaged in conflict with his kinsman, Chief Kapera of Uyogo who had for some time been in covert revolt. In 1883, the campaign appears to have been indecisive. Kapera had formed an alliance with the predatory Wataturu, and Mirambo was compelled to march against these before he could concentrate upon the major task of subjugating him. It was during hostilities against Kapera that Mirambo was taken ill. For a long period in 1884 he was in poor health, but he never failed to accompany his men. Finally he was

prostrated by some disease which affected his throat, and on December 2nd he died. The fact that he died by an infection that showed distressing signs at the throat gave rise to rumours that he had been poisoned, and Isiki, the successor to Mkasiwa in Unyanyembe was named as the instigator of the outrage.²² Several Europeans happened to be in the vicinity, but they do not mention anything in support of the rumour. Mr. Charles Stokes, then of the Church Missionary Society, gives the following account of Mirambo's death:—

"Mirambo died on Tuesday, the 2nd of December, of acute Laryngitis. He died at the seat of the war where he was engaged in reducing one of his chiefs who had rebelled for some years. I visited him on the previous Saturday and found him suffering very much, with his usual energy carrying on his war operations although confined to the house.

"He seemed very glad to see me but I feared for him from the first. After remaining with him for about an hour, I started off for the French priests' station about six hours' march, to try and get some medicine that might give him some relief. I found that they had none, so sent messenger off to Shaw (the London Missionary Society missionary at Urambo) asking him to come over at once stating the disease. I stopped with the Frenchmen over Sunday and sent messengers again over to Mirambo to see how he did; they returned on Tuesday and reported that he was a little better on Monday, but on Tuesday when they returned he was much worse and he asked me to go over at once. My boys did not get back until Tuesday evening and on Wednesday morning I started with Pere Lourdel and reached camp about 2 a.m. We heard on arrival that they had sent the body to Kanongo. Mirambo died on Tuesday evening after my boys had left."²³

It is evident from our brief sketch of the life of Mirambo that the foundation of his power was prowess and uniform good fortune in war. In the decline of the Middle Ages European kings had forsaken belief in the feudal host and were actively engaged in raising standing armies of their own. Divine Right and other such nebulous sanctions might serve a turn, but muskets and pikes in experienced hands were more obvious in their value. Mirambo also appreciated this fact and kept a standing army. In October 1877, this force was said to comprise five hundred well armed men ruled with a rod of iron. The greater part of the force was certainly drawn from the Wanyamwezi, but we have already seen that he had stiffened it with some hardy Wataturu. Dr. Southon tells that when a village had been captured it was his custom to assemble the youths and to choose from among them those who were of good physique. These were then taken to the kwikuru and became recruits in the army. He was careful to select for his permanent force only young men. He said that older men were effective behind stockades in defence of property and children, but they were all too conscious on the battlefield

of their family responsibilities to make the best soldiers. He preferred beardless youths who rushed to the attack with careless abandon, dreaming only of the rewards of victory, adulation, feasting and women. Such a company was bound to him by his magnetic personality and all the ties of self interest; the greater the victory the greater the spoils. In its early days the force under its ambitious, acquisitive leader committed grave excesses and its name became a terror throughout the land. While he was building up the fabric of his power, Mirambo was an adventurer; later when he had established himself, his marauding band became an army.

Many of the depredations attributed to his "rugaruga" were, in fact, the actions of freebooters who owed no allegiance. "In the pursuit of his ambition," wrote a contemporary, "he was prepared to sacrifice the convenience and life of other men."²⁴ When he had conquered, he had to preserve, and Captain Hore, addressing a meeting at Exeter Hall, said that he (Mirambo) could not be expected to maintain any law without a military organisation.

It would be wrong, however, to imagine that he relied solely upon his professional army. In extensive campaigns it was his custom to call upon able-bodied men from all parts of his dominions, but it was rarely that he undertook such in the planting season when rain often made rapid movement difficult. To remove the people from their homes at that period would have jeopardised their food supply. He realised also that the people whom he attacked would be in the throes of the pre-harvest dearth and unable to supply his men with food. He led 7,000 men against Takuma in 1880 and campaigned in Uha with 4,000 men in 1879. The extent of his demands upon the country is reflected in a legend that the women consulted together to render themselves barren rather than bear sons to be killed in battle. In smaller enterprises, and these were more numerous, he employed only his trained men. He could demand much from them; he often led them forty miles during the night to make a raid in the early hours of the morning. When Southon arrived in Urambo, he noted that "the people around the Kwikuru are for the most part soldiers who delight in war and bloodshed and are led by a chief whose every thought is directed towards conquest, plunder and the acquisition of territory. The industrious agriculturist and the porter lived away from the Kwikuru, the former supplying food for the army, the latter carrying the plunder to Zanzibar and returning with guns, power, and the like."²⁵

Mirambo was fully aware of the necessity of feeding and rewarding his men, and it cannot be denied that the maintenance of the standing army was itself a potent influence for war, its sinews being entirely supplied by the spoils. Southon also remarked this and writes, "I am afraid that the fighting propensities of his people are such that he is unable to satisfy them unless he engages in a war occasionally."²⁶ Mirambo never denied himself in the division of the spoils; he regarded the acquisition with a shrewd commercial eye, but he usually superintended

personally the division of the major spoils — the cattle and slaves — among the warriors because he wanted to reward merit and avoid bickerings.

It was Mirambo's unremittent anxiety to improve the quality of his weapons. Judged by the European standard of those days they were primitive, but in his own native Africa he was deemed to be well armed, so well armed that it was folly to attack him. His regulars were largely provided with muzzle-loaders, and in rare cases there were breach-loaders. The Arabs had shown to native chiefs the value of the muzzle-loader and the rifle, and every little princeling asked for firearms as presents, but Mirambo gained a reputation for the way in which he abstracted them from his guests. In correspondence there is much mention of his eagerness to obtain firearms and other useful articles. Mr. Stokes wrote, "As far as I can make out, every Englishman who goes to see him must be prepared to part with his gun or some other valuable thing."²⁷ Every caravan which he sent to the coast was bidden to return with gunpowder. He had his agents there, but during the Arab war when the supply was stopped at the Sultan's orders his position became precarious.

It was fortunate for him that the Arabs had no sense of unity and the Sultan's orders not literally obeyed. When the German explorers, Pogge and Wissmann, visited Mirambo, it is related that Mirambo showed them villages in which weapons were being manufactured and repaired in mass. It was common rumour that it was his intention to make a contract with the explorers so that he might ensure a regular supply of arms and ammunition;²⁸ he had been disappointed in the missionaries who parted with guns only with obvious reluctance.

Men and guns were the foundation and supports of his power. It would be impossible to see in his campaigns any masterly strategy. Expediency and opportunism largely guided him. He worked on a small stage with miniature figures; he was a native African chieftain, and had no historian to recount in detail his campaigns. It is bewildering to follow him from Uha to Ukonongo, from Uzinza to Utaturu. He had to quell rebellions, to subdue the pretentious, and seize without hesitation every opportunity to increase his influence. He loved war and the army which he had created strengthened him in his love. The love was inspired probably not so much from the exhilaration of the fight but from the satisfaction that tangible acquisitions gave. He was not a sensationalist; we have remarked previously that he was commercially minded.

His mind could dwell upon immediate problems and seize advantages, and, although militarily we cannot see great long-sight, we do recognise a power to cope with situations as they arose during the campaign. He was adept with the surprise attack for which his seasoned troops were singularly fitted. Southon noted this quality and has described it in terms which may be a little too glowing:—

"The celerity of his movements, the sagacity of his plans and the ferocity with which his onslaughts were made, struck terror

into the hearts of people for miles around. No one could tell in what district he would next appear; to-day he was at one place, yet yesterday he was forty miles south of it.

"His *modus operandi* was as follows: Having planned to attack a certain district, he marched by unfrequented paths quickly to the doomed villages. He generally timed his marches so as to arrive in the night and about an hour before daybreak a furious assault was made."

We have already seen how that on several occasions the Arabs were a prey to his surprise attacks. In 1879, at Katalambilas in Uvinza so successful was his attack that he possessed himself of the village while the villagers slept. He himself would often lead the vanguard, but we have seen that on one fateful occasion he did not.

Although he preferred the offensive à outrance, he did not neglect defence. His villages on the Unyanyembe border were fortified with stout stockades, and the ground was cleared for some distance around to prevent the approach of the enemy in the undergrowth and to permit a sweeping fire. His men fought well from the stockade at Mfuto in 1871. His own Kwikuru was similarly fortified.

He possessed a rudimentary secret service, and his spies were busy before the campaign began. The missionaries were often conscious that they were being watched by his agents. Sir John Kirk believed that before he attacked Kasogera where Carter and Cadenhead were killed, he had first sent his spies to gain information and, in consequence, he must have been aware of the presence of the white men. It seems that this information was without foundation, but, at least, it serves to indicate the use which Mirambo was accustomed to make of intelligence agents. In 1880, he certainly had his agents at the coast watching his interests. His palace was the meeting-place of all kinds of informers, Wataturu, Waswahili, Waha, Watusi, Wanyamwezi and Wavinza who came to tell him of the strength and the conversation of the neighbouring chiefs.

His military organisation, his superlative energy, his opportunism, and his ruthlessness ensured success. The regularity of his victories made contemporaries attribute to him a supernatural power.

Passing from the foundation and the supports, let us examine the edifice which he erected. Few chiefs in eastern central Africa left so great a memory; the rapidity of his rise and his retention of power are almost unique in those parts. We must, however, remind ourselves that his stage was miniature in proportions and we must avoid exaggerations. Stanley called him a Napoleon, but he was really a very small reflexion indeed. He dealt in hundreds of men, not thousands; in consignments of ivory, not in millions of pounds sterling; in slaves and cattle, not in reparations or warships. Remembering these things, we may proceed to an estimate of his power.

At the height of his influence he was dominant from the borders of Unyanyembe to Uvinza and from Uzinza to Ukonongo. As early as 1871,

Stanley wrote, "Immediately the cry 'Mirambo! Mirambo!' is raised from every height the alarming cry is echoed, until from Usiha to Usanda and from Masai north to Usmao, the dread name is repeated." The words are poetical but illustrate the terror of his name. He never made his influence paramount in Unyanyembe, no doubt for the reasons which we have already mentioned, but as far as Uyui his word was law. He was not permitted to extend his dominion as widely as he wished in Usukuma. He had threatened Ujiji, but had not attacked; he had harried Utaturu but had not annexed. His pass was valid from Uyui to the lakes. Many chiefs foreseeing that their turn would inevitably come preferred to anticipate that day by offering their allegiance to him. Majembe Ngana of Uyui was his man; Ruhaga of Uha brought him presents; Rwoma of Uzinza was an ally. Often in the outlying areas his power was somewhat nebulous, but a direct order was never disobeyed. Over a large country he had extended a peace which had been unknown; the population of to-day must be less than it was during his time.

His policy towards those whom he had conquered is interesting. In most instances the chief or headman of the captured village was put to death if he had been unfortunate enough to survive the onslaught, and another, usually the heir, was set up in his place, having sworn allegiance to Mirambo. We have described how the pick of the youth were sent to the kwikuru as recruits for the army. The villages were plundered without mercy, this was a sine qua non of native warfare. After conquest the inhabitants were not harshly treated; it was his aim rather to attach the conquered to him. They were largely left alone, and it was not long before they realised that peace as Mirambo's men was better than the fear to which they would be prey as his enemies. In certain cases he made marriage alliances with the territorial chiefs, as with Ndega and Kapera of Uyogo.

His royal palace has been described by Dr. Southon :—

"The kwikuru . . . is a large square enclosure, the sides of which are composed of substantially built walls against which houses are built all around, it is nearly half a mile square and encloses . . . about two hundred round huts well built, and some of them fifty feet in diameter, giving habitation to about ten thousand inhabitants; quite another five thousand live in the houses built against the wall."

In the same letter we are told of the chief's personal dwelling: "Mirambo has carpenters, smiths, and masons from Zanzibar who are superintending the building of a large house in the Arab style; and if the windows were larger, it would be a desirable residence for a European."

This wide dominion and these royal displays were Mirambo's but it behoves us to consider whether in policy or in intellect he had anything which distinguished him among his fellow chieftains. Clearly in intellect he had, even if we consider only his military career. We must avoid superlatives, but it is enlightening to read in a report by Mr. W. C. Willoughby

of the London Missionary Society, a friend and a contemporary of the chief that "from the first, Mirambo entertained the idea of establishing a nationality; and as he was prepared to sacrifice the convenience and the lives of others, so was he willing to sacrifice his own in the pursuit of the object."²⁹ In Kalola's story we read that the dying head of the snake-men recommended him, as his successor, to accept Mirambo's invitation to be his adviser since he was the only man in all Unyamwezi who had the prestige and ability to unite the tribe.³⁰ It would, perhaps, be drawing too long a bow to discover in Mirambo any conscious desire to found a nationality, but we have already remarked how he united all Unyamwezi save Unyanyembe.

We have been able to show the main outlines of his policy. He defined precisely his determination to compel the trade of his sphere to follow the paths which he appointed. Sir John Kirk, in a despatch of 1881, wrote, "If he should push the war on that side (referring to Usukuma) I should be inclined to think that it was done for the purpose of making unsafe the roads to Kagera and Uganda, in order to bring trade more within his reach, and repeating there what he has done between the coast and Ujiji for there seems of late to be more system in his plans than one usually finds in an untaught native." It was not Mirambo's aim to prevent the passage of caravans; he was willing that they should pass and in great numbers if they brought wealth to him. He offered the merchants security over a wide area and in return required them to pay. Throughout the country which was subject or tributary to him they could be assured that they would be exposed to the obstructions of a hundred petty headmen attempting to squeeze as much "hongo" as they could. His own dues were not light, and it is related that the price of ivory was doubled as the result of his policy.

His aim in securing the roads was subtly interwoven with his general desire to be a great chief, so also was his attitude to white men. The Church Missionary Society despatched its expedition to Uganda in 1876; it passed close to Urambo and the chief was reported to have said, "Why should they not come to live with me?" He had experienced the delights of conquest, the exultation of power, the pleasure of seeing chiefs beg for his mercy, but he was eager to have signs of all his greatness, and the presence of a white man would be one of these. Further, he was conscious that Europeans possessed knowledge which he lacked. He was inquisitive. He wanted to benefit from that superior knowledge. Mr. Willoughby wrote, "He believes that we, by imparting knowledge to his people shall aid him in establishing a nationality, shall introduce an element of greatness into the lives of his people." He was interested in things mechanical and handled them with the care of an engineer. He was anxious that the children of his village should attend the school which the missionaries had proposed to open. So intense was his desire to make contact with Europeans that the members of the International Association found themselves for almost a month virtual prisoners in his capital.

Another reason carried weight with him. He had quickly realised that friendship with the British who had a representative at the Sultan's court might prove valuable to him. Sir John Kirk was almost a warm supporter until the deaths of Carter and Cadenhead. Mirambo was never entirely satisfied that his eastern border was safe when he was engaged on his more distant raids, and on occasions we have seen that he abandoned an expedition into Usukuma through this fear. He despised the local Arabs and knew that alone they were no match for him, but he was always afraid that the Sultan would take active measures against him. Perhaps, if he were the ally of the British who appeared to have so much influence, the Sultan would think very deeply before he undertook action, and the local Arabs hesitated before they attacked a country and a chief which sheltered white men.

Thus a tangle of reasons made him anxious to cultivate the friendship of the British. He considered it a sign of greatness that they should reside with him; he coveted their advice, medical knowledge and mechanical skill. The use of his routes by the missionaries would advertise them, make them respectable, incidentally increasing his wealth. He preferred the British because Sir John Kirk was in Zanzibar and his influence was generally in his favour. Sir John was his friend because he saw in him the possibility of building up a strong unit which would bring peace and, perhaps, looking further ahead, an instrument against the slave trade on the mainland. Mirambo could understand why the missionaries had come to this country, but he was not so friendly to those who came with unspecified aims. He conceived a violent dislike for the French and the Belgians due to the shabby treatment which had been experienced at the hands of Broyon. Nationality had, however, little effect upon that craving to watch the white men and to derive as much advantage as possible from them. Some of his subjects, especially the most conservative, the medicine men, murmured that he allowed Europeans too easy an access to his country, particularly when Pogge and Wissmann visited him; despite this Mirambo continued to welcome the white men.

The Europeans who had personal acquaintance with him acknowledge his unique personality. It is fortunate that there is a photograph of him taken in 1883. In appearance he was not outstanding. He was some five feet eleven inches in height, slender in build and very attractive. Latterly he was very abstemious. Save on rare important occasions he made no personal display and wore ordinary garments on all others. Constant campaigning had hardened him and he could withstand privations. Dr. Southon expressed admiration for the courage he showed in insisting that he should remove some tumours from his arm without an anaesthetic. Few people were able to resist his charm. In 1871, Stanley fought against him, but in 1876, he met him at Ushirombo, and there made bloodbrotherhood with him. The explorer was compelled to admit that he was entirely captivated by him.³¹ He describes him as having a quiet confidence and dignity in command. Mr. Stokes had referred to him in the hardest of

terms, but after he had met him, he was equally superlative in his approbation. Mr. Copplestone of Uyui wrote in the following strain after visiting him at Urambo :—

“I don't remember having met and parted with an African Chief with such real satisfaction. It was interesting and cheering to see the clear insight and interest he took in things . . . Information on any subject on any part of the country, he was most willing to give.”

When Kalola first met Mirambo, he “found him to be a tall, wiry man, close on fifty years of age who spoke softly and slowly. His clothes were the native — a long, cloaklike garment that hung from his shoulders. His face was lined, his eyes were deepset. He had a ready smile and was courtesy personified.”³²

At his death his empire dissolved; he had no worthy successor. Urambo soon became the insignificant unit of to-day. He had not inherited but had carved for himself a great kingdom. His authority was born of military exploits and to the very day of his death he had to be on the field. During the last three years of his life, when he showed signs that he wished to consolidate, he was compelled to deal with a disaffection within the confines of his empire. It was unfortunate that he was not permitted to show something of the qualities of an administrator in time of peace; he might have been able to induce into the fabric which he had erected an element of perpetuity. A remarkable figure on the crude stage of central Africa, he was a statesman with an instinct for organisation. He remained, no doubt, very much of a barbarian in many of his ways; he was superstitious, and it was always his custom to consult the magicians before he undertook any serious venture. The magicians were, however, usually unanimous in their agreement. He offered sacrifices, both human and animal, on occasions of great stress. Yet, if he were barbarian in some of his thoughts, it is the more interesting to see the progressive nature which he also evinced in others. Dr. Southon was requested by him to address to Sir John Kirk the following words :—

“Is it expected that if my power is destroyed the petty chiefs of this country would make it easier of access for travellers, more open to traders and more peaceful? . . . I can only say that this country is a hundred times more prosperous, ten-fold more peaceful and a thousandfold more safe than it ever was before I became chief of it. I wish to open it up, to learn of Europeans, to trade honestly with all and to cultivate peaceful relationship with my neighbours.”

We must be careful not to overestimate either his actual power or significance, but it would be difficult to find a chieftain displaying in primitive society the qualities which were his, stamping him as a soldier and a politician, an outstanding example of a great chief on the eve of white colonisation. If we may be allowed a regret, it is that he died at so early an age, that he had already passed from the stage when the

Europeans came to administer, since, perhaps, his acclimatisation might have been an interesting phenomenon.

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Mikindani Bay Before 1887

By Sir John Gray

In all probability Mikindani Bay in its early days had much the same history as any other inlet on the Tanganyika coast. No doubt the earliest settlements were those of fishermen. Later, when traders from Asia began making their way down the coast, alien races began to settle on the shores of the bay. For want of a better name we may call these newcomers Shirazians. Unlike Kilwa, Mikindani has had no known chronicler and no local traditions regarding these early traders appear to have survived. But they have left some relics behind them in the shape of remains of a number of buildings, including possibly a mosque at the northern entrance of Pemba harbour.

Portuguese records at Lisbon and Goa have never been properly explored. Such few as have been examined make no reference to Mikindani. Notwithstanding that an English visitor to Mikindani Bay in 1824 refers to "a castellated building of the old Portuguese," there is no reason to believe that any attempt at settlement was made by the Portuguese at this spot. The Portuguese had *pieds à terre* at Mozambique, Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, and Malindi and consequently had no need of any other intermediate port of call. In addition, winds, currents, and reefs off the mainland induced the sailing ships of those days to keep well out at sea, when making their way up and down the coast between Mozambique and ports of call further to the north.

The result appears to have been that such trade as Mikindani had was of an extremely local character until the eighteenth century. In the latter part of that century the demand for plantation labour in the Ile de France (Mauritius), and Bourbon (Réunion) led to a number of French vessels visiting the East African coast in search of slaves. The earliest chart delineating Mikindani Bay was a French one. I have not been able to ascertain its date, but it was reproduced in 1796 by Alexander Dalrymple, hydrographer to the East India Company. Dalrymple's reproduction refers to the harbour as "bay of Quindarmis" and gives the following sailing directions in regard thereto under the heading of "Remarks":

"On the bay of Quindarmis: When the boats want to go a shoar at half the tide to the King's residence, follow the channel opposite the principal house; the marks of the 2d coconut (cocotier) on the starboard hand with the middle of the gateway (*Miliou de la ditess porte*), you will then go quite to the shoar, but take care to keep in the channel, as that only is sand: the rest coral."

Without any local knowledge I am not in a position to give any further information about "the King's residence" or its proprietor but, as will be seen, subsequent visitors also refer to this building and I hope somebody else will be able to throw some light on the history of this "king" and his

"palace". As will be seen, a woman of half-Makonde half-Swahili ancestry claimed to be the local hereditary ruler some ninety years after publication of Dalrymple's chart.

On February 4, 1824, H.M.S. *Barracoutta* dropped anchor in what her First Lieutenant, Thomas Boteler, calls "Quindamis Bay". This is Boteler's account of the all too brief visit of this vessel:

"For some time we almost despaired of finding an anchorage. At length, however, we succeeded, but found ourselves in a rather critical condition; heavy breakers were close on one side, and an unfathomable depth on the other; yet even this situation was preferable to remaining under weigh during the night, in a place where neither the lead nor the eye of service to indicate danger; for the reefs in many places extended to a great distance from the shore, and at high water the sea did not break on them. *In the depth of the bay were two openings, one a small river and the other an extensive basin, about seven miles in circumference with a deep but very winding channel leading into it through the reef.* The entrance was scarcely a cable's length across, and was formed by two rocky points, projecting abruptly from the shores within. It was inhabited by Arabs, probably under the Imaum of Muscat. These as in the course of the survey of the bay I sailed past their three neat and extensive villages came down in crowds to the shore, waving white flags and beckoning us to land, which, had our time permitted, I would have gladly done; for, independently of procuring refreshments, I should have had an opportunity of examining a fine castellated building of the old Portuguese, apparently in excellent condition. It was situated on the side of a steep hill, about half way up; and, although the trees which surrounded it were of lofty kinds, they fell short of the height of the building, which, from the neat whitewashed state in which it was kept, was most likely garrisoned.

"On the morning of the 5th of February we weighed, and in so doing narrowly escaped grounding on the reef, whose sharp pointed rocks were close under our lee by the time we got under weigh; had we touched, the loss of the vessel would have been inevitable."

(Boteler — *Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery to Arabia and Africa II.* 52, 53).

Therefore, we must give to Lieutenant Thomas Boteler the credit of having discovered Mtwara Bay just half a century before Lieutenant Dixon of H.M.S. *Nassau* surveyed and charted it. It is, however, much to be regretted that owing to pressure of time Boteler did not respond to the invitation to land. His book shows that he was a painstaking and careful observer, though one cannot agree with him that the castellated building on the hill was of Portuguese construction. There is little doubt that his would-be hosts were slave traders. In 1825 and 1826 from information derived from other sources Captain Owen of H.M.S. *Leven* and Captain Acland of H.M.S. *Helicon* reported that slavers from Bourbon were regu-

larly visiting Mikindani in search of slaves. (*State Papers* (1827-1828) XV. 373, 446-448).

On February 25, 1850, the C.M.S. Missionary, J. L. Krapf, visited "the great bight of Mikindani." He spent only one night there. He describes the bay as "surrounded on both sides by inlets. We anchored near the village of Pemba on the north side, which is scarcely above the level of the sea. The people soon gathered round us in large numbers, and I had some religious conversation with them. Those of Mikindani often journey to the lake Niassa, and declared themselves ready to accompany us to it if we gave them brandy." (Krapf — *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa*, p. 428, 429).

The most interesting visitor of all to Mikindani was David Livingstone, who stayed there from March 24 to April 7, 1866, when he set out on his last journey into the heart of Africa. The following is his description of the bay as given in a letter which he wrote to the Earl of Clarendon on May 18, 1866:—

"When we could not discover a path through the mangrove swamps at the mouth of the Rovuma, we proceeded about twenty-five miles to the north of that river, and at the bottom of Mikindani Bay entered a beautiful land-locked harbour, called Kinday or Pemba. The entrance seems not more than 300 yards wide, and of those about 150 are deep, the reef on each side of the channel showing so plainly, of a light colour, that no ship ought to touch. The harbour is something of the shape of a spade on cards, the entrance being like the short handle. There is a mile nearly of space for anchorage, the southern part being from ten to fourteen fathoms, while the north west portion is shallow and rocky. It is a first rate harbour for Arab dhows, the land rising nearly all round, from 200 to 300 feet; the water is so calm that they can draw their craft to the shore to discharge and take in cargo. They are also completely screened by the masses of trees growing all round it from seaward observation."

"The population consists of coast Arabs and their slaves. The six villages in which they live are dotted round the shore, and many contain 300 souls in all. They seemed to be suspicious, and but for our having been accompanied by Her Majesty's ship *Penguin* would have given trouble. The ordinary precaution of placing a sentry over our exposed goods caused a panic, and the Sirkar, or headman, thought he had given a crushing reply to my explanation when he blurted out, 'But we have no thieves here!'"

As Livingstone tells us in his *Last Journals*, after landing his goods and draught animals, which included camels and buffaloes, he hired a house in the village of Pemba for four dollars a month. Pemba stood on the point of land of the north side of Pemba (*alias* Pimlea) Bay. Livingstone tells us that, "looking northwards from the point, the first hundred yards has ninety square houses of wattled daub; a ruin (a mosque) has been built of lime and coral. The whole point is coral, and the soil is red, and covered over with dense tropical vegetation, in which the baobab is conspicuous

Dhows at present come in with ease by the easterly wind which blows in the evening, and leave next morning, the land wind taking them out . . . "

" . . . The lands westwards rise at once about 200 feet, and Joho,* a hill, is the landmark by which it is best known in coming along the coast, so say the Arabs. The people have no cattle, but say there are no tsetse flies; they have not been long here, i.e. under the present system; but a ruin on the northern peninsula or face of the entrance, built of stone and lime Arab fashion, and others on the north-west, show that the place has been known and used of old . . . The language of the people is Swahili they trade a little in gum copal and orchilla weed. An agent of the Zanzibar customs-house presides over the customs which are very small and a jemadar acknowledging the Sultan as the chief authority." (*Livingstone's Last Journals* I. 14, 15).

The *Last Journals* inform us that the Jemadar had about fifteen soldiers under him, armed with matchlocks. As Livingstone refers to the Jemadar's "court house", this official would appear also to have dispensed justice but, as the said court house was also used as living quarters by the soldiery, his court in all probability did not very often function. The Jemadar himself lived in a house built of coral and stone. His name was Khamis and Livingstone did not entertain a high opinion of him. The customs master appears to have been a Banyan and Livingstone also found two other Banyan traders settled at Mikindani (*ibid.* 1. 16, 17)

Livingstone formed a very poor opinion indeed of the inhabitants of Mikindani:

"The Arabs here are a wretched lot physically, thin, washed-out creatures — many with bleared eyes . . . "

"The people are little superior to the natives whom they have displaced . . . "

"They are low coast Arabs, three-quarters African and, as usual, possess the bad without the good qualities of both parents. Many of them came and begged brandy, and laughed when they remarked that they could drink it in secret, but not openly." (*Ibid.* 1. 15, 16, 17).

On February 2, 1874, Vice-Consul J. F. Elton in H.M.S. *Daphne* called at Mikindani for the purpose of investigating the extent of the East African Slave Trade. In a letter written fifteen days later to the British Consul of Zanzibar he reports that owing to fever he was at the time "too utterly prostrate even to move from my cot without assistance." Captain Foot commanding the *Daphne* came to his assistance and arranged to collect the local Indians and issue letters of emancipation to their slaves. There were at this date eleven Battias and eleven Khojas at Mikindani, who between them owned 127 slaves, all of whom were set free. Information given on the spot was not very encouraging. "For many months this district has been subjected to constant attacks from the inland and neighbouring tribes, who have burnt the houses on the outlying plantations and lifted the cattle. The other ports are in consequence as well as the rising settlement

* "Mlima Mjoho, a remarkable conical hill 617 feet high" (*Africa Pilot*).

on the Rovuma abandoned; and it is proposed to desert the (sic) Mikindani and make a stand at Lindi. Trade is at stand still." The tribe, which was mainly responsible for the unsettled state of the country, would appear to have been that commonly known as the Maviti.

In the same year Mto Mtwara was surveyed for the first time by Lieutenant J. Whitely Dixon of H.M.S. *Nassau*. The following is taken from a letter to his father, which is dated August 26, 1874, and was published in the *Nautical Magazine* (1874) pp. 840, 841:—

"While surveying the bay of Mikindani in the first whaler, I had the great pleasure of discovering a new harbour, called Mto Mtwara. There are three villages, one on each side as you enter, and a third on the southern shore, called respectielvy, Mossemo, Mtwara (from which the harbour takes its name), and Tarpuru. On the south side a small river runs up for a mile. Several hippopotami were found in it, affording some sport to one of the officers."

"When the *Nassau* anchored in the harbour, the inhabitants told me that she was the first ship in the recollection of the oldest inhabitant that has ever been inside. The people are negroes, some with touches of Arab and Hindu blood in them. They are very poor, subsisting by fishing on the reefs, and *Mtama* seed. The current coin is the Indian pice; a rupee is seldom seen amongst them."

As already seen, Dixon was wrong in claiming to have discovered this harbour, as Boteler is entitled to the credit for this, but Dixon can take credit for having been the first to survey and chart Mto Mtwara.

It is interesting to note that, besides adding to our knowledge of the hydrography of Mikindani, the *Nassau's* visit checked for the time being the shipment of slaves from that locality to the northern ports in the Sultan's mainland dominions. Writing to report this on November 18, 1874, Lieutenant Gray commanding the *Nassau* none the less also reported that he had been to Mnazi, "where a brisk trade is carried on with the interior by Portuguese subjects from Mikindani." But the lull in the slave trade was only temporary. On December 5 the *Rifleman* captured a dhow in Kiswara Bay, which had shipped five slaves at Mikindani.

In January, 1880, Vice-Consul Frederic Holmwood spent two days at Mikindani. The Wali and most of the Indians were away and the Banyan Customs Master proved to be "a man of the very smallest intelligence." Holmwood was unable, therefore, to obtain all the information that he wanted. He visited a number of outlying plantations, "none of which were owned by British subjects. In those towards the Rovuma I saw several raw slaves, evidently but a few weeks or days from the slave chain. Some of these belonged to Arabs and half-castes, but the majority to Makonde proprietors who spoke little Swahili . . . Before leaving Mikindani I satisfied myself that all slave-trading and complicity in slave dealing by British Indians is at end, and that the Governor does his duty in repressing any attempt at slave transport within his jurisdiction. The

raw slaves were doubtless procured from a Makonde plantation without the working limits of the Arab government."

Holmwood was much impressed by the extent to which the land in the region of Mikindani had been put under cultivation. There were large areas of millet, maize and sesamum and a good deal of the swamp ground had been cleared for the planting of rice. The gum copal trade, which had almost fallen in abeyance owing to inter-tribal warfare, was recovering, but more important still a trade in india-rubber had grown up, "which four years ago had no existence in this district, but which sprung up immediately the suppression of the slave trade was accomplished." Holmwood formed the opinion that it had worked "a complete revolution" in the commerce of the district, "all classes now deriving their principal profit from or through it." The principal collectors of the latex were Makonde. In a report to Dr. Kirk (printed in *Slave Trade* No. 1 (1881) pp. 303-313) Holmwood gives an interesting description of the somewhat primitive and unscientific way in which they collected it. He estimated that by hard work a man could collect as much as five pounds in a day. The rubber was, of course, wild rubber found from the forest areas.

Holmwood reached the conclusion that the sea-borne traffic in slaves had by this date almost entirely ceased, but it was obvious that the slave caravans, which had in previous years proceeded from Lake Nyassa to the coast, had not entirely disappeared. In his own words:

"During the march from Mikindani it was impossible (not) to help suspecting that it would be unnecessary to look far for the destination of this large body of slaves. and after a few calls at the outlying plantations amongst the Lindi hills, their distribution along the line of the cultivated country immediately behind the coast was proved beyond all reasonable doubt."

"The region referred to doubtless acknowledges the Sultan's sovereignty, but it is practically beyond the scope of his present administration. Roughly speaking it is a belt of land varying in breadth from 10 to 40 miles and reaching to within one or two days' march of the various coast towns . . ."

"... During the years in which Machemba and his so-called Maviti (sc. Angoni) devastated this country, the people were reduced to the greatest distress, and the majority had to fly from their plantations; but for the past two years peace has been assured through the action of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and all have returned to their fields which they were extending in every direction. In the meantime, the trade in india rubber has been introduced, and during the last years of their troubles the Wamakonde had largely collected it; indeed they possess considerable patches of the trees in their own country. Large sums were accumulated in this way, and on returning to cultivation of the land, they commenced to purchase slaves largely."

The banning by the Sultan of Zanzibar of the sea-borne traffic in slaves and his efforts to stop that traffic by land along the line of the coast had

led to a heavy drop in the price of slaves. Consequently the Makonde had been able to acquire this form of labour at a cheap price and with comparative ease. The servitude was not of a very rigorous description. "The Wamakonde rarely attempt to exert further authority than is necessary for regulating the cultivation of their lands."

Holmwood tells us that "I spoke seriously to the Sultan's Governors on this subject, and endeavoured to learn their real views. They admitted being aware of the state of things I described; they admitted that the Makonde tribe had acknowledged the Sultan's sovereignty, but stated that, they found it impossible to interfere beyond two days' march from their ports. Even when sent a distance of two days inland, their soldiers were helpless, having to trust entirely to their guides and the peaceful disposition of the people."

"Experience in the country," wrote Holmwood, "leads one to believe this view to be correct. Without first making roads on scientific principles, none could administer these districts, even in the most simple manner, if the inhabitants withheld their cordial co-operation, unless at a cost which no prudent ruler would incur in present circumstances."

Captain Foot, who had accompanied Elton to Mikindani in 1874, revisited the place in H.M.S. *Ruby* in July of 1881. He was much struck by the improvement of the place since his previous visit, though he heard reports of shipment of slaves further to the south. He accordingly proceeded south to investigate, "crossing the harbour of Mtwara in a steam-cutter."

At Mikindani Foot met the explorer, Joseph Thomson, who had been sent out by the Sultan of Zanzibar to examine the coal deposits, which had been reported as existing near the banks of the Rovuma River. Thomson was also much impressed by the improvement in the place.

"We found," he afterwards wrote, "that Mikindani had prospered immensely since Livingstone visited it in 1866. Then there were few houses, no cattle, and but a small trade in orchilla weed and gum copal. Now there is a very large population of both Arabs and natives, a considerable population of Banyans and Hindi, and a large number of goats and cattle; whilst the trade had increased exceedingly, almost the entire produce of the Rovuma region finding its way there, gum copal, rubber, millet, rice and other grains being the chief articles, though the trade in ivory and slaves from the Makua and Wahyao districts is by no means unimportant. South of Bagamoyo, Mikindani will now rank in importance next after Kilwa and Lindy."

"The large trade in slaves, which goes on surreptitiously notwithstanding all the attempts that have been made to suppress it, still fosters the old feeling of exclusion which so much troubled intending travellers from the east coast, and it was very clear to me that but for the Sultan's authority every obstacle would have been placed in my way." (*Notes on the Basin of the River Rovuma, East Africa* (P.R.G.S. 1882) p. 67.)

In 1886 Mikindani had a visitor who was to become world famous. In that year Colonel (as he then was) Herbert Kitchener was appointed, together with a French and a German colleague, as a member of an International Commission to report on and delimit the areas on the East African coast which were in the possession of the Sultan of Zanzibar. On January 27, 1886, the Commission visited Mikindani, leaving two days later for Lindi. The official notes of the Commission are recorded in French. They give us a great deal of information regarding the evidence obtained at Mikindani.

The Commission found four villages in the bay, namely Pemba, Miraemba (where the Wali lived), Kimbari (where the customs house was) and Misete.

The Wali was an Omani Arab named Nasser bin Sallem and had been governor of Mikindani for seven years. He also functioned as a Kathi, but the more serious cases were sent to the Sultan of Zanzibar. He also asserted that he judged cases from the interior of the continent, but it was very clear to the Commission that what he did was no more than to act as an arbitrator in such disputes as were referred to him. The Commission was also impressed with the fact that the Wali knew very little indeed about the interior which he claimed to be under his jurisdiction.

This interesting information was derived from a certain Mohammed bin Ahmed El Arali. It was to the following effect:—

“He was born at Zanzibar. His brother was born at Chole (Mafia) and his grandfather at Mikindani. He has a sister, with whom he lives and who is the head of the family: She is called Sabu binti Ngumi. He says he is the chief of the country, but the Sultan is the sovereign. To the west the villages of Mnombe and Maraba, each distant six hours' walk, and that of Mrembe, distant two hours' walk, belong to his family, which is obeyed by them. The chief at Mnemba is his kinsman, but he who has the right to give commands in this country is the Sultan. His family, Makonde in origin, consists of a mixture of the people of this country and the Swahili.”

“He goes every year to Zanzibar to do homage to the Sultan, who gives him a present. His sister used to go there herself every year, but now he has replaced her. Nevertheless, one year he did not go himself to the Sultan, but sent one of his men with a letter to the Sultan, who sent back to him the usual gift by his messenger.”

“He knows the village of Mnazi,* which is of the same importance as that of Mirumba and consists of about thirty houses. There is a chief of Mnazi, Seleman bin Seif, an Arab by race, who has founded a family in this country and who is a relative of his, but his sister is over Seleman bin Seif.”

“Abdurehman, who is very ill, is his sister's brother and also receives a present from the Sultan.”

* The Wali said there was a customs house at this place.

"He has married his niece, his sister's daughter. His wife, who is both daughter and sister-in-law of Sabu binti Ngumi, will succeed her as head of the family, and when she herself dies, the daughter who is born to him by his wife will become the head of the family."

"The succession passes, to the exclusion of male children, to the eldest daughter and from her to the younger daughters, instead of returning to the descendants of the eldest female branch of the family. In default of daughters, the succession passes to the boys."

We are further informed that the Commission expressed to her brother a wish to see and hear Sabu binti Ngumi, but was informed in reply that this was contrary to her religion and "that his sister could not come, unless she was compelled to do so by the Wali." The Commission accordingly decided "that it would be indiscreet to insist."

It seems evident that Sabu had adopted the religion and certain of the social conventions of her Swahili ancestors. But she owed her political position to her Makonde ancestors. As explained by Ankermann and Weule the Makonde trace their descent in the maternal line. The same authorities tell us that there was a custom amongst the Makonde whereby a man was allowed to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. (B. Ankermann — *Das Eingeborenrecht — Ostafrika* — pp. 8, 26, 75, 76; K. Weule—*Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse meiner ethnographischer Forschungsreise in den Südösten Deutsch — Ostafrika* pp. 97, 104, 124). The International Commission would seem partially to have misunderstood their informant and it would appear that the matrimonial custom to which Mohammed bin Ahmed El Arali was referring was that above stated.

The Maji-Maji Rebellion in The Liwale District

By R. M. Bell

INTRODUCTION

Among the many native risings which occurred during the German administration of Tanganyika the Maji-Maji Rebellion of 1905-06 is of outstanding interest. The mystery of its origins, the unexpectedness of its outbreak, the speed at which disaffection spread, the ruthlessness with which it was suppressed, and, above all, the fanaticism of the fighting, set it apart from other East African risings and put it in a class by itself. Now, when the whisper of "Africa for the Africans" is again heard, the story of the Maji-Maji Rebellion has a peculiar interest.

Graf von Götzen, who was Governor of German East Africa at the time of the Rebellion, wrote a full account of it in his book "*Deutsch Ost Africa im Aufstand*", and the few English accounts appear to be curtailed and embroidered editions of von Götzen's. Most of the material for this note on the rebellion in what was Liwale District was obtained from Africans who took part in it and their accounts do not always agree with the German Governor's. This is not surprising because in several instances the rebels were so successful that none or very few of their enemies survived to tell the tale: moreover survivors of the Rebellion agree that those who took part in it told the Germans as little as possible, and that they said only what was likely to save them from the gallows no matter whether it was true or not.

Before the Rebellion's course in what was formerly the Liwale District is traced something must be said of its character and origins. For the word "rebellion", although it will be used later, is hardly the correct one to describe what was in fact a national war of independence — a fanatical and desperate fight for freedom. The German Government quickly recognized this national character of the insurrection, which was remarkable for the number and unanimity of the tribes taking part in it. For the first time in the history of their colony the Germans had to contend with concerted action by more than one tribe; and with that action there appeared "a phenomenon quite new in the East African negro — a complete contempt for death in battle." Von Götzen describes the rebellion as "a struggle on the part of the Bantu negro against all outside intrusion", but it was in fact more than this. It was a struggle against oppression, and the witchdoctors who dispensed the magic water that was supposed to be capable of turning hostile bullets into water were regarded as intermediaries of a divine power and as deliverers of the oppressed. It must not however be thought that the rebellion was a religious war. For although there is evidence that Islam was behind the initial rising in the Matumbi country north of Kilwa, eventually

Mohammedans, Christians, and heathens all joined the cause and, no matter what their religion might be, all regarded that cause as a divine mission. Von Götzen records that prisoners captured in battle defiantly declared that they were "askari wa Mungu" — soldiers of God.

The origins of the rebellion may remain for ever a tantalizing mystery. As the official German version of them is at variance with what is recorded here they will be discussed at some length in the final chapter, but that the reader may more easily understand the significance of this article a brief summary of the old and new interpretations of the rebellion's origins is given. The Germans came to the conclusion that before the Rebellion broke out there was a widespread conspiracy among the chiefs and witchdoctors of what in those days were the districts of Kilwa, Mohoro, Mahenge and Songea. Because secrecy appeared to have been well maintained they believed that the number of conspirators was small, Jumbes Omari Kinjalla and Kapolo of what was Liwale District being cited as leading members of this select band that planned and provoked the rebellion. They believed, in short, that the revolt was the object not the result of the magic water that was reputed to turn an enemy's bullets into water. The new explanation of the rebellion's origins is that there was no widespread conspiracy and that the widespread revolt was the fortuitous result not the object of the magic water. The old view appears to have been based on the fallacy of confusing consequence with sequence.

THE OUTBREAK

The first signs of impending trouble appeared near Kibata in the middle of July 1905. The Akida there was a Manga Arab named Sefu bin Amri who was universally detested by the natives; and when he issued the order for cotton picking that year the people of Jumbe Mtemangani of Nandete went to seek the advice of a renowned medicine man, Bokero, of Ngarambi Ruhingo. Shortly afterwards Akida Sefu reported by letter to the Boma at Kilwa that the medicine man Bokero was inciting the natives to make trouble. The letter reached the Boma at Kilwa on the 13th July.

Ngarambi Ruhingo is situated in the very north-east corner of what was the Liwale District but in 1905 it came under the boma at Mohoro, and when Staff-Surgeon Lott, the Acting District Officer, Kilwa, received Akida Sefu's letter he referred the matter to Mohoro. The dangers of an over-strict observance of arbitrary administrative boundaries cannot be better exemplified than by the beginnings of the Maji-Maji. It was essential for the Germans, with the small military force at their disposal, that any native agitation should be nipped in the bud. A fortnight elapsed before Akida Sefu reported again to Kilwa (this second time to say that he was besieged in his house) and in the meantime the waters of hate had been rising. Finally the Akida fled with some jumbes to Miteja. The delay was fatal. The first encounter between the native and government

forces was on the 2nd of August when Samanga on the coast went up in flames: the waters of hate had burst their banks and within six weeks a hundred thousand square miles of Africa were in revolt.

The area of revolt has been roughly but conveniently defined as the country south of the Central Railway and east of a line drawn from Kilosa to the north point of Lake Nyassa, and it was the successes of the Wangindo and Wapogoro of Liwale District which made possible the rapid spread of disaffection over this huge area. But the very completeness of these successes, and the consequent lack of reliable evidence, makes the sequence of events hard to disentangle and it has been thought advisable to avoid, as far as possible, all mention of dates in the narrative that follows.

THE REBELLION IN THE NORTH

There were two areas within the former Liwale District where foreign elements were to be found among the native population, the Madaba-Lukuliro area about one hundred miles to the north of Liwale, and the Kilwa — Songea caravan route running through the centre of the district.† As the northern area was closer to Ngarambi and Kibata it was naturally affected first.

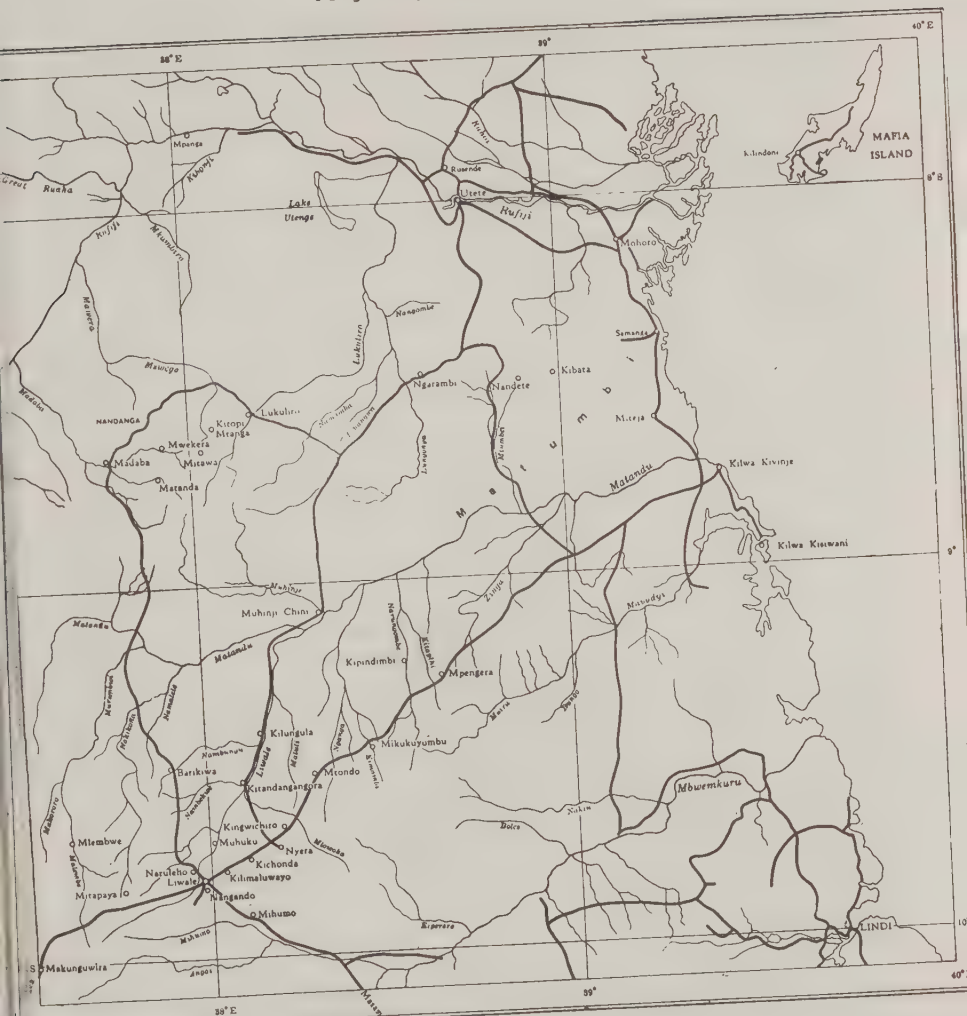
The instigator of the rebellion amongst the Wapogoro in the Madaba area was a certain medicine-man named Ngameya who lived at Kitope which is west of Madaba and east of Ngarambi. His sister was married to the medicine-man Bokero of Ngarambi and it is clear that he was also in communication with another 'doctor' named Mkumbiro (sometimes referred to as Mzee Mkando) who lived at Mpanga some five hours walk south of the Pangani Rapids in the Rufiji District. Indeed it was through Mkumbiro's nephew, Salim Tagawaka, that Ngameya acquired a big reputation as a 'doctor'; for one day Salim went to fish in a pool called Ndagalala, and when he failed to return home his uncle, Mkumbiro, called in Ngameya to find him and Ngameya was obligingly successful, in the following manner. He arranged for an *ngoma** to be held near the pool of Ndagalala and while performing a peculiar dance he fell into the water, miraculously reappearing from it with Salim, who, although he had been missing for several days, was still alive!

After this exhibition of benevolent magic Ngameya stayed with Mkumbiro at Mpanga and advertised his brother-in-law's (Bokero's) powers. He announced that he had been sent by God to distribute a powerful magic water given to Bokero by a spirit living in the Pangani Rapids in the form of a snake, and that he had been given the special name of Nyangumi (whale) by God. This, like Bokero, was probably a title of rank. Bokero's birthname was Kinjikitire Ngwale but Maji-Maji adherents never mentioned this name or that of Ngameya. Kinjikitire was hanged at Mohoro on the 4th August 1905 but a young brother, Njugumaina Ngwale, continued to dispense the magic water and was

†See map which the Chief Surveyor has very kindly prepared to illustrate this article.

*Dance.

MAJI-MAJI REBELLION



SCALE



1:1,000,000

referred to as Nyangumi. Sayidi, Hongo, Nyangumi, and Bokero all seem to have been titles of rank which were used somewhat indiscriminately. The smaller medicine men were called 'hongos', and never given the other titles, but Kinjikitire is sometimes referred to as Sayidi Honko Bokero, though more often as Bokero only. Ngameya and the sons of Ngwale were natives of the Waikemba tribe which to this day is notoriously ridden with 'magic.'

The magic water which was distributed by Ngameya, and probably by Mkumbiro also, was to have the same effect as that which had already been distributed for some time by Bokero at Ngarambi. It was a panacea. If the water was sprinkled on the fields the crops would flourish and the plantations would be protected from the ravages of wild pig and other animals. Those who drank the water and anointed themselves with it would have health and wealth, be immune from witchcraft, and in time of war would be invulnerable to the bullets and missiles of the enemy. It should be noted that no particular enemy was mentioned and that the natives who first went to buy the water from Ngameya were more concerned with its power to protect their crops from pig than its power to shield them in war. Indeed von Götzen reports that some time before the rebellion broke out "great troops (parties of over 300 adults were observed) journeyed to the medicine-man (Bokero) under the eyes of the Arabs, Indians, and coast-people who were later to suffer together for it, with no attempt at concealment but openly and unconstrained."

It was not, however, long after Ngameya's arrival at Mpanga that a more ominous power was attributed to the magic water. Six of the leading elders of Madaba sent younger men to Mpanga to get it and among these young men was a youth named Sefu Mayanga (later to be a Native Authority of Madaba) who had been sent by his father Mchosha Mayanga. The young men reached Mpanga on the fourth day after leaving Madaba and in return for presents of cloth were given bottles of the magic water by Ngameya who instructed them in its use. A little was to be drunk at a time and it was to be sprinkled on the head, chest, and feet four times. Certain living things were not to be mentioned by their proper names. A lion must be referred to as a sheep, a leopard as a cat, a snake as "ngumbu" (kind of creeper), a baboon as two young girls (vigoli), a bird as "Limbungiliyi" (a tree), Europeans as "red earth" and askaris as "moths". It was also impressed on the young men that even Europeans were not strong enough to overcome the power of the water. This was the first hint that the water could be used in a war against the Europeans and the young men returned to Madaba (while Ngameya returned to Kitope) with the momentous news of the water's power a great deal faster than they had set out from there.

A few days after the men had returned, rumours of war at Kitope reached Madaba, and Ngameya was reported to be the leader of the movement. All the Europeans and Arabs and persons friendly to the Europeans were to be killed, and also those who failed to join the Maji-

Maji cause. The people of Madaba were delighted for they put great faith in Ngameya. The man who could restore the dead to life would surely lead them to victory and relieve them of compulsory labour on the Government cotton fields which had been started that year.

It was not long before the war reached Madaba. Jumbe Ngaruwa of Kitope, together with a Hongo named Nassoro appointed by Ngameya, took the water to Lukuliro. There an Arab trader was killed and the Maji-Maji army swelled. The next point of attack was Matanda, where an ex-Akida, an Arab named Salimini Matari, was killed and his shop looted. By this time the jumbes of Kitope, Nangue, Lukuliro, Mitawa, Mwekera and Matanda had joined the insurrection, and these men with "Hongo" Nassoro preceeded the main body to Madaba.

On arrival at Madaba they went to the house of Jumbe Kapolo. The true Jumbe was at that time a fugitive from justice hiding in the forest of Kingombechimo. He had had three slaves, a man and two women. The man died and the women were taken by Kapolo before the Arab Akida on a charge of witchcraft. The Akida told Kapolo to deal with the matter himself and the women were spreadeagled; the customary punishment for witches and adulterers. One of the women died and the other was freed but the news reached Kilwa and, the Akida disclaiming responsibility, Kapolo was wanted for murder.

Kapolo's two sons, Mwalim Kapolo and Kilende Kapolo, were doing their father's work, but Mwalim had accompanied the Arab Akida, Mohamed Arabu, to Kilwa with tax money. When the six jumbes and the "Hongo" arrived at Kapolo's house therefore they met Kilende, the remaining son, and as he had just served a sentence of a year's imprisonment for the sins of his father he was suspicious of this unexpected visit from strangers. But when the object of the visit was revealed he lost no time in calling his father, who readily agreed to join in the war. Plans for attacking the little settlement at Madaba were made in secret and early in the morning the traders were surrounded. Two Swahilis, two Arabs, three Indians, and the wives of the absent Akida and one of the Arabs were all arrested. The Indians' lives were spared and they were taken to the forest of Kingombechimo at Madaba-Juu. But before the Swahilis and the Arabs could be dealt with the two native overseers of the Government cotton plantation arrived. They had been beating the morning drum to call the people to work and when they saw the Maji-Maji natives gathered together they did not suspect anything and began to show all their customary offensiveness.

These two men, Salim Mpungu and Hassan Awathi, were "Swahilis" (i.e. not local natives). When the local natives were late for work on the cotton shamba the overseers would make them hit each other, explaining that they themselves found the local native too dirty to touch. Salim Mpungu was the first to suffer for his arrogance. He was tied to the flag-staff on which the German flag was flying and there, spreadeagled, was indecently beaten by the natives imitating the beating of the drum which

called them to work every morning. Finally, on pain of death, the wretched man's wife was forced to lash him with a 'kiboko' until he died.

Indecent punishment was then meted out to the Akida's wife Hadiji binti Rashid, but she was later taken to the rebels' camp at Kingombechimo to which the Indians had been sent.

The execution of the remaining five captives followed. These were two Arabs, Selemani Kasingo and Mohamed Haruwa, the two Swahili traders, Kindanji Kindanji and Harun bin Hassan, and the cotton overseer, Hassan Awathi. They were taken to a large cliff near Madaba, called Nakingera, where they were blindfolded, and one by one led to the edge of the cliff. A particularly vicious native named Anayabegani bin Ngeliyete acted as executioner, hitting each prisoner on the back of the neck with a billhook into the gully below. Much of the power of his blows was lost by the inaccuracy of its application.

The rest of the day was spent in looting the shops of the Arabs and Swahilis, but the Indians' goods were spared. All the loot was taken to Ngameya, who by this time had ensconced himself near Itete on Nandanga hill to the north of Madaba.

That night Jumbe Kapolo was awakened by someone knocking on the door of his house. It was the Arab Mohamed Haruwa who had been "executed" in the morning and now implored Kapolo to spare him, pleading that he had only recovered by the will of God. But Kapolo was horrified and ordered his men to cut the Arab's head off and to make sure that it was severed completely. This was done but not unwittingly; Kidanji, one of the Swahilis who had been "executed" had also recovered and crawled close to Kapolo's house to see how the Arab Mohamed Haruwa would be received. On hearing Kapolo's reception of the Arab, Kidanji crawled away to the house of a woman, binti Mpinda, with whom he was friendly, and like a good lover she cared for the wounded man, hid him in the bush, dressed his wound, and fed him secretly every day. He survived to tell the tale.

Ngameya from his retreat on Nandanga hill now gave orders for the war to be carried to Liwale and Mahenge and to this end appointed six more Hongos. The Liwale expedition however turned back at Mitungule on the Madaba-Liwale Road because it heard that the Boma at Liwale had already fallen.

Before tracing the course of events in central Liwale it will be convenient to discuss the origins of the rebellion in the north, and in particular Kapolo's complicity in any plan for an organized rising. It is possible that the medicine men among the Wapogoro had been warned that a war on all foreign elements in the population was contemplated and that is perhaps the reason why the "Hongos" were so readily obtained. If this supposition is correct it must be admitted that the war aims were not fully understood by those in the secret since the Indians at Madaba were spared whereas those in other areas were killed. But there can

surely be no doubt that Kapolo was unaware of any plans for war. If Kapolo had been in the secret the Hongo, Nassoro, who brought the war to Madaba would certainly have gone straight to Kapolo at his hiding place in the Kingombechimo forest.

THE FALL OF LIWALE

The moving spirit of the Rebellion in the central area was an elephant hunter named Abdullah Mapanda, whose village, Kitandangangora, was situated about twelve hours' walk from Liwale near the confluence of the Mlowoka and Liwale streams. Sometime early in August 1905 he returned from Ngarambi where he had gone to "take the waters." On the evening of the day of his return two askaris from the Boma at Liwale arrived at his house. That night they were lulled to sleep by an "ngoma ya kinyengo", and at Abdullah Mapanda's orders were taken into the bush, where on the grave of Mpinga his "baba mkubwa" (father's elder brother) their throats were cut. The war drums were sounded that same night.

For about three months before this event the natives of central Liwale had been discussing the Ngarambi doctor's medicine, and the manner in which news of the medicine was circulated is interesting. Nobody who knew of the medicine's powers was allowed to part with the information except on payment of one pesa. Moreover no open mention was made of the medicine. A man having paid his pesa was naturally anxious to recover it and he would go to a friend and tell him that he knew a secret story which came from the Matumbi country. He would explain to his friend that he himself had had to pay a pesa for this extraordinary tale and he could only part with it on receipt of the same sum. There was of course nothing to prevent a native from making any number of pesa and "the story" went round with the rapidity of a chain letter.

The "story" which circulated amongst the Wangindo was that those who made the journey to Ngarambi and paid a pesa and half a kibaba of salt to Bokero would be shown their forefathers by him. At first the Wangindo were sceptical but eventually Abdullah Mapanda and a few close associates went to Ngarambi. They must have arrived there at about the time that the people of Jumbe Mtemangani were seeking Bokero's advice upon their cotton picking troubles; probably a little later. Bokero told Abdullah Mapanda that he could not produce his forefathers for him because he and his tribesmen had been so slow to avail themselves of the magic water, but he promised to produce them later if the Wangindo made war on the Europeans and drove all foreigners from the land.

So on the morning after the war drums were sounded many of the old men living in surrounding villages went to Abdullah Mapanda not only to hear an explanation of the war drums but also to find out whether he had seen his forefathers at Ngarambi. At that time Liwale District was thickly populated and the triangular piece of country bounded by

the Liwale and Mlowoka streams and the Kilwa-Songea road has been described as "nothing but houses just like Dar-es-Salaam."

When the old men arrived at Abdullah Mapanda's village they heard of the askaris' fate and were forbidden to return to their villages. In the evening they were given the magic water and were told that Kingwichiro would be attacked in the morning. That evening they all went to Kichonda-Chini and slept the night there.

Kingwichiro, 14 miles from Liwale on the Kilwa Road, has no native settlement today but in 1905 it was a recognized halting place for safaris passing between Kilwa and Songea, with several shops and a large native population nearby. The traders, among whom were a number of ex-German askaris, were attacked early in the morning and many of them were killed. One of the ex-askaris, a Sudanese named Abdulfaraji, escaped and reached the Boma at Liwale. After being looted the traders' shops were burnt to the ground.

The noise of gun-fire brought all the young men from the nearby villages of Nyera, Nangonge, Muhuku, and Kingwichiro-Juu to the scene of battle and there they were made to drink the magic medicine. They were told quite plainly that anyone who refused to join the cause would be killed. Jumbe Mbembetu of Kingwichiro and Jumbe Makande of Kitandangangora had taken part in the storming of Kingwichiro and now news was sent to other jumbes. As the Boma at Liwale was to be the next objective the jumbes living to the north of it were instructed to meet with their people at Naruleo on the Madaba Road and the Jumbes to the south were told to meet at Nangando near the Tunduru road. The jumbes were to wait at these stations to receive the magic water. On hearing that the other jumbes were moving Abdullah Mapanda himself, with Mbembetu and Makonde, went to Kilimaluwayo on the Kilwa Road. Every jumbe in the vicinity of Liwale promptly answered the call to arms, with the notable exception of Omari Kinjalla whose movements will receive attention later.

The three forces converging on the Boma reached their rallying points sometime on the evening of the day after Kingwichiro was sacked. That night in the light of a brilliant moon (the moon was full on the night of the 15th August) the forests around Liwale were filled with natives hurrying to and fro carrying bottles and bamboo containers filled with the magic water. At Kilimaluwayo Abdullah Mapanda himself, aided by two chief hongos and a host of minor ones, distributed the water and explained how it was to be used. As at Madaba a prohibition was put on the use of certain words. No one was to talk about going to war; they were going "kuchecha yihinga," to dance a dance of the womenfolk. Before going into battle each man must say "Mbiyu litupe likere mbiyu", the red earth (i.e. Europeans) will be done away with; and as he went into the fight he must shout "Hongwe-Hongwe", the local form of "Hongo Hongo". After firing his gun or arrow he must shout "Maji-Maji" "Maji-Maji." If any man slept with a woman the spell of the

water would be broken and he would no longer be invulnerable to bullets. The password was to be "Sayid", and a distinguishing mark made of two pieces of mtama stalk tied on a string round the forehead was to be worn by each man. Anybody who failed to give the password or did not wear the badge on his forehead was to be killed and his blood would be food for the great doctor at Ngarambi. A quantity of blue kaniki looted from the shops at Kingwichiro was issued as uniform.

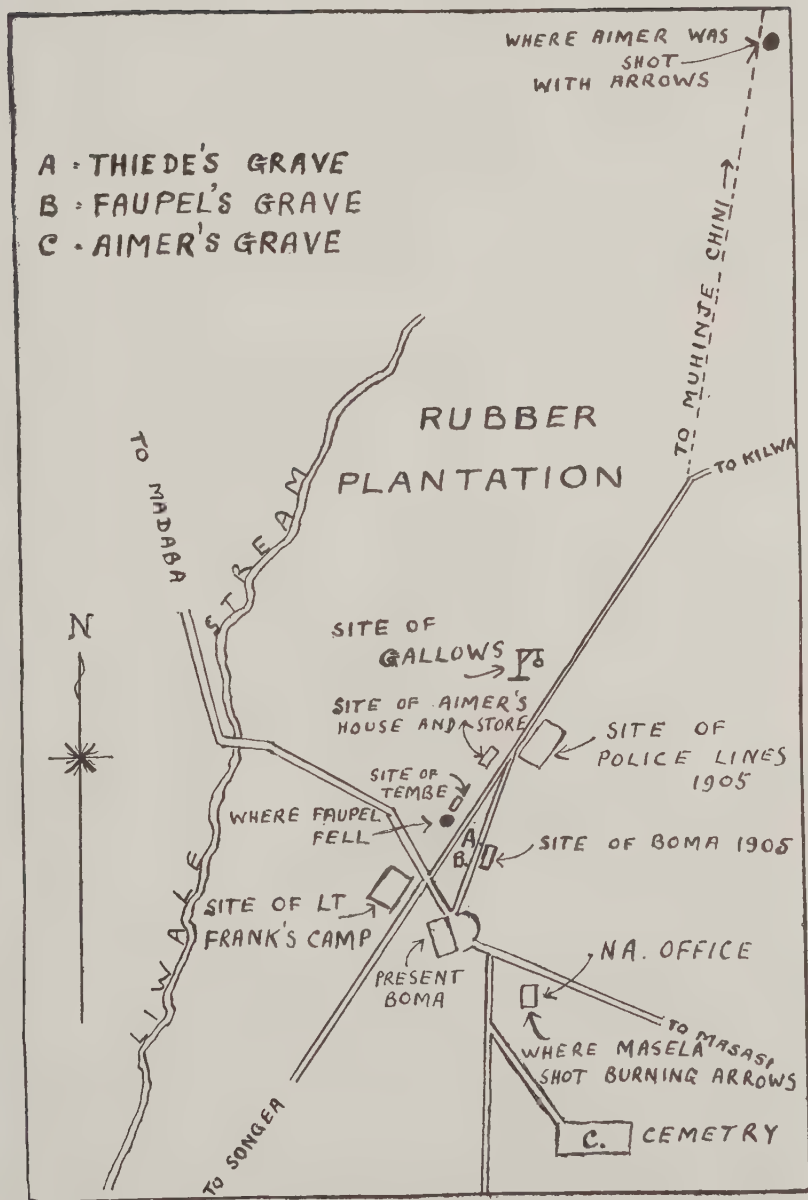
At a very early hour next morning the natives at Kilimaluwayo were awoken by Abdullah Mapanda and made to line up, each man holding whatever weapon he possessed in front of him. The hongos went up and down the files sprinkling magic water on the weapons with little swizzlesticks made of grass which they dipped into bottles and bamboo flasks containing the fluid. While it was still dark all three converging forces moved off, and as dawn broke the tiny outpost with its two Europeans and a few askaris was surrounded by hundreds of natives worked up to a pitch of frenzy.

The two Europeans were Sergeant Faupel, who was in charge of the station, and a merchant named Aimer, the representative of the Hamburg firm of Traun and Sturken which owned a rubber plantation at Liwale and carried on a retail business. Von Götzen's description of the fall of Liwale is that "after an heroic resistance lasting two days the brave Sergeant, compelled to leave his burning house, succumbed to the poisoned arrows of his assailants", while "the merchant Aimer was murdered in flight and the few faithful ones who stayed by the side of the two whites were butchered in the most horrible manner with their wives and children." Native accounts differ from this.

When the ex-askari Abdulfaraji brought news of the fight at Kingwichiro, Faupel went out the same day with a reconnoitering party, and on his return to the Boma put the station into a state of defence with sentries posted about a hundred yards from the Boma fences. He did not however clear a field of fire; indeed he was unable to do so because the 'askaris' lines and other buildings, including Aimer's house and store, were situated close to the Boma.

A sentry posted close to Aimer's house fired the first shot. It was fired at the natives advancing up the Kilwa Road and that single shot is well remembered by survivors of the rebellion and must have been much discussed by them in the intervening years; the bullet which was supposed to turn into water on leaving the rifle killed two natives standing one behind the other. Natives standing nearby began to fall back protesting that they had been deceived but others went forward and the doubting ones were told that the magic water would only take effect after the guns of the Maji-Maji army had been fired. When more natives were killed it was said that they must have been incontinent during the night. For two hours or more the outpost was stormed without success and the casualties on the roads leading to Songea and Madaba, which offered good fields of fire, were enormous. On the side of the Kilwa Road

LIWALE



he losses were not so great because the natives could take cover behind buildings. From Aimer's store they took sheets of corrugated iron and three of these fastened together with nails were used as an improvised shield to cover the approach of six natives who hid behind it. As these men moved forward Faupel gave the order for two volleys in rapid succession and all six natives fell. Another attempt to reach the Boma behind bundles of cloth tied together was also frustrated.

The sun was becoming hot and when all else failed a native named Masela bin Buwembe tried a last expedient. He tied dry pieces of bark from the Mchenga tree round his arrows, set fire to these, and from where the Native Administration offices now stand he shot the smouldering arrows into the thatched roof of the Boma. It was not long before the Boma was in flames.

The first persons to leave the burning building were the merchant Aimer, Ombasha Hassan, (Corporal of Police) and a native woman. They took refuge in a small mud-roofed hut on the side of the Kilwa Road opposite the Boma. Faupel followed, but, although he fought desperately even when he was so weak from the poisoned arrows that he could no longer stand, he failed to reach the hut and dropped dead. He is buried in the nearer of the two graves outside the present Boma.

There followed one of those incidents which so vividly illustrate the fanaticism of the insurgents. Abdullah Mapanda's daughter had been married to an Askari stationed at Liwale. Before the Boma was attacked her father had sent word to her saying that she must return home, but she stayed with her husband. Now forced to leave the burning building with other women she fled to her father and falling at his feet begged forgiveness. Abdullah Mapanda disowned her, drew his knife and cut her throat. She was his first born child.

The other askaris with their families were trapped in the burning Boma but attempts made to dislodge the fugitives from the mud-roofed hut failed and they left their refuge in the evening, the native Ombasha carrying his small child strapped to his back. Aimer and three natives accompanied him. Many natives say that after encounters with rebels at Zinga and Mbatu in Kilwa District Ombasha Hassan reached Kilwa safely, but it has not been possible to check this and the fate of the three women is unknown. Aimer decided not to attempt the journey to Kilwa. Natives say that he hoped to find refuge with Jumbe Ntule of Mihumo with whom he had been friendly and this is probably correct. He certainly tried to reach Mihumo; and when some natives attempted to arrest him near there he drew a pistol and shot two of them. Eventually he took refuge in his rubber plantation at a spot close to the old Liwale-Muhinje-Chini motor road. Here a large tree had fallen down and he made a shelter of strips of bark which he placed against the fallen tree. Some ten days after the fall of Liwale the two sons of Jumbe Lihambe, Kitinguu and Ngayungu, saw Aimer's dog feeding on the corpses which lay about the station. They followed the dog's tracks into the rubber plantation

and picking up Aimer's footmarks followed them to his lair where they shot him with poisoned arrows. His grave is in the Liwale cemetery opposite that of his wife who died in the previous year.

MURDERS AT MIKUKUYUMBU.

About twelve days before Liwale fell a small party of Benedictine missionaries had set out from Kilwa Kivinje to go to Peramiho in Songea where Bishop Spiss, the leader of the party, had previously worked. He had been advised to postpone his safari by Staff-Surgeon Lott of Kilwa and by Major Johannes who had just arrived there with reinforcements, but he decided to leave in spite of the dangers. As an escort could not be spared he was given twelve rifles and three hundred rounds of ammunition. The rest of the party consisted of two Brothers, Andreas Scholzen and Gabriel Sonntag, two Sisters, Felicitas Hiltner and Kordula Ebert, three African servants and some Angoni porters. On or about the day that Kingwichiro was sacked the party reached Mitondo which is three or four days' walk from Liwale and seven from Kilwa.

A few miles to the north-east of Mitondo was the village of Kipindimbi, the residence of a Jumbe Abdallah Mchimaye, and, about the time that Abdallah Mapanda was visiting Bokero, natives of this village also made the journey to Ngarambi. At the time of their departure Abdallah Mchimaye was visiting a relative some distance away. He was recalled and sped to Ngarambi but, taking a more westerly route than that taken by his villagers, he missed them as they returned to Kipindimbi with the water and was not present at the murder which occurred a few days later for which he was hanged.

A day or two after the water reached Kipindimbi, and after some Swahili traders there had been killed, the missionaries' Angoni porters arrived by night. They had heard of a war in the Liwale area and had deserted in a body to Kipindimbi where they were detained and forced to drink the water. The following morning a messenger, possibly one of the missionaries' servants, came to enquire for porters to replace the Angoni who had deserted. He was promptly arrested and arrangements were made to attack the missionary party at Mitondo, a small army of natives leaving at a very early hour next morning.

When the natives reached Mitondo they found the camp still standing but the missionaries had left. They were followed down the Kilwa road and at Mikukuyumbu were surrounded and shot with muzzle-loaders. According to Abdallah Mchimaye's son, who was eye-witness, the missionaries were unarmed and unaccompanied by any natives.

This account of how the missionaries met their deaths differs from those given in von Götzen's book and mission records. Those accounts were based on a story related by two of the personal servants, Leonard and Bernard, who succeeded in reaching Kilwa. According to these servants they were present when the missionaries were killed and managed to escape, but, for lack of tools, they were unable to bury the bodies they



Apostolic Vicar Cassian Spiss

found. They said that the missionaries were speared to death, the Bishop by Abdallah Mchimaye himself, and that the Brothers had rifles but did not use them.

Now it is very improbable that spears were used because the Wangindo, unlike the Angoni, do not use them; and it is equally improbable that the servants could have been present when the missionaries were killed and could afterwards have escaped for at that time even small boys in the service of German askari and porters carrying loads of merchandise were being put to death without any quarter being given. While the account given by Abdallah Mchimaye's son may not be true it is more readily believable than that given by Leonard and Bernard.

After the missionaries were killed their camp at Mitondo was pillaged and rifles hidden in a nearby antheap were recovered. When news of their fate and the fall of Liwale reached von Götzen on the 20th August he cabled to Germany for reinforcements, and received a reply that two cruisers and a company of marines would be sent to East Africa immediately.

Some idea of the situation which confronted the government at this time can be gathered from the experiences of a force consisting of four Europeans and eighty askari with a machine gun which reached Liwale on the 9th September and Mitondo on the 18th. Under the command of Lt. von Grawert it had set out from the ravaged cotton plantation of the first European victim of the Rebellion, a planter named Hopper living in the Mtumbei country of Kilwa, and after marching for twenty-nine days, and fighting successful engagements on twenty-two of them, it returned to the coast on the 22nd September having failed to make communication with any other force during its notable march.

At Mitondo von Grawert buried the remains of the missionaries and cut a cross in the nearest tree. The sign is still visible on a tree by the present memorial cross which was erected in 1937 to replace a wooden cross set up in 1906. Later on at the Mission's request the remains of the missionaries were exhumed and taken to Dar-es-Salaam where they were laid to rest near the altar in St. Joseph's Cathedral.

OMARI KINJALLA.

Two other expeditions, one from Kilwa and one from Songea, tried to reach Liwale but failed. The force from Kilwa was turned back soon after leaving the coast, but the fate of the Songea force deserves more than passing notice because it was routed by Liwale natives under that Jumbe Omari Kinjalla who is said by von Götzen to have been a leading conspirator of the revolt.

It may be remembered that this Jumbe did not answer the call to arms made by Abdallah Mapanda after the destruction of the trading settlement at Kingwichiro. He did not do so because he had been called by Abdallah Mapanda to take the water as soon as the latter returned from Ngarambi, and before Kingwichiro was attacked: he had declined

to go and take it. It is possible that had Omari Kinjalla received news of victory with the first news of the water's power, as did the other jumbes, he would have joined in the war with more alacrity. According to native witnesses he was arrested by Abdallah Mapanda and after the fall of Liwale was put on trial and sentenced to death. The other local jumbes, however, pleaded so eloquently on his behalf that he was reprieved on condition that he took the water to Songea and killed or captured a German planter named Pfuller then living at Makunguwira some forty miles west of Liwale.

There was some delay before an expedition set out from Liwale against the planter and when it arrived at Makunguwira Pfuller had left. With him had gone his servant Saidi Rupendero, later to be an elder of the Liwale Natie Court, who has related how they received a grim warning of war. An Angoni porter employed by the Government had escaped from the massacre at Kingwichiro only to be caught at Mlembwe, where his throat was cut. The operation, however, was not very thorough and on his flight to Songea the porter rested at Makunguwira: Pfuller lost no time in fleeing to Songea also, leaving all he possessed behind him.

The natives had been expecting to meet a Government force from Songea and on the morning after leaving Milola they encountered one at Nakatupe. Although the natives suffered huge losses the Government force was eventually routed. A Sudanese effendi was killed on the field of battle, and Sergeant Thiede in command of this relief party escaped with wounds to a nearby village only to be put to death by the villagers. His remains were later taken to Liwale where they lie buried in the further of two graves outside the Boma there.

Accompanying Omari Kinjalla on his mission to Songea was a woman named Binti Mkomani, a young relative of the Angoni Chief Chabruma, who must be the woman referred to as "jumbess Mkomire" by von Götzen. It was thought by the Germans that she acted as a go-between for Omari Kinjalla and Chief Chabruma before the Rebellion broke out but there is not a shred of evidence from native reports to support this contention. From these it appears that she obtained permission from the District Officer at Songea to visit the Liwale area and that the object of her journey to Omari Kinjalla was nothing more sinister than marriage.

SUPPRESSION.

By the middle of September 1905 the rising had reached its zenith. Up till then and for about a month afterwards the efforts of Government were mainly directed at restricting the area of revolt, saving European lives and property, and protecting Government stations. Systematic suppression began about the middle of October 1905 and continued until January 1907, but it was only in the early part of this period that the people showed any fight and the greater part of the time was spent in trying to capture particular leaders who still retained followers. Consequently the military operations of that time are for the most part



THE SCENE OF THE CRIME AT MIKUKUYUMBU

a confused welter of flight and pursuit, and this chapter, after a brief account of those operations which caused the people, as distinct from the leaders, to submit, describes the fate of the Liwale leaders without attempting to follow their labyrinthine wanderings in the bush.

Very soon after the initial outbreak in the Matumbi hills Kibata became a military post to which smaller posts were later attached. One of these was at Lukuliro and was garrisoned in December 1905 by a detachment of police from Kilwa : but by the middle of March 1906 there was no real danger in this area and many of the troops were withdrawn. It was this police post which effected the capture and execution of the witchdoctor Ngameya.

Further west in the more inaccessible country around Madaba it was not possible to establish a military post until much later, but here too there was little danger of renewed hostilities after March 1906. By that time the insurgents had tasted the machine gun fire of a very strong detachment destined for Mahenge, which, on finding the Luwegu unfordable, was forced to spend some three weeks in the vicinity of Madaba towards the close of the year 1905. On its return journey to the Rufiji via Kitope this force, numbering about 900 with porters, was very hard pressed for provisions and Maji-Maji food stores suffered accordingly.

In central Liwale resistance was so half-hearted that a few fortified posts set up to guard the communications of a large expedition fighting in Songea were sufficient to bring the majority of the Wangindo to heel.

This Songea expedition left the coast on the 21st October from three different points — Kilwa, Kiswere, and Lindi — the idea being that the troops should traverse as wide an area as possible. Apart from a detachment of marines which undertook the supervision of coastal areas, some twenty-five Europeans accompanied the expedition for which 1,500 porters were enrolled, and in order to obtain this number the convicts of the Dar-es-Salaam, Kilwa and Lindi gaols were released. The junction of the three component forces was effected at Kingwichiro on the 9th of November, the main body under Major Johannes having arranged for the exhumation of Bishop Spiss's remains, and their transportation to Dar-es-Salaam, on its way up from Kilwa. All three forces had been hampered by floods and the guides of the Kiswere force had failed. From Kingwichiro onwards foraging expeditions were made into the surrounding country so that Major Johannes's main body, which reached Liwale on the 15th, was able (by reducing the daily ration of rice to one pound) to continue its march on the 18th November. This main body passed the Mbarangandu on the 23rd November and entered Songea on the 28th.

Five posts had been set up to protect communications with Songea and three of these — at Mpengere, Liwale, and Mbarangandu — were in the former Liwale District. The Mpengere post was hotly attacked on the 11th of November by Abdallah Mchimaye and some three hundred followers and the Liwale post under Lt. Frank was stormed on several occasions at the end of that month by Abdallah Mapanda and his men.

But after this the natives gave little support to their leaders and it was even possible at this time for the engineer Mavrogardato, under protection of an armed guard, to survey a route for the proposed railway from Kilwa Kisiwani to Lake Nyasa.

By April 1906 all the leaders who remained free had taken refuge in Mgende, that is to say the country lying between the Mbarangandu and Luwegu rivers, and here amongst other leaders were Abdallah Mapanda, Abdallah Mchimaye, Kapolo, and Omari Kinjalla. To encircle these remaining elements of revolution Major Johannes's forces approached Mgende from the west while troops from Mahenge approached from the north and the eastern boundary was held by a company under Capt. von Schonberg. This (the 14th) company after fighting in the Matumbi Hills had received orders to restore peace in Dondeland and had accordingly reached Liwale at the end of April. Being strong enough to enter several different regions at the same time it was able to capture a number of lesser Jumbes who had taken part in the storming of Liwale and these were hanged at Liwale in the middle of May 1906.

The encirclement of Mgende was completed by the middle of June 1906 but once again the leaders of revolt escaped. The Liwale leaders returned eastwards, but meeting a section of the 14th company at Nangocho which had not taken part in the encirclement of Mgende they retreated westwards again to the Ndapata River. Here Capt. von Schonberg who was on his way back from Mgende discovered their tracks, and surprising their camp on the river he seized all their goods and chattels among which were found the vestments and rosary of Bishop Spiss. Although only a handful of followers now remained true to the cause martial law in what was then Kilwa and Songea districts was not rescinded until 1907 the country to the south and west of Liwale being the last refuge of the revolutionaries. At Makungawira in the west Abdallah Machimaye was the first leader to fall. He was betrayed by a Jumbe Lingisa and later hanged at Liwale.

Von Götzen records that Omari Kinjalla was shot by his own people in September 1906, but this is denied by his son Abdallah who has stated that he saw his father commit suicide after he had been captured by Jumbe Lingisa the betrayer of Abdallah Mchimaye.

Abdallah Mapanda, the bravest and most intelligent leader of the natives' cause, was the last to fall, and he died as he would have wished, fighting to the bitter end. After a hand-to-hand fight with an Under-Officer named Thurmann, in which he was wounded, Abdallah Mapanda managed to escaped capture for some months but in January 1907 he fell fighting when his camp at Ruwila on the upper Lumesule was assaulted by Sgt. Biallowons of the 14th company. His right hand, easily recognizable by the absence of its thumb, which had been blown off accidentally when shooting elephant, was sent to Liwale where it was displayed to a crowd of natives who had been summoned to identify it. Hemedi



The murderer of Bishop Cassian and his fellow travellers.

Lipupu, who was later a Native Authority of Liwale, was one of that unhappy gathering.

This old man had many stories to tell of the repressive methods adopted during the period of the rebellion's suppression, and his assertion that German askari captured and enslaved native children is perhaps worth recording because the truth of it was confirmed in a curious way. A native sentenced to a month's imprisonment by the Nyera Native Court, was waiting with his guard on the steps of the District Office when Hemedi Lipupu came into the Boma. After a few words with the prisoner the old man showed signs of deep emotion, and then told the writer that he had found a long-lost relative. The prisoner confirmed that he was a relative of Hemedi Lipupu, and that he had been captured by rugaruga during the rebellion and become a slave of a German askari at Tanga. He had been on his way back to Liwale after an absence of thirty-five years when he was convicted by the Native Court at Nyera.

Many such tales of brutality and ruthlessness could be told, and many are too gruesome for record, but it is clear that the struggle which began as a fight against tyranny in obedience to God ended with a holocaust of native lives.

THE ORIGINS REVIEWED.

But while native accounts of the rebellion show that the cruelty with which it was suppressed has been under-estimated in the past, they also show that the conclusions arrived at have been unnecessarily awe-inspiring. For instance, in the account of the rebellion given in the Handbook of Tanganyika it is said that, "The whole outbreak, indeed, is an example of the fact that unexpected and most unreasoned folly may at any moment arise and throw African countries into a state of confusion and bloodshed." Such hasty conclusions need correction.

For now that the old theory of a secret plan for revolt is challenged some other explanation must be sought for the unexpectedness and extent of the Rebellion. But before such an explanation is offered it will be as well perhaps to demolish the old theory even at the risk of being tedious : and here it may be noted that the question to be answered is not, "Was there a conspiracy?" but, "Was there a widespread conspiracy?"

The notion that there was a widespread conspiracy was based on a report by Captain Merker who was on duty in the Matumbi hills for about a week at the beginning of the rising. This report, which is remarkable for the paucity of persons' names in it, only mentions a conspiracy among the Matumbi and Wakichi : Von Götzen extends the scope of this conspiracy to the Wangindo, Wapogoro and Angoni, but although he mentions four natives of these tribes by name he does not say how they were connected with the Matumbi-Wakichi conspiracy. He also connects the Matumbi-Wakichi conspiracy with a plot to murder the Europeans at Mahenge but this he does without mentioning by name any natives in the Mahenge plot. Moreover it seems that von Götzen con-

nected these two plots for no better reason than that they were to be put into action at approximately the same time. Of the Mahenge plot he writes :—

“ With the passage of time there had also come to light some isolated facts about the original plans of the rebels which had been made with such scrupulous secrecy. It was learned that the day which the ring-leaders had appointed for the launching of the revolt was that on which Lt. von Grawert was expected to return from leave some time in December. They had intended to assemble in great numbers at Mahenge Boma under the pretence of greeting the young wife of the station commander, but with the real purpose of using this occasion of festivity for overpowering the Europeans and getting control of the Boma. The premature outbreak of disturbances in Matumbi averted this atrocity.”

The reader will do well to put his finger on the opening words of the passage just quoted because they show how the myth of a widespread conspiracy was conceived. The idea that natives spread over fifty thousand square miles of Africa had arranged to rise on a particular day when a certain European took over a remote out-station seems peculiarly fantastic.

Leaving out of account the witchdoctor Bokero, four natives only are mentioned by name as being implicated in the supposedly widespread conspiracy. All four natives have already been mentioned but their names are now recalled so that they may here receive the prominence they deserve. The names are Jumbe Omari Kinjalla, Jumbe Kapolo, Jumbess Mkomanire, and Chief Chabruma. Sufficient has been said in the preceding narrative to discountenance the participation of these natives in a secret plan of revolt, but it may be remarked here that the only one of them who could have given direct evidence of a conspiracy to the Germans was the Jumbess Mkomanire. Omari Kinjalla committed suicide, Kapolo was “lost”, and Chabruma escaped to Portuguese East Africa. The Jumbess Mkomanire was hanged, and if before her execution she confessed complicity in any conspiracy it is curious that von Götzen has nothing to say about such a confession.

To support the theory of a widespread conspiracy it was emphasised that the chieftains and witchdoctors who were the apparent leaders of the movement were very naturally dissatisfied with a government that had deprived them of their powers. There is no doubt that this was so in areas such as Kibata and Madaba where Akidas had been installed, but in Liwale this was not the case. There was no Akida set over the Wamangindo and in some respects the system of administration in force was nearer to the natives' own tribal administration than the present-day system. For instance the Germans took the old family heads and made them jumbes without any attempt to restrict their number for the sake of administrative convenience as is done to-day. But although the old patriarchs became jumbes they did so not by popular election but at the will of the central government and most of the newly-styled jumbes found it a hard will to please. They received an annual lump sum in pay-

ment of their labours but this did not compensate them for the treatment they received at the hands of the German askaris who enjoyed and abused unbridled power. The set policy of the government was to introduce as many foreign elements as possible among their native troops and the terror which these men inspired was hideous.

Least of all were the jumbes immune from this terror. An askari did not make a request for so many fowls, men for labour, or whatever else he required: he took these things and a good many more by force. Arriving at a village close to that of the jumbe to whom he had been sent he would call the nearest native and issue instructions. Producing a cartridge from his pouch he would tell the native to take it to the jumbe who must be ordered to prepare four beds, one for the askari, one for his rifle, one for his ammunition pouch and one for his clothes. The final order was always the same — a blanket with which to cover the askari. By this was meant, and was always understood to be, a woman to the askari's liking and it went ill with any jumbe who failed to provide all these requirements.

Although some of the jumbes fled and others committed suicide, nevertheless it is true that Abdallah Mapanda, the leader of the war in centrale Liwale, went to get the water at Ngarambi because he was sore at not being made a jumbe. It will be remembered that the two askaris who were killed at Kitandangangora had their throats cut on the grave of Mpinga, the "baba mkubwa" of Abdallah Mapanda. Mpinga, a "mwenye" of old, was the first jumbe put in by the Germans near Liwale and Abdallah Mapanda's claim to be jumbe (i.e. "mwenye") was certainly stronger than that of Makonde who was jumbe when he went to Ngarambi. But far more important than Abdallah Mapanda's reasons for seeking Bokero's advice and medicine is the fact that on his return from Ngarambi all the jumbes (Omari Kinjalla excepted) joined the Maji-Maji cause without hesitation. Makonde, whom Abdallah Mapanda wished to supersede as jumbe, was one of the first to join the movement.

This apparently anomalous situation reveals the secret of the Rebellion's origins and that secret can be summed up by the one word "OPPRESSION". The old mwenye Mpinga (who as already related was the first Jumbe to be put in by the Germans) is a notable figure in the history of Liwale for it was he who went down to Kilwa and asked the Germans for aid in repulsing Angoni attacks. The Germans answered his cry for help by building a fort at Barikiwa and chastening the Wangoni. Why then did the Wangindo repay the Germans by rising against them? The native reply is, "Wanatoka wafako, wanakwenda wazikwako" (they go from where there is death to where there is burial) — "out of the frying pan into the fire." When Heaven sent the means to quench that fire it was on the grave of the man who brought it that the first tongues of flame were extinguished.

If the askari was the most loathsome agent of oppression the "kiboko" was its violent instrument. It is not always realised how the famous "hamsa ishirini"* was awarded: it was given for the most trifling offences and often on successive days. For instance Omari Kinjalla's brother Msham who was anxious to go to Ngarambi for the water but was deterred by his brother had been heavily in debt to the merchant Aimer a short time before the news of the water reached Liwale. Aimer himself had persuaded Msham Kinjalla to borrow money for trading but when Msham failed to repay his debt he was reported to the Boma. He was given "hamsa ishirini" forthwith and told to find the money he owed within a few days. After borrowing from relations Msham was able to produce half the amount outstanding and this he took to the Boma. Another dose of "hamsa ishirini" was his reward. Again Msham returned with half the amount left outstanding after his first two payments had been made: another dose of "hamsa ishirini."

Twenty-five was the standard number of lashes awarded for any offence and it was often inflicted by German N.C.Os. themselves. When Mr. Sivji Somji of Somji Stores who was trading in Songea at the time of the Maji-Maji arrived in Africa a few years before its outbreak he was astonished to find that many German N.C.Os could write little more than their own names. Natives tell of how these men when administering a flogging would smoke a cigarette between the lashes, and few things are more abhorrent to natives than this cold, calculated method of inflicting punishment.

By 1905 the edifice threatened by oppression in the southern half of the comparatively new German Colony was toppling perilously. This part of Africa had been the last stronghold of the slave trade and although the slave trade had — at least theoretically — been abolished, slavery persisted and received official recognition. The order for forced labour on government cotton plantations, whereby slaves and freemen worked together under conditions of slavery, was the load of oppression which finally sent the edifice tumbling down. The native could endure the lashes on his body but, when blows on his pride were added, he turned to fight in desperation.

The fight which ensued would never have assumed the proportions it did had not the element of chance worked in the natives' favour during the early critical moments. That fatal delay after the receipt of Akida Sefu's letter at Kilwa on the 13th July is very glibly passed over by von Götzen, who, it must be remembered, was head of an administration that was later condemned by the Dernburg Commission of 1906 which enquired into the causes of the Maji-Maji and methods of administration generally. It was well known that doctor Bokero's waiting list was a long one and when it was learned that he had begun to prescribe revolt for his patients

* Twenty-five lashes.

he should have been struck off the register without delay. Furthermore, only a few years previously the Matumbi had attempted to defy German authority in what a Matumbi native has called "the first Maji-Maji." The precarious position of Mahenge, Liwale, and Songea, which were isolated in a vast expanse of country, should also have been remembered. In short, immediate action was clearly indicated : history and geography pointed to it; military necessity demanded it; and Acting District Officer Lott avoided it.

The new explanation of the Rebellion's origins outlined above changes the whole character of the Rebellion, and the change is perhaps best summed up by Liancourt's famous contradiction, "Sire, it is not a revolt, it is a revolution." Like that other Revolution the Maji-Maji stirred the depths of human emotion : certainly nothing in East Africa's history has come more direct and flamingly from the hearts of her native inhabitants.

A Visit to The Island of Godziba in Lake Victoria *

By J. E. S. Griffiths

The Island of Godziba occupies what is probably a unique position in Tanganyika Territory in that prior to May, 1949, it had never been visited by an Administrative Officer. It is part of a group of three small islands shown on the Admiralty Chart of Lake Victoria as Nyabuyongo — although the latter name seems to have died out as the islanders do not now recognise it — and is situated some sixty sea miles north of Mwanza approximately in Latitude 1° 27' S and Longitude 32° 35' E.

The group consists of three islands, Godziba, Kanzobe and Kabafu (according to the Admiralty Chart the Isles are Godsiba, Kanzovi and Kawafu) but Godziba is the only one inhabited. It is roughly one and a half miles long and a quarter mile across and is the shape of a bean lying approximately north-west and south-west. Kanzobe lies to the south-west and is separated from the main island by a narrow strait about three feet deep. It is about six acres in extent. Kabafu lies off the west of Godziba and is separated from it by a passage about three hundred yards across, too deep to be crossed on foot. It is about three acres in extent and is the home of a few crocodiles and hundreds of lake birds.

The earliest recorded visit to the island was by Commander B. Whitehouse, R.N., during the years 1902 to 1906 when he was surveying and charting the Lake. He was followed in 1908 by a German A. Berson, but there is no record available locally of his experiences. He was conducting a Meteorological Survey on behalf of the Royal Aeronautical Observatory. The Graham fishing survey, conducted for the East African Governors' Conference by a party headed by Mr. Graham, seconded from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, included the island in their survey in the years 1927-1928, but for the next twenty years no European paid a visit until last year when a K.U.R. tug visited the island to instal a self-registering rain gauge on the initiative of the Hydrological Adviser to the Uganda Government. It is a tank type gauge normally to be visited every six months.

The island lies off the main tug and steamer routes and is difficult of access by canoe owing to the long stretches of water out of sight of all land which have to be traversed between it and either Ukerewe or Kalebe island. Mwami Lwamgira, the first Secretary to the Bukoba Central Native Treasury, remembers that a German District Officer attempted to get to the island by canoe in 1903 but failed, and also that an attempt by Mr. H. H. Allsop, District Commissioner, met with similar failure in 1930. (There is a story that a yachting party from Entebbe, Uganda, touched at the island two or three years ago but I have not been able to confirm this).

* With acknowledgments to Mr. R. de Z. Hall and Mr. C. Whybrow.

The visit this year then by Mr. R. de Z. Hall, Provincial Commissioner, Mwanza, and myself was for administrative officers something outside the dull routine of office work and files. On Sunday the 29th May, 1949, we left Mwanza at 07.05 hrs. for the island in the "Heron", a launch belonging to the Lake Victoria Fisheries Service, with the Chief Fisheries Officer, Lieut. Commander G. F. Cole, and a Fisheries Officer, Mr. J. D. Kelsall. The southerly monsoon had started in earnest a few days previously so that a breezy trip was anticipated and, once out of the lee of the land, experienced. Good time was made and with the aid of a trysail a steady nine knots was maintained. About an hour after the northerly tip of Ukerewe island disappeared astern a smudge on the horizon visible from the mast of the launch indicated the position of Godziba and at 15.10 hours anchor was dropped on the northern side of the island in a small bay sheltered from the wind which was still blowing strongly from the south. This bay, which has a pleasant sandy beach, is the home of innumerable lake birds, while vegetation comes down almost to the water's edge. The inhabitants soon gathered and came out to the launch, some of them in a very leaky canoe and some swimming. They did not appear surprised to see Europeans but took some convincing that members of the administration had come to pay them a visit. This may have been partly due to the fact that, as it was a Sunday, the islanders in true tribal tradition had been celebrating on a brew of beer. This had been brought over from Ukerewe by a party which had been to Kisumu to purchase a sailing boat.

A visit ashore that afternoon and again the following morning was both interesting and instructive. The people, being fishermen, visit the mainland of either Mwanza or Bukoba periodically and it was of note that although they are Haya they showed none of the exaggerated and unnatural outward subservience of that tribe towards authority. Fishermen, of course, rarely do, but the contrast in this case was more marked than usual.

The island forms part of the Ihangiro Chieftdom of Bukoba district and lies in the island sub-chieftdom of Bumbire which is itself situated some fourteen miles off the Bukoba mainland. A headman, Tiruwamu, looks after the island's twenty-five tax-payers. He has one assistant and an elder. *Shauris* rarely, if ever, occur and are settled locally as the nearest court is two days away by canoe over, during the monsoon, a rough and unfriendly sea. In fact canoe trips have been done by night as direction must be kept by the stars.

The Sub-Chief from Bumbire has only visited the island once and that was during the 1948 census. The Chief from the mainland has never done so although he has made one or two attempts. It was interesting that the headman, presumably in a spirit of loyalty, informed us that the Chief had actually visited him twice. His assistant denied it.

The people living on the island are apparently law-abiding and although they get little or nothing for their poll tax they always pay

without fail, one of their number visiting Ihangiro in the early part of the year to pay on behalf of the others and also to purchase such necessities as paraffin oil and cigarettes. There are no shops on the island and on enquiring why we were informed that the people always bought their own goods in large quantities on the mainland — e.g. a carton of cigarettes or matches.

The people who live permanently on the island as distinct from fishing visitors are, as has been stated, all of the Haya tribe and are composed of members of four clans of the Banyaihangiro sub-tribe — Babago, Bayango, Bahutu and Bakiyama.

The mainland origins and court duties of these clans are of interest and may serve as a basis for speculation as to why these people should be found so far from home. Quoting from "Customary Law of the Haya Tribe" by Cory and Hartnoll these are:—

Babago: Totems, bushbuck and francolin: origin, Kitara (Bunyoro, Uganda); present clan village, Kagarama: duties, hunters.

Bayango: Totems, monkey and ant; origin, 'Egypt'; present clan village, Mashure (Gombolola Mubunda, Ihangiro); duties, assessors.

Bahutu: Totems, a small bird (enfunzi) and black dog; origin, Ankole; present clan village, Mushure (Gombolola Mubunda, Ihangiro); duties, rain-makers, door watchers and milkers.

Bakiyama: Totems, a wild fruit (mobana) and hippopotamus; origin, Uzinza; present clan village, Muyenje (Gombolola Iremera, Ihangiro); duties, Baramata (royal body-guards and deputies).

In the past the men used to marry women from the Bukoba mainland but now-a-days they usually obtain their wives from Ukerewe. The women on the other hand usually marry men from Bumbire island. Bride-price ranges from fifty to a hundred shillings.

The people reported that apart from coughs and colds their health was good and that there was little venereal disease. Certainly no mosquitoes were seen but the tell-tale snail shell (*Bullinus* sp.) was seen, which indicates that bilharzia must be prevalent. This latter is not surprising when one considers the number of visitors from Ukerewe and elsewhere who fish from the island during the season. Remarkably few children were seen but this may be partly explained by the fact that youngsters have to go to school on Bumbire Island where they naturally have to stay during term time.

Comparatively speaking, cultivation on the island is good and several acres of cassava and sweet potatoes were seen. The cassava was a new introduction planted on instructions received from the Chief of Ihangiro, presumably by letter. The order to plant was so vigorously obeyed that all eleusine acreage had apparently been taken up for the time being! In fact the main diet of the islanders is eleusine porridge and stocks of this were held in small storage bins near the dwelling huts. All the huts, and there were about twenty occupied, were of the usual Haya type but were unfortunately in a rather neglected condition and many were

in need of repair. Owing to the absence of white ants huts last a much longer time than usual — ten years and more — and so presumably repairs are put off as long as possible. These dwelling huts are set in banana gardens but the banana is of the sweet 'Swahili' type and not the plantain of Bukoba. Coffee is grown but not to any extent although sufficient is obtained for the islanders to follow the old Haya custom of offering strangers dried coffee beans to chew. Pineapple gardens in a somewhat neglected state were seen in several parts.

It would appear from the vegetation that the rainfall must be good but the soil and general appearance of the island was poor. The soil covering except in patches was very thin and rock out-crops were frequent. As far as one could judge the island appeared to be a little bit of Bukoba mainland left by mistake in the middle of the Lake. It is composed mainly of sandstone, the rocks belonging to the Nyanzian system. Apart from the vegetation mentioned, about half the island was covered with a type of grass known in Luhaya as *ekinshwi*. This grass is of a very fine type and is also found on the Bukoba mainland. It is used for thatching, as a floor covering inside huts, and also as fuel for smoking fish. Supplies of firewood are limited. In the pockets of better soil tall trees were seen: among others the *mshambya* (markhamia), and the *mugabaigana* (anthocleista pulcherrima), both trees common in Bukoba. No *muhumula* (maesopsis) were noticed although these trees are found on the neighbouring islands of Ukerewe and Ukara. *Rutete* (allophylus) were seen in plenty for thatching reeds and the ambatch tree (*herminiera elapharoxylon*) grows near the lake shore.

The islanders keep such domestic animals as goats, chickens and ducks. Cattle are also owned by some half-dozen people but there are not more than thirty head in all: these are of the zebu type in contra-distinction to the long-horned ankole of Bukoba. They were brought over in canoes from Ukerewe originally. Some are kept on Godziba where they are tethered in a suitable piece of grazing but more are allowed to run wild on the small island of Kanzobe where the only danger is from crocodiles, and this is not very great. They give little milk.

All the islanders are fishermen and during the season there is great activity. The season begins about June when the pleiades appear in the sky and it is at this time that large numbers of aliens from Ukerewe and Bukoba mainland visit the island. These aliens who come every year have their own huts which they occupy temporarily: we saw about thirty or forty of their empty huts. The main fishing is for *mboju* or *semetundu* (bagrus) and this is done with hooks and set lines. Nets are not used, it was explained, owing to the number of rocks in the vicinity and also to thieves. These reasons were somewhat unconvincing, however, as three-inch and five-inch nets set at eighty feet by Commander Cole produced one night a catch of forty-five fish including sixteen *semetundu* and twenty *mbete* (mormyrus).

There are two other methods of fishing employed — spearing and trapping — but neither are of great import compared with line fishing. *Mbiru* (*tilapia variabilis*) are often speared in the shallow water near the shore while the *mumi* (*Clarias*) is caught in stone traps. This latter method is most interesting as the traps are constructed by building a wall of stones a foot or two in height on the edge of the shore in water about a foot deep so as to form an artificial pool. Under-water entrances are left in the wall every few yards and in these entrances are placed non-return conical fish-baskets which are open at both ends. The fish swim in through the large end which faces the open water and being unable to find their way out again are easily caught. These artificial fish ponds are also reported by Graham in his Fish Survey of the Lake from below the Ripon Falls and on Ruwondo Island in the Emin Pasha Gulf.

The catches are cured on the island and are then transported to either Bukoba or Mwanza for sale. Transport used to be by canoe and to Bukoba the charge was 2/- per load. This is remarkably cheap as it is a two-day trip — twelve hours to Kelebe Island and eight hours on beyond that to Bukoba. Last year, however, one of the enterprising islanders purchased a *kalua* or native sailing vessel in Kisumu for Shs. 1,700/- and another followed suit this year but he had to pay Shs. 2,000/- for it, and now these two people do the transport. The time is halved compared with that of a canoe if the wind is favourable.

A study of the bird, animal and insect life in Godziba would be interesting but time did not permit of more than a very cursory glance. Apart from domestic animals no other mammals were reported. Crocodiles already mentioned were reported to be few in number but none were actually seen. The existence of crocodiles at all is interesting as Dr. Worthington in his book "The Inland Waterways of Africa," written in the early thirties, states that the island is crocodile-free so that the invasion must be comparatively recent.

Bird life appeared very numerous if not very rich in species. As was to be expected the birds seen were mostly Lake birds such as white-breasted cormorants (*phalacrocorax carbo lugubris*), pigmy cormorants (*phalacrocorax africanus africanus*) and darters (*anhinga rufa*), of which hundreds upon hundreds live in the small bay on the north side of the island. Nests were seen in the trees surrounding the landing place. Gulls of two types were seen: what appeared to be the grey-headed gull (*larus cirrhocephalus*) and the lesser black-backed gull (*larus fuscus fuscus*). They were seen first some five miles from the island but conditions made identification difficult and it is impossible to say whether both species were included or only the lesser black-backs. Other birds seen were the great white egret (*ardea alba*) and one if not two smaller types, probably the yellow-billed egret (*mesophox intermedius brachyrhynchus*) and the little egret (*egretta garzetta garzetta*) or the cattle egret (*bubucis ibis*).

The following birds were also noted: several dark-coloured herons — probably the common black-headed heron (*ardea melanocephala*) — the goliath heron (*ardea galiath*), the sacred ibis (*threskiornis aethiopica*), two Egyptian geese (*alopochen aegyptiacus*), African kites (*milvus migrans parasitus*), pied crows (*corvus albus*), a fish eagle (*cuncuma vocifer*), common black and white pied kingfishers (*ceryle rudis*), and lesser striped swallows (*hirundo abyssinica unitatis*). In addition to the above a reddish-brown coloured kestrel type of bird was seen, two different weavers, one with black colouring about its face and another with red, and also what appeared to be a variety of pipit. Identification of these latter was impossible.

Finally it was interesting to observe the presence of a few butterflies — what appeared to be a red admiral and also a large yellow species: another was also seen, of a whitish colour, about half-way between Godziba and Kalebe over ten miles from any dry land.

Ornithology in Tanganyika

By R. E. Moreau

The aim of this paper is to summarize the history of ornithology in Tanganyika, to provide a view of our present knowledge, and, not least important, to indicate what parts of the enormous field of the unknown can now most fruitfully be worked. For the period up to 1900 Reichenow ("Vogel Afrikas") is an invaluable guide — except that in the introduction, "Geschichte der ornithologischen Erforschung Afrikas", he unaccountably omits the pioneer work of Speke and Grant. Reichenow gives a full bibliography up to 1900 to which interested readers may refer. The subsequent ornithological work is not similarly covered. I am indebted to Dr. E. Stresemann for checking my list of German workers and to Capt. C. H. B. Grant for reading my manuscript critically. Subsequent work has been mainly British. In the present account I have included the more important bibliographical references, omitting, however, those which consisted of descriptions of new species and sub-species or were otherwise purely taxonomic. No publication dealing specially with the birds of Tanganyika as a whole has been published except Reichenow's "Vogel Deutsch-Ost-Afrikas" (1894), with 100 text-figures, which is naturally quite out of date.

Ornithology began in Tanganyika with the small collection made by Speke and Grant in the course of that journey to discover the sources of the Nile which makes such painful reading. Ill, crawling from one encampment to another, pestered for "hongo" by every petty chief, irritated by the conduct of their loathsome Baluchi escort, they managed to devote attention to both zoology and botany. One hundred species of birds were claimed to have been identified "by coloured drawings we had with us upon the journey, by 45 drawings we made and from notes written on the spot," in addition to specimens collected (J. R. Geogr. Soc. 1872 : 315-327). Actually however the list of 140 contains some marked (?) or "sp."; the most valuable part of the work was the 70 specimens, representing 62 species, that they brought home. They were collected between "Bogomogo" (evidently a printer's error for Bagamoyo) and Gondokoro, "with very few exceptions in the countries of Usaramo, Usagara, Ugogo, Unyamuezi and Uzinzi" (Proc. Zool. Soc. London 1864 : 106-115).

After the beginning of the 1860's ornithology in Tanganyika ceased again to exist for nearly another twenty years. Then, at the end of the 1870's it came to life with a rush. Sir John Kirk made one or two short trips on the mainland from Zanzibar and also sent African collectors. From 1879 to 1881 specimens of over two hundred forms, including of course many "new" birds, were obtained, mostly from Dar-es-Salaam, on the Bagamoyo-Unyamembe (Tabora) caravan route as far inland as Ugogo, and from Usambara, which was readily accessible through Pangani.

Kirk's collections consisted largely of specimens labelled "Usambara

hills" and "Usambara Mts." but those bearing the latter locality included no montane birds and no evergreen forest birds except the *Narina Trogon*; and they did include *Halcyon chelicuti* and *Batis senegalensis*. It seems certain therefore that his collectors did not ascend the mountains and probably penetrated no further than Muhesa. The true montane fauna of Usambara, though so accessible, was to remain unknown for another forty years.

While Kirk was making his collections the great era of German ornithological exploration in East Africa was opening. After preliminary expeditions in the coastal zone of Kenya, Fischer practised as a doctor at Zanzibar from 1879 to 1882. During this period he made short excursions and sent African collectors into the coastal zone of the opposite mainland. It was natural, conditions being what they were — slave-raiding and a practically complete absence of government even within the Sultan's nominal sphere — that they should keep pretty closely to the caravan routes. In fact most of their specimens came from Lindi, Usaramo and Usegua. In 1882 Fischer himself made his magnificent journey from Pangani up the caravan route through Korogwe and Masinde to Klein Aruscha (the present Arusha Chini) and Gross Aruscha (Arusha township) to the Rift Valley at Oldonyo Lengai, and past Lake Natron to Lake Naivasha. In 1885 he made another, still more ambitious journey, which unfortunately was his last. He started once more at Pangani but diverged from the river-valley at Korogwe, crossed the north end of the Ngurus to Kibaya and Kondoa-Irangi, finally reaching Lake Victoria at Kageji on Speke Gulf. Thence he travelled northeast to Kavirondo and Lake Baringo, reaching the coast again at Vanga.

Meanwhile in 1880 Böhm had started on his long journey from which he never returned and in the course of which he spent years in the zoological exploration of a part of Tanganyika, the west central, that seems largely to have been neglected ever since. With stops at Kangasi in Usagara and Konko in Ugogo, he travelled to Tabora and Kakoma and thence to Lake Tanganyika at Karema. He gives an attractive picture of the Ubende highland country, with its evergreen forest and its waters, which is now so thinly inhabited and for many decades was so little visited by Europeans. Böhm turned east again and established himself at Igonda, south of Tabora, where he stayed collecting for a year. There on 16 August 1882 he lost a great deal of his results in a fire that destroyed his house. At length he started off again for Karema, accompanied by Reichard, with the ambitious plan of reaching the Atlantic coast. But he died in 1884 in Marungu, on the south-west side of Lake Tanganyika.

Both Fischer and Böhm made most notable contributions to East African ornithology. Not only did they bring together collections of the highest value from which many new birds were described and which laid the foundations of the local zoogeography; they wrote attractive accounts of their journeys, in which they included field-notes that are valuable to this day.

Now began the exploration of Kilimanjaro, the great mountain which riveted the attention of one expedition after another. In one sense it and its immediate neighbourhood received more ornithological attention than they deserved, with the consequence that the smaller mountains on the way from the coast, the Usambaras, the Pares and the Teitas, some of which time has shown to possess intrinsically more interesting avifaunae, were unreasonably neglected. Even on Kilimanjaro itself, the workers followed too closely in each other's footsteps and much remains undone. The whole subject is discussed, with a full bibliography to 1944, in "Tanganyika Notes and Records", 18:26-68, so that the references to Kilimanjaro need not be reproduced here.

It is doubtful whether most of the early collectors, Hildebrandt, Hunter, Willoughby, Jackson, who visited the "Kilimanjaro district" from Mombasa actually entered what is now Tanganyika Territory. Baron Carl Claus von der Decken and Kersten made the first ascents, in 1861 and 1862, finally reaching 14,000 feet, but they do not seem to have got any birds on the way. That remarkable figure (Sir) Harry Johnston, coming from Taveta in 1884 for his serio-comic sojourn with Mandara at (Old) Moshi, made the first collection on the slopes. Most of his birds came from 6,000—7,000 feet, but he got both the fine sunbird *Nectarinia johnstoni* and the high-altitude chat *Pinarochroa* on the moorland. It was not until the 90's that he was succeeded by Kretschmer and the American W. L. Abbott, both of whom made special expeditions to the mountain; by von der Marwitz, who was District Officer at Marangu; and by Oscar Neumann, in the course of his great journey which will be referred to again. In the first decade of the 20th century interest was maintained: Kittenberger collected for the Budapest Museum on the mountain and to the northwest; C. G. Schillings (72) also at the north-western foot; and finally the Swedish expedition, the results of which were embodied in four volumes by Sjöstedt (89). The only subsequent published work on the birds of Kilimanjaro seems to be that of the Moreaus (34) (66), the latter being the solitary contribution to the ornithology of the north side of the mountain, which differs so remarkably from the south (see also "Tanganyika Notes and Records" 18 28 *et seq.*).

In the rest of Tanganyika in the twenty years between the Fischer—Böhm period and the publication of Reichenow's "Vogel Afrikas" zoological exploration went ahead partly by special expeditions, partly through energetic government officers. The most important work was that done by Stuhlmann and Emin Pasha. Having come down from Equatoria to Dar-es-Salaam the latter could not rest without further exploration of the little-known country south-west of Lake Victoria. Together they worked through Morogoro, Mpwapa and Tabora to the Lake, where Emin devoted himself especially to trying to establish the limits of West African forms in this area. After making comprehensive collections in what are now the Bukoba and Mwanza Districts (and also in Uganda), Stuhlmann turned back to the coast. Emin marched west-

wards into the Congo, where he was murdered soon after by Arab slavers.

The next most important ornithological exploration was that of Fölleborn who came from Lindi, through Masasi, to the Upper Rovuma and Songea. He collected round the northern shores of Lake Nyasa, through the Njombe District to as far north as Ngominyi near Sao Hill, south to Tukuyu and Mbeya, and at least as far west as Kitete, south of Lake Rukwa. Small collections in the same area were also made during this period by Marwitz, Stierling, Prinz and Schmitt.

In 1892 Neumann in the course of a great collecting trip that included Shirati, Entebbe and Naivasha, entered at Tanga and travelled through Kibaya to the neighbourhood of Kondoa and up the Rift Valley past Lakes Manyara and Natron. He was the first to reach the top of Hanang (he used the name Gurui on his labels) but, on account of preoccupation with mammals, collected only four species of birds on the mountain, which was not explored ornithologically for another fifty years (Fuggles-Couchman, unpublished). On his return from Kenya he came by Taveta and collected on the face of Kilimanjaro up to Kifinika.

Collections of minor importance made during the eighties and nineties were those by Weigall at Newala (a district untouched ever since 1887); by Pruen at Kikombo (Ugogo); by Stuhlmann in the coastal zone, as far inland as Korogwe, the foothills of the Ngurus, Morogoro and Kisaki; by Marwitz in Ubena and Uhehe; by Werther (Ugogo-Kondoa-Balangida-Wembere-Meatu) (Serengeti); by Trotha in many places, especially near Lindi and south of Lake Victoria; and by Schnorrenpfeil on the caravan road to Kilimanjaro and in central Tanganyika. All this helped towards a catalogue of the birds of the Territory and to working out their geographical distribution, but provided very little information about their biology.

From 1900 to 1914 ornithological work continued to be mostly pure collecting, but not exclusively.* There were a few important collecting expeditions: that associated with the names of Stegmann, Kandt and Grauer (74), which traversed the Bukoba District and Ruanda-Urundi on its way to Kivu, a second expedition by Grauer in the same area (80) and that of Fromm (21), which started at Kilwa and crossed to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. His localities include Mahenge, Neu Langenburg (Tukuyu), Itaka, Lake Rukwa, and Ufipa from Bismarckburg (Kasanga) to Karema. Horn collected on the routes Tabora-Mwanza-Ujiji (79). Collections by Munzner in the Kilombero-Mahenge area and by Hoffmann on the Ruvu (at the eastern foot of the Ulugurus), included birds that were described as new, but nothing else was published from those sources. On the other hand complete lists of the birds obtained by Roehl (18) near Mlalo in the west Usambaras and by Conrads (19) on Ukerewe Island were published after delay caused by the 1914-18 war.

The emphasis of ornithological work was, however, beginning to shift a little. Boxberger (4) published several short communications on the nesting habits of birds at Dar-es-Salaam; Grote and Schuster, both

still active in ornithology in Germany at the present day, were working between 1908 and 1914 more in the spirit of Fischer and Böhm.

In 1909-1911 Grote published attractive brief descriptions of bird-life round Mikindani and finally a general account of the local birds (15) (16). Schuster's observations, which dealt largely with breeding, began to appear in 1911-1914, but mainly in 1926, when records from many parts of Tanganyika were included (82)—(87).

Thus at the time the German administration of Tanganyika came to an end a fair general idea had been obtained of the birds it contained and their distribution, but relatively very little had been recorded of their biology and ecology. Collecting had inevitably been patchy; apart from Kilimanjaro more had been done on the caravan route from the coast to Tabora and Lake Victoria than anywhere else. Little has been recorded from those areas since and we are still without any picture of the bird associations in the Central and Lake Provinces or of the local breeding-seasons. There was one particularly notable gap in the pre-1914 collecting; none of the evergreen forests had been worked at all except on the south side of Kilimanjaro and in Roehl's corner of Usambara. The neglect of the evergreen forests, intrinsically so interesting, was astonishingly complete, especially considering the accessibility of some of them.

Anyone who came to Tanganyika in the next few years and wished to study birds was faced with great difficulties, as I found to my cost as late as 1928. The specimens obtained in the Territory were naturally nearly all (except those from Kilimanjaro) in German museums. There was no book in English and the "Vogel Deutsch-Ostafrikas" of 1894 was quite out of date. It contained only a part of the species that actually exist in the Territory, few localities and few illustrations. Not least among the difficulties involved in its use was the fact that numerous changes of name and taxonomic status had taken place since the 1890's, so that when Sclater's "Systema Avium Aethiopicarum," from which a fair list of Tanganyika birds could be extracted, appeared in 1924-30, it was often hard to reconcile the two books. In fact during my first tour at Amani, in the East Usambaras, I found the bird-life quite baffling: and at the end of that time still could not put names to many of the birds frequently seen and heard there. Actually it was a peculiarly difficult locality because it was mainly covered with evergreen forest, the type of habitat which had been so greatly neglected by the earlier workers. So far as Amani was concerned this is the more astonishing because it was so near the port of Tanga and had been the site of the German "Biologisch-Landwirtschaftliche Institut" since 1902. The workers there had evidently done no ornithology and, moreover, every expedition to Kilimanjaro had passed the Usambaras without examining them. The consequence was that they yielded some astonishing "new" birds until well into the 1930's.

Arthur Loveridge, working for the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard, was the first to show the undiscovered possibilities of the montane forests. He probably first realized their interest while in the

new Game Department under Swynnerton, with access to the Ulugurus from Morogoro. The Game Department in its early days brought together some hundreds of specimens, chiefly in Central Tanganyika; some went to the British Museum, the remainder have been stored by the Game Department at Manyoni. Loveridge had already published various biological notes on birds gathered mostly on the Central Line (23) (24), when in 1926 he made a notable collection in the mountain forests of Usambara and Uluguru (7) and published further incidental field-notes (25) (26). Four years later he worked in the Southern Highlands (1) and in 1939 obtained a number of birds near Tanga and near Mikindani (71). Meanwhile the British Museum, which possessed extremely few specimens from Tanganyika, began in 1930 to make the series of small grants which enabled an African collector, based on Amani, to be employed at intervals during the next fifteen years. During this time over five thousand specimens were obtained, mainly by Salimu Asumani, who was originally trained by Loveridge, and by Charles Abdullah.

All students of Tanganyika ornithology owe much to both of these Africans for their work in the field; and at the London end thanks are due primarily to N. B. Kinnear, now Director of the British Museum (Natural History), and to those who have borne most of the labour of identification, at first W. L. Sclater and subsequently C. H. B. Grant. The latter had the advantage of a number of years in Tanganyika, especially in the Bukoba, Kigoma and Kondo Districts; but his publications on the birds of the Territory have been almost purely taxonomic, and hence do not appear in the bibliography.

At first only the East Usambaras were worked, the collector returning to the laboratory each night. The scope gradually widened, the scheme being to explore one patch of forest after another in order to work out the distribution and variation, both of which proved to be unpredictable, of the evergreen forest species. In this way the following localities were examined in addition to Usambara (88): the Mkomasi gap (of special interest as the driest spot in the Territory, and with a "Somali" fauna); the North and South Pare Mountains; Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru (34) (66); the Mbulu and Oldeani forests (39); Ukerewe and Kome Islands (58); the Nguru Mts. (88); Kiboriani Mt.; the Uluguru Mts.; the Pugu forest; Mafia Island (42); the Muhulu forest of Mahenge; the Ufipa, Kungwe-Mahenge and other forests on the east shore of Lake Tanganyika (50) (58); and the Luwiri-Kitessa forest of Songea (58). Items of interest from the collections not documented above were included in (44). All except Kilimanjaro, Ukerewe and the Ulugurus were practically unknown ornithologically until they were visited by the collectors from Amani. It would have been impossible to organize such distant work without the help, which was given generously, by officers in the administration, the forestry and the agricultural departments.

We were able to maintain a satisfactory standard of labelling. On the "collar" in which the collector enclosed each skin as soon as he

had prepared it, he wrote the date, the sex and altitude (of special interest in the mountain country; an aneroid was always carried). He also drew a life-sized picture of the testes or ovary, from which it was possible to form some idea of whether breeding was near. The collector noted colours of soft parts, but this of course served rather as a rough guide than for permanent record. On his return to Amani the particulars on the "collar" were transferred to the permanent standard label; and ecological information, elicited by cross-examining the collector, was added. Such information was often excellent; the type of country could always be specified and sometimes even the species of tree on which a bird had been feeding. It would not have been impossible to arrange the preservation of stomach-contents; but the carrying of glass tubes complicates an "all-African" trip and the prospects of expert examination of the material were so remote that it seemed preferable to reserve energies for the other aspects of the collecting. It should be stressed also that the actual collecting was by no means indiscriminate. We soon realised what species were particularly widespread and devoid of interesting variation; and while their presence was noted by the collector, attention was concentrated on the others. Data of the nature obtained by this organized African collecting can provide a firm basis for describing a local bird-fauna on ecological lines — cf. (32) (50) — and ultimately for analysis and discussion that touch upon general principles (31) (33) (59) (60).

Of all the collecting done in Tanganyika since 1918 probably the best has been that of Lynes and Low in the Southern Highlands in 1930-31. Following the method of presentation of his Darfur data, which from the ecological point of view had set a new standard, Lynes's paper on his expedition to the Iringa and Njombe Districts made a great advance in Tanganyika ornithology. Published in 1934 (27), it was the first to provide a coherent picture of the bird communities in the area worked and valuable indications of the local breeding seasons. Lynes's work has been an inspiration, and no one who presents the results of a local study or of an expedition should fail to follow his lead.

Other post-1918 collections, for which bibliographical references can be given, are those of Bowen (3) near Ikoma, of Boulton (2B) north of Lake Nyasa, of Fuggles-Couchman in the Eastern Province (11), of Naumann and Reichert (29) and of Zimmer (81) in Songea, of Baudouin in the Rukwa depression (91), of R. M. Bell at Liwale (58), and of Elliott and Fuggles-Couchman (6) in the Crater Highlands. Benson has recently extended his operations north of the Nyasaland border (Songwe River). Most of the papers just cited contain ecological and other field-data, (6) being actually written as an ecological survey. Collections to which either no, or only incidental, references have been made in literature are those of Barr in Uvinza, Elliott in the Northern Province, Rockefeller and Murphy round Ngorongoro and Rowe in the Mbulu District.

One new development in Tanganyika ornithology is due to a realisation that Africans, particularly those who are literate (but not of the clerical

type), can, under supervision, perform an exceedingly valuable function in collecting long series of records of birds' routine behaviour at the nest. The only requirements are a pencil, a note-book and a watch (costing only 5/- up to 1941). It is of course important not to ask too much of the observers. My standard requirements were records of the time at which the adults entered and left the nest, and where distinguishable, their sex. I formed the opinion that the African observers under these conditions were thoroughly trustworthy and moreover as they became interested they wrote valuable notes, on such points as the behaviour on the departure of the young, which were outside their immediate terms of reference. By these means it was possible to amass very long series of observations at nests (approaching seven thousand hours altogether) at relatively little expense. By means of relays dawn-to-dusk watches could be organised for about 2/- to 3/- a day. This has enabled a number of nest-behaviour studies to be made in considerable detail; and I am greatly indebted to Simon Mhunza, Charles Abdullah, and Saidi Nyundo for their devotion to duty, often under conditions of sun and rain that would have precluded observation by a European. By no means all the data so obtained have been published, but studies have appeared on a swallow (41), saw-wing bank-swallow (43), three swifts (46) (47) (49), hornbill (35) (68) (69), Kingfisher (53), Bateleur (55) and paradise fly-catcher (61). It may be emphasized that the aim should always be to obtain data on more than one nest of each species studied. One result of the large bulk of records accumulated by the African observers is to show the extent of the individual variation in behaviour, incubation-rhythms and feeding-rates; and a comparative study of feeding-rates in relation to number in brood (57) shows forcibly the need for replicated data. Perhaps African observers have been used most fruitfully of all by Rowe (76), whose study of Verreaux's Eagle is probably unsurpassed for any raptorial bird in the world.

One life-history study that has developed under interesting circumstances, and without African aid, is that of the bishop birds *Euplectes*, in which the brilliance of the males makes their territorial display and their polygamy so conspicuous. Lack's study (22) provided the original inspiration; it was developed by the Moreaus (64); and Fuggles-Couchman (12) subsequently described an interesting local divergence in habit. Such studies could well be extended to other weaver-birds, which are comparatively easy to observe; but meanwhile a letter from Charles Whybrow, which reaches me while I write this, shows how far even *Euplectes hordeacea* is from being "worked out". In this drought year (1949) near Mwanza, most of the birds have departed from all our previous experience and have nested not in grass but in *Acacia orfota* shrubs. What modifications of their other behaviour does this involve?

In this drought year too, Whybrow finds that many species have nested later or more irregularly than he expected on the basis of 1948. This throws into relief how exceedingly little is known about the breeding

seasons of birds in the Territory.

Everything points to their being narrowly restricted for most species in most localities and environments, but of their actual limits we have almost no exact information. The numerous scattered records of nesting, such as those in (4) (9) (13), provide some positive data but not the basis for defining seasons. This information is available only for certain evergreen forest areas (37) (70), where, contrary to expectation, the breeding of most birds is found to be sharply restricted to certain months of the year.

A few special studies in special subjects remain to be noticed :—

- (a) While a number of the papers in the bibliography contain incidental notes on bird-food, only two papers devoted to the subject appear to have been published. Those are from quite different angles: on the oxpecker, from a laboratory examination of stomachs (30) and on the birds raiding rice-fields (10).
- (b) An enquiry into the information available about one of the most interesting groups of Tanganyika birds, the dwarf parrots of the genus *Agapornis*, has shown how much still remains to be learnt about them (56) and at the same time what an interesting problem they present from the evolutionary point of view (59).
- (c) Many birds evidently make a definite choice of the close proximity of other living things, and especially nesting wasps, for the site of their nests (36) (48). It is still mainly assumption that such associations are in fact an advantage to the birds; critical observations on the relations between the associates are also much needed.

THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITIES.

It will have been gathered from the foregoing pages that miscellaneous general collecting, with or without the rather haphazard accumulation of field-notes, has made up the bulk of past ornithological work in Tanganyika. This is a necessary and inevitable stage, especially when the work has usually to be done by expeditions or by people who cannot remain in one place for long. The time is, however, past when such work can make its best contribution to the ornithology of so relatively well-worked an area, and indeed the titles of the papers published in the last ten or fifteen years show how the emphasis is changing. It is true that it is still frequently desirable to collect selected specimens to settle identities; by no means all species occurring in Tanganyika can be found in either Jackson's "Birds of Kenya Colony and the Uganda Protectorate" or Roberts' "Birds of South Africa," even with the addition of Belcher's "Birds of Nyasaland." But the forthcoming publication of Mackworth-Praed and Grant's "Birds of Eastern Africa" should make it possible to identify nearly all species without collecting them. Meanwhile the beginner may derive some assistance from B. Swynnerton's field key to the commoner birds (90), and can acquire the general outlines of African ornithology from Chapin's "Birds of the Belgian Congo" (1932),

published by the American Museum of Natural History. The introduction of this book is unique in its breadth of treatment and will long stand alone.

For most purposes the ornithologist need not bother about sub-specific identification — which is nearly always impossible without handling the specimen. Work in this connection constitutes a specialized branch, for which collecting should be discriminative and a good standard of skinning is especially desirable. It may also be stressed that the value of a specimen increases with the amount of detail that is given on its label.

It is by no means implied from the foregoing paragraph that the bird fauna of every part of Tanganyika has been recorded in detail: something like the converse is nearer the truth, but many species are so widespread in Africa that, provided their habitat is present, their occurrence can be predicted with confidence. The areas from which the fewest actual records exist (unpublished, I believe, as well as published) are (1) the triangle between the Central Line, Ufipa and the Iringa-Mbeya highlands and (2) the country east of Songea and Mahenge.

Suggestions for work may now be made.

(1) "Local lists" are of comparatively little value if they are nothing more; but they are well worth preparing from the ecological point of view, with emphasis on the habitats and communities. Papers from which suggestions on treatment may be derived include those of Lynes (27), Moreau (39), and Elliott and Fuggles-Couchman (6).

(2) There is a great deal of movement on the part of African birds — sometimes, as in quail, with all the characteristics of long-distance, even nocturnal, migration — which at present is not in the least understood. The most massive movements are those of the colonial nesting-weavers, which often seem to disappear altogether from their breeding localities; their subsequent behaviour and the extent of their wanderings are not known. Full elucidation could of course come only as a result of extensive "ringing"; a beginning has been made in South Africa, where rings are obtainable through the local ornithological society.

(3) Palaearctic winter visitors, which in some areas constitute a large proportion of all the birds present during several months of the year, merit more attention than they have received. The habitats favoured should be especially noted and their relations with the African species alongside which they live. It would be interesting to know to what extent, if any, their feeding habits differ. For example, to what extent could the various species of shrikes, both Palaearctic and African, be in actual competition for a limited local supply of food.

Dates of arrival and departure of main bodies of migrants are of more importance than first and last dates.

A convenient summary of the information of Palaearctic birds in Tanganyika, to which there is little to add, appeared in 1937 (38).

(4) The breeding seasons of birds in Tanganyika are very imperfectly known, especially on the Central Line and in the Mwanza and Western

Provinces. It would be especially interesting to know how breeding seasons are modified by altitude and how the breeding season of particular species is modified in the zone between about 80°S. and 5°30'S., where the climate changes from the single-rainy-season to the double-rainy-season type. For any comparative discussions it is of course essential that birds of similar ecology should be taken, e.g. raptors, ground-nesters.

The term "Breeding-season" for this purpose needs to be limited to the period during which eggs are laid. This does not mean that no data can be used except the actual discovery of eggs in a nest. From the presence of young birds the date of egg-laying can be calculated with sufficient approximation to be useful. Moults and gonad-enlargement provide evidence that must be used with caution; and nest building is merely suggestive, not evidence. For the best results a breeding-season study should of course be pursued over a period of years in the same spot and the year-to-year variations related to those of the weather, care being taken to make allowances for differences in observational opportunity.

(5) Incubation and nesting periods are still unknown for most African birds and observations need to be replicated again and again on individual species. The actual calculation of the periods is not without difficulty owing to divergent views about what should be taken as the beginning and end points of the periods. Although objectionable or inapplicable for some species a reasonable standard is to calculate the incubation period from the date of laying of last egg to the date of last hatching. Except where the individual young can be distinguished, the nestling period is best calculated from two periods (a) the last hatching to the first flying, which is the minimum and (b) the first hatching to the last flying, which is the maximum. It is also necessary to make allowance for the fact that most nests are only visited at intervals, usually daily. A statement of either incubation or nestling period as some definite number of days, without any margin, is therefore rarely justified — see also "British Birds" 39 : 66-70. The actual basic data can, however, be obtained with little trouble, and they are still unknown for some even of the commonest African birds.

(6) Very little has been recorded of the population densities of African birds, especially in the inner tropics. Census work is beset with difficulties, methods have to be fitted to habitats and none is free of objections (see a review by Lack, "Ibis" 1937 : 369-395, to which little can be added). Perhaps the most useful work in this connection would be to count the breeding birds on areas of not less than 10 acres, each area being selected as, so far as possible, homogeneous. One aspect of this work merits special attention, namely, the changes in bird-population that are brought about by large-scale agricultural development.

(7) Life-history studies have been made on very few African species and they offer an immense field of work. First attention might well be given to those families of birds which are peculiar to Africa, the touracos

and the colies; next might come such birds as the jacana, the finfoot, the wood-hoopoes. The weavers, which are so conspicuous and include both monogamous and polygamous species, provide splendid material for a comparative study. But there is no reason to neglect any of the most "ordinary" birds — buntings or warblers for example. The recent work of P. E. Brown and M. G. Davies on the Reed-warbler has shown what surprising features may exist in the biology of an "ordinary" bird; and on the whole choice of species might be guided mainly by observational opportunity. In this connection African observers can, under supervision, be of the utmost value, primarily for amassing local series of routine data.

Figures of nesting success are always worth recording, above all when the losses can be allocated to particular stages and causes.

(8) The parasitic birds form a group of special interest. Very little indeed has been recorded of the breeding habits of the honey-guides and of the parasitic weavers; every opportunity should be taken for observing them. More has been written about the resident African cuckoos, of which at least nine occur in Tanganyika, but not all of it is impeccable. A great deal remains to be learned about the cuckoos, especially their range of hosts, the adaptation of parasite's egg to host's, and the treatment of host's egg and young by the young parasite (see Friedmann's recent book on the African cuckoos in "Ibis" 1949 : 529-537).

(9) The food of most African birds is known only in the most general way. The study of bird food is not easy, evaluation is beset with difficulties (see "Ibis" 1948 : 361-381), and in Africa meets with the additional obstacle that the insect fauna is so imperfectly known. The study of bird food is in fact a specialist job; and is perhaps most practicable and most rewarding in a bird like the oxpecker. (30).

(10) Native names for birds are almost unrecorded except for the Sukuma (93) and the tribes from the Rufiji (20) northwards and inland to the Ulugurus and Usambara (45). It is worth while to try to ascertain the meaning of the native name, as throwing light upon the Africans' knowledge of the species and the features that strike them.

(11) Hardly any weights of African birds have been recorded : there seems to be nothing to add to (51). Anyone who shoots for the pot can amass some interesting data here. Sexes and immatures should be differentiated and dates recorded, because seasonal differences in weight may ultimately show themselves. It is impossible to accumulate too many weights for any particular species; the more there are the better the chance of some interesting generalization emerging.

In conclusion I should like to express my conviction that studies concentrated for the time being on a single species are likely to be more rewarding, both in intensity of interest and in ultimate value, than any others. Rowe's work on Verreaux's Eagle has shown how much can be accomplished by the busiest of administrators, given African assistance; and much can be done in this way simply on the birds breeding on and around the house in which one is living.

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Note

PATTERSON'S ELAND.

Patterson's Eland in Kilwa District, at least among the coastal people, is firmly associated with magical properties. No other animal is known to have such peculiarities, nor has any reason been forthcoming as to why the Eland alone should be so endowed.

It is believed that Eland can disappear under certain circumstances, usually when a single animal is travelling alone. If one crosses a grave in the forest, the tracks disappear on the far side, and in order to see them again it is necessary to pick grass from the grave and to rub it, crushed, over the face; whereupon the tracks can be seen again.

In the second instance a wounded Eland will split a sapling and pass through the split with the tracks disappearing on the far side. The leaves of the sapling have again to be rubbed over the face and the hunter can carry on with the following up.

At first I was told that only a specially trained man could recreate these hoofprints in either instance, but, on being pressed, they admitted that anyone could do so; hours of questioning could elicit no reason for such disappearing qualities except that over a wide area such properties were widely believed.

Perhaps the most impressive attribute of the Eland is the ceremony when a killed animal is about to be cut up for portage. The man who has cut the throat of the animal according to Muslim custom sits on the ribs with the legs pointing away from him and, without looking round, puts his hand into the stomach and brings out a handful of dung which he smears all over his face.

His assistants, who have also been standing with their backs to the animal at a distance, turn round then and come up to the hunter and, taking some of the dung from his hands, smear it over their own faces. The animal is then cut up without further ado and taken away to be eaten. However, there is a universal reluctance to eat Eland meat if this ceremony has not been performed and indeed on any other occasion if other meat is available.

R.E.S.T.

TENZI.

By J. W. T. Allen

A number of Tenzi have been published from time to time and I have been asked to explain briefly what Tenzi are. A great deal of research is required and I should like to make it clear that this note is neither authoritative nor exhaustive.

Utenzi (plur. Tenzi), Northern dialect Utendi, tendi, means literally a composition.

It is a verse form, probably of Arabic origin, used for narrative poetry on a historical or religious subject. The language, once the reader has mastered the dialect in which they are traditionally written, is very straightforward, containing none of the involved syntax of lyric, and this makes them suitable for the student who wishes to make his first attempts to master Swahili poetry. The story is vividly, even racily told, moving swiftly to its end. But tenzi have not the speed of Ballads and are too short to be compared with Epics.

The prosody is simply and like all simple forms it can be handled magnificently by a master, but in the hands of a poetaster it can produce very tedious poor reading.

To take a single stanza as an example of the metre (Kutawafu kwa Nabii 247).

Kwa Kherini, nenda zangu
Sina tena ulimwengu
utimia muda wangu
kwa kherini nyote pia

Farewell, I go my way, I am no longer
in the world, my time is fulfilled.
farewell, all of you.

The stanza (beti) of most tenzi is in this form. It contains 32 syllables (mizani) divided into four lines (vipande), which have a rhyming scheme aaab, cccb, dddb, etc. The last line of each stanza (b) ends in a double vowel in all tenzi that I have seen except one; but these vowels need not rhyme to our ear so that the stanza may end in iya, eya, ua, owa, etc. In reading or recitation it is customary to give added length to both these vowels.

Each kipande consists of — — | —/— — | — ; but the immense freedom to move the standard stress frees the form from any feeling of monotony. I have found it impossible to transfer the metre into English. Any attempt to do so leads to something that can, and therefore will be, read as the metre of Hiawatha, to which the Tenzi metre has in fact no resemblance whatever.

When written well in Arabic script each stanza takes one line and the vipande are divided by ornamental marks inserted down the page before the words are written.

Manuscripts, often of some age and considerable beauty, can be found anywhere on the coast in the custody of people who would not be expected to be cultured or even literate by those who do not know them. Fishermen often have quite large collections.

It is very difficult to date Tenzi. I have little doubt that some of them are of great antiquity, and I am told that the form is at least 600 years old in Swahili. But as copies are made the copyists tend to modernise them and often a poem is attributed to a man who in fact only revised it. Thus in v. 11 of Kiyama the author definitely states that he translated it from the Arabic of Abdallah Abbas, and this means that the Swahili verse is his own. But in the most complete copy of Abdur Rahman that I possess he states that the poem was written by his grandfather and that he has restored it from imperfect memory to preserve it from oblivion. At least one of the other copies of this poem that I possess is certainly not derived from this recension.

The following list of known Tenzi may be of interest. I should be glad to hear of anyone who can add to it. My own collection is marked *.

*Ayyubu	402 Stanzas	Published with translation by A. Werner. Bull. Sch. Or. Stud. 1926: unpublished translation by R. A.
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*Abdur Rahman	1000	Unpublished translation by R. A.
*Herkal (Heraclius)	1200+	Published with German translation some years ago. Without references I cannot say where or by whom.

*Amuri
Isipani
Shufaka
*Sufiyani 1000+
Miraji
Ayesha
Isa
*Seyyidna Hosein bin Ali 1200+

*al Akida		
*Mwana Kuponu		Published with translation by A. Werner. Azania Press.
*Kiyama		Published with translation by R. Allen, T.N.R.

Mkunumbi		
Nasara wa Arabu		
*Kutawafu kwa Nabii		Unpublished translation by R. Allen.

*Vita vya Wadachi kutamalaki Mrima

In addition there are poems in the same metre called Hadithi but not tenzi, for a reason that I have been unable to discover.

Hasina
Ngamia na Paa
Barasisi



Mikidadi na Mayasa

Published with translation by W.
Hichens. Azania Press.

Sheikh Ali
Liongo Fumo
Wajeremani

[Copies of this introductory note have been inserted in "Utenzi wa Kiyama," obtainable from the Society, price Shs. 2/—Ed.]

Dear Sir,

The photograph opposite was taken in 1938, in the Chief's house at Nyantakara in Southern Biharamulo District. It shows part of a very fine and also amusing wall-painting which decorates the whole of the interior of one room and is thought to represent the wedding of Crown Prince Wilhelm of Prussia. I was unable to obtain any information about the artist except that he was believed to have come from Zanzibar. It would be interesting if any reader could confirm whether the fresco still survives and could obtain further pictures including some of the finely prancing leopards which enliven the scene.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd.) H. F. I. ELLIOTT.

Dear Sir,

Some of your readers may be interested in the following citation in respect of the award of the Victoria Cross taken from the London Gazette of the 8th June, 1917 :—

"THE VICTORIA CROSS

No. 1630 Sergeant Frederick Charles BOOTH

British South Afr. Police, attd. Rhodesia Native Regt.

For most conspicuous bravery during an attack, in thick bush, on the enemy position.

Under very heavy rifle fire, Sergeant Booth went forward alone and brought in a man who was dangerously wounded.

Later he rallied native troops who were badly disorganised, and brought them to the firing line.

This N.C.O. has on many previous occasions displayed the greatest bravery, coolness and resource in action, and has set a splendid example of pluck, endurance and determination.

12th February 1917 at Johannesburg, Nr. Songea, E. Africa."

Yours faithfully,
R. M. BELL.

The Editor,

Tanganyika Notes and Records.

Dear Sir,

In the most interesting note by Mr. Allen on Tenzi published in this number, the author states that he has found it impossible to transfer the metre into English. It seems, however, that the metre does have considerable similarity to early English metrical verse. Perhaps this might best be illustrated by an example which is taken from Piers the Plowman :

“In a sómer sésón . whan sóft was the sónnë,
 I shópe me in shróudës . as I a shépe wérë,
 In hábite as an hérmite . vnhóly of wórkës,
 Went wyde in this wórlð . wóndres to hérë.
 Ac on a Máy mórnyng . on Maluerne húllës
 Me byfél a férly . of fáiry me thóugtë;
 I was wéry forwándred . and wént me to réstë
 Vnder a bródë bánkë . bi a bórnës sídë,
 And ás I láy and léned . and lóked in the wateres.
 I slómbred in a slépyng . it swéyued so mérye.”

It may be noted that the characteristics of this verse, according to Skeat, include :—

1. Each half line contains two or more loud syllables.
2. The initial letters which are common to two or more of these loud syllables are called “rime-letters” and each line should have two rime-letters in the first and one in the second half.

It will be noticed that this scheme will produce more syllables than are present in the Swahili verse, due to the different structure of English which has to include such words as “of the”, but have a beat something like aaab, cccz, dddb, etc.

Yours truly,
 W. D. RAYMOND.

