

TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

No. 32

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Editorial

MEMBERS of some years' standing will be glad to see that the Government Printer has again taken on the printing of the Journal and that this issue appears once more in its old format. It is still, however, very late in making its appearance and we can scarcely hope to recover the ground we have lost in the past until the Government Press is installed in its new quarters. Nevertheless we hope that several new features in this number will recompense members for its late appearance and prove of value. There is first, the Presidential address recorded at pages 1 to 9, in which Mr. A. F. Morrison reviewed recent scientific progress made in the Territory; there is a list of publications, relating to Tanganyika, which appeared in 1951, at pages 9 to 10; the Rules of the Society are printed immediately before this Editorial; we have, after a lapse of several years, again included reviews of books of special interest to Tanganyikans; and we have illustrated the articles published wherever possible.



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A Review of Recent Scientific Progress in Tanganyika

Being an Address by the outgoing President, Mr. A. F. Morrison, at the Annual General Meeting of the Tanganyika Society held on 22nd January, 1952

I PRESENT a new feature in the history of this Society which I hope will be of interest. The aims of your Society include the study of Tanganyika, with special reference to its history, anthropology, ethnology, natural history, geology and geography and I think it is fitting that, at the conclusion of the Society's year, there should be a review of these subjects and, with that in mind and also with the idea that I am perhaps setting a precedent and future Presidents of your Society may choose the same subject for an annual address, I have chosen to review on your behalf recent scientific developments in the Territory.

This address would have been impossible without the cordial co-operation and supply of material by a number of Government departments and individual scientific workers. In particular, by grateful thanks are due to the Conservator of Forests, the Director of Medical Services, the Director of the E.A. Malarial Unit, the Director of the E.A. Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Research and Reclamation Organization, the Director of Agriculture, the Government Chemist, the Director of Geological Survey, the Director of the E.A. Meteorological Department and individually to Dr. W. J. Eggeling, Dr. D. Bagster-Wilson, Dr. W. Calton, Mr. J. R. F. Soper, Dr. D. A. Davies, Mr. G. Hunter and Mr. J. G. Williams.

In Agriculture, research has been carried on in a number of directions and several interesting discoveries made. It has been discovered that the banding disease of sisal, which causes considerable loss of fibre, is due to potash deficiency. Applications of potassic fertilizers effect complete control of the disease and they are being used on an increasingly large scale, since the additional yields obtained are worth far more than the cost of the fertilizers.

An interesting discovery has also been made in connection with coffee growing; potentially high-yielding clones of arabica coffee do not give such marked responses to ameliorative soil treatments as do clones with a lower potential under unimproved conditions. In other words, if you begin with clones having a low yield, it is a great advantage to apply ameliorative soil treatment, but those clones of an initially high yield or, rather, generic capacity, give a comparatively smaller increase when compared with the additional

expenditure involved. The multiple stem system of pruning increases yield per acre and reduces pruning costs to one quarter of the expense incurred on single stems.

Eleven biotypes of wheat stem rust have now been found; no variety resistant to them all has yet been bred but is proceeding.

In cotton, very satisfactory control of American bollworm and stainers has been achieved by the use of a dust containing D.D.T. and B.H.C. The latter ingredient has to be included to control aphids, the predators of which are unfortunately killed by the D.D.T.

Plant analysis work is being expanded in the Government Chemical Laboratory. Mbosi coffee, which frequently shows "black tip" or death of the growing point, has been studied but no conclusive results have yet been reached though certain mineral deficiencies in maladjustments have been noted. The composition of healthy and unhealthy bananas, citrus and tobacco leaves is also to be investigated. The balance of nitrogen and potash in the tobacco plant, recently shown to be an important factor in tobacco quality, may be amenable to investigation by plant analysis. These investigations may have a considerable bearing on the calcium nutrition of tropical crops. The composition of Trigona wax, which is an increasingly common adulterant of beeswax, has been investigated.

In Anthropology and Sociology, the study of the organization of certain Indian communities in Tanganyika and Zanzibar has been undertaken by Mr. D. F. Pocock. Sociological work among the Haya tribe in the Bukoba area has been carried out by Mrs. Reining; among the Ha tribe in the Western Province by Mr. and Mrs. Scherrer; among the Barabaig tribe in the Northern Province by Mr. G. M. Wilson and among the Zinza tribe by Mr. W. Tylor. Dr. Robert Gray has this year completed his ethnographic survey of the Mbugwe tribe.

Of the Government sociologists Mr. H. Cory completed his investigations among the Sukuma people and arrangements were made for the publication of his work on "Sukuma Law and Custom". Towards the end of the year he started on a similar study among the Nyamwezi tribe. Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke was engaged on a study of the sociological aspects of land usage in the heavily-populated highland areas of northern Tanganyika, with particular reference to the deterrents which have hitherto operated against migration to and settlement in the adjacent plains.

Mr. W. H. Whiteley has studied the social and political organization of the Makua tribe and has investigated various problems among the Makonde tribe in the Southern Province. Mention must also be made of the work by the staff of the King George V Memorial Museum. The Curator has made

a number of safaris and has collected valuable material for the Museum and has advanced the study of material culture among the Dorobo, Sandawe, Konongo and Nyika tribes.

Research in forestry in Tanganyika is of too recent development to enable me to report many actual results, in fact research has only begun within the last two years and is in the organizing and preparatory stage. Work has begun on the erection at Moshi of a pilot sawmill, a pressure impregnation plant and seasoning kilns for the investigation of the Territory's timbers and these it is believed will be in operation in 1952. A Silviculturist has been appointed, who is stationed at Lushoto and will be in charge of all silvicultural research and investigation.

The Forest Department has plans to give special priority to the investigation of the regeneration of high forests whether by natural means or by direct planting, and methods of attaining the proper management of dry miombo (containing muninga).

In Botanical Literature, one must notice the recent publication of a "Check List of the Forest Trees and Timbers of Tanganyika Territory" compiled by Messrs. Brennan and Greenway (of the Imperial Forestry Institute and of Amani) with the assistance of local officers. This is a really outstanding work of the greatest value to all who deal with the Territory's plants.

I am happy to be able to announce that the long-awaited project of an East African Flora is now nearing fruition. Under the title of "Flora of East Tropical Africa", it is being produced by the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and the first part is in the Press.

In the Rau Nursery at Moshi, a new fungal disease, Violet Root Rot (*Helicobasidium compactum*) wiped out all the mvule striplings in 1950. In consequence, the nursery has had to be abandoned.

Some investigations of insect damage to timbers have been carried out.

In Entomology, a curious case of inter-specific competition of some considerable economic importance has been discovered in Zanzibar, which is of interest to Tanganyika. The story begins with the problem of the gummy lesions found in coconuts, which have been mystifying mycologists for over twenty-five years. It has now been discovered that the culprit is not a fungus, but a sucking bug (*Theraptus* sp.) which not only causes the gummy lesions which are found in the mature nuts by puncturing them at an immature stage, but is also responsible for a heavy fall of embryo nuts, which greatly reduces potential yields. The "maji moto" ant (*Oecophylla*) preys on the bug and, when such ants are present, palms usually yield well. But not always, since there are two other common species of ant which drive out *Oecophylla* or prevent it from forming colonies. An Entomologist has been

posted to Zanzibar to seek the solution of this complicated problem of biological balance.

On the medical side of entomological research, progress has been made in the study of the life cycle of adult vectors of malaria and the ecology of their larvæ. The work on adult anopheline vectors has gone a long way in clarifying the time spent by an adult indoors and out of doors and this has considerable relevance to the use of residual insecticides. It also appears probable that we should now be able to estimate the age of an anopheline population and this information is likely to be of very great value in assessing the progress of anti-mosquito measures.

In Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Research, the game destruction experiment which was begun in 1945 has now been concluded. Several parties of cattle have been stationed in the area for about a year after cessation of shooting and remain quite healthy. This evidence is destructive of the theory that tsetse flies might maintain themselves on plant juices or minor fauna and avian blood.

Considerable progress has been made in the study of tsetse behaviour and requirements in relation to their habitat by the use of laboratory techniques. Messrs. Culwick and Ford have demonstrated that hungry flies in a long chamber in the laboratory show a preference in flight for the bright white side of the chamber as opposed to the opposite dark black side and, also, a similar preference for a side consisting of alternating white and black bands over the opposite dark side. At the same time, a settling preference has been shown for the side with the broken pattern of black and white as opposed to either the dark or the bright alternative side. Such preferences, if exhibited by tsetse in the field, would eventually lead to the concentration of the flies in the ecotonal areas of broken bush which has been observed. In addition, these experiments show signs of a diurnal rhythm of phototaxis which has also been demonstrated in another investigation. Messrs. A. T. Culwick, H. Fairbairn and R. E. Culwick, in a paper entitled "The Genetic Relationship of the Polymorphic Trypanosomes and its Practical Implications", consider that, in the light of their experimental results *T. rhodesiense*, *T. brucei* and *T. gambiense* are variations of the same species.

The development of the Mineral Resources in the Territory, which is taking place on an expanding scale at the present time, has been accompanied by a very great increase in the amount of geological research and in the knowledge of the geology of the Territory. Much of Tanganyika is covered by rocks of the Primitive Systems and it has been on these formations, the most likely for the discovery of mineral deposits, that work has been largely concentrated. As well as routine geological mapping of the large areas still unsurveyed, special studies of selected problems, such as the pegmatite

deposits, are in progress. Valuable assistance in this work has been rendered by the Economic Co-operation Administration staff attached to the Geological Survey and it is hoped that mineral production will be greatly stimulated as a result of the knowledge gained by this work.

Full use has and is being made of the most modern methods in geological exploration. Especially noteworthy is the increased efficiency in geological mapping resulting from the use of aerial photographs for large areas of the Territory hitherto unsurveyed and the increased use of geophysical methods in elucidating underground structures and deposits. In the laboratories, field investigations are followed up by metallurgical and chemical researches, in order to discover how best the various minerals and ores may be separated and utilized.

Of the sedimentary deposits of the Territory, the Karroo System is perhaps the most interesting and of vast potential economic importance, as it contains considerable deposits of coal. Work has been concentrated mainly in the Lake Nyasa region, where the C.D.C., carrying on investigations initiated by the Geological Survey of Tanganyika, has proved the presence of workable deposits of good quality coal in the Ruhuhu area. The surveying of other coalfields has also been carried out, in order that a true picture of Tanganyika's resources of this important mineral may be obtained.

On the Mesozoic sediments of the coastal belt, emphasis has been laid on the occurrence of limestone, kaolin, gypsum and other similar deposits. More recently, however, oil companies have shown a renewed interest in this area and their staffs have been actively engaged in a search for structures favouring the accumulation of oil.

The survey of the Tertiary and Recent volcanic rocks is continuing and the results of this work, specially the tectonic relationship of the lavas and the rift valleys, are likely to throw some light on the nature and mechanism of the East African Rift System, on which many different theories have been put forward from time to time. Reconnaissances have been carried out in the crater of Kilimanjaro, where valuable observations were made concerning the sulphur deposits occurring therein and the geological history of the mountain. Although the bulk of the volcanic rocks is probably of Tertiary age, evidence in both the Kilimanjaro and Rungwe areas, where eruptions have taken place in historical times, indicate that a considerable amount of activity can be regarded in terms of hundreds of years, rather than in geological times.

ARCHAEOLOGY: The rock paintings of the Kondoa district (or some of them) have been known for a considerable time, but this review would be incomplete without mention of the interesting articles on this subject published

in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 29. Gratitude must be expressed to Mr. Fosbrooke for his valuable work in the preservation of the paintings and the archæological sites and to Mrs. Ginner for their reproduction in a form which can be conveniently studied. During the year, Mr. Fosbrooke addressed the Society on the subject of the Kondoa rock paintings. The problem of the age of the paintings has not yet been solved, but is being studied by Dr. and Mrs. L. S. B. Leakey.

METEOROLOGY: During the period January to April, 1951, experiments were carried out at Kongwa in the artificial making of rain (Davies, Hepburn and Sansom, 1951). The seeding agent employed was silver iodide, which was delivered by two main methods. One was the impregnation of charcoal with silver iodide burning at ground level in specially constructed generators and the other method was to carry small charges of gunpowder impregnated with silver iodide into the clouds by means of small hydrogen-filled balloons. Each charge has a time fuse which causes it to explode at a pre-arranged height. While detailed results were not obtained, there seems to be definite evidence that artificial stimulation of rain was produced. One important result which was noticed was the fact that over-seeding the clouds results in the inhibition of rainfall instead of its stimulation. It also appeared that, when ground generators were used, delayed action might occur, perhaps due to particles of silver iodide being caught in the vegetation on the earth's surface and these being later released by wind action.

There was some evidence to show that quantities released in this way might be sufficient to stimulate rain. Ground generators might first produce over-seeding and less rainfall on the following day or days, but in a few days stimulate rain by the delayed action described. Further experiments are contemplated, and are directed to producing more rain in the rainy season and increasing the number of days of rainfall. There is no possibility of producing rain from a blue sky or even from every cloud. It appears that cumulonimbus clouds must have reached a certain stage of development before any result can be expected.

Rain gauges and snow gauges have been established at various heights up to 16,000 ft. on Kilimanjaro and, in collaboration with the Lake Victoria Fisheries Service, the Meteorological Department has installed some rain gauges on the southern shores of Lake Victoria. All of these stations will materially advance knowledge of rainfall in the areas.

New techniques of weather forecasting are being developed, resulting in an improvement in the forecasting service to aviation, farmers, shipping, etc. Daily meteorological broadcasts of conditions in the Indian Ocean are made for reception by ships at sea. The Cyclone Warning Organization is an important aspect of this work. The distribution of forecasts to farmers

is more difficult. Forecasts for Tanganyika are broadcast daily from the Cable and Wireless Broadcasting Station, Nairobi, but reception of these broadcasts in many parts of Tanganyika is poor. To overcome these difficulties, a Farming Association in Tanganyika has recently arranged for special forecasts to be received weekly by telegram. In Tanganyika, the provision of a forecast service involves not only problems in the preparation of the forecasts themselves, but the problem of distribution. Investigation is proceeding in the hope of solving these problems.

In Soil Science, investigations of the Head Waters area of the Pangani River basin have demonstrated a soil sequence fitting the "catena" concept. From about 6,000 ft. on Kilimanjaro to the surrounding plain, the general sequence consists of highly humic brown soil, reddish calcium carbonate-accumulating soils and greyish calcium carbonate and soluble salt-accumulating soils. In brief, the constituents washing through the higher-lying soils distribute themselves across the slope according to their solubilities. Except for salt content and increasing aridity, fertility improves downhill. Practical problems with these soils are to maintain a good vegetative cover on the highest lying soils, to get enough water to utilize the reddish mid-slope soils, and to remove excess soluble salts from the lowest lying soils. There is evidence that the salty soils may have an unusually high potash content. The reclamation of these soils would be of the highest scientific and practical interest.

Professor C. G. T. Morrison and Mrs. Wright, of Oxford, have investigated soils in Sukumaland. The main interest was in the "Itogoro" or "hardpan" type of soil. It appears that, in a certain topographic zone intermediate between the mbuga, which is generally Calcium carbonate-accumulating and the murram soils, which are iron oxide-accumulating, there may be silica precipitation which is responsible for the development of "hardpan". Professor Morrison's soils are being investigated chemically and the results may make a considerable contribution to tropical soil theory and also indicate the most suitable means of breaking up this layer which renders such land infertile.

Mr. A. M. Spurr, of the Geological Department, has made a considerable contribution to the knowledge of Mbozi soils. There appears to be a basic Miocene sequence of red earths, iron oxide-accumulating reddish soils and hydromorphic types which have been more or less buried by a fall of volcanic ash and in which the same laterizing sequence is tending to develop. The ashy soils are the better because of their more open physical condition.

The Government Chemical Laboratory has collaborated with the Central African Rail Link Development Survey in the investigation of soils in the districts covered by the Development Survey. The report on the soil is not yet available, but interesting preliminary results of a very general nature

may be mentioned. It appears that the Usangu Plains require irrigation rather than drainage, whereas the Kilombero valley requires drainage rather than irrigation.

Work is in progress at the Government Chemical Laboratory in collaboration with the Soil Conservation Service on the causes of the unproductiveness of some subsoils when exposed by bench terracing. A nitrogen shortage has been demonstrated, but it appears likely that other elements are involved and the problem is being tackled by plant analysis.

At the same laboratory, soil permeability is being studied in relation to dam construction and a series of tests are in hand on the physical conditions of soils under tarmac, so that laboratory bearing tests can be more closely related to Tropical field conditions.

ZOOLOGY: One of the most interesting recent occurrences has been the re-discovery of Hoffman's Sunbird at Morogoro. This interesting Sunbird, *Cinnyris shelleyi hofmanni Reichenow*, was formerly known only from the type. It was recently reported as quite common by Mr. T. Andersen, of Morogoro. A number of females have been obtained, so that it has been possible to describe the female plumage. This is of interest in that there appears a faint indication of the red chest-band characteristic of the male, a feature unique in this group.

Mr. J. G. Williams has described a new race of Royal Sunbird, which he has named *Cinnyris regius anderseni*, which occurs on the eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika. I learn that Mr. Williams' forthcoming monograph of the "Sunbirds of East Africa" has made considerable progress.

The first part of Messrs. Mackworth-Praed and Grant's "Birds of East Africa" is expected to be published towards the end of the year. This will be of special value to workers in Tanganyika, as the Territory has not been covered by any authoritative general work since Reichenow's "Die Vögel Afrikas" and "Die Vögel Ost-Afrikas" at the beginning of the century.

A work which will be of inestimable value to students of the land mammals of Tanganyika is Messrs. Swynnerton and Hayman's "Checklist of the Land Mammals of the Tanganyika Territory and the Zanzibar Protectorate". Within the region dealt with it expands and brings up-to-date G. M. Allen's "Checklist of African Mammals". There is a comprehensive bibliography, gazetteer and a full index, greatly enhancing the value of this notable achievement.

In this short address, it has only been possible to touch upon a few of the aspects of research which are now proceeding in the Territory. Workers in the various fields which I have attempted to touch will be conscious of

many omissions and there are many subjects on which research is proceeding on which I have been unable to obtain information. I only hope that those whose work has been omitted will forgive me.

As this is the first of a series of annual reviews, I could not compare progress over the past twelve months with progress in previous years. Indeed, I should perhaps emphasize that some of the results outlined were reached in 1950 and it would be incorrect to call this address a review of 1951. Nevertheless, from this short sketch, it is clear that great progress is being made in Tanganyika. Much of that progress has been spurred on from economic motives. It is well that that is so. Progress in research is bound up with the economic and cultural development of the Territory. In this period of great economic development in particular it is a matter for satisfaction that the search for pure knowledge is not lagging behind.

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The Friday Mosque on Kilwa Kisiwani was in use as a place of worship until recently.



*A History of Kilwa: Part II**

By Sir John Gray

D'ALMEIDA'S fleet dropped anchor off Kilwa on July 22nd, 1505. There are somewhat conflicting accounts as to the events which followed on the fleet's arrival. It is clear that on their arrival all the ships fired off their guns, ostensibly by way of a salute, but the inhabitants would appear to have put a different interpretation upon the act. According to Barros it was decided to send Muhammad Ankoni on board the flagship with a present of fruit. D'Almeida complained to him of the discourtesy of their ruler in failing to acknowledge his salute, either by firing a return salute or else by hoisting the Portuguese royal standard, which had been left with him by Vasco da Gama. To this a reply was sent that a Portuguese captain had seized a vessel coming from Sofala, which was carrying the standard, and that consequently he could not hoist the flag. D'Almeida promised to investigate this complaint and in the meantime requested the "king" to meet him, as he had previously met Vasco da Gama, upon the water.

Amir Ibrahim promised to meet the Portuguese Commander and then made various excuses for not doing so. One such excuse was that, "when he was getting up to come to him, a black cat had crossed his path, which amongst them is a well-known omen showing that on that day nothing lasting could be accomplished between them." With regard to D'Almeida's demand of tribute Amir Ibrahim replied "that he had paid it merely as ransom for his own person, when the Admiral (sc. Vasco da Gama) detained him in the boat, when he came to see him, and not as tribute paid of his own free will."

After holding a council of war D'Almeida decided to land the crews of his ships and to take the town by force of arms. On July 24th, the attackers landed in two parties. One party under D'Almeida's son was ordered to make its way along the shore to the palace which stood at the north-east corner of the island. The other party under D'Almeida himself made its way through the town to the same place. According to some accounts the Portuguese encountered little or no opposition. According to others there was some street and house-to-house fighting, but one assumes that this fighting cannot have been very severe. Whichever version of the facts is correct, the two parties eventually joined forces in front of the palace. Whilst they were looking for a weak spot by which to gain entry to the palace, a Moor appeared at the top of a tower brandishing the Portuguese royal standard and shouting: "Portugal!" (As Barros points out, this was the self-same standard which Amir Ibrahim had

*Part I appeared in the issue for July, 1950, No. 31—*Ed.*

previously alleged had been seized by a Portuguese captain in a vessel coming from Sofala). On seeing the standard the Portuguese stopped fighting. The Moor then announced that Amir Ibrahim was coming at once to place himself in the hands of the Portuguese as a vassal of their king and begged that the fighting should cease. D'Almeida gave orders for the operations to be stayed. "During this time", Barros tells us, "the Moor, who was on the tower, did nothing but cry out and wave his arms, as if he was calling to somebody. By so doing he deceived everybody, because in addition to waving his arms he placed the banner against a battlement, making it appear that he was going to call the king, but he never came back again. The reason of the Moor doing this was to hold our men in play, whilst the king made his escape by another door, which led to some palm groves, where he had already sent his women and treasure, so that he might cross thence to the mainland in some canoes which were there ready." When the Portuguese realized that they had been hoodwinked, they broke open a door of the palace. A trail of things dropped in the hasty flight of the occupants led thence to a palm grove, the trees of which were so dense that D'Almeida prevented his men from continuing the pursuit.

D'Almeida then gave orders for the town to be sacked, having first of all given instructions that a party should be posted at Muhammad Ankoni's house so that it might be spared from the general pillage. During the next three days the houses and property of the rest of the inhabitants were pillaged by the Portuguese and many of the inhabitants were made captive.

In the meantime Muhammad Ankoni had a secret interview one night with Francisco D'Almeida on board the latter's flagship. He explained to D'Almeida that the opposition had been due to the instigation of certain merchants from outside Kilwa, whose evil counsel had prevailed with the Amir Ibrahim. He next told the Portuguese commander that the Amir was an usurper, who had killed Al Fudail, the lawful Sultan and would have killed the rightful heir, a child of about five years of age, if his mother had not fled to the mainland with him. For reasons already given, the truth of this latter story is very much open to doubt, but D'Almeida was only too ready to accept it as gospel truth. After being given this information he held a council of war, at which he proposed that Muhammad Ankoni should be set up as Sultan in place of the fugitive Ibrahim. Pedro Ferreira Fogaça, the captain-designate of the fortress which was about to be erected at Kilwa, would appear to have demurred to the proposal. As he explained in a letter which he wrote to the king of Portugal about a month later, all the islands from Mozambique to Zanzibar were according to his information under the overlordship of the ruler of Kilwa, and if no new ruler were to be appointed, then these islands would be less ready to combine, and would be easier to be subdued by the Portuguese. Fogaça, however, was in a minority and it was

agreed by the council that Muhammad Ankoni should have the vacant post. Accordingly Muhammad was sent for and informed of the honour to be bestowed upon him. He professed to be greatly surprised, but not unnaturally did not decline the honour. He did, however, request that the late Sultan Al Fudail's son might be nominated his successor. Almeida readily agreed to this. His son was on the mainland only half a league from the land. He was accordingly sent for and brought over to Kilwa for the ceremonial coronation of Muhammad Ankoni. That ceremony took place in front of all the Moors, D'Almeida placing upon Muhammad's head a crown of gold, which had been intended for the king of Cochin. Muhammad took an oath in Muslim fashion that he would be loyal to the king of Portugal and pay tribute to him. At the same time D'Almeida caused an oath to be taken that Al Fudail's son should be his heir. We are told by Goes that Francisco D'Almeida caused these acts to be recorded and drawn up in Arabic and Portuguese in public instruments and signed by Muhammad Ankoni and all the chief men of the land, as well as by the captains of the Portuguese fleet and other persons then present, but the said instruments "have been lost, as have many other things worthy of remembrance, because they were not deposited (at Lisbon) in the Torre do Tombo (Record Office), which was the proper place intended for them." When news of the ceremony reached Lisbon, the King caused it to be depicted "on pieces of tapestry which were displayed in King Manuel's chamber on feast days." But the ceremony did not go off entirely free from contretemps. An "old Moor" showed "contempt and disrespect for the person of the king" and was consequently arrested and deported from Kilwa.

In recording Muhammad Ankoni's request that Al Fudail's son should be recognized as his successor, Faria y Sousa says "the noble unselfishness of this savage puts to shame the outrageous ambition of so many Catholics." But it is to be feared that Muhammad Ankoni was no more disinterested in making this request than he was in making many others. As the narrative of earlier events has shown and as later pages will also show, there was always a strong legitimist party in Kilwa, who desired a member of the blood royal as their ruler and who only tolerated the usurpation of power by the Amir or Wazir as a temporary necessity in certain circumstances. For the better securing of his own position the Amir Ibrahim had always held out that he was merely a regent and that the post of Sultan was only temporarily in abeyance until such time as Al Fudail's son should attain years of discretion and he had never dared to seize the throne for himself. Muhammad Ankoni was an alien and had never held so important a post as had the Amir Ibrahim. He depended for security of tenure on the goodwill of the hated Portuguese. Therefore worldly wisdom had him pose as a legitimist, who in no way disputed the right to the throne of a claimant of the blood royal, and who, like the Amir Ibrahim, was to be regarded merely as a regent. It

was the same mundane prudence, which induced Muhammad Ankoni immediately after his coronation to ask for the release of all the inhabitants who had been made prisoners at the taking of the town. His request was granted. Thereafter many people who had taken refuge in the neighbouring palm groves began to drift back to the town.⁽²¹⁾

After these ceremonies Francisco D'Almeida set about complying with his instructions to build a fort. His time was limited because he had to cross the Indian Ocean in order to reach his final destination before the south-west monsoon failed him. Before he could do so, he had to proceed to Mombasa to deal with the extremely recalcitrant ruler and people of that place. There was no time for quarrying and dressing of special stone for the fort at Kilwa. Almeida accordingly decided to make use of materials obtained from existing buildings. The obvious site for this fort was somewhere in the vicinity of the ancient building which the local inhabitants now call Husuni. As already mentioned, Vespucci tells us that on the day the town was sacked "we found outside the town a castle with four towers, which was fully half built." Later in this narrative he says that "outside this town their king had built a stronghold or castle, which was called (sc. by the Portuguese) the castle of Saint James and we left a hundred valiant men there to guard and keep it." Barros tells us that in erecting the fort "the first thing to be done was to pull down seven or eight houses adjoining the wall of that part of the city so as to unmask the towers for the better defence of the fortress." An anonymous member of Almeida's expedition tells us that "we made a fortress at Kilwa of one of the better houses, pulling down all the houses round it and we completed bastions and loopholes for cannon with all that pertains thereto." As M. H. Dorman tells us, Husuni is now "in a very dilapidated state as if the fort had at some time been sacked." What would appear to be clear is that it was extensively quarried in order to supply building materials for the Portuguese fortress of Santiago (Saint James), which was hastily constructed by Almeida just across the gully to the east of Husuni in the short space of twenty or, according to Goes, sixteen days.*

We are told by Barros that "the first three days were spent in taking the city and doing honour to the new king, Muhammad Ankoni. The next day after this the commander-in-chief set to work upon the fortress. . . . All this was done in the space of twenty days and the fortress was called Saint' Iago (Saint James), because our Lord had given us the victory over the city on the eve of that Apostle's feast day. The principal workmen employed upon this labour were the captains of the ships, to whom Don Francisco

*The Rev. A. G. Mathew considers that this is not the fort built so hurriedly by D'Almeida, "for one reason out of many, the style shows it to be nearly two generations later". He thinks that the "castle" was probably the fort called Santiago, being refashioned by the Portuguese on the site of an older fortress.—*Ed.*

(D'Almeida) allotted turns for this duty. When it came to his own turn, he took one side of the hand barrow and Lourenço de Brito or Manuel Pascanha the other, because every one assisted his companion in this task, which was carried out by one and all amid much pleasantry, jesting, joking and singing."

"Finally, when the building of the fortress was completed, Don Francisco left it to the following persons to govern it: Pero Ferreira Fogaça, son of Fernao Fogaça, as captain, Francisco Coutinho, a native of Alcobaça as chief bailiff, Fernao Cotrim as factor and all the other necessary officers, together with the soldiers, to the number of one hundred and fifty men (sc. in all). He also left for the service of the fortress Gonçalo Vaz de Goes, together with his caravel, to guard the coast and also a brigantine, which was afterwards to be equipped and to be at the disposal of the fortress of Sofala."

In the middle of August, 1505, Almeida's fleet set sail from Kilwa for Mombasa, which place they sacked, and thence to India. Shortly after Almeida's departure the fugitive Amir Ibrahim, "seeking to cause the death of Muhammad Ankoni, ordered a Moor to go into the palace to kill him. When this latter set about the business, although he acted like a brave man, he could do nothing more than wound him with a dagger in the brawn of the arm, of which wound he recovered, and the other paid for his daring by being cut in pieces".

On August 31st, 1506, Pero Ferreira Fogaça, the captain of the fortress of Santiago, penned a long letter to the King of Portugal. A summary thereof still exists in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon. The writer had many complaints to make. Early in his letter he explained that "the king was doing what little appears to him to be necessary" and complained of "the little use that the king of Kilwa was". In particular he would do nothing to assist in putting the fort into a proper state of defence. Fogaça even went so far as to allege that Muhammad Ankoni had entered into a conspiracy with Amir Ibrahim "to steal the fort". We know of nothing to support this last allegation, but the earlier allegations may well have been true. Muhammad Ankoni fully realized his intense unpopularity amongst many of the inhabitants of Kilwa. He had no desire to increase that unpopularity by associating himself overmuch with the measures taken by the army of occupation. In the circumstances it is not surprising to hear that he limited his co-operation with the Portuguese to what little appeared to be necessary.

Fogaça's letter informs us of one matter in which Muhammad Ankoni and his Portuguese overlords were soon at cross purposes. Almeida had brought out with him a number of Franciscan friars. When Kilwa was captured, they had landed and raised two Crosses, beneath which they had chanted a *Te Deum*. Most of them had continued with Almeida on his voyage to India, but two of them had remained at Kilwa. A church had

been built and the friars set about the task of evangelizing the inhabitants. After a year's labour, Fogaça reported that "forty men and women had become Christians, and the king had requested me not to consent to their becoming Christians, because they were slaves, and that by the laws of the kingdom his consent was necessary, but I did not think I ought to refuse them the water of baptism". There were other signs that the activities of the Franciscans were resented. Fogaça had also to report that a Christian had been killed by a Moor and that the writer had caused the murderer to be hanged.

On December 22nd, 1506, Fogaça penned another very long letter to his king. Quarrels had broken out with the Arabs and also among the members of the garrison. The Portuguese in Kilwa were short of provisions—and more particularly of salt. Provisions had to be obtained from islands as far distant as Pemba and the Comoros and visiting ships were proving a heavy drain on their slender resources.

Relying on the statement that "Fakaia", who was a brother of Muhammad Ankoni, was intending to proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca, Fogaça had decided to send with him an Arabic speaking Christian, named "Trogymam" (sc. dragoman or interpreter) in order that he might get in contact with Prester John. The two got no further than Mombasa, where the Christian was murdered. "Fakaia" was arrested by the ruler of Mombasa, but later news had come that he was at Malindi in full enjoyment of his liberty. Fogaça believed that Fakaia's story of a pilgrimage was no more than a cloak to enable him to proceed to Mombasa, perhaps with the knowledge and connivance of Muhammad Ankoni, in order to enter into a conspiracy with the ruler of Mombasa to seize the fort at Kilwa.

There would appear to have been little or no ground for this suspicion, but Muhammad Ankoni's days were shortly to be numbered. Instructions had been issued from Kilwa that the Moors were not to be allowed to trade on the coast for gold and ivory in exchange for cloth and that ships should patrol the coast to stop any such illicit trade. In the course of one of these patrols a ship was seized by the Portuguese, which had on board a son of the "king" of Tirendecunde, which would appear to be identifiable with Tirene on the west coast of Mafia. This "king" was a kinsman of the Amir Ibrahim and was at war with the Portuguese. What followed can be told in the words of Barros.

"As he was a new man and had no relatives in the land, the king Muhammad Ankoni was anxious to win over his neighbours by bestowing benefits upon them in case at any time he might have need of them. He therefore ransomed the king's son and his whole family for three thousand meticals, and sent him back to his father and after having treated him

well and clothed him, as if he were his own son. When the father saw his son return after so short a time, before he had even begun any negotiations for his release, he sent king Muhammad profound thanks for his great act of friendship. As he was in a state of enmity with our fortress and therefore would not go there, he asked Muhammad to come and meet him, so that they could discuss between themselves matters of great importance, giving him to understand that it was the question of marriages between their children, and also that, when he came, he would give him back the meticals which he had paid for his son. King Muhammad was most anxious to please him, although Captain Pero Ferreira (Fogaça) advised him not to put any trust in him, as he was on bad terms with us and was also a relation of Ibrahim. But he set out in some zambucos with some of his own people, more as if he was going to a feast and on a visit of friendship than as if he was suspecting treachery, and he went to meet the other, who in payment for the benefit which he had bestowed upon him, killed king Muhammad as he lay asleep in his zambuco. So as to excuse his wickedness, the other king asserted that the ties of blood and kindred which he had with king Ibrahim (in revenge for whom he had done this deed) were more binding upon him than the benefit which Muhammad Ankoni had bestowed upon him".

Fogaça's original intention was that the vacant post of Sultan should not be filled and that he should arrogate to himself full and supreme power, delegating to one of the local inhabitants the power to try cases between natives. Haji Hussein, the son of the murdered Muhammad Ankoni, at once demanded that he should be appointed in his father's place. He produced a copy of his father's letters patent, alleging that they made the post hereditary. But Fogaça was able to point out that the letters patent declared that Muhammad Ankoni was to nominate his own successor, in all probability in order to enable him to nominate Al Fudail's son. In actual fact the murdered man had not nominated any successor. Fogaça accordingly declared that Haji Hussein had no right to succeed his father. He referred the matter to his council, but the members declared that the matter ought to be referred for decision to the Viceroy at Goa.

In the meantime Fogaça found it necessary to appoint a judge for the hearing and determination of native cases. He accordingly called upon the Moors to elect a suitable person from their number to fill the post temporarily until such time as the Viceroy's decision should be known. Very much to Fogaça's disgust the Moors announced that they wished to have Haji Hussein. Even more to his disgust certain officers of the factory supported this candidature. Fogaça declared that it was not for the benefit of the King of Portugal's service that a man should reign who was of such base origin as the son of Muhammad Ankoni. He was supported in this declaration by "some of the

leading Moors of the country, and the Cafres of the island of Songo". The mention of this last-mentioned place after a lapse of close on five centuries is interesting. It is to be noted that there would appear to have been no "Moorish" inhabitants of Songo Manara. But it is worthy of note that the Africans who had taken up their abode amidst the ruins of its former greatness apparently claimed a voice in the election of the ruler of Kilwa.

Fogaça had perforce to leave matters as they were and to allow Haji Hussein to function as judge until such time as the Viceroy's pleasure should be known. Meanwhile, according to Barros, the quarrels over the succession led to such disputes that "many of the inhabitants left to go and live at Malindi, Mombasa and other places on the coast". But an even more cogent reason for this exodus from Kilwa lay in a regulation which the Portuguese had issued, which prohibited the Moors from trading in any of the goods which were needed at Sofala. A number of seizures had been made by Portuguese guardships patrolling the coast, with the result that vessels and merchants from Malindi, Mombasa and other northern seaports no longer came to Kilwa. Some of the seizures would appear to have been entirely without justification, "with the result", as Barros tells us, "that by reason of these oppressions the land was becoming deserted".

When news of this reached Goa, the Viceroy d'Almeida sent Nuno Vaz Pereira to settle these and other troubles which had arisen elsewhere on the East African coast. Pereira reached Malindi at the end of November, 1506. On arrival there he received a number of complaints about the seizure of ships under the embargo against trade with Sofala. He at once decided to lift that embargo. He caused his decision to be published up and down the coast with the result that, when he reached Kilwa, he had more than twenty zambucos in his company, all laden with merchandise.

On arrival at Kilwa, Pereira set to work to settle the dispute as to Muhammad Ankoni's successor. Haji Hussein put forward his claim, relying on the letters patent granted to his father. Fogaça and certain other Portuguese supported the claim of a certain Muhammad Mikat, who was said to have been the son of the former Amir, Muhammad Kiwab, and who was therefore a first cousin of the fugitive Amir Ibrahim. Nobody appears to have urged the claim of the infant son of the former Sultan Al Fudail, which Muhammad Ankoni and Francisco D'Almeida had both expressed willingness to recognize, but as the boy appears to have been no more than seven years of age at this date, the omission to recognize his rights may be easily explained. Nevertheless, Muhammed Mikat asserted that "the reason why he was entitled to succeed to the kingdom was because all the leading people of the land wanted him as king, that he was of the blood royal of the kings, who had founded and peopled this city, and he was closely related to the king Ibrahim who, whilst still in possession of the kingdom and before he

had been exiled, being then at the point of death, had declared him to be his heir". But Nuno Vaz Pereira decided in favour of his rival.

Haji Hussein's reign was, however, not a long one. A very few days after his recognition as ruler of Kilwa he set out to avenge his father's murder. He got into touch with a certain African chief in Mafia, who bore the title of Mwenye Mungu (lord of the world) and by reason of large gifts induced him to attack Tirene on the land side whilst he himself attacked that place from the sea. This combined operation was most successfully carried out, "the Cafres taking the greater part of the people captive, but their king escaped".

Barros tells us that this victory made Haji Hussein thoroughly vain-glorious. He began writing arrogant letters to the rulers of such places as Malindi and Zanzibar, who were well disposed to the Portuguese and who regarded Haji Hussein as a parvenu and an interloper. He had more or less conscribed a number of the subjects of these rulers into the forces, which he had led against Tirene, and a number of them had been killed. But the greatest and most unforgivable cause of offence was that he had allowed Muslims of Tirene to be enslaved by a pagan African tribe. The complaints were so many that eventually the Viceroy at Goa gave orders for Haji Hussein to be deposed and to be replaced either by the fugitive Ibrahim or, if he did not want the post, by Muhammad Mikat. These instructions were accordingly carried out. Haji Hussein was sent to Mombasa, where he died shortly afterwards. The Amir Ibrahim declined the vacant post and it was bestowed on Muhammad Mikat.

Early in 1507, Tristan da Cunha reached Kilwa on his way to India, to find that Fogaça was at loggerheads with the factor and alcaide mor (chief bailiff). These latter had in fact deposed Fogaça from office, but Tristan da Cunha reinstated him and carried off his two opponents as prisoners.

During the next two years Muhammad Mikat gave complete satisfaction to the Portuguese, but at the end of that time it became evident that he had taken to excessive drinking. This in itself caused great offence to his Muslim subjects, and the offence was aggravated by the facts that he used to carry off their wives and that he caused a number of his subjects to be put to death on the pretext that they were conspiring against him. As long as Fogaça commanded the fortress, there was no open rupture. But on March 21st, 1509, Fogaça handed over his command to Francisco Pestana. Barros tells us that "this latter was a warm-tempered person and he found that Muhammad Mikat was of the same disposition. Further fuel was added to the fire, because neither trusted the other".

Soon after this change in the command of the fortress Muhammad Mikat decided to make war on the Amir Ibrahim. Barros tells us that "after the

outbreak of the war there were inroads on each side, in which our men shed their blood and were placed in a difficult position. It so happened that this war began when the fortress had no more than forty men capable of taking arms, all the rest being sick. The Moors made one raid from the mainland into the island with a large number of Cafres, whose Captain was "Mungo Caide" (? Mwenye Said), a brother of Ibrahim, who did not venture to come in person. During this raid Francisco Pereira (Pestana) made a prisoner of a nephew of the commander named Munha Came (? Mwenyi Khamis) and killed many of them as they were crossing the river. Francisco Pereira kept the nephew a prisoner for a long time. As in his efforts during the war and his desire to defend himself Mikat to some extent abstained from his vices and fought like a brave man, and as his hatred of his cousin kept him loyal to the fortress, Francisco Pereira tolerated some of his excesses".

In the meantime the days of the Portuguese occupation of Kilwa were rapidly drawing to an end. Pestana proved no more popular as a commander than his predecessor Fogaça. Complaints regarding him began to reach Goa, where Affonso d'Albuquerque had superseded Francisco D'Almeida as Viceroy in 1508. The new Viceroy had different views to those of his predecessor regarding East Africa. For him everything centred round Goa and Malacca. Kilwa was an expensive outpost to maintain. Half of such little revenue as the place brought in had to be handed over to the local ruler and the Portuguese officers were constantly quarrelling amongst themselves. To him therefore it seemed that the place was more trouble than it was worth. On August 20th, 1512, he wrote and informed King Manuel that he intended to dismantle the fortress and to withdraw the garrison. In 1513 the King sent confirmatory orders for the fortress to be dismantled and the garrison to be sent to India.

Pestana decided that Muhammad Mikat was not a suitable person to be left in charge of the island after the departure of the Portuguese. He accordingly sent messages to the Amir Ibrahim inviting him to return. This latter suspected treachery and declined to meet Pestana until the commander had embarked and was on the point of sailing from Kilwa. Just before his departure Pestana set his nephew Mwenyi Khamis at liberty. Ibrahim then visited Pestana on board his ship and was put in possession of the city. Muhammad Mikat, who had clearly made himself universally hated, incontinently fled. "Afterwards he was prosecuted by his brother and ended his days miserably, like Haji Hussein. He was buried in the island of Kerimba, where he had taken refuge". (23)

Barros tells us that after his restoration "Ibrahim was left in peace. By his reforms he put the country into a better state than that in which it

was at the time we took it from him, because the troubles through which he had been had shown him how to govern. He always commanded to his children that they should be loyal to the service of King Manuel”.

As already said, the Arabic version of the Kilwa Chronicle closes abruptly ten years before this event at the time when Amir Ibrahim agreed under duress to pay tribute to Portugal, but the chapter headings at the beginning of the work give us the names of his immediate successors.

Except for what Barros tells us, we know nothing further about Amir Ibrahim. He was succeeded by his brother Said bin Suleiman, the “Mungo Caide” who raided Kilwa in the time of the Portuguese. Said in his turn was succeeded by Muhammad, who is described as the nephew of Al Fudail bin Suleiman, who was of the royal family and became Sultan of Kilwa in 1496. As the term “sons” is often used very loosely amongst Bantu-speaking Africans and may include such relations as the son of a brother or sister, it is conceivable that he may have been the person whom Muhammad Ankoni had alleged in 1505 to be the lawful heir. On the other hand, the Arabic chronicler suggests that he was living at the time of the restoration of the Mosque a good many years before 1496. Whatever his relationship to Al Fudail, it is interesting to note that despite many vicissitudes and changes the people of Kilwa remained faithful to the royal family and, when any member thereof appeared to be fitted to occupy the throne, at once chose him to fill it. Except for the fact that Suleiman directed the compilation of the *Kitab el Sulwa fi Akhbar Kilwa* we know nothing further regarding him. As the author of the *Kitab* was not born until 904 A.H. (1499 A.D.), one concludes that Suleiman must have been reigning as Sultan some time after 1520.

After the restoration of the royal family in the person of Suleiman neither the Portuguese nor the Arabic versions of the Kilwa chronicles record any further events. It may therefore be deemed a suitable time for giving some account of what the town of Kilwa apparently was like in the hey-day of its prosperity. As has been shown, it owed that prosperity to what was more or less a monopoly of the trade in gold from what is now Rhodesia and, as Duarte Barbosa tells us, it acquired that monopoly “because no ships (from the north) went to Sofala without first touching at this island”. Nevertheless, it took a long time before the buildings in Kilwa were erected on the same scale as those which were built at an earlier date on Songo Manara. As Dorman says, when built, they never attained the same architectural standards as those on the neighbouring island. Though the connection with Sofala appears to have begun in the twelfth century of the Christian era, stone buildings were evidently few and far between when Ibn Batuta visited the island in 1332 and described the town as being “built

entirely of wood". There must, however, have been one or two exceptions to Ibn Batuta's rather sweeping statement. Thus, Daud bin Suleiman (Sultan c. 1139-1175) is said to have built a stone fort and town walls nearly two centuries before that date. Moreover, the mosque which is referred to by Ibn Batuta is clearly that described by M. H. Dorman in *The Kilwa Civilization* as "the large Mosque" and was clearly a substantially built stone building with a roof cut up into cupolas and small barred vaults. As in Ibn Batuta's day this mosque was in a ruinous condition and no longer used as a place of worship, it must have been built at the beginning of the fourteenth century, if not earlier. Dorman also gives us a description of a smaller mosque and also refers to the remains of three other small mosques, but there is at the present time no evidence whatever to support the oft repeated statement that Kilwa once had three hundred mosques.

One concludes that there must have been a good deal of building in Kilwa between the time of Ibn Batuta's visit and the arrival of the Portuguese. In his account of Vasco da Gama's visit in 1502 Gaspar Correa says:—

"The city is large and is of good buildings of stone with terraces, and the houses have much woodwork. The city comes down to the shore and is entirely surrounded by a wall and towers, within which there may be twelve thousand inhabitants. The country all round is very luxuriant with many trees and gardens with all sorts of vegetables, citrons, lemons and the best sweet oranges that were ever seen, sugar cane, figs, pomegranates, and great abundance of flocks, especially sheep which have fat in their tail, which are almost the size of the body and very savoury. The streets of the town are very narrow, as the houses are very high, of three or four stories, and one can run along the tops of them upon the terraces, as the houses are very close together". (24)

An account of Almeida's capture of the city three years later gives the population as four thousand, but in other respects all accounts of Almeida's capture of the city confirm Correa's statements. Some of these accounts enter with considerable detail into the street fighting, which they allege took place at that time, and those accounts emphasize the height of the buildings and the narrowness of the streets. Barros says they were so narrow that a man might almost jump from a roof on one side to a roof on the other side.

In his *Kilwa Civilization*, Dorman gives us a brief description of a collection of ruins which the local inhabitants call the Boma.* These ruins were entirely surrounded by a wall, the foundations of which are still traceable. It contained guard houses, a well, and two small mosques of no particular interest. In Faria y Souza's *Asia Portuguesa* there is a pictorial plan of Kilwa showing a number of such walled bomas.† It is true that book was not published

*Boma=enclosure, stockade, fort.—Ed.

†Reproduced in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 31, for July, 1951.

until 1666, but the author drew plentifully upon materials which were contemporary with the events which they described. There seems little room to doubt that, if a really extensive excavation of the walled city were possible, other Bomas would be discovered besides that described by Dorman. An explanation for the existence of such Bomas would appear to be forthcoming. Before the advent of the Portuguese life within the walled town was far from peaceful. As these pages have shown, there were not only occasional raids by African tribes from the mainland, but there was also more than one instance of murder and sudden death. At times the place was thronged with "Moors"—Arabs and persons of mixed blood—from other places on the east coast, such as Malindi and Mombasa. All the world over the alien trader tends for one reason or another to become unpopular. Just as in contemporary Europe the local inhabitant often showed his resentment or asserted his real or fancied rights against foreigners with a strong hand and a multitude of people, so also in Kilwa daggers could be quickly drawn and mobs could quickly collect to attack the dwelling of an unpopular foreign merchant. Then again, the visitors themselves might often have feuds which led to the shedding of blood. As Portuguese chronicles show, the people of Mombasa and Malindi were constantly at each others' throats. An ancient quarrel might often come to a head when people from the two places met in Kilwa. So the men from other coast towns, like the Hanse merchants of medieval London, deemed it wise to seek security in a "steelyard" or factory surrounded by walls.

Faria y Souza's view shows the Sultan's palace in the north-west corner of the island on the site of what is now the Arab fort. This is clearly correct from the description given by Portuguese chroniclers. Barros, for instance, tells us that in 1505 Lourenço, the son of Francisco D'Almeida, landed with a party "in front of the king's palace, reaching the shore at the time when the sea beat against the houses." He also tells us that the palace was at the end of the town.

Though Kilwa managed to rid itself of its Portuguese garrison, it did not recover its foothold at either Mozambique or Sofala. The Portuguese erected fortresses at both these places which have remained Portuguese until the present time. The loss of Sofala entailed the loss of the monopoly in the gold trade from what is now Rhodesia. Though Portuguese officials complained periodically that there was illicit smuggling of gold and ivory out of South-East Africa in ships from Kilwa and other ports farther to the north, the leakage must have been very small and this loss of the monopoly was a serious blow to the prosperity of Kilwa. Thenceforth it no longer held a unique position amongst the coast towns to the south of Mombasa, but sank to the grade of "less maritime kings", which was assigned to it by Milton in *Paradise Lost*. Thenceforth it ranked no higher than Mikindani, Lindi,

Kiswara and other ports affording trade outlets for the same hinterland. In 1616 a Portuguese traveller, Gaspar Bocarro, found cloth, which had come from "the coast of Malindi", at the residence of a chief well in the interior of what is now Tanganyika. It may well be that this and other commodities had been reaching the interior from Kilwa at least a century before Bocarro's visit, but it is evident that the trade with the hinterland—whether from Kilwa Kisiwani or any other ports just mentioned—remained on a very small scale until the eighteenth century. ⁽²⁵⁾

Correa tells us that when Vasco da Gama visited Kilwa in 1505 the Sultan of Kilwa "did not possess more country than the city itself". As Ibn Batuta, Barros and the Arabic version of the Chronicle show, the people of Kilwa were constantly waging *jehads* (holy wars) against the pagan tribes of the adjacent mainland, but these were in all probability wars neither of religion nor of conquest. They would appear to have been punitive expeditions sent against neighbouring African tribes which had been guilty of offences against the persons or property of inhabitants of Kilwa. As Barros and the Arabic version of the chronicle show, citizens of Kilwa from time to time invoked the aid of adjacent tribes to fight their battles for them in a number of civil commotions which occurred in Kilwa itself. By 1589 "Moors" from Kilwa had started to cultivate the soil on the adjacent mainland, but their settlement there would appear to have been peaceful and gradual.

The island of Songo Manara, which is isolated from the rest of the mainland, was certainly part and parcel of the Kilwa territories at the time of the Portuguese occupation. As we have seen, though at the date they were no longer Persians, Arabs, or "Moors", the inhabitants claimed a voice in the election of a new Sultan of Kilwa.

Mafia became an appanage of Kilwa at a very early date. As previous pages have shown, off and on the inhabitants of this island declined to recognize the ruler *de facto* in Kilwa as their overlord *de jure*. But these secessions appear to have been purely temporary and the islanders returned to their allegiance as soon as the reins of government in Kilwa came into the hands of a *persona grata*. In passing it is not out of place to state again that the majority of the Kilwa coins, which have been so far discovered, came from Mafia. The islanders of Mafia have a tradition regarding the first Shirazi settlement on the island, which is more or less identical with that given in the Arabic version of the Kilwa chronicle and local tradition names Bashet bin Ali as the first ruler of Mafia whereas, as will be remembered, the Arabic version makes him the second ruler. As will be seen, the political connection between Kilwa and Mafia lasted until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

As the Kilwa Chronicle has nothing further to say after the arrival of Vasco da Gama and as after the evacuation of the fort by the Portuguese the place ceased to be a regular port of call for European vessels, we find few references to Kilwa Kisiwani during the next three centuries.

We learn that in 1527 a French ship called the *Grand Anglais* visited Kilwa, having been piloted there by a Portuguese. The vessel stayed there three and a half months and then made its way to the Portuguese island of Diu off the coast of Kathiawar, where the crew were arrested and imprisoned as interlopers poaching in Portuguese preserves. After this we hear no more of French visits to Kilwa for close on two centuries and a half.

In 1570, Kilwa was visited by the Jesuit Father, Francisco Monclaro. He arrived in company with Francisco Barretto, who had been sent out the previous year to conquer the kingdom of Monomotapa, where the gold mines were. Monclaro tells us that on arrival at Kilwa, "we were received and well treated by the Moors, who fearing we would attack the country deserted it so that we traversed the country at will". The place was ruled by a king, "who was black and a prince, who was blind in one eye". Doubtless, this Cyclopean prince was our old acquaintance the Amir parading under another name. Of Kilwa itself the Padre says "it was once very great and prosperous and all the houses were made of stone and lime with tiled roofs, but it was twice destroyed by our people because of the treachery which they prepared for us", from which it may perhaps be inferred that by 1570 many of these houses were in ruins. Monclaro saw some "Saracens" at Kilwa armed with bows. The passage in which Monclaro mentions the matter is obscure, but it would appear as if some gold from Sofala was still finding its way to Kilwa. Monclaro also tells us that "these Moors have some trade with the Comoro Islands, and also with the interior of the mainland in ivory, which they buy from the Cafres to sell to the Portuguese who are always coming to these parts, or to the factor of the captain of the said coast (sc. of Malindi), whence there also came much honey and wax." From Kilwa Monclaro proceeded to Mafia, "which is subject to the king of Kilwa. They have there plenty of pitch, which they obtain from trees, and plenty of coir, which they obtain from the many coconut trees which are there. It is very cool and pleasant. It has a Moorish Sheikh (Xequé) and a factor of the captain of the coast to deal with the trade in pitch and coir".⁽²⁷⁾

In 1589 an appalling disaster overtook Kilwa. A marauding African horde, whom the Portuguese called Zimbaz and who were reputed to be cannibals, made their way across country from the regions of Tete on the banks of the Zambezi to the mainland immediately opposite to Kilwa. Finding themselves unable to cross over to the island, they encamped opposite to it, where, in the words of the Dominican John dos Santos, "they devoured

all the animals and crops which the Moors had on the mainland in such manner that nothing was able to be taken thence into the island". At length a Moor of Kilwa made his way secretly one night to the Zimbabwes' camp. On arrival there he promised to show the Zimbabwes a crossing by which they could enter the town at low water in return for a promise that the Zimbabwes would spare him and his family and give him a share in the plunder. The promise was given and the traitor led the Zimbabwes over to the island at midnight. Many of the inhabitants were surprised and killed in their beds. Others—to the number, it is said, of three thousand—were taken prisoners and were afterwards devoured by their captors. A few Moors managed to escape into the thickets on the islands and to hide there until the Zimbabwes left the island. The city itself was sacked. After which, as Dos Santos tells us, poetic justice was done the Moor who had betrayed his fellow citizens.

"When the Zimbabwes had nothing else to do on the island, their captain gave orders that they should bring to him the Moor, who had brought them there by the ford, and who was still alive together with all his family, as the captain had given orders that they should be guarded and not be put to death as the others had been. When they were all assembled in front of him, he turned to the Moor and said, 'I do not desire, nor will I be satisfied, that a person who is as wicked as thou art should live any longer, because thou wert so cruel that for the sake of thine own interest thou didst deliver over thy country and the inhabitants thereof into the hands of their enemies'. He then turned to his Cafres and said, 'Seize this wicked man and all of his family who are here present and bind them hand and foot and cast them all into the sea, so that the fishes may devour them, because it is not good that any person of such a wicked family should remain alive: and I do not wish you to eat them, because their flesh has become poisonous.' And this command was immediately put into execution." (28)

It may be that the figures as given by Dos Santos are somewhat exaggerated, but there nevertheless can be no doubt that this disaster set back Kilwa's prosperity for a great many years. There is certainly no reference to Kilwa in published Portuguese records for over a quarter of a century.

In 1616 a certain Gaspar Bocarro made the journey overland from Tete on the Zambezi to Kilwa. Twenty-two days before reaching the latter place he found a chief who was in possession of cloths which came from "the coast of Malindi"—an expression which embraced the whole of the coast between Capes Delgado and Guardafui. Half a day's journey from Kilwa he reached a village called Bucury, inhabited by "Moors". As Dos Santos' account of the ravages of the Zimbabwes shows, the inhabitants of Kilwa had plantations on the adjacent mainland before 1589. As the Zimbabwes are said to have destroyed everybody and everything which lay in their path, it may well be



The Castle, on Kilwa Kisiwani still one of the most striking landmarks on the East Coast.



The Castle Gate on Kilwa Kisiwani.



The distinctive form of arch found only on the island of Songo Mnara is shown in this photograph.



The Qibla of the "Nabhani" Mosque on Songo Mnara.

that, after they had passed on their destructive way to Mombasa, they left this portion of the mainland virtually uninhabited and that the people of Kilwa occupied it without any objection or resistance from the previous occupants. Bocarro found a factor and some other Portuguese at Kilwa. Their presence rather suggests that the trade between it and the interior of Africa was beginning to assume some importance. The factor still existed half a century later. William Alley, the captain of an English ship which visited Mombasa in February, 1667, recorded in his journal that the Portuguese governor of Mombasa maintained the factory at Kilwa at his own charge. Alley further said "small boats" were ample for the commerce of the place. The commodities obtained there were said to include "gould, amber (? ambergris), elephants teeth and slaves, most of which commoditys they purchase at very inconsiderable rates". ⁽³⁰⁾

As Kilwa was an independent principality, Rezende does not describe the place in his *Livro do Estado da India Oriental*, which contains a description of Portuguese possessions in East Africa as they were in 1634. He does, however, describe Mafia, but states that "the inhabitants are subjects of the king of Kilwa". There was at this date a small blockhouse on that island, which was, however, only occupied by the Portuguese in time of war. ⁽³¹⁾

In 1652 ten dhows belonging to the "king" of Pemba raided Kilwa, Mafia and the adjacent island of Kwale. We are not informed how successful the raid was, but Francisco Seixas e Cabreira, who caused an account of some of his earlier exploits to be inscribed over the gateway of Fort Jesus at Mombasa, intercepted the raiders on their return voyage off Zanzibar. Five of their dhows were captured and the rest forced to run aground. ⁽³²⁾

The Arabs of Oman captured Fort Jesus at Mombasa in the last days of 1698. Salil-ibn-Razik asserts that shortly afterwards they captured Kilwa. As already seen, the people of Kilwa had by this date a record of close on two centuries of friendly commercial relations with the Portuguese. It is therefore not surprising to learn that they resisted the supplanters of the Portuguese. Evidence that about this date the town was once more sacked and that the Sultan's palace was set on fire goes to suggest that this resistance was something more than a token resistance.

In 1710 the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa received a report that there was an Omani garrison at Kilwa consisting of fifty men under the command of one Che Nasire (?Sheikh Nasser), who was reckoned a brave and enterprising person and that the house of the native Muslim Manna Bakari (Mwana Bakari) had been converted into a fort. There were, however, only two small cannon in the fort. Mwana Bakari was evidently the native Sultan and his house, which was thus requisitioned, clearly stood on the site of the existing Arab fort.

Omani domination was not popular. A number of overtures were from time to time made to the Portuguese Governor at Mozambique for assistance to drive the garrison out, but these negotiations came to nothing. In about 1745, however, Kilwa would appear to have freed itself from the Omani yoke. The explanation of this would appear to be forthcoming in the internal dissensions in Oman which led to the supplanting of the El Yorubi by the El Busaidi dynasty. In 1723 Sultan Ibrahim bin Sultan Yusuf bin Sultan Muhammad bin Sultan Ali wrote a letter to the King of Portugal intimating that he would not be averse to driving out the Omani Arabs, provided he received assistance. In 1745 the Governor at Mozambique reported to **Lisbon** that the civil war in Oman had extended to the East African coast and that Kilwa and Mafia, as well as other places, "more or less" recognized the Portuguese as their legitimate overlords. At about this same date the Mazrui governor of Mombasa gave the ruler of Oman plainly to understand that he regarded himself as a free and independent ruler. In 1715 the Sultan of Anjuan in the Comoro Archipelego in a rather less defiant manner declined to comply with the Imam's request for men and money. It may therefore well be that the rulers of Kilwa followed suit. Such few Omanis as were garrisoning the fort may, like the Omanis of Mombasa, have made common cause with them and the secession may consequently have been bloodless. What is certain is that a few years later the Sultan of Kilwa was an entirely independent sovereign. What is also equally certain is that at this date the rulers of Oman were not in a position to take forcible measures against a very distant outpost, which chose to shake off the Omani yoke. ⁽³³⁾

Whilst internal dissensions were thus weakening the power of Oman and disintegrating its possessions overseas, the French colonies of Ile de France (Mauritius) and Bourbon (Réunion) were making remarkable strides under the able and vigorous government of La Bourdonnais. Particular attention was paid to the extension of agriculture by the planting of economic crops such as sugar, cotton and indigo. These developments led to an ever increasing demand for a labour supply. The easiest means of obtaining this supply was by the purchase of slaves in the African continent. From 1770 onwards a Frenchman named Morice, who would appear to have been one of several such adventurers, had made several voyages up and down the east coast of Africa. For three successive years he had obtained from the Sultan of Kilwa an exclusive right to purchase slaves, whom he shipped to the French West Indies as well as to the Ile de France. On December 14th, 1766, he obtained from the Sultan a contract which purported to endure for one hundred years and to guarantee to him an annual supply of one thousand slaves in priority to anybody else. The contract concluded with the following words:

"As a guarantee of our promise we will give him the fort in which he can put as many guns as he likes and hoist his flag. The French and

the King and people of Kilwa shall henceforth be as one. Those who will attack one of us will attack us both'.

A year later Morice propounded at considerable length an ambitious commercial scheme for the exploitation of the east coast of Africa with Kilwa as the base for such operations. In that scheme he described the inhabitants of Kilwa as friendly and anxious to have a French connection, mainly because of the commercial profit to be derived therefrom. Cultivation of cotton sugar and indigo was already being carried out at the island itself and there was likely to be an increase in their production. There was also very large quantity of timber useful for ship building. That harbour itself was 'better than Brest or Toulon'. The population was about two thousand, of whom two hundred were Arabs or Swahilis, six hundred 'free Africans', and the remainder slaves. The fort had long been dismantled and in ruins, but could be restored with local stone and slave labour. For the better furtherance of his scheme he offered to hand over all his rights under his contract with the Sultan of Kilwa to the French government.

Alexander Dalrymple, the hydrographer of the English East India Company, published in 1784 a *Plan of Quiloa and its environs on the East Coast of Africa from the observations of Sieur Morice*. In that plan Sanji ya Kati, the island in Sangarungu harbour to the S.W. of Kilwa, is called 'I. Morice'. It may be that this was a piece of vain glory on the part of Morice, but it is also possible that Morice found the island a suitable place for his slave barracoons. The island, which was described in 1812 as "barren and uninhabited", was pre-eminently suited for that purpose.

When H.M.S. *Nisus* visited Kilwa in 1812, the surgeon of that vessel was informed that, following upon the successful dealings of Morice, "several large vessels arrived from France to carry slaves to Java, and other parts of the coast, as well as to their own and the Spanish West Indies. A frigate was also despatched from Mauritius to form a permanent commercial treaty with the Sultan. This agreement fixed the price of prime slaves at thirty-two dollars, or about £8 sterling per head".

According to Corvo—*Estudos sobre Provinciaes Ultramarinas* ii. 85, "the French at the time (c. 1775-1779), by a convention with the king of Kilwa, got possession of the commerce of that place and of the coast adjoining Kerimba". In his *Ensaio*s da Lima asserts that the French actually established a factory at Kilwa itself in about 1784.

Whatever may have been the foothold which the French obtained at this date, it did not endure for long. The surgeon of the *Nisus* informs us that the Sultan "was attacked, and made tributary shortly after the treaty, by the Iman of Muscat . . . who dispatched a force that reduced the islands

of Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia, and ultimately Kilwa itself, leaving the king in possession of his authority on the continent, but exacting the better part of his revenue by means of governors and garrisons. The islands were, however, altogether detached from the Kilwan kingdom, to which they had belonged from its first foundation''.

The date of this subjugation of Kilwa would appear to have been 1784. In that year Seif bin Ahmed attempted to wrest Zanzibar from his brother, Said bin Ahmed, Imam of Muscat. The Imam sent his son, Ahmed, to Zanzibar to cope with the situation. On his arrival at Zanzibar, Seif bin Ahmed surrendered to him. Thereafter the Imam's son proceeded to Mombasa, where he obtained from the Mazrui governor a written acknowledgment that he held Fort Jesus as vassal of the Imam of Muscat. It therefore appears extremely probable that in this same year Ahmed bin Seif took the opportunity to recover for his father possession of the former dominions of Oman to the south of Zanzibar.

If there were any Frenchmen at Kilwa at the time that the Omani Arabs reasserted their overlordship of the place, they in all probability bowed to the inevitable. Their chief anxiety was to retain their commercial relations with Kilwa. Provided they could retain these, they were indifferent as to who was the sovereign of the place. It is clear that they managed to retain the trade. In 1799 a certain Monsieuer Dallons visited Kilwa to purchase slaves. He reported that the government was entrusted to a governor, who farmed the revenues of the place from the Imam of Muscat for an annual payment of six thousand piastres, or about £600. As this governor had to make his profits as best he could, it was left to him to fix all customs dues at such scales as he thought fit. In 1799 there was a capitation tax of eight piastres in respect of slaves, but five years later this had been increased to twelve piastres. ⁽³⁴⁾

During the Napoleonic wars the French in the Ile de France still managed to maintain communication with Kilwa despite the fact that after Trafalgar British cruisers were frequently patrolling the Indian Ocean. When in 1809 a British man-of-war visited Mozambique, the commander was informed by the Bishop of Mozambique that the French were still trading to Kilwa for slaves, rice, indian corn, and ivory. At the end, however, of the following year Ile de France (Mauritius) fell into British hands and for the time being that trade came to an end.

In 1812 H.M.S. *Nisus* (Captain Philip Beaver) visited Kilwa. The accounts of that visit given by the commander himself and by the ship's surgeon, James Prior, supply a good deal of information regarding the state of Kilwa at that date. The Sultan claimed sovereignty over strips of the coast both to the north and south of Kilwa. The northern limits were not

given by either Beaver or Prior, but to the south his sovereignty extended at least as far as the Mgau Mwanian or Mungulho River to the south of Lindi. When the *Nisus* reached Kilwa, the Sultan, whose name was Yusufu, was absent at Mungulho River, "where he had been absent for some months regulating the government". He did not return until several days later, when he arrived by dhow. The *Nisus* had sailed close in shore, when passing that river, and it had been possible to discern there a small fort surmounted by an Arab flag. In a chart which bears the date April 31st (sic), 1789, and which Alexander Dalrymple reproduced from a French manuscript there is a statement that at the River "Mongallou" (or Mongallow) "the blacks are very fine and at good price. The Moors are the proprietors of the country and carry on a great trade as well in blacks which they send to Quiloa, as in ivory, which they sell to the Arabs".

The depth of the coastal strip was very slight. Prior observed that the Sultan's authority "seems confined to the coast, being girt in the rear by thick forests, a few miles from the shore which interrupt communication with the interior. The villages are pretty numerous, the banks of the rivers also well inhabited, for the convenience of trading with the natives more inland; but the country is far from populous. Kilwa Island, the seat of the monarchy, contains between two and three thousand persons, but the main, for several miles around, has not, as far as we have had an opportunity of judging, five hundred more. Gangarra (sc. Kilwa Kivinje), about twelve miles to the northward, besides Mungulho and Lindi rivers, each possesses more than double these numbers. The total population, however scattered and thin, as it is in many districts, cannot be estimated with any probable degree of precision, though Monsieur S(ausse), who has often been here, thinks it may be about 50,000".

After the resubjugation of Kilwa the Imam of Muscat "had made a gift of Mafia and Kilwa to his brother Said Ali, who, though resident in the latter place as governor, farms the revenues to a merchant named Abdullah, who is also governor of Mafia. The sum produced annually by these two places varies between 12,000 and 20,000 dollars (£3,000-£5,000). This is raised by duties on imports and exports, and presents for permission to trade, which are expected as regularly as duties. Slaves pay a duty of eight dollars each. The Sultan seems to have little other emolument than what he may gain, like any other merchant in the way of trade. The Arabs save him the trouble of collecting revenues, otherwise he is so far independent as to have the honour and trouble of a kingdom, without the substantial profits attached to it".

The Arab governor had quitted Kilwa a few days before the arrival of the *Nisus* on a visit to Zanzibar. Also, very much to the regret of Captain Beaver, "an acute and intelligent minister, Missage, who had long transacted

the affairs of the king, was dead, and his place supplied by a stupid, inactive old man". According to Prior the name of this latter individual was Bona Teeboo (Bwana Taibu). Amongst other leading personalities whom the officers of the *Nisus* met at Kilwa were the Sultan's brother, Suleiman, and the Sultan's eldest son, "a Formo Sani", who was described as "a fine looking young man, whose gait and manners were not without dignity" and who showed himself well disposed towards the visitors.

The population of the island was estimated at about six thousand persons. It was a place of very small trade. "Kilwa seems to offer only ivory and tortoise shell for commerce, both of which can be sometimes procured in considerable quantities. The number of slaves formerly exported amounted to many thousands but at present the demand is confined to Arabs, who do not take many".

Beaver examined the Arab fort at the north west corner of the island, which was "of an indifferent rectangular figure, having a ruinous tower, and embattled walls, with loopholes for the discharge of musketry or cannons: three small guns are mounted, and two of them pointed at the king's house. In this miserable work resides the Arab garrison of about a dozen men, who keep the place in awe". None the less, Justus Strandes informs us that according to Arab tradition Yakut, an Abyssinian eunuch, who was governor of Zanzibar in 1804, if not earlier, had recently made some attempt to restore the fortress. The doorway has a plaque bearing an inscription, which translates into English:—

"In the Name of God, the Almighty, the All Merciful. We have opened for Thee this door on 21 Moharram 1222 (April 2, 1807)".

There was one untoward incident during the visit of the *Nisus*. When the Sultan was returning from Mungulho to Kilwa, the second lieutenant of the *Nisus*, suspecting that the Sultan's and the two other dhows accompanying him were engaged in the slave trade and not realizing that the Sultan was on board one of the vessels, ordered the dhows to heave to. As they declined to do so, he fired at them, killing two men. Beaver offered to punish his officer, but he was asked not to do so, "especially as only two slaves were lost". A present of gunpowder and muskets proved ample solace to the Sultan, who thereafter entered into an agreement to supply spars for the British Navy. As, however, this agreement never received ratification by Beaver's superior officer, nothing came thereof. The only real satisfaction that was obtained from the British ship's visit was that certain officers of the *Nisus* were able to ransom a number of boy slaves, who were thereafter entered as boys on the ship's books.

Beaver reported that Sultan Yusufu wished to expel the Omani Arabs from his territory, "but, without powerful protection, is afraid of the

consequences. He, however, makes silent and cautious preparation, and had several cannon, with small arms and powder, concealed in the house: even the muskets and ammunition, which I gave him, he landed in the night". Beaver was personally of the opinion that the British government should assist him by putting the Arab governor and his garrison on a boat and sending them to Muscat with the intimation that the Sultan of Kilwa had entered into a treaty of amity and friendship with Great Britain and that consequently they had been expelled because they "had dared to infringe on the independency of Kilwa". But here again the decision rested with persons of greater authority than a mere frigate captain and nothing came of this recommendation. ⁽³⁵⁾

In 1824 Kilwa was visited by H.M.S. *Barracoutta*, which was engaged upon a hydrographical survey of the East Coast of Africa. After surveying the coast of Mafia the ship made for the mainland. On arrival at what appeared to be the right latitude they obtained the services of an Arab pilot to take them into what they believed to be their intended destination. In Lieutenant Boteler's words, "it took us the whole day to beat into this place; and, after all the delay thus occasioned, we had the mortification to learn that there were two Kilwas, and this the wrong one, being nothing more than a small village". The place was in fact Kilwa Kivinje (Kilwa of the casuarina trees). Though but a small village in 1824, within less than twenty years it was to grow considerably both in size and in notoriety as one of the largest slave depots on the east coast of Africa.

The *Barracoutta* eventually reached Kilwa Kisiwani. Lieutenant Boteler describes the Arab fort as "a substantial square building of stone, with a tower at each corner, and capable of containing a respectable garrison," which rather suggests that some renovations had taken place since the visit of the *Nisus*. He also tells that, "although Captain Vidal was furnished with an introductory letter from the Governor of Zanzibar to the chief of Kilwa, yet he appeared always in fear of us; and upon Lieutenant Owen one evening landing near the fort to obtain the latitude of the stars, the alarm was given, and the old governor was seen hurrying half dressed to the spot, at the head of a dozen or two Arabs, armed with swords, matchlocks, and every other kind of weapon, ancient or modern, that could at the moment be mustered; these were drawn up in a line a short distance off, where they patiently awaited the departure of the boats". ⁽³⁶⁾

During the next twenty years slowly but surely most of the trade—and in particular the trade in slaves—which had hitherto passed through Kilwa Kisiwani, transferred itself to Kilwa Kivinje. It is difficult to explain exactly the reason why this change should have taken place. As a harbour Kisiwani had undoubted advantages over Kivinje, which is an open roadstead where vessels have to lie some distance from the shore and which, though partially protected

by a reef, is exposed to an ocean swell when the monsoons are strong. As an island, Kilwa Kisiwani would appear to have been the better place for the erection of slave barracoons. There was little to choose between the water supplies of the two places and both are more or less equidistant from Lake Nyasa and other places of trade in the hinterland. The only possible advantage could have been that the Mto Gingwera or Matandu River enters the sea about three miles to the north of Kilwa Kivinje, having risen on a plateau about one hundred and fifty miles inland, and that the river valley offered better supplies of food and water for caravans proceeding to and from the interior than did any of the small streams flowing into the harbour of Kilwa Kisiwani. By the time that James Erhardt published his "slug map" (1856) this route had become a well-trodden track and caravans were making their way from Lake Nyasa to Kilwa Kivinje in thirty days. That is the only geographical explanation which I can offer for the change, but at the same time there may have been other causes, which must be purely conjectural, as for example, the rapacity of the Sultan or inhabitants of Kilwa Kisiwani in such matters as rents for granting rights of occupancy or charging customary dues on commodities brought into the island. The change proceeded so far that by 1843 the Omani Liwali (Governor) had transferred himself and his garrison from Kilwa Kisiwani to Kilwa Kivinje, leaving the Sultan at the former place alone in much attenuated glory.

In 1841 Atkins Hamerton arrived in Zanzibar to take up his duties as the first British Consul to be credited to Seyyid Said bin Sultan, ruler of Zanzibar. He had proceeded there on instructions from the Bombay Government to inquire into and report upon Seyyid Said's complaints that the French had encroached upon his dominions by annexing the island of Nossi Bé, lying off the N.W. coast of Madagascar. As the Seyyid's claim to the island was of the slenderest description, the British Government was clearly not in a position to take up the cudgels on his behalf. But Seyyid Said was worried as to French intentions on the mainland. On September 26th, 1841, he told Hamerton that "they intend to take the Mrima (mainland) from me, and yet, my friends, the English, do nothing to prevent them. My people at Kilwa are in great fear that the French intend coming here." Hamerton informed him that "the reports in circulation regarding the coming of the French to the Mrima are circulated by Your Highness's people, who are in the interests of the French", but nevertheless promised to proceed personally to Kilwa to investigate the matter in the first available British man-of-war. He proceeded there in H.M.S. *Grecian* in December, 1841, and on the 27th of the month reported to the Bombay Government that these reports of French aggression were without foundation.

After this visit Hamerton sent to the Bombay Government on January 2nd, 1842, a long report on the slave trade. In that report he said :

"The principal place on the coast of Africa (within the dominions of the Imam) from whence the greater number of slaves is exported is Kivinje—about fourteen miles north of Kilwa, but the natives usually call it Kivinje Kilwa, as it was the chief port where the slave ships formerly filled up, but for the last ten years Kilwa has gradually been deserted, and all the trade is now carried on at Kivinje. There are regular establishments now for carrying on the slave trade—it is the port to which the ivory, gum copal &c., are brought from the interior and chiefly sent to Zanzibar for sale. The Imam has a governor there, but he is frequently in rebellion against His Highness and has lately levied a duty of seven dollars per *frasila* (35 lbs.) on the ivory exported to Zanzibar. His Highness has at Kivinje, as at all other places on the coast of Africa, but little control over the authorities".

Despite Hamerton's belief that the reports that the French intended annexation of part of the *Mrima* were without foundation, rumours thereof still persisted. On April 23rd, 1842. Hamerton reported to the Foreign Office that a French brig-of-war, which afterwards proved to be the *Messenger*, had been visiting the coast and that certain "chiefs" had been approached with an offer for the purchase of the island of Kilwa. These chiefs had come to Zanzibar, "terribly frightened". Hamerton had taken advantage of the arrival of the East India Company's brig *Tigris* at Zanzibar to request the commanding officer, Lieutenant Christopher, to visit Kilwa so as to inquire into the activities of the French brig-of-war as well as those of a "fine slaver" of twenty-two guns, which had been hanging round those regions for some considerable time, flying French and American colours alternately. On his return to Zanzibar on February 28th, 1843, Christopher reported as follows:—

"Should any attempts be made to penetrate Africa from the eastern coast, I would strongly recommend the neighbourhood of Kilwa to be avoided; its climate is most deadly to the Europeans. . . ."

"I called on the Sultan of Kilwa and gave him the assurances of good will and amity; and he presented me with a trifling gift of sheep, and received an equivalent return. The people of Kilwa are well disposed towards the English; the forts, which were once formidable, are now in complete ruins. On leaving Zanzibar there was every expectation of meeting a slaver of twenty-two guns; the crew were all in health, and our hopes were high of earning distinction and meriting applause. A few days after leaving Kilwa a most virulent fever broke out: in a few days young men and old were brought to the grave; and I had the melancholy duty of burying three Europeans from our small number in one day. I could not avoid the reflection that the amount of suffering would

probably have been less in an action with the slaver, and the loss of life perhaps not greater". (37)

This is the last record which I have been able to discover of a Sultan of Kilwa living in regal state at Kilwa Kisiwani. The end of the long dynasty is given by Burton in the following words:—

"The Shirazis held the land till the late Seyyid Said seized and deported to Muscat Muhammadi, their last Sultan, and thus the tribe was scattered abroad". (38)

The date of this occurrence is unknown, but in all probability it happened very shortly after Christopher's visit. There might be no truth in any report that Sultan Muhammadi meditated selling his much attenuated dominions to the French, but a somewhat similar transaction had taken place once before. A substantial bribe might be something which a much impoverished Sultan would be unable to resist. Therefore in Seyyid Said's opinion the best thing to do was to remove the Sultan to a place where the temptation could no longer exist. At the time that this happened possibly very few people realized that the shade of that which had once been great had passed away.

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(22) *Fort Santiago, Kilwa.*—Dorman *op. cit.* pp. 67, 68, Strandes *op. cit.* pp. 63 *et Seq.*, Coote *op. cit.* pp. 9, 25, 26, Axelson *op. cit.* p. 234, Correa—*Lendas da India*, i. 539, Goes *op. cit.*—Part ii, Chapter ii, Theal *op. cit.* i. 18, 99, iii. 113, v. 382, vi. 246.

(23) *The Portuguese Occupation of Kilwa, 1505-1512.*—Axelson *op. cit.* pp. 89-94, 120, 121, 125, 250, 253, Welch *op. cit.* pp. 161-173, Strandes *op. cit.* pp. 101-109, Theal *op. cit.* i. 56, ii. 33, 40, 45, iii. 125, v. 390, vi. 276-290.

(24) *Correa's description of Kilwa.*—Stanley *op. cit.* p. 291.

(25) *Trade with hinterland.*—Bocarro—*Decada 13 de Historia da India*—Part ii, Chapter CXLV.

(26) *Visit of French Ships to Kilwa in 1527.*—Axelson *op. cit.* p. 282.

(27) *Visit of Father Monclaro to Kilwa in 1570.*—Theal *op. cit.* iii. 310, 311.

(28) *Destruction of Kilwa by Zimbabwes in 1589.*—Theal *op. cit.* i. 36, 387, vi. 399, vii. 300, 301.

(29) *Gaspar Bocarro's visit to Kilwa in 1616.*—Bocarro *op. cit.*—Part ii, Chapter LXLV.

(30) *Factory at Kilwa in 1667.*—Diary of William Alley, a transcript of which is in the possession of the author.

(³¹) *Rezende's account of East Africa in 1634.*—British Museum Sloane Ms. 197.

(³²) *Pemba raid on Kilwa in 1652.*—Strandes *op. cit.* pp. 229, 230.

(³³) *Kilwa and Oman, 1698-1745.*—Jackson—*European Powers and South East Africa, 1796-1856*, p. 13, Strandes *op. cit.* pp. 81, 276-279.

(³⁴) *Relations with the French in 18th Century.*—Coupland—*East Africa and its Invaders*, pp. 73-83, Jackson *op. cit.* p. 43, Burton *op. cit.* ii. 366, Prior—*Voyage along the Eastern Coast of Africa*, pp. 67, 68, Boteler—*Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery to Africa and Arabia*, ii. 44, Bordalo—*Ensaio sobre Estatística dos Possesões Portuguezas*, iv. 29, Corvo—*Estudos sobre Províncias Ultramarinas*, ii. 85, Theal *op. cit.* ix. 2 "Reflections" of Dallons in Mauritius Archives Vol. GA. 11. No 119.

(³⁵) *Visit of Nisus to Kilwa in 1812.*—Prior *op. cit.* pp. 65-81, Smyth—*Life and Services of Captain Philip Beaver*, pp. 257, 265-283, Strandes *op. cit.* p. 63.

(³⁶) *Visit of Barracoutta to Kilwa in 1824.*—Boteler *op. cit.* ii. 41-47.

(³⁷) *Reports as to French plans in regard to Kilwa in 1841 and 1843.*—Jackson *op. cit.* p. 176, Christopher—*Extract from Journal by Lieut. Christopher* (printed in *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, xiv. (1844)) and following letters in Zanzibar Archives; Hamerton to Bombay Government, Dec. 27, 1841. January 2, 1842. April 3, 1843. Hamerton to Christopher, Feb. 3 and 11, March 3, 1843.

(³⁸) *Deportation of Sultan of Kilwa.*—Burton *op. cit.* ii. 266.

Bishop Steere and Kiswahili

By the Revd. Cedric N. Frank, M.A.,

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THE name of Steere is best known to people living in East Africa as the author of "Swahili Exercises" which have helped so many of them to master the lingua franca of this part of the world. If they happen to know also that he was a pioneer in East Africa, they must often wonder how he succeeded in writing down the language with such remarkable results in those early days, while they, even with the help of modern versions of his "Exercises" and Dictionary, find the task of learning it no light one.

Edward Steere was born in London in 1829, the son of a barrister. He too was intended for the Law and in 1850 he became an LL.D. of London University, winning the gold medal for the highest proficiency in legal knowledge in his year. Later he abandoned the Law for work among London's poor and eventually was ordained a priest in the Church of England. From 1863 until his death in 1882 he was a member of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, first as a priest and then as its third Bishop. He has earned a place among the great pioneers of East Africa not only for his work on Swahili and other languages but also as a great missionary and traveller, as the architect and builder of Zanzibar Cathedral, and as the liberator and friend of slaves.

As a child, Steere had shown great interest in the languages and customs of other countries and, while he was studying for higher examinations in Law, was able to find time to learn Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, Spanish and most remarkable of all—a smattering of Chinese.

It must not be thought that Steere was the founder of written Swahili. Previous work on the language had already been done by Dr. Krapf, a member of the Church Missionary Society who came to Zanzibar in 1842 and then settled near Mombasa with a Mr. Rebmann. Together they produced a Swahili and Kinika dictionary in 595 quarto pages and tentative translations of the New Testament and the Prayer Book.

In an article in the Bible Society's *Monthly Reporter* for July, 1882, Bishop Steere said, "All the Europeans told us that Dr. Krapf's books were of no use at all, and indeed we found them very little help. Not because he had misconceived the language but because he had been to some extent misled by a pedantic clique of so-called learned men in Mombasa, who induced



Bishop Steere



The Cathedral at Zanzibar

him to accept as pure Swahili an over-refined kind of dialect, scarcely or not at all intelligible to the mass of the nation, and, further, because of a singularly confused style of writing and spelling, so that these works were of scarcely any use to a mere beginner!" It seems as if the war between different forms of Swahili spoken in various parts of East Africa broke out long ago!

Steere had always seen the need for learning a lingua franca as a medium of speech with the people with whom he came into contact during his missionary activities. The Universities' Mission had originally started work in Nyasaland; one of its main reasons for transferring its headquarters to Zanzibar was that there its members could study Swahili and use it in their peaceful invasion of the mainland. Within a few days of his landing on the Island in 1864, he found the need to be most urgent. The Sultan had handed over to the Mission five little boys who had been redeemed from slavery. Steere describes them as "five little black boys with no clothing save the narrowest possible strip of calico round their middles, with their hands clasped round their necks, looking up into your face with an expression of utter apprehension. How are you to speak or they to answer? So having no other way at hand, we began to teach them the English alphabet and to read our common school reading-cards. We found them sharp enough and soon began to make a way towards a mutual understanding".

As more children came into the School rescued from the slave-dhows, so Dr. Steere's knowledge of Swahili grew. Whilst doing social work among the poor of London, he had learnt the art of printing and very soon he had set up the first printing press to be seen in Zanzibar. On this he began with the aid of some of the boys to publish and circulate for correction and criticism the first translations he had made into Swahili. He soon succeeded in constructing a Swahili handbook, based in some degree on the grammar and vocabulary of Dr. Krapf. He was already acquiring considerable knowledge of Arabic and could converse with Arabs in that tongue as a means of checking the meaning of Swahili words. He was helped in particular by two learned Swahilis. "Who," he said, "allowed me to spend every Saturday morning in questioning them about their language and to whom I owe all that is best in my knowledge of African tongues".

Most men would have been content to work at one language at a time, but Steere was determined to establish mutual understanding wherever the Mission went and so he reduced at the same time the dialect spoken in the Usambara Mountains to writing so that the missionaries opening up Christian work there could bridge the linguistic gap between the people and themselves. He actually produced a Shambala grammar which, with the help of the African schoolboys, he printed himself.

The task of learning Swahili required much time and patience. A member of the staff at the time wrote: "No one at home can judge our difficulties, French, German, Portuguese and Swahili are all wanted here; so without Dr. Steere we should be lost—he speaks all! It is fortunate that his learning and patience equal one another. After a hard day of teaching the boys, and printing and writing, and accounts, he comes quite fresh to give me a Swahili lesson after tea and goes on till Ali comes to give him a lesson in Arabic". The Arabs were particularly willing to assist Dr. Steere in his linguistic work, for his learning, humility and dignified reserve were especially attractive to them. From them he learnt not only common words and phrases but also, more important still, their ways of thinking and expressing themselves.

After six years in Africa, Dr. Steere returned home to England, bringing with him in manuscript or rough print from the Mission press a grammar and dictionary of the language; also several parts of the Bible, portions of the Book of Common Prayer and sundry school-books translated into Swahili and now requiring revision and publication. The British and Foreign Bible Society undertook the task of printing the Gospel in Swahili, while he himself settled down in the quiet of his old parish in Lincolnshire to "more than a year's work in arranging and printing a very copious vocabulary".

On his return in 1872, Dr. Steere continued to work on the language, as a result of which Sir Bartle Frere was able to write that all the forty-two boys and twenty-two girls now in the Mission School at Zanzibar "have learned to read and write their own language, or at least Swahili, the general language of the Coast, in English character, in a manner which leaves little to be desired. This is mainly due to the labours of Dr. Steere. He has furnished anyone who can read English with the means of thoroughly mastering Swahili, the most generally useful of East African languages, and greatly facilitated the acquisition of three others commonly spoken by slaves".

He now felt himself to be sufficiently proficient in Swahili to begin preaching the Gospel in a little mud-hut on the site of the slave market where later he was to build his magnificent Cathedral of Christ as a symbol of the victory of the cross over the terrible trade in human lives. "The room was filled to overflowing with listeners", he wrote to a friend, "and the tracts and papers we were able to print were eagerly snatched from my hands".

As Bishop and head of the Mission, he found himself faced with a multitude of tasks, not least that of undertaking long and dangerous journeys into the interior. Every day he spent at Zanzibar, he was wont, soon after breakfast, to go to the printing office, where he remained until nearly noon, revising and correcting proof-sheets of his various Swahili translations. Often he set up the type himself and sewed together the pages of

the little pamphlets and tracts which came to him wet from the press. Tradespeople in the town would occasionally send in bills and other things to be printed and, if Bishop Steere were there, he used almost invariably to attend to these orders himself, so anxious was he "that everything done in the printing office should be done well, and that nothing should issue from it but what would be creditable to us". After the midday meal he would bring a whole pile of freshly-printed matter into the general sitting-room, and handing round a few needles and some thread would soon begin stitching together the tracts and books with a rapidity others failed to equal. In the afternoon he would again take his place in the printing office until after school-hours.

In spite of his remarkable work on the language, Bishop Steere was always very humble about it. For example, we are told that "he brought out in Swahili the Epistles to the Philippians and Ephesians with great diffidence, owing to what he felt to be one of the great difficulties in rendering St. Paul's language, namely the paucity and poverty of the prepositions in the vernacular of Zanzibar".

One night at Evensong, a lesson was read from one of these translations and the Bishop expressed himself surprised to find that it "seemed almost intelligible". He used to say at that time that he would much rather not publish his translations of the Bible at all and that he only did so lest others should translate and publish who were not so well equipped for the work as he was.

He thought that Swahili was very inadequate as a language for rendering the subtleties of New Testament Greek, and never ranked his own translations highly. He was conscious too, like many of us today, of writing **unidiomatic** Swahili and often alluded to this in letters to his friends. Once he wrote: "If I thought people were likely, when learning to speak and write Swahili, to rely upon my books and translations, I would wish them all to be burnt!" He found the true genius of the language in the Swahili tales which from time to time he collected and wrote down just as he heard them. "All I can do", he said, "is to write the language with grammatical correctness, but the genius of the language must not be sought in any translations that I have published".

It has been mentioned that Bishop Steere did not only concern himself with Swahili, although he devoted more time to it than to other East African languages. Before he became Bishop, he paid great attention to the most difficult language of the Yao people, among whom he was eventually to establish the Masasi Mission in what is now the Southern Province. He told Archdeacon Maples that he considered he never knew Swahili properly until he had studied Yao which had thrown a flood of light on Swahili and which he recognized as a superior language, although he did not think that

his ear could ever be able to follow its rapid sounds or allow of his learning to speak it. That is also the heartfelt view of the writer of this article who found himself faced with learning Yao in his early days in Africa and rejoiced to be transferred after three months to a district where the much easier Chinyanja was spoken!

By 1879, the Bishop had completed the printing at the native press of the translations of the New Testament and Prayer Book in Swahili and on his return to England for a short holiday in 1882 he took with him the corrected and revised version of the New Testament to be printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society to whose assistance he often paid tribute. It is interesting to note that the same Society is responsible for the latest edition of the New Testament in Swahili and for the Old Testament shortly to be published.

Worn and weary by his labours in East Africa and with his letter of resignation as Head of the Mission already written, he might have been excused if he had returned home for good but instead he asked if he might remain at Zanzibar to help with translation work and to give his successor the advantages of his own experience. Indeed he had just completed the translation of the Book of Isaiah into Swahili when death overtook him on 27th August, 1882, in his bedroom at Zanzibar.

Whatever may have been his own opinions of his translation work, history has proved that Bishop Steere did in fact lay the foundation of modern Swahili. New knowledge and modern methods of research have made necessary certain amendments to his Bible Translations, Dictionary and Grammar, but they remain of lasting and monumental value as a base for the common tongue of all races living in East Africa.

Recording Tour in Tanganyika by a Team of the African Music Society *

By Hugh Tracey

THE YEAR 1950 will remain a memorable one for our research team, as it gave us our first introduction to the music of East Africa. The tour included primarily Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Uganda and Kenya, with brief recordings in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the way north. It proved to be one of the most enjoyable African tours I have yet made, not only for the music itself but for the outstanding kindness of officials and private individuals, European, African, Indian and Arab, whom we met on our journey and also for the magnificent scenery which characterizes most of the country traversed. We saw the four highest mountains of Central Africa, the largest lakes, great herds of game and the Rift valley scenery, which surely is unsurpassed on the continent.

This tour, which was to prove so enjoyable, began with near tragedy. Three strokes of bad luck within one week shook us to the foundations. First, our recording van broke its crankshaft shortly after entering Tanganyika, and in so doing split the engine-block in two. The local garage at Mbeya located a new engine for us and brought it in by air freight. No sooner had the engine arrived than our African recording assistant was taken off to hospital with acute appendicitis and nearly died, before he decided to stay with us after all. The worst of the three was yet to come. On the following day our South African native lorry driver, in my absence at Tukuyu, decided to ignore all our strict rules and regulations, and handle petrol in camp within a few feet of where he was boiling some tea for himself. The inevitable conflagration gutted our pack-lorry with all our camping equipment, cooking utensils, some of our recording gear and a considerable amount of personal property. This was the hardest blow of all, as it meant reorganizing the whole of our expedition at short notice and relying, not upon camping out and looking after ourselves, but upon wayside hotels and rest-houses and the hospitality of friends. But even here our luck held good, and we found that amenities, few and far between as they are in East Africa, were much more prevalent and much better than we had anticipated. In fact in many ways it was a blessing in disguise as it relieved us of the necessity of catering and cooking for most of the time. Accommodation, on the other hand, was always difficult, and we constantly wished we had our burnt tents.

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We were greatly encouraged at this stage by the cheerful presence of our Tanganyika Representative of the African Music Society, Mr. Hans Cory, Government Anthropologist, who gave us three weeks of his valuable time to introduce us to Tanganyika. We could not have had a better companion. His encyclopædic knowledge of the people, his philosophy and constant good humour soon brought everything back into perspective and started us off happily on our year's recordings. Mbeya, I feel, would have given us a better start had it not been clouded by these three disasters. We left the town with the experience of outstanding hospitality and general enthusiasm, particularly on the part of the Provincial Commissioner, Mr. A. A. Oldaker, the Principal of the Mbeya Government Secondary School for African Girls, Miss M. Hancock, and the District Commissioner of Tukuyu, Mr. Z. E. Kingdon, amongst many others. We for our part did not do Mbeya justice, and we only have a handful of recordings to show for that baleful week.

Once we had crossed the Southern Highlands to Iringa, our luck turned, and within a few hours of entering the town we had discovered one of Africa's outstanding musicians. The uncle of the present Paramount Chief of the Hehe turned out to be a skilled performer on the *Ligombo* zither, a three-foot long trough zither, resonated by a large gourd, an instrument which reminded one of the Indian sitar. The Hehe tribe, from the little we saw of them, would appear to be potentially a very musical people. They belong to the list of African tribes which use a full heptatonic scale in place of one of the simpler pentatonic. Apart from Pancras the *Ligombo* player, we found little evidence that this potential talent was being exercised.

Leaving Iringa behind, we crossed the Rift valley on the road to Dodoma, and here it was we had the impression that we had at last entered Central Africa. At Dodoma, Hans Cory introduced us to the Gogo, one of the Bantu peoples who have come under the influence of that remarkable Nilo-Hamitic tribe, the Masai. The Gogo seemed to raise one of two reactions amongst local Europeans. Those who evaluate a tribe by its economic standing were disappointed. Others, who appreciate the integrity of a simple pastoral and, indeed, poetic existence, retained an enthusiasm for the Gogo and their ways, which was later well reflected in the conversation of an ex-District Commissioner who had become very attached to the tribe. Hans Cory was already well known to them, and the Paramount Chief did not disappoint us when, at Cory's invitation, he staged a party for recording.

My impressions of that day's work are filled with superlatives. In all my experience of Africa, I had not heard better chanting than we recorded that afternoon and late into the evening, as the red-ochred, pigtailed, decorative young men sang and danced for us while their young women gave brilliant performances on the drums. Many of their songs lasted a full five

minutes without any repetition and we were forced to ask them to abbreviate some of them for the purposes of recording.

If what we heard that afternoon was any criterion, anyone who sets out to study the music of the Gogo is bound to be well rewarded.

From Dodoma we took the train to the Coast, on local advice. We were assured that it would be well-nigh impossible, with the roads and pontoons in their present state, to do the journey by motor vehicle. So, riding in luxury with our three motor trucks behind us, we arrived the next day at Dar es Salaam.

Bad management on my part and regrettable ignorance of the strictness with which Mohammedans observe the fast of Ramadan almost led to a major disappointment on the Coast. But the kindness of officials, the sagacity of the Liwali of Dar es Salaam and the keen enthusiasm for their music on the part of several of the outstanding musicians, overcame sufficient of the Ramadan inertia to enable us to make some very fine recordings in the town.

Here we encountered music which was entirely new to us coming up from the south. The influence of the Arabs, as opposed to that of the Europeans, appeared to us to be a far more vital musical force, and one which has left the Coast African with a strongly poetic sense. In particular I would like to mention the enthusiastic members of a little local music club. This club (under the somewhat inappropriate name of "The Egyptian Musical Club", as it has no connection with Egypt) was started by two brothers, whose enthusiasm for Swahili music has inspired a considerable number of their fellows on the Coast. The younger brother, Bom Amberon, a self-taught musician, is gifted beyond the usual, and his recordings of "Nahawande", "Hijazi" and "Sika", all three Arabian in inspiration, have made an excellent addition to our African library of music. In particular, his playing of the Arab "Oud", called locally by the Swahili "*Udi*", an unfretted lute of the guitar family, must be mentioned. His style and technique have a marked resemblance to the Moorish music of Spain.

Another interesting phenomenon on the Coast is the widespread influence which gramophone records of Brazilian music have recently had upon the people. Dance bands in all East African towns are playing Africanized versions of Brazilian rumbas, congas and sambas. They play them without the financial backing which would enable them to perform on the normal instruments. One or two of them managed to produce an ancient violin, a discarded clarinet or half-strung mandolin, but for the rest, improvised instruments were the rule. In place of saxophones and trumpets they sang through horns and kazoos. The general effect was what Americans would call "corny", but so vital and full of rhythm that it raised everyone's immediate enthusiasm.

The South American flavour was also noticeable on the Island of Zanzibar, which we visited a week later, where brass bands of the old German pattern dispensed similar music. Another most interesting phenomenon on the Coast is the influence of Indian music upon the Coast African. A dealer in gramophone records at Mombasa later told me that of all external musical influences the Indian is now by far the greatest on the Coast. He said it was reflected in the proportion of sales. The truth of his remarks was immediately underlined by a native African customer who came in and bought an Indian record as I stood there. This would have been unheard of in a place like Natal where no Indian influence can be traced among the local Zulu.

Apart from the Swahili themselves (whom we found slow to respond, but once they knew us, delightful to work with), the tribes from the interior, in particular the Nyamwezi, were only too glad to sing and perform. Here we discovered another outstanding artist of the tour in the person of Idi Selimani, an accomplished comedian-actor and leader of a group of singers, all of whom are clearly devoted to him. Without having had a lesson in his life, he demonstrated a set of mime gestures which would be the envy of any academy student. We left Dar es Salaam promising ourselves a return visit at a time when Ramadan did not have its daylight stranglehold upon the inhabitants.

Returning again to the interior by train, we set out for the next stage of our tour from Tabora. This included the thickly-populated country south of Lake Victoria, where the Sukuma people and their offshoots number the best part of a million. This was Hans Cory's special country and after a few enjoyable days recording the miners at the Williamson Diamond Mine we made for Mwanza on the Lake, which Hans Cory has made his headquarters for his exhaustive anthropological studies of the Sukuma people. Here again we found a Bantu people who had come under the spell of the Masai, and it was reflected in their chanting which in several respects contained similarities to that of the Gogo. The Sukuma, we felt, was another tribe which would well repay a musicologist's attention. Their love of music has led them into a highly-organized set of secret and semi-secret societies in which dancing and singing form a major activity. Their love of dancing I expect might in fact hamper a musicologist, who might well find them far keener to dance than to sing.

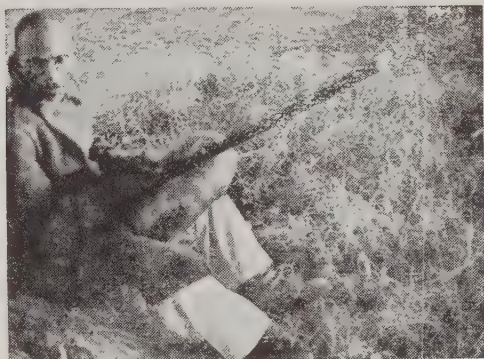
It had been our intention to cross the Lake to the west side by boat, but a breakdown in one of the two Lake steamers before we arrived made this impossible, so we set off to do the long journey round the southern half of Lake Victoria via Shinyanga and Biharamulo. Here, established in the old German fortress, Mr. Smith, the very cheerful bachelor District Commissioner, made arrangements for us to record some of the local performers. This was



Nkond dancers, Lake Nyasa



A small-eight note mbira decorated with colobus monkey skin. Nkonde tribe near Mbeya.



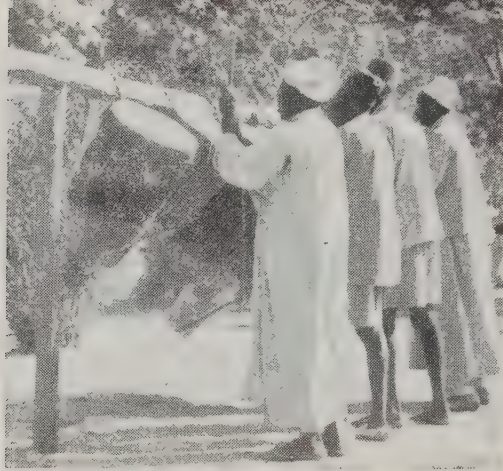
Playing the ligombo zither, Hehe tribe



The dance has sometimes a trance-like effect on the Gogo.



Chief's drums at Tabora



Four drummers sounding a Chief's welcome to Mtemi Fundikira, Tabora.



Nyamwezi woman diviner dancing to the drums.



Agrouop of professional entertainers, singers, dancers and drummers, Mwanza.



Professional Sukuma dancer with his assistants bringing his drum to a dance and summoning the people on a horn. Near Mwanza.



Meru Dancers, Arusha

our first introduction to music which had Hima influence, of the type we were to experience in considerable quantities during the next few weeks. The people here were a very simple peasantry—a simplicity which was reflected in their music, and quite unlike that of their more developed neighbours to the immediate north. This country at the lower end of Lake Victoria is far from being a hospitable stretch of land. The moment one's motor car slowed down to about 15 m.p.h. on an upward slope tsetse flies came pinging onto the windscreen and made one uncomfortably aware of the considerable domain these insects have pegged out for themselves in most of tropical Africa.

Once around the corner of the Lake, the colour of the landscape changed from Africa's tawny yellow to the eternal green of a coastal belt. Driving up the east side of the Lake one enters the country which receives the benison of lake climate and high rainfall with its consequent high fertility. At Bukoba the Haya people gave every sign of being one of the most cultured and wealthy of East African tribes. The aristocratic intrusion of the Hima into this part of the world had left its residue of ritual and ceremonial songs, introduced to us with courtesy and unusual charm by the chiefs of the country-side. Their large banana and coffee shambas covered the tops of the rolling hills with concentrated agriculture so rarely seen in any of the territory further south. It was here that we found our next outstanding African artist, named Habib bin Seliman, a name which reflects the extent of Arab influence so far inland. Chief Gabriel Lugabandana was very keen for us to record his zither player who, he said, was the best singer of legends in all the Haya country. Our subsequent recording of the legend, which accredited their tribal origin to the Spirit of the Lake, was a masterpiece of narration. It lasted about fifteen minutes and the reciter was word-perfect throughout, the accompaniment of his seven-string deep-toned zither giving an appropriate air of solemnity to the whole performance.

It was here also that we recorded our first canoe songs and were introduced to the music of the one-string lute, which is such a feature of the music of Uganda. We left Bukoba with regrets and a feeling that it was another district in which anyone interested in African music would be well rewarded with original compositions.

[From Bukoba the team went to Uganda and Kenya.]

Leaving Nairobi by way of the game plains, we returned south to Tanganyika and the volcanic mountains of Meru and Kilimanjaro. The Arusha clan of Masai recorded music as happy and direct as that of our Nandi and Kipsigis groups further north, but under Mount Meru there was another Bantu tribe, like the Gogo, which has succumbed to the enchantment of the Nilo-Hamitics. One bright afternoon they provided a most brilliant spectacle as well as interesting music for our machines. We were not forewarned either by our European or African contacts for what we were to meet.

We took a winding and somewhat precipitous mountain-side track to the rendezvous where the Paramount Chief of the Meru tribe had collected his people. On our arrival, we found on an open slope covered with short green grass a mass of about 1,000 men and women all prepared to sing and dance. Their costumes and their cosmetics were the most colourful that we had experienced in the whole of our East Africa tour. Dancing in files, men and women in alternate rows, company after company of dancers moved rhythmically up and down the sward, the men holding their great Masai-type spears and shields, the women most beautifully attired in bright beadwork. Both had applied many different shades of ochre, yellow, pink and white, with vermillion and blue in bold designs all over their faces. From this description, one might conclude that this represented "barbaric" splendour, but our impression was indeed the opposite, for the Meru men we saw were as handsome and the women as pretty as anything Africa has to show. Their habit of dancing with the chin uplifted and thrust forward adds to the astonishing dignity and loveliness of the whole performance. Our recordings were greeted with more than the usual enthusiasm, and our brief visit to the Meru is one we shall not readily forget.

It confirmed once more the impression we had gained in other districts that the Nilo-Hamitic tribes and those who have fallen under their influence have a natural charm of personality which is denied to the average run of Bantu people. To artistically sensitive persons they are a group of distinctive culture and integrity, no matter how literate or illiterate, materially successful or unsuccessful they may happen to be. It was these people who in the past drove the weaker hordes up into the foothills of the great mountains, there to become rich in due time on the cultivation of the imported coffee-bean.

The materially successful tribe, the Chagga, of the lower slopes of Kilimanjaro seem at present to have little or nothing to contribute to African art. Financial success, coupled with a literary education, has not apparently given them cultural advancement but the status of colourless plebeians. Naturally, with their heaven-sent prosperity flowing down the mountainside from the melting snows of Kilimanjaro, they are said to consider themselves a people set apart and superior in all ways to the nomads of the dry plains below. Of their relative happiness, who is to judge?

The last lap of our journey took us back to the Coast down the long line of Pare and Usambara mountains, the great sisal-growing districts of Tanganyika, back to the softer influences and atmosphere of the Swahili Coast. Mombasa, like Dar es Salaam, proved to be a place of poetry and languid charm, which we can readily believe is the direct result of contact with scores of generations of Arabs. It was a pleasure to meet the local musicians and to make records with cheerful well-mannered folk.

From Malindi on the north coast where the Liwali Sheikh Mohammed Hamid Timani made arrangements for us to record Arab music, to Mombasa itself where the officials both African and European gave us every facility, the last three weeks of our journey proved as interesting as any we had had in the previous six months. We were again impressed with the genuine and developed musical feeling of the Swahili, who subscribe to the Arab method of performance to the violin, the *udi*, the *dambuk* earthenware drums and the flutes. Recording sessions lasted long into the night, and once we became accustomed to the musical idiom we found ourselves falling under the spell of their improvisation, which so clearly affected the audience sitting around in the same way as it affected us. The Arab sword dance, stick dances and the distinctive dress which has so markedly influenced the coastal people, all contributed to this friendly cheerful musical atmosphere which is such a part of the life of the Muhammedan coast. As far as we know, there has been no serious effort to study in detail the musical culture of the Swahili people in Kenya and Tanganyika and the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar. The few recordings we were fortunate enough to make will indicate to any student of African music what a vast field there is to cover in this coastal belt alone.

For the great variety of music alone, quite apart from the friendliness of the people, no matter to what race or of what social standing they belonged, our East African tour could not have been more happy.

This short account has merely touched upon a few of the highlights. It has been impossible to mention by name the scores of white officials and individuals who went out of their way to assist us and who clearly drew a certain satisfaction and pride in the achievements of the people they administered, or the many outstanding Africans who showed their appreciation of our work and were glad of the promise of local records to come.

Artistically, the East African tribes appear to us, with few exceptions such as the Chopi, to be far more mature than those tribes in the five or six territories further south. There is not a member of my recording team (without whose enthusiastic support such a tour would have been impossible), who does not look forward with pleasure to a return visit to East Africa.

The concrete evidence of our six months' journey is contained in over a thousand high fidelity recordings, most of which we hope will shortly be printed and find their way back to their homelands to the many singers and instrumentalists who played for us, and their appreciative audiences in the towns and villages of East Africa.

Kondoa Boma

By H. A. Fosbrooke

AS A NEW country Tanganyika has few buildings of historic interest, so this account of one of the more striking up-country Bomas may be of interest to readers of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*.

Kondoa Irangi, as many travellers know, lies 100 miles north of Dodoma and two miles west of the Great North Road. Kondoa, or Mkondoa, is the name of the river which runs through the station and Irangi that of the surrounding tribal area. It is not known how the double name arose.

Till the latter half of the nineteenth century the surrounding area is said to have been thick *miombo* forest, when two Irangi tribesmen, attracted by the never failing and abundant water supply, cleared holdings for themselves. They were shortly followed by Arab ivory traders with attendant native hunters, mostly of the Makua tribe.

The first published reference that can be traced is in Karl Peters' 'New Light on Dark Africa', English Edition, 1891, where he states of a certain Arab: 'he possessed places of business in Irangi and was now following his caravan thither for the purpose of sending the ivory stored up there to the Coast'.

The Germans shortly followed and there is a record of a Herr Brekman (Junior Officer) in 1897 and of Lieutenant Bomstack and Ober-Leutenant Bomolah being stationed at Kondoa in 1898. In 1906 Medical, Police and Veterinary officers were posted there, and the town was laid out as a model up-country station which developed into the headquarters of a District more than twice as large as now, extending from and including Mkalama in the west and Kibaya in the east. It was also a big military centre, the troops being housed in a fortified cantonment of which little remains except the double-storeyed officers' quarters which now comprise the District Headquarters.

Careful investigation on the ground reveals the extent of the previous buildings, but the aerial photograph, Fig. II, enables one to see the whole lay-out at a glance. The first point to be noted is the big square, with sides of about 150 yards, which was in the main surrounded by single-storey native quarters, of which a small portion remains as the easternmost portion of the present Native Authority stores. This in turn was surrounded by a bank and ditch, and—so native report has it—a sisal hedge. Access was gained by arched gateways, one of which was in the north east corner nearest the D.C.'s house whilst the last was demolished in 1948 and replaced by the big gates into the store yard.



Fig. I.—Kondo Boma as it is today ; the external doors and windows are new.

Photograph by kindness of the Public Relations Officer.

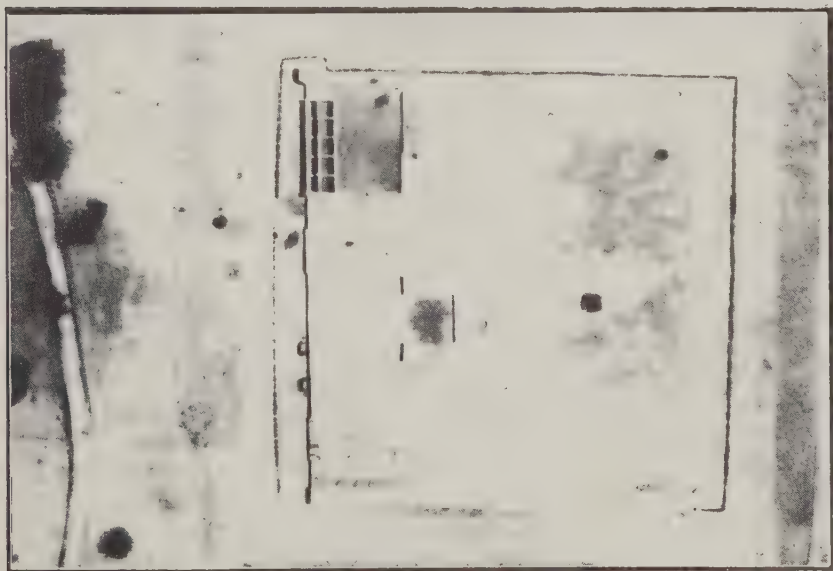


Fig. II.—Kondo Boma from the air. Taken 1932. Note that the building in the N.W. corner of the square is unroofed. *Photograph by kindness of the Director of Surveys.*

Another point of interest is the absence of a roof from the present boma when the aerial photo was taken about 1932. This was the result of the scorched earth policy of the Germans when threatened with capture by the British in 1916. I have been lucky enough to contact Mr. Frank Green who was in the van of the advance; he most kindly gave the following facts.

The Fourth South African Horse were first into Kondoa with the 2nd and 4th Battery of the South African Field Artillery, Mr. Green's unit. The force comprised some 542 men, who advanced down the old Kolo road through Bolisa, firing over open sights at the retreating Germans. On arrival at Kondoa they found the building which is now the Boma on fire: burning rice and other stores filled the ground floor rooms, the ceiling had gone and the roof timbers were burning, in consequence of which the corrugated iron sheets were sagging in.

A bizarre story concerns four donkeys which the conquerors brought in with them and stalled in an enclosure containing twenty or thirty pigs left by the Germans. Their erstwhile owners had been occupied with matters more pressing than pig feeding for the previous few days with a result that the famished animals turned on the donkeys and started to devour them.

Confirmation of the above story of the fire came to light during the alterations of 1948, when the charred ends of beams were revealed in the walls. Also found built into the masonry were bits of sugar cane, such as remain after the juice has been extracted. Inquiry showed that these found their way into the walls in the following manner: the Germans were hard task masters and would not let the masons relax, so the latter sustained themselves by surreptitiously chewing sugar cane. Had they thrown the remains away their offence would have been disclosed, so they built them into the walls instead.

A further Great War relic is to be found in the initials carved on the baobab tree, situated between the Boma and the N.A. Headquarters, and which can be seen in the aerial view (Fig. II). The observant will also have noted another point about this aerial photograph, namely, that the avenue which is such a conspicuous and pleasing feature of the Boma was not there in 1932. I have been told that it was planted by the school children in 1935 in celebration of King George the Fifth's Jubilee, and consists of the Rain Tree (*Pithecellobium Saman*). The fact that so handsome an avenue can be produced in so short a time should serve as an encouragement to tree planters.

Refugees in Tanganyika during the Second World War

By A. L. Pennington, C.B.E.

ALTHOUGH Tanganyika was not a battle-ground in the second world war as it had been in the 1914-1918 conflict, the territory was indirectly affected in many ways. One of the more interesting contributions which it made to the general commonwealth war effort was the grant of temporary asylum to a large number of European war refugees and displaced persons.

The approximate numbers assisted in this manner were eighty British and 180 Jewish refugees from Cyprus; 3,000 Italians, all male civilians, who were evacuated from Ethiopia after the close of the campaign there; 500 Greeks who came mostly from the islands of Chios and Samos; and, finally, some 9,000 Poles. In addition, about 2,000 Greeks and 500 Poles were accommodated for some months, the former while moving to and from the Belgian Congo, the latter in transit to Abercorn in Northern Rhodesia. In considering the impact of these refugees on the territory's economy it must be remembered that the total European population of Tanganyika at the outbreak of war in 1939 was approximately 8,000.

The refugees from Cyprus were the first arrivals, the British group reaching Tanganyika in August, 1941, and the Jewish group in the following December. They were voluntary evacuees who had been advised to leave Cyprus following the German occupation of Crete. The British nationals were for the most part elderly retired men and their families, while the Jewish group consisted of persons from various Central European countries (Germany, Austria, Hungary and Roumania principally) who had taken refuge in Cyprus from persecution in their homelands before the outbreak of war. The latter group contained a considerable number of able-bodied men but it was considered highly desirable that they should leave Cyprus in case they fell into German hands in the course of a possible attack on the island. In view of their comparatively small numbers and of the fact that many could speak English, it was found possible to accommodate these Cyprus refugees in vacant houses, hotels, etc., in the Tanga, Western and Lake Provinces, and to pay them monthly cash allowance (as long as it was necessary to do so) with which they could feed and clothe themselves. By the irony of fate many of them were allocated houses which had belonged to German subjects in Tanganyika who had been interned or repatriated early in the war.

Generally speaking, the British refugees were too old to be able to contribute much to the territory's war effort; but a number of the Jewish group did useful work, often in occupations far removed from their pre-war activities. The internment of so many able-bodied German residents of Tanganyika and the departure on active service of a considerable number of British and Allied

subjects had made the European manpower position in the territory very difficult; and any help which the refugees could give was, therefore, very valuable. Unfortunately many of the Jewish refugees were still technically enemy subjects and, as such, for security reasons could not be employed in certain areas of the territory, often where there was the biggest need.

At the end of the war virtually all the British refugees left the territory, the majority returning to Cyprus. The position of the Jews was not quite so simple. Although Cyprus had given them temporary asylum prior to September 1939, it had not really been their home and many of them were reluctant to return there, despite the fact that they had been accepted in Tanganyika on the understanding that all would return to Cyprus after the war. Ultimately, a number who had shown that they could earn their own living in Tanganyika were allowed to stay here permanently; others were assisted to obtain permission to enter other countries and less than half finally returned to Cyprus.

The next arrivals, the Italians, were of course enemy subjects at the time in question and had to be dealt with in a different fashion. They were, as stated above, all males and were treated as interned civilians and accommodated in a specially-built camp at Tabora under guard. They were housed on the dormitory system and were encouraged to work at various occupations in the camp. They were almost all able-bodied men and in many cases were skilled artisans. It was unfortunate, therefore, that for security reasons they could not be employed outside camp to any considerable extent, particularly in the earlier part of their sojourn in the territory. Tools and materials with which they could work in camp were in very short supply. These Italians gave very little trouble and those who *were* employed outside camp worked well and cheerfully. Those remaining in the camp established a first-class vegetable farm and made a great variety of articles including such things as violins for the camp orchestra.

The Greeks who remained in Tanganyika throughout the war were mostly simple fisher-folk. They arrived as complete families and every effort was made to give each family its own room or rooms. Although the refugees behaved well generally and were pleasant people to deal with, fishermen are notoriously difficult to place in other occupations and it was not easy to find them employment which they liked and/or in which they could do much useful work. The position was made worse by the fact that scarcely any of them knew English. On the other hand, since they were allied subjects, there were no security difficulties in their case. At the end of the war, some half-dozen asked to be permitted, and were allowed, to stay in Tanganyika: but the vast majority were very happy to leave for their own country.

By far the largest number of refugees who were accommodated in Tanganyika during the war were, however, Poles. They began to arrive in August, 1942, and by July, 1944, nearly 7,000 had reached the territory. Then, well

after the end of the war when the Polish refugees remaining in Tanganyika had been reduced to a comparatively small number, the territory agreed to accept a further 2,000, who had previously been accommodated in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, in order to enable the International Refugee Organization to concentrate its hitherto scattered activities in East and Central Africa.

These Polish refugees presented a somewhat different problem. The great majority of them came from that part of Eastern Poland which has been annexed since the end of the war by Russia. They were largely peasant-folk although there was a considerable number of more educated persons among them. There were very few able-bodied men and a great number of children in their ranks. Comparatively few could speak any language other than Polish and, of these, very few indeed could speak English. They had arrived in Tanganyika at the end of a journey as remarkable as any in history. Along with many hundreds of thousands of other Poles, they had been deported by the Soviet authorities to distant parts of Russia-in-Europe and to Siberia during the Russian occupation of Eastern Poland between September, 1939, and June, 1941. As a result of the barbarous manner in which these deportations were carried out and of the extremely poor living and working conditions in the forced labour camps and collective farms to which the Poles were sent, a great many of them died. When Germany eventually attacked Russia, and the Kremlin and the Polish Government in London became by force of circumstances uneasy allies, representatives of the latter were allowed to try to get into contact with Polish prisoners of war and deported Polish civilians in the Soviet Union. It was agreed that a Polish army should be formed from former prisoners of war in Russia to fight alongside the Russians against the Germans. The last thing the Russian government really wanted, however, was that a truly national Polish army should march with them when the time came for the liberation of Poland; so, as soon as the German pressure began to slacken a little, the Russian authorities started putting every sort of obstacle in the way of the arming and training of this Polish force. At this stage the British Government offered to take this Polish army for service in the Middle East where we were very short of troops at the time. The Poles were ready enough to accept this offer but refused to leave Russia unless their families were brought out with them. As a result, about 50,000 Polish women and children, with some elderly men, were brought out of the Soviet Union into Persia in 1942; and it was from Persia that the refugees came to Tanganyika via India. Many of them had come from the remotest parts of Siberia and had done the greater part of the journey to the Persian border on foot.

Until it became obvious that a government closely controlled by the Russian Government was to assume power in liberated Poland, virtually every Polish refugee in Tanganyika was determined to get back to Poland at the first

opportunity; but the developments which followed the Yalta Conference, including the withdrawal of recognition from the Polish Government in London, altered the position completely. As stated above, the great majority of the refugees came from that part of Poland which has been taken over by Russia since the end of the war. They could not, therefore, return to their old homes without becoming Russian citizens, a change of nationality they would not contemplate: and although they were told by the Polish Government in Warsaw that they would be given new homes in that part of Eastern Germany which has been taken over by Poland, as supporters of the previous Polish Government in London and as anti-Communists they feared that they would be marked out for persecution if they accepted repatriation. As a result, about 1,000 only of the refugees in Tanganyika agreed to return to Poland: and these went for the most part, either because they had close relatives still in Poland or because they were influenced by the return of Mikolajczyk to Poland and by the possibility (which was of course never realized) that a really representative government might be set up there.

The outlook for the bulk of the Poles in Tanganyika appeared very bleak in 1946 and early 1947: but when U.N.R.R.A. was replaced by I.R.O. later on in that year (1947) their prospects brightened. U.N.R.R.A. had concentrated almost entirely on repatriation as being the best solution to the refugee problem but I.R.O. gave equal prominence to resettlement. Great assistance was given by the United Kingdom Government which agreed to accept the near relatives of all those members of the Polish Forces under British Command who wished to remain permanently in the United Kingdom. The British Government also accepted some of the younger refugees for work in the textile industry, as well as a considerable number of compassionate cases. The Tanganyika Government, despite the limited possibilities for European settlement in the territory, agreed to take up to 300 suitable persons. Some hundreds of orphans and other refugees were accepted by Canada and nearly 1,000 by Australia. A certain number went to the U.S.A., Argentine and other countries as individual immigrants. Eventually all those who did not wish to return to Poland were voluntarily resettled elsewhere and reports received subsequently indicate that the great majority are making good in their new homes.

The Polish camps in Tanganyika, six in number, were run as far as possible as self-contained units, with their own schools, hospitals, workshops, churches and cultural and sports organizations. At one time there were over 2,000 children attending school in Tengeru, the largest Polish camp, and they took the same examinations as they would have done in Poland. Special attention was given to technical education and, after it became obvious that the bulk of the Poles would not return to Poland, to English. Although a considerable number of Poles was employed outside camp, the absence of able-bodied men restricted the contribution which these refugees could make to the solution of the territory's war-time manpower difficulties. Among refugee activities in

the camps were the production of woollen and linen cloth (the latter from flax grown on one of the Polish farms), the tanning of leather and the production of leather goods, the manufacture of a proportion of the tools and utensils needed in the camps, the growing of large areas of vegetables and, in Tengeru, the establishment of a first-class farm. Many of the women did beautiful needlework of various kinds.

Although there was inevitably a certain amount of criticism, often ill-informed, of some refugees by some local residents, relations between the two classes were generally good and many of the residents gave a good deal of voluntary assistance to the refugees in one way or another, especially when they first arrived and were in most need of help. From their side the refugees gave little trouble from the disciplinary angle and, generally speaking, maintained a praiseworthy standard of conduct. Very few had to be dealt with in the local courts. The maintenance under camp conditions in a tropical climate of so many Europeans for so long constituted a very interesting experiment and many valuable lessons were learned by all concerned. It is satisfactory to be able to record that, with very few exceptions, the refugees left Tanganyika with pleasant memories and a soft spot in their hearts for the territory which had given them sanctuary.

The Wachagga of Kilimanjaro*

By Chief T. L. M. Marealle

THE WACHAGGA are a tribe who live on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain in Africa. The area is known as Moshi District and is bounded on the east by Kenya, on the west by the Arusha District, on the north by Kenya and Masailand and on the south by the Pare District.

Moshi District is roughly 502 square miles and about 80 miles across. It is some 4,500 feet above sea-level.

The Kilimanjaro highlands are one of the most beautiful and fertile parts in the Territory. The lowlands however are dry in the summer and the soil there does not easily lend itself to agricultural effort. The whole countryside in which the Chagga homesteads are situated is a pretty stretch of green from west to east.

The beautiful sight of the mountain is the job of a poet and I do not claim to be one. As a Mchagga, however, I treasure a feeling of attachment to it that cannot be eradicated by sheer geographical distance. Indeed no one appreciates the beauty of this impressive landmark more than the foreigner and the stray Mchagga who has had to spend his life away from it. To them it has an unusual charm and significance. As the train approaches Moshi in the early hours of dawn, the traveller's dream is realized unless it happens to be cloudy. Far and away the two peaks come to full view and, as if preaching a gospel of co-operation, they both stand there brushing away the interfering clouds and beckoning us all a welcome home!

Dr. Reusch called the mountain "The Throne of God", and so it is. We sometimes fool ourselves that God must be having something special for us up his sleeve for trusting us with his Throne for so long! Perhaps that something is the climate, the fertility of our soil, the intelligence and industry of the tribe. On getting up in the mornings the old people still look at Kibo with a contemplative silence, for a second or two, as if to say: "We know your hidden powers and bounty will see us through this day".

As a child I used to derive the greatest pleasure out of watching the sun go down gently at sunset and often wondered how many of my people must have lived and watched the beauty of the mountain at that hour, and left this life, leaving the mountain firmly planted there to greet each new generation! My mother used to tell me many fire-side stories about the mountain. The one I loved most was that which relates to an unhappy incident of a quarrel between the two sisters, Kibo and Mawenzi.

*The text of a lecture delivered before the Society in August, 1951

The story goes that the two sisters lived in different huts, as sisters still do, and that each cooked and ate her own meals in her hut. Kibo was more careful with her food and always had some in store against a rainy day. Mawenzi was extravagant, and often finished her food stocks before the next harvest. To fill the gap, she hit upon a clever idea. She decided she would always put out her fire at meal times and go to Kibo to ask for fresh fire embers. She knew she would be invited to share Kibo's delicious dishes on these visits. Indeed, she was always invited, but she overdid her trick, for on one particular occasion, she asked for fire embers three times and put out the fire each time before she got home. She was given some food, and more food the first and second time, but at the third time Kibo was so fed up that she took a big ladle, and aimed a damaging blow on Mawenzi's back, which gave her the rugged appearance that she still bears. This is a story with a moral in it: too much spoon-feeding is a bad thing for anyone . . . True enough, after that incident Mawenzi decided to look after herself better, and never put out her fire deliberately again. There are many more stories woven around the Mountain which should never be lost to the tribe.

Historically, the Chagga people belong to some 400 clans, consisting of the Akamba, Teita, Masai, Pare, Sambaa, Kahe, Kwavi and Dorobo. Numerically, the Akamba top the list with 113 clans and the Dorobo close the list with only two clans. The Teita with 106 clans deserve a special mention, for it is they and the Kamba people who contributed so much to the general pool of what has now become the Code of the Chagga tribe. It is estimated that the Chagga have been on the Mountain for 300-400 years.

Some of these clans, like my own, can trace back their origins to thirteen generations, others to nine and others to eight and so on. The clan system was a strong organization and, within it, members performed their clan rites and ceremonies, and rendered mutual aid, as well as settled disputes.

There were frequent wars between the clans, each trying to dominate the other, till at last the most powerful clans were able to subdue and absorb the lesser ones. The head of the conquering clan became a Chief and he with his clan and the members of the annexed clans fought other big clans or neighbouring chiefdoms until the Chief carved for himself quite a large area of the country.

There was much intrigue and hypocrisy between rival members of a clan as well as between rival chiefs, so peace treaties did not last long. This may be the cause of the static nature of Chagga culture for, with such a dynamic tribe, it is quite possible a great many things would have been done if there was a long period of peace. These clans came with a distinct culture of their own. They had a constitution of a kind, a marriage system, a system of inheritance, of initiation, circumcision and so on. They had an

elaborate kinship system, a system whereby everybody belonged to everybody else and in which a praise or a blame was not an individual affair but affected a whole group of people. The Chagga had a kind of writing by which notches recorded on a stick represented figures and speech. It was a limited vocabulary, no doubt, yet the old people were able to record on these sticks most of their property and some historical events of any significance. They had trenches for use during a war. They had dug-outs several yards long with openings at both ends. These dug-outs were big enough to shelter women, old people and cattle during a raid. A miniature underground, without the electric trains, of course!

The Chagga had an organized social system and practised quite an advanced system of the division of labour. We find that a smithy clan "Wako-Makundi" in *Mamba* entirely engaged on producing spears and other equipment of war, as well as producing the bracelets and amulets which the women wore. We find the "Wakomtui" clan from which the Chief drew his thinkers and counsellors. We find the "Wakomakishe" from whom the Chief drew leaders of war; and the "Wako-Towo" from which Mawalla the last Prime Minister at my grandfather's court came. He was a man of great intelligence, imbued with keen foresight and much wisdom. All these men were well known to the Europeans who visited the country in those days and the latter had a great deal to say about them. These were not just individuals but worthy products of their particular clans, and by those clans they were known. Clan membership is a sacred obligation and remains perhaps the only thing that can control the younger generation to-day.

These clans were spread over many big and small chiefdoms which, through tribal battles, were gradually reduced to twenty-eight, later to twenty-one and still later to sixteen Chiefdoms.

The advent of ruling clans in Kilimanjaro cannot be pinned to any one period. Some of these rulers were visitors from some powerful clans left behind in Ukamba or Teita country on the east, others came from down south in the Sambia country. In many cases if the visitors could prove any connection with the clans which they found, they were accepted and accelerated to the positions to which they were entitled. Sometimes it happened that the visit of the stranger coincided with much awaited rains or the end of an epidemic. Speculating diviners, in expectation of reward, attached such a blessing to the presence of the new-comer and thus enhanced his popularity in the adopted land.

A chief was elected by a gathering of all the people at the "Menge" or "the public place" upon the death of his father; abdications were rare. Normally after much consultation and preparation the name of the first son was mentioned at a representative gathering and the people were asked to

signify their wishes. If they accepted him the chief minister would shout: "If you accept so and so for your Chief say yes, if not say no". The people, if agreeable, would answer, "Hiwo" and again, "Kiro". Which meant, "We agree", "it is so". This was followed by country-wide celebrations and feasts lasting for days together. The Chief was given a council of elders and younger men to advise him on all matters of state. Usually his mother or, if alive, his grandmother and an uncle were also included in the "cabinet". The Chief was the spiritual, administrative and judicial head of the tribe. He offered cattle, goats and sheep to appease the spirits in times of war, famine, or an epidemic. He declared wars on other tribes or chiefdoms; he dispensed justice through his council of elders and made the laws of his territory. With the tribute which his people paid him in the form of cattle, sheep and goats he gave much hospitality to those who came to his court. With this tribute too he was able to entertain foreign visitors lavishly so that they may praise him and his people when they were gone. This is the field that presents a great challenge and perhaps one of the biggest problems, for by virtue of his performances of the various rites, the exercise of his powers and the extension of hospitality to his people, he came to be regarded as "him who was above all others". He was a man-made man but they all liked to have him on a pedestal such as you have a constitutional monarch to-day. To take away these powers under the guise of democracy, whatever that term is, without replacing them in some form, is asking for trouble.

The home of a Mchagga is a conical structure of large poles planted deep in the ground in a circle with withies fastened on horizontally with ropes. Over this frame comes a thatch of dry reed. There is only one entrance and there are no windows. The cattle and goats are stall-fed, so these huts tend to become rather crowded. The houses are divided into several sections, one being the roof called "kay" in which fuel and ripe bananas and other things are stored. Then come "wulyii" in which the mother and her children or man and wife sleep. The "Kombe" where the cattle and goats and sheep are kept. "Kitchininy" where pots, wooden plates and water are kept. "Kimolya" where all the treasured possessions are kept, as also the beer, milk, butter-fat, meat and cooked food. Then there is the "riko" or cooking place. When male children attain the age of, say, ten, they cease to sleep in their mother's huts and join their fathers in another dwelling some yards away from the main cattle hut.

The principal food of the Chagga is meat and bananas. The Chagga do not as a rule eat the flesh of wild game. This custom may be due to the fact that there is enough beef and mutton at any time and the fact also that totemism is practised in the tribe. By this system certain clans have an "affinity" with certain species of wild game or birds. These affinities are sacred and they stretch back, in some cases, to whole generations.

Apart from the cultivation of our shambas, we engage on a number of other activities. The Chagga make their hoes, they make stools, wooden plates and wooden spoons. They cure skins of animals such as the hyrax and the colobus monkeys which are used for bed covers and decorations and were in the olden days used for head-gear by the chiefs' soldiers. They used to make bracelets and armlets for their womenfolk. Some of their time is also taken in constructing the network of furrows which cover the whole countryside with water brought down from the forest. Cultivation as well as house-building was a communal affair. They cultivated the shambas in turn for one another and each person brewed enough liquor for those who turned out to help him.

The division of labour as between men and women is very elaborate. Men collect the poles and withies for making the huts; the women collect and also cart the dry reed; the men do the thatching. The men break fresh soil and cultivate new land and the women beat up the earth and plant the seeds. The men irrigate the shambas and the women weed it. The men harvest the crop and the women cart it. So that there is a real spirit of co-operation throughout, and the women are not just the beasts of burden most foreigners believe.

Inheritance is patrilineal but a woman can own property in her own right. Marriage is by consent and no girl can be forced either by her father or mother to marry against her wishes.

The Chagga believe in the existence of God, whom they called "Ruwa". They say that Ruwa lives in the sky. This Ruwa has his messengers, namely, the departed spirits to whom the living were bade to offer sacrifices at the appropriate times. There is a whole system of rituals as to how these spirits are approached. There are formulas to be recited, there are proper places for libations, and even a plant of pardon—the *Dracaena*.

Through the initiation ceremonies, every Mchagga—man and woman—was able to learn from the elders of his or her own sex the code of rules which governed the tribe. In these "Institutes of Education", rigorous discipline was enforced and certain practices, unknown to the uninitiated, were imparted to the new age-group. Sex was taught as a subject, although civilized schools frown on this idea to-day. The strength of Public Opinion was given a very prominent place in these teachings so that the adulterer, the thief or the burglar did not only face a very strict judicial court but an organized public opinion which attached great stigma to such omissions or commissions and thus prevented their repetition.

The Chagga practised a simple economy of barter but their marketing system was a highly organized affair. Besides serving as a place for the exchange of bananas, beans or yams, milk, honey, sheep or goats, the

markets also served a useful social function—namely, that of bringing together men and women of different localities or different chiefdoms. These markets were also like an International Press Conference, for news of different places was discussed by those attending. The markets also attracted the younger people of both sexes, for here was the greatest opportunity for them to pick their choices. Incidentally, parents do not like this idea because they believe that, on these occasions, appearances deceive very much!

No one sold food at the market for profit. There was enough of it and with so little else to buy the need to use coins did not arise.

With the advent of Europeans, however, this simple barter economy had to give way to a money economy. This economic intrusion on the lives of the people was given its real significance some fifty years ago when a Catholic Priest introduced to Kilimanjaro a plant that has changed the lives of the people and the face of the countryside—coffee. After a little coaxing by their life-long friend and Administrator—the Hon. C. Dundas, now Sir Charles—many Chagga planted large areas with coffee in the teeth of much European opposition. "Alright", the Chagga reasoned, "if the Europeans are so incensed about it, it must be a good idea", and they went ahead with growing coffee and more coffee. Whenever more land was available, they increased the acreage. Beginning in a humble way in 1922, they built the Co-operative enterprise which has meant so much to them. The K.N.C.U., as the Co-op. is called (Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union) despite some critical set-backs in the past has grown from strength to strength. With only 14,000 coffee trees in 1920 the Chagga extended the scope of their growing so rapidly that they were able to produce 100 tons of parchment coffee in 1925. By 1932 there were 12,577 members and sixteen affiliated societies. To-day, the K.N.C.U. has a membership of 31,674 and twenty-six affiliated Societies. Coffee trees grown number 12½ million. These trees yielded a crop of about 4,229 tons during the 1947/48 season. £477,447 was realized for this crop. Great credit for some of these remarkable developments is due to Mr. Bennett, whom the Society engaged in 1932.

The K.N.C.U. is run entirely by the Chagga themselves since Mr. Bennett, who is now Executive Officer of the Coffee Board, handed over his post of Manager to his understudy, a Mchagga. The latter is doing very well and has fully justified the hopes of the farmers.

The K.N.C.U. have built a Coffee School, which is one of the finest in the country. It has thirty pupils on its roll and the Principal is the ex-Director of Agriculture, Zanzibar,

The K.N.C.U. has a Printing Press which does all the Union's work and also private work for individuals or firms. Except for the Master Printer, Mr. Dingle, the rest of the staff are Africans, mainly Chagga.

The K.N.C.U. are equal partners with European Growers in the Coffee Curing Works, which cost many thousands of pounds sterling.

The K.N.C.U. have given nearly ten scholarships between 1948/50, mainly to Staff employed by the Union, so that deserving cases can proceed to the U.K. to study co-operatives and other business ventures, including Accountancy. Whether it is through the clan ties or mere highland preference I do not know, but they nearly all seem to go to Skerry in Scotland for their studies!

The K.N.C.U. is building a new Headquarters to serve also as a Chagga Cultural Centre. It will cost £100,000 and consist of furnished offices, a restaurant with several beds, hot and cold water laid on, a recreational Hall, an Assembly Hall, a hall for Chagga Art, and an open Air theatre to seat 600. To bridge the gap of time and give the event a fitting significance, the laying of the foundation stone ceremony was performed by Sir Charles Dundas whom the Chagga invited, meeting the full cost of his journey, accommodation and all entertainment. Thousands of people of all races witnessed this historic occasion.

The by-products of the K.N.C.U. are the Chagga traders Co-op. which buys all produce in bulk and even indents goods in bulk from outside. This co-op. has eliminated all non-Chagga traders on the mountain and all the shops on the countryside, including bakeries, etc., are run entirely by the Chagga. The other is the Chagga Butchers' Co-op. Society which was established a year ago. This society has grown quite big now and it has been able to cut down considerably the costs of travel and inconvenience hitherto suffered by the individual Chagga cattle trader. Next comes the Chagga Transporters Company which played such a very big part in transporting all Chagga produce from the mountain and goods back there, eliminating all competition from outside. There have been hitches now and again, but on the whole these societies are flourishing well.

Our main problems to-day are land, education and increasing population. Everything is being done by the people themselves, repeat, *people themselves*, and the Government, to remove or reduce some of them. In thirty years or so the Chagga people will have doubled themselves on an area that cannot possibly be stretched far enough and that is a very tough problem which has to be faced and solved somehow. The other problem is that of a dying culture and a dying language. These are serious problems that have received little attention so far.

In conclusion one could not forget Missionary effort in Chaggaland, because they, more than anyone else, really got on to the people, learned their language, knew their difficulties and imparted new ideas. It is in their homes that we learned more than from any amount of text-books. God bless them.

A History of Africa

*Recorded by Sheikh Hemedi bin Abdullah of Dargube, Tangata,
and Translated by E. C. Baker*

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The typescript of this history and of the Early History of Mombasa and Tanga was formerly among the files in the office of the Bezirksamtmann of Tanga and I made copies of them in 1918 or 1919. When I searched for them later they had disappeared: what has happened to them I cannot say.*

This "History of Africa" was unsigned but bore the date Tangata (Dargube), 12th July, 1914, and Sheikh Ali bin Hemedi of Tanga and Tangata told me that his father was the author. It was, he says, written at the request of the German Authorities who "liked to collect such information regarding past events". A certain amount of tribal history was published by Velten in his Prosa und Poesi der Suaheli.

The "History of Mombasa and Tanga" was written by Sheikh Omari bin Stamboul who was Kadhi of Tanga in German times and died shortly after the British Occupation of the country. It is evidently the earlier history of the two, for he states that Abdallah bin Ahmed, Liqjmi, was Liwale of Tanga, whereas Ali bin Diwan was the Liwali at the outbreak of hostilities and had, to the best of my remembrance, been in office for some years.

It may, perhaps, be questioned whether such records are worth publishing, for much of the contents is legendary, the facts are often garbled and the genealogies are incomplete, but we have so few records of past events in East Africa that every item of information is worth preserving. Legends often refer to past happenings if only one can unravel the clues, while incidents and genealogies afford means of checking up on other similar records.

The translation is practically literal except in the matter of the genealogies. These I have tabulated as it is irksome to read that "so and so ruled and when he died so and so ruled" and so on ad infinitum.

According to the ancient books, there were no mortals in Africa when it was created by God—there were only animals and jinns. Even in the time of the Prophet Noah, when the whole world was flooded, there were none and they had not arrived in the time of Adi Liula. Opinions varied as to whether Kanaani the son of Nimrod or Adilikhra the son of Shadadi was responsible

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but, as a matter of fact, Adilikhra it was who came with his sons and grandsons, his brothers and nephews and a great number of his contemporaries and, on their arrival, they built nine cities. These cities were decorated with silver and gold, pearls, rubies, chrysolite and other jewels and in them was stored treasure of every kind. Eventually, however, dire calamities overcame the inhabitants and they fled and the deserted cities were closed by God so that no one might enter them. The description of these cities is as follows :—⁽¹⁾

1. *Madinat-Rikhami*⁽²⁾ this was built of marble and was situated "near Somaliland", next to and below Khartum. The first ruler was Kanaani who wielded great power. But the inhabitants were smitten with headaches and fever and all died except a few who dispersed and their children were the forefathers of the Somali, Wagalla, Wanubi, Barabara and the Singa. When the survivors had left, God veiled the city with darkness so intense that no man could draw near.

2. *Madinat-Niran* built on a mountain "near the land of Singa near the Wagalla". Flames issued from the mountain continuously and it was known as the Fire Mountain. The first ruler was Adi bin Kanaani. In course of time there came a giant serpent which swallowed all the people but a few and they fled and were the forefathers of the Muware, Daruweshi, Warusambo, Wambale and Wasongo. And God closed the city with fire and so prevented entry.

3. *Madinat-Nuhasi*⁽³⁾ (Kilimanjaro), so-called because its colour changed periodically from red to white, for the meaning of the word Njoro is "to change"⁽⁴⁾. In the morning and evening it gleamed red on account of its twenty-four gates of brass which caught the rays of the rising and setting sun while in the full light of day the sun shined on its towers of chrysolite (ice),⁽⁵⁾ which gleamed bluish-white. The Sultan of the land of Kilimanjaro was Walidi bin Kanaani. The city was smitten with a seven years' drought and its people, without food or drink, were reduced to cannibalism. When they saw no alternative but death they rubbed themselves with quicksilver and died: by reason of the quicksilver their bodies did not putrefy. The survivors fled and begat the Wambugu and further entry to *Madinat-Nuhasi* was prevented by intense cold.

4. *Madinat-Dukhani*⁽⁶⁾ which was ruled by Raili bin Shadade, was built on the summit of a mountain from which smoke continually issued. Extreme cold killed off the people with the exception of a few who fled and were the forefathers of the Wanyamwezi and the Wangindo and the city was closed by a giant serpent which prevented anyone from approaching it.

5. *Madinat-Likursiyu* was situated on a mountain-top and ruled by Musabu bin Kanaani. The inhabitants were stricken by a storm of hailstones which lasted "forty or forty-three days and nights" and the survivors fled and

begat the Wamatumbi, Wamafia and Wahehe. Further entry was prevented by a mountain so steep that no one could climb it.

6. *Madinat-Nuri*, so-called because those entering at night saw a light on the mountain which emanated from the jewels within the city. The ruler was Gaulani bin Walidi. The people were destroyed by plague which killed an infected person in three days and the city was rendered inaccessible by a muddy swamp which engulfed all wayfarers. Those who were spared fled and were the forefathers of the Wakurwe, Wamakua, Wangoni, Wagwangwara and the Mzito.

7. *Madinat-Likaukabu* which was governed by Kasishi (?) bin Aduwani. Each evening at sunset one would see what appeared to be stars but were the jewels and other glistening decorations in the town and this light gave the city its name. The inhabitants died from the effects of a famine which lasted for four years and reduced them to cannibalism. The few survivors fled and their descendants were the Wasukuma, Wasingasenga and Wajibondo. Further access to the city was prevented by a lake which surrounded it.

8. *Madinat-Likhadrai*⁽⁷⁾ which was ruled by Tufali bin Hamili and took its name from the mountain of a greeny-blue colour on which it was built. All but a few of its inhabitants were struck by lightning which flashed continuously for three days and God closed the city with a wind so intense that even to-day no one can approach by reason of the fierce blast. The descendants of the survivors are the Wagonji, Wanembo, Wachangama and Wajiware.

The thirty-two tribes which sprang from these nine cities are the aborigines of Africa and any tribe which is not descended from them is not an African tribe but comes from another land. Some of these tribes became powerful, as will be related, and some did not; some ruled and others failed to become powerful: some of the people became Sultans and some were commoners: some tribes united while others dwelt apart. They spread throughout Africa and they built cities—some of them inland and some on the coast. They increased and multiplied.

Now at that time a jinn named Swaaduni ruled jinns and mortals and he lived on Peuba Island and his vizier was called Dhirshi bin Lleshi. Swaaduni ruled for a number of years and was, eventually, overthrown by the Prophet Seleman bin Daud and was killed together with the majority of his people. His vizier was imprisoned in Donyongai mountain and when he speaks it is as the noise of thunder but it is only the voice of this Swaaduni. And the Prophet Seleman took the only child of Swaaduni and married her. And Swaaduni's other viziers, twenty-four in number, were imprisoned in brass cooking-pots and thrown into the sea where they remain to this day. And, after the unsettled state caused by that jinn was removed, the people

dwelt many years in peace under the rule of the Prophet Seleman and they increased and multiplied and the tribes waxed powerful.

The Makua

Most powerful of the thirty-two tribes were the Wamakua and they wished to dominate all Africa. But the Wangindo, who themselves wished to be paramount, refused to accept an Mmakua as overlord. They fought for six years until the Wangindo were defeated and fled. But they still intrigued with the other tribes and urged them to fight the Wamakua and they approached the Somalis. Discord arose and the tribes united against the Wamakua but they were defeated after eleven years of war and a Mmakua ruled the whole of Africa. Altogether eighteen Makua Sultans ruled whose names were as follows :—

1. Mmakua.
2. Musare, a powerful and evil man who eventually became mad and died.
3. Muisha son of Musare—a good man but was devoured by a lion.
4. Ngoshe son of Muisha.
5. Kirange son of Muisha.
6. Ngoheya bin Msamani who was killed by his brother.
7. Disturbances arose and when peace was restored Urandi bin Msamani reigned. During his time strangers came from overseas, it is not known whether they were Europeans or Arabs and Urandi gave or wanted to give them a dwelling-place when he died.
8. Tumbare bin Urandi who followed his father's policy.
9. Mkuswe bin Tumbare who drove those strangers from the town.
10. Lushere bin Mkuswe who reigned for six years.
11. Usandi bin Mkuswe. But his children intrigued until their uncle came to the throne.
12. Juhenga bin Mkuswe.
13. Lungoke, grandson of Msandi.
14. Ruwesho, nephew of Lungoke.
15. Mganga, brother of Ruwesho.
16. Marekwa bin Mganga.
17. Mbambiti bin Marekwa.
18. Lungeje bin Mbambiti.

The Ngindo

Meanwhile the Wangindo had become powerful and during the reign of Mbambiti, fought the Wamakua and killed Mbambiti. The power of the Wamakua was at an end, they lost the position of paramount tribe and the

Wangindo took their place. The Wangindo were formerly known as the Wajombo but later became Wangindo. There were twenty-seven Wangindo Chiefs and their names were as follows :—

1. Chonge bin Mchanga. Mchanga was the leader who conquered the Wamakua but he died before he could be made Sultan.
2. Mlenge bin Chonge.
3. Kihune bin Mlenge.
4. Bungale bin Kihune.
5. Muhete bin Bungale. During his reign disturbances arose and every man wanted to be Sultan. The Wasomali appointed their own Sultan and the people of Ngoje appointed theirs. So it went on until Muhete died.
6. Mlele bin Muhete.
7. Mulanga bin Muhete.
8. Mchecheri bin Mulanga.
9. Vungare bin Mchecheri.
10. Nahole bin Mchecheri.
11. Shotane bin Mchecheri.
12. Ilenge bin Shotane.
13. Muhanda bin Ilenge. During Muhanda's reign Mbugu was very powerful and Muhanda and the Wambugu fought for three years. Muhanda was defeated by Mbugu and the latter became a Sultan. When Muhanda died his son succeeded him.
14. Laungola bin Muhanda.
15. Chiwane bin Laungola.
16. Chenengo bin Chiwane.
17. Mtali bin Chenengo.
18. Niyange bin Mtali.
19. Mkengo bin Niyange.
20. Ndahile bin Niyange. Brother of No. 19.
21. Njone bin Niyange.
22. Mgatile bin Niyange.
23. Veni bin Mgatile.
24. Humbagita bin Veni. During Humbagita's reign there was discord and they fought with the Wambugu for two years and Humbagita was defeated for by this time the Wambugu had become very powerful. And when Humbagita died his son ruled.
25. Muhoma bin Humbagita.

26. Ngalowa bin Muhoma.

27. Chemende bin Ngalowa. He it was who went and fought in the land of the Sultan of the Wangoje by whom he was killed.

The Wambugu

So the dynasty of the Wangindo was ended and their land was ruled by the Sultan of the Wangoje. But the Wangindo would not accept his rule and went to the Sultan of the Wambugu and made oath and covenant that if he would fight the Wangoje for them they would be the subjects of the Sultan of the Wambugu. The Mbugu Sultan agreed and defeated the Sultan of the Wangoje who fled to Kirimani and the country was ruled by the Wambugu and the Wangindo became their subjects. Liwales were appointed who collected tribute and handed it over to the Wambugu but no record of their names is in existence.

Then the kingdom of the Wambugu flourished and the whole of Africa feared its rulers who were sixteen in number and ruled for three hundred and fifty-three years without anyone challenging their authority. The names of the Sultans were as follows :—

1. Mfuma.
2. Kiloche bin Mfuma.
3. Mjangale bin Kiloche.
4. Zambirwa bin Mjangale.
5. Mjangilwa bin Zambirwa.
6. Mlonga bin Mjangilwa.
7. Kicheche bin Mlonga.
8. Mdangila bin Kicheche.
9. Mkare bin Mdangila.
10. Mlonga bin Mkare. It was in the reign of this Mlonga II that the Shirazi Sultan, Mwishamisi Shani fled from his home country after suffering defeat at the hands of the Sultan of Persia and came to Africa. He was received by Mlonga II.
11. Tandala bin Mkare whose son rebelled against him and killed him.
12. Shamilo bin Tandala.
13. Kolimo bin Shamilo.
14. Shahenga bin Kolimo.
15. Kindule bin Shahenga.
16. ?⁽⁸⁾

Kindula it was who was defeated by the Watwana who are now known as the Wachaga : he was deposed and the rule of the Wambugu came to an end.

Now the Watwana did not fight themselves but brought Wamasai who came from Guraya in Masailand and defeated the Wambugu.

After this the Watwana ruled for a long period but their names and the number of the Sultans is not known as they were not very great nor were they aggressive nor did they exercise very strict authority.

But to return to the Sultans of the Wangoje, they were few in number for the Wanembo, the Wachangama and the Waliware united against them and routed them completely so that their names and number are not known. These Wanembo are Wanyassa and the Wachangama, who live near the Wanyassa, are cannibals while the Wajiware are coastal people who never penetrated inland.

The Somali Sultans were also few in number for they were defeated and their dynasty was brought to an end by the Warinangao who are the Wagalla.

The Shirazi

We now turn to that Shirazi Sultan Mwishamisi Shani who was driven from his own country and came to Africa where he sought the hospitality of Mlonga II, Sultan of the Wambugu. He asked leave of the Mbugu Sultan to build towns at all the ports and, leave being granted, he called for all in the land of Shiraz who were loyal to him, his people, askaris and those viziers who were still true to him. And during the space of eight years all those whom he called came to him and, in the end, they numbered four hundred thousand soldiers not counting the young men, women, paupers and old people; the armed soldiers alone numbered four hundred thousand. And he built a number of towns, solidly built with walls and moats, and in each town he placed soldiers. He built from Malindi as far as Kilwa for he feared lest the Sultan of Persia might follow him to Africa.

And when he had completed his buildings he became powerful and the Wachaga came to him wishing him to unite with them in their war against the Mbugu Sultan but Mwishamisi Shani refused, saying: "The Mbugu Sultan is my host and I sought refuge with him. I see no evil in him and I cannot join with you against him." So the Wachaga turned to the Wamasai and brought them to fight the Wambugu and conquered them. But Mwishamisi Shani remained and increased in power until he died and his successors were as follows :—

1. Mwishamisi Shani, first Shiraz Sultan in Africa.
2. His son Muhammed Shani bin Mwishamisi.
3. Jambeni Shani bin Muhammed.
4. Hussein Shani bin Jambeni. And when Hussein was ruling the German

Digomfal arrived with a large number of Nubians. He came in order to cultivate and he opened up any number of plantations on which worked his Nubians and many others who worked for him voluntarily for a wage. But the Nubians turned against Digomfal and killed him together with his wife and other Europeans totalling thirty-four. And the Nubians did not return to their country but settled there and were the forefathers of the Wadigo—the origin of these Wadigo is the Nubians who were brought in by Digomfal.

5. Ausi Shani bin Hussein. In Ausi's reign there came a Portuguese (Mreno) who did not fight but got the better of the people by guile and eventually, by skill and cunning, he became a ruler.

And when Ausi Shani died the Shiraz dynasty came to an end and though Mwishani Shani had lived at Malindi his children and grandchildren made Kifundi their capital—even now there is a town called Shiraz at Kifundi. Now that Portuguese ruler travelled about and saw the Stronghold of Mvita (Mombasa) which was then a rock. He was shown this rock by the Wanyika. Then he built a fort on this rock strong and well-built, and there he dwelt for many years until he was defeated by Shehe Mvita and went to live in another part of Africa. Then Shehe Mvita ruled in his stead and when he died his children quarrelled violently and, unable to come to any agreement, brought back the Portuguese and established him as their chief and he ruled for the second time. They were his subjects but the Portuguese treated them with respect since they had given him the kingdom without receiving any reward themselves. This Portuguese remained there for many years and was eventually overthrown by Arab Sultan Liyurbi, who was this Kaid Liarthi, and he defeated him in one fight and then the Portuguese went away.

And when he was defeated there ruled a chief named Mombasa who was overcome by a Baluchi named Shahadad bin Shauta and was the Jemadar of Sultan Liyurbi. Now the Sultan sent Shahadad to fight the Chief Mombasa and Shahadad made war by trickery. On his arrival he established a large shop and he traded until he won the approval of Chief Mombasa and became very friendly with him. Then Shahadad bin Shauta sent to Sultan Liyurbi in Muscat and asked him to send troops and also a number of empty crates. Many were sent and when they arrived and were ready on board their craft he placed the soldiers with their weapons in the crates and then brought them ashore. He then went to his friend King Mombasa and said, "I am going on a journey to-day and I want to leave these loads of mine with you in the fort pending my return." Sultan Mombasa agreed and the crates were placed in the audience chamber of the fort. When it was night and everyone was asleep the soldiers of Jemadar Shahadad bin Shauta opened the boxes and came forth and by force of arms they held all the

doors of the houses and the door of the fort. Then, in the morning, the war bell was sounded and they killed each man as he came out until all the Europeans who were in the fort together with their soldiers were slain. So Shahadad bin Shauta held the fort and he made war on every Portuguese who was there, and the Portuguese buried all their property—silver and gold—and fled from the country.

After this Sultan Liyurbi ruled the whole country and it was in his reign that an Englishman came and dwelt there; he did not make war nor was he a ruler; he traded and then went away. Also an Italian came to Pemba and traded and then left. And he came to Pemba because the people of Pemba had been his people for a long time; he came with them from Pemba Mnazi and took them with him to Pemba and they did not return to Pemba Mnazi. And this Englishman came to Africa because the Wabondei were his people, he came with them from Kirimani and he was called Mushti Leta.

We now tell of Sultan Ahmadi who ruled the whole land of Bongoyo and the kingdom pleased him and the people loved him and when he died, his son Musa bin Ahmadi ruled in his stead and was followed by his grandson Sumaili who moved from the Island of Bongoyo and went to live at Mgau. When Sumaili died he was succeeded by his son Abubakari and he was defeated by the Wahiyao. He was deposed and a Muhiyao named Makanjila ruled—this was Makanjila the first and not the recent Makanjila. When Makanjila died he was succeeded by his son and then his grandson but I do not know their names. Eventually they were defeated by a neighbouring Muhiyao named Mazongwe who became the ruler, and six of his descendants ruled after him. At last they were defeated by their neighbour, a Muhiyao named Mataka, who became the Chief and his dynasty were nine rulers who ruled one after the other until the last was conquered by Mazito who deposed him and took his place. This Mazito oppressed the Wahiyao sorely and they had no leisure; further his actions ruined the land of the Wahiyao and they had no more Sultans but were ruled by Jumbes.

The Wakilindi

We will now speak of the Wakilindi tribe; people say that they are Arabs but that is only what people say. They are not Arabs. They come from a region called Kilindingulu in Nguu. And one of them who travelled to Usambaa was known to the Wasambaa as Mkilindi on account of his having come from Kilindingulu but the name given him at birth was Tule and he was a hunter and a blacksmith and he kept dogs. He left his country because he was in danger of his life owing to his having been accused of witchcraft so he fled and came to Usambaa where he practised his calling and caught animals which he gave to the Wasambaa without payment and if they wanted

hoes and bushknives and axes he forged them without asking for reward. So the Wasambaa thought much of him and gave him four women in marriage; one of them he married in the village of Kombora, the second in Mshiwi, the third in Vuga and the fourth in Kilowe. And his children were called the children of the *Nyumba Kulu* ⁽⁹⁾ and these are they who ruled as the Kilindi Sultans and each one who rules must marry from these four villages for the children who are born of these women are the children who rule. So the Wasambaa made Mkilindi, or Tule, Sultan and he ruled until his death and was succeeded by his son Dafa. On Dafa's death his son Mbega became Sultan and following him Lukindo bin Mbega and Shehube bin Lukindo. Then came Kimweri Zanyumbani. Now all Kimweri's children of the *nyumba kulu* died during his lifetime and there remained only his grandsons of the *nyumba kulu* and they were the children of Mkande. So Kimweri took one of Mkande's sons whose name was Shekulwavu and installed him as Sultan during his (Kimweri's) own lifetime.

And Mkande had four sons the eldest of whom was Shekulwavu who was made Sultan by his grandfather; then came Chanyegele; the third child was Makange and the fourth Kibanga;⁽¹⁰⁾ all these were the sons of Mkande. Now when Kimweri gave the kingdom to his grandson all his children were angry and when Kimweri died they intrigued with the object of making war on Shekulwavu and deposing him. Shekulwavu got news that his uncles wanted to fight him and called them to him and asked them about it; but they denied the accusation and went off home. And dissension continued until Shekulwavu told the Wabondei to kill the children of Kilindi and the Wabondei plotted and killed them. But some fled and these waited until Shekulwavu's death and then there was discord in the *nyumba kulu*. Those of the *nyumba kulu* wanted the kingdom and Semboja wanted to be Sultan and Semboja was very powerful; he threw out the children of the *nyumba kulu* and enthroned his own son Kimweri wa Semboja. And when Kimweri wa Semboja died there was endless confusion; there was no rule and the dynasty came to an end.

The Nabahani

And now we come to the Sultans of Pate, the Nabahani. These Nabahani are Arabs and were Sultans in Muscat and, when they left Muscat, the Likharisi ruled but nevertheless the Nabahani were accorded great respect because they also were Sultans in Muscat. But later they took an evil course and resolved to make war on the Likharisi who drove them out of Muscat. And they fled and came to Africa. And the chief of the Nabahani was named Selemani bin Selemani bin Mudhfari and he came to Africa and settled at Pate and traded there. Now at that time the people of Africa were very simple folk and, through cunning, he ruled them and cheated them until his death.

The Pate Sultans, twelve in number, were as follows :—

1. Selemani bin Selemani bin Mudhfari.
2. Hamdani bin Selemani.
3. Ali bin Hamdani.
4. Abubakari bin Ali who built Gereza, which is called Diwani.
5. Ahmadi bin Abubakari.
6. Selemani bin Ahmadi.
7. Selemani's brother Abdallah bin Ahmadi.
8. Athmani bin Abdallah.
9. Abubakari bin Athmani.
10. Lutwi bin Abubakari.
11. Ahmedi bin Lutwi.
12. Abdallah bin Ahmedi who was known as Simba, or the lion.

Those were the twelve Sultans and then there arose discord between Pate and the Wagunya; each man wanted to be Sultan. And Mataka became powerful in the land of Siu: all was strife and discord and the Nabahani, who had left Muscat, ended their period of rule in Africa.

The Mazarui

Now we come to the story of the Mazarui Arabs who were brought by Sultan Liyurbi of Muscat and stationed in Mvita (Mombasa) as Liwalis at the time when the Portuguese were driven from Mvita. Shahadadi bin Shauta was there and remained for many years until the Arabs of Mvita slandered him and told Sultan Liyurbi of Muscat. "This Jemadari Shahadadi will break up the land of Mvita and will seize the land himself and rule it and you will be cheated by him." The Sultan Liyurbi sent for Shahadadi bin Shauta and when he arrived at Muscat they exchanged news and when they had come to an end Sultan Liyurbi knew that the affair was an Arab intrigue. But all the Arabs pressed Sultan Liyurbi to imprison Shahadadi and the Sultan said to him, "All the Arabs want me to imprison you but I see no reason for doing so". But Shahadadi replied, "It is better that you should imprison me for many people want it so, so please imprison me". And the Sultan replied, "I am the Sultan and you are my Jemadari; we will both of us be fastened in one handcuff". And he called for handcuffs and they were brought and Shahadadi bin Shauta was fastened with one ring of the handcuff and the Sultan with the other; and so they remained, chained, for three hours and then they were unchained. And when the Arabs saw this they knew that Shahadadi was much loved by Sultan Liyurbi.

But Shahadadi bin Shauta asked to be allowed to go and he said, "I wish to go to my home in Makarani for all the Arabs have lain in wait to do me grievous harm. And Sultan Liyurbi gave him leave and he went

to Makarani. And when he had gone the Sultan brought other troops called Masefu—they are Arabs but are Swahilis⁽¹¹⁾—and brought them to Mvita. They were stationed there but they could not get on with the local people and used to fight with them and they (locals) fled and went to Muscat. Then the Sultan brought in the Mazarui Arabs and the Mazarui who were brought to Mvita were Muhammed bin Athmani with his three brothers, Abdallah bin Athmani, Kadhi bin Athmani and Ali bin Athmani. Muhammed bin Athmani ruled as Liwali of Mvita but those Masefu who had been removed plotted against him and killed him and then ran away to Muscat. After that the Mazarui were afraid to rule because of the murder of one of their number but they did rule in Mvita. And the Sultan in Muscat at that time was Liyurbi and his vizier was Kessi bin Hamadi bin Imamu, and those Mazarui ruled again in the land of Mvita and the Liwale was Ali bin Athmani. But Liyurbi died and left but one son who was very small, so the Vizier Kessi held the reins of government until such time as the child should be old enough to come to the throne. But this child died before he was old enough to rule and the Vizier Kessi became Sultan of Muscat. At that time Ali bin Athmani was still Liwali of Mvita but he was killed during a visit to Zanzibar, and Abdallah bin Muhammadi, the son of Muhammadi bin Athmani, became Liwali. And while Abdallah was Liwali, Kessi died and his son Sultan bin Kessi became Sultan; he was at sea with the Watende-Haluwa (Wasuri) and when he died his son Kessi bin Sultan ruled. But Kessi bin Sultan was cast out by his brother Said bin Sultan and Said became Sultan and he levied tax on Mvita through the Liwali Abdallah bin Muhamnadi until the latter's death. He was succeeded by his brother Hamadi bin Muhammed and then Masudi bin Nasir ruled and both sent tribute to Sultan Said at Muscat. When Masudi died, Abdallah bin Hamadi became Liwali and he refused to pay tribute and for ten years successfully resisted the Sultan's efforts to capture Mvita. Abdallah bin Hamadi died and was succeeded in turn by his uncle Selemani bin Ali who was murdered. Salim bin Hemedi, Hamisi bin Hemedi (brother of Salim), and Rashid bin Salim. When Rashid was Liwali differences arose between the Mazarui and the Waswahili and they went to Muscat. They brought Sultan Said and gave him the country, after which the rule of the Mazarui came to an end after but ten of them had been Liwali. Then Said arrested twenty-four of the Mazarui and no one knows where he sent them.

The Wasegeju

Now the Wasegeju came from the land of Singa which is called Koro-mojo. And in their own country they were greatly harrassed by the Wasomali who used to attack them and seize their cattle. The Wasegeju were originally known as the Wadaiso. And when Gau was Sultan he wielded great power until the Wasomali made war on him and defeated him and the Wasegeju

were driven from their land and were scattered; their Sultan was slain and they followed the coast until they reached the country of the Wagunya. Others say that they were beaten by the Wagalla and took refuge with the Wasomali until the Wagalla followed and again defeated them. They then fled to the coast and eventually reached the Wagunya who received them with great hospitality.

And while they were in the land of the Wagunya the son of Gau was their ruler and he was followed by Gau's grandson, Pununu, who was an evil man and greatly oppressed the Wagunya. But the Wagunya plotted and killed him and it was after the killing that the Wagunya and Wasegeju fought for fourteen days at the end of which time the Wasegeju were defeated and expelled from the country by the Wagunya. And they fled to Vanga, where Diwan Mwana Chambi received them cordially and was at one with them in every matter whether it be good or evil.

The Sultan of Panza

We now relate the story of the Sultan of Panza who was named Pongwa Umadi and ruled the whole land and the hinterland of Panza. Pongwa was a very evil man: during his reign he waited until eleven o'clock in the morning when he would issue an order forbidding anyone to speak or make a noise and, further, no child might cry. And any child who cried during that time must be killed. And the reason for this prohibition was that he was accustomed to sleep from eleven in the morning until two o'clock. At 2 p.m. the drum would sound allowing the people to speak. And throughout his kingdom he promulgated the same decree as was in force in the town of Panza. Eventually Pongwa was killed by his brother, who succeeded him as Sultan, and when he died Yahaya, the son of Pongwa, reigned. When Yahaya died his son Wale became Sultan and when he died the Sultan of Pate invaded the land and he defeated the people of Panza because of disturbance they had created and the line of Sultans came to an end.

Sultan Mkiwamwa

We now come to the Sultan Mkiwamwa and his vizier Mdungi. Some say that this Sultan Mkiwamwa was an Mzaramo and others that he was of the Wabumbuji who are people of Bagamoyo. Sultan Mkiwamwa was very powerful and when he was in court and men came before him with their complaints he would never speak but he moved his leg and his vizier spoke for him, knowing what to say from the manner in which the King's leg moved. He reigned until he died but he cheated a great number of people of their property so that, on his death, the people of Bagamoyo and Zaramo would not have another man as ruler and they fought Mkiwamwa's son and killed him. Also they fought the other relatives of the Sultan and they were defeated and fell before them and renounced all claims to the kingdom. And so the line came to an end.

Bori

And now we relate the history of Bori⁽¹²⁾ who lived at Utondwe, which is Saadani, and was very powerful. He was judge and all the people greatly feared his strength, and the towns of the coast and even those situated in the hinterland accepted his rule. But Bori and his brothers, who were called Mwikambi, quarrelled and when Bori saw the bad relationship he used a stratagem and killed Mwikambi Muhammed and his son. And when he had killed his brother he became still more threatening and, when he saw the state of discord, went, of his own accord, to Seyyid Majid in Zanzibar. And when he arrived in Zanzibar he was killed by Seyyid and the family of Mwikambi had no more power after his death and their rule came to an end.

Abdalla Mwaketa

And now we come to Abdallah Mwaketa⁽¹³⁾ an Msegeju, who was powerful and had many followers and menaced the countryside. His father was Lumwe who was chief of all the Wasegeju and Lumwe was a gentle and good man. But an Mdigo named Mwakiluma intrigued against Lumwe and they fought and many died on this side and on that. And when the fight was over Lumwe's sons, eight in number, travelled to the Digo country and there all eight of them were killed by an Mdigo named Mwakuhu Bimba. Lumwe was grief-stricken when he heard the news and there was a great to-do. He sent men to Digo to inquire the reason of the killing of his sons but could not get a satisfactory reply from anyone. This state of affairs was too much for Abdallah Mwaketa who made war on the Wadigo and seized their cattle and fought against them for many days. And when Lumwe died Abdallah became the chief of the Wasegeju and waxed powerful. The Wasegeju and the Wadigo met in battle but the Digo could do nothing and many of them were killed.

Afterwards Abdallah Mwaketa came to Ndumi, where he built fortifications during the night. In the morning the people of Ndumi saw the forts and the two sides fought hard until there came an order from the Seyyid in Zanzibar. In pursuance of this order Abdallah Mwaketa was taken on board a vessel and went to Zanzibar to meet the Seyyid. But the Seyyid ordered him to be thrown into the sea, which order was carried out. So Abdallah died and the rule of the Wasegeju came to an end.

Mmanjaule

And now we tell the story of Mmanjaule,⁽¹⁴⁾ who was a descendant of Mwishamisi Shani, the Shirazi. When they fell from power in Shiraz they bided their time while many other dynasties came and went. Eventually they again became very powerful and Mmanjaule, the descendant of Mwishamisi Shani, ruled. And he dwelt at Manza and at Kifundi ruled his full brother Msambwe. But Mmanjaule oppressed the

Wasegeju greatly and they were terrified of him for he did great and evil deeds and imprisoned and killed people and also robbed them of their property. Then the Wasegeju made a secret pact with the Wavumba and they killed Mmanjaule; and when he died his neighbour Msambwe died and their family no longer ruled.

The People of Ungama

And now comes the story of the people of Ungama who were rich and built very fine houses and, further, were very handsome to look upon. They chose one called Bwamadi and appointed him Kadhi but later they deposed him and appointed another man. And after a while they became arrogant and did evil things until Bwamadi, when he saw their deeds, went away and he and his people went to dwell at a place called Changa (the Wagunya call it Shaka) and Bwamadi became a great Sheikh and many people followed him. So he built a town here at Changa and dwelt there with his people. But the people of Ungama increased in arrogance; and did very evil things. Later they made bad blood between Bwamadi and the Sultan of Pate and the latter sent an army which defeated Bwamadi who lost many of his men. Also his sister Mwantumuanie was captured in that fight and she was married to the Sultan of Pate and bore him children. Then Bwamadi fled and came to Tanga and settled with his people at Kiongwe and it is he who began the people called Wachanga whilst he was living at Kiongwe. And those people of Ungama continued their evil practices until God punished them and flooded their country so that they all died.

The Wadibana

As regards the Wadibana, they arrived when Mwishamisi Shani was in power. They came from Bukini where they were defeated in battle by Sultan Mbalambo and they fled and came to Africa where they built houses at Mgau and even reached Winde. And after a long time they sought peace with their Sultan Mbalambo and were granted peace so they returned to their homes at Bukini.

The Sultans of Zanzibar

And now we relate the history of the Masaidi (i.e. the Seyyid Sultan of Zanzibar). The first Seyyid who came to Africa was Saidi bin Sultan and he ruled the Swahili coast from Tungi to Kisimayu. It is said that there is a record of his rule and people who saw him say that he was handsome in looks and in deeds and that he was very patient in spirit. He was Said bin Sultan bin Kessi bin Imamu of the Abusaidi and he ruled also in Muscat. It was in his reign that the Mazarui intrigued and he fought them and defeated them and imprisoned twenty-four of them and no man knows where he sent them. And when he died he was succeeded by his son, Majid bin Saidi, who was a clever judge and was greatly beloved by his people. He

reigned sixteen years and was followed by another son, Barghash bin Said, who was good and clever and devout and was beloved of all. During his reign he appointed an Englishman, Mushti Mathiu (Gen. Mathews) to be in charge of his soldiers: the whole army was under his Command. Seyyid Barghash reigned for seventeen years and as he only left one small son, whose name was Khalidi bin Barghash, his brother Halifa bin Said became Sultan. Halifa died after ruling for a few years and was succeeded by another son of Said who was named Ali and he also died after ruling for only a short time. Then Said's grandson, Hamed bin Thuweni bin Said ruled and when he died Barghash's son, Khalidi bin Barghash was a grown man and wanted his kingdom; but the English refused to recognize him and he would not agree to forego his right, for the kingdom was left to him by his father. So he ruled by force and on the second or third day of his reign the English made war on him and they fought and many died. And those who fought against him were men of Zanzibar and the fighting took place in Zanzibar. Then Seyyid Khalidi bin Barghash went over to the Germans and made agreement with them and the Germans received him and took him to Dar es Salaam where he was suitably accommodated.

Then Africa was governed by the Europeans who divided up the land and each took his portion. And we are all living in the German section of the country and during the rule of the Germans we have gained happiness and prosperity and many beautiful things. May their rule be great for they love the people greatly. It is now twenty-six years since the Europeans began to rule: they have done away with twenty-six bad things and have brought twenty-six good things to the country.

1. There was famine in the land and there was no place in which one could get food but now there is great prosperity: rice and other food-stuffs arrive in so that there is no hunger.
2. People used to wear garments of hides but now they wear good clothes.
3. Men used to live in huts of mud and grass but now they live in stone houses, whitewashed and with corrugated iron roofs.
4. Formerly they burned wood split small to light their houses but now they use glass lamps and lanterns.
5. Formerly one travelled in doubt and difficulty but now one goes by train.
6. If one wished to go anywhere one would travel for many days: now one goes by bicycle.
7. Formerly when one wanted to journey by sea one went in craft sewn together but now one goes in a steamer.
8. Those who lived in towns used to be killed by the Masai or other enemies but now even a woman can go out safely without anyone harming her.

9. There used to be many lion and leopard but now they have disappeared, we do not see them.
10. People used to be simple and stupid but now they have become astute, they know how to read European writing and also they know how to count.
11. Men used to walk through the grass and stubble but now one walks on the highroad.
12. There used to be much poverty but now there is cash and to spare.
13. The people were idle, they did no work and there was no work; now there is work for all.
14. There used to be many thieves but now they do not dare to steal.
15. Formerly, if one wanted to send news it took a long time to arrive but now one telegraphs and even if the person to whom one wants to speak lives a month's journey away the telegram will arrive at once.
16. Those who were poor and weak used to be cheated but now justice is the rule; everyone gets what is due to him.
17. People used to eat vegetables and fish but now they eat beef and goat-flesh.
18. There used to be much intrigue but now no one dares to say a slanderous word.
19. People used to rub their bodies with castor oil and were evil-smelling but now they use scent and have a pleasant smell.
20. The sick used to be given medicine of sticks and leaves but now they get medicine from the hospital and are immediately cured.
21. Water used to be very dear in the hot season but now that wells have been built and pumps installed it is plentiful.
22. Women were not beautiful because they had no clothes but nowadays they are very beautiful; they wear clothes and silver ornaments and are pleasing to look upon.
23. The woods and forests in the country used to be menacing but now it is full of plantations and a man may go forth without fear.
24. Formerly it took ten days to sew a kanzu but now with the aid of a sewing-machine one can sew ten kanzus in a day.
25. When a man wanted to send a thing of value elsewhere there was doubt as to whether it would arrive but now one places it in the post and it arrives without delay.
26. Should a stranger visit one, one was doubtful as to his food but now one sends him to a coffeeshop and he gets food immediately.

And these are the twenty-six bad things which were done away with and the twenty-six good things which came in the reign of the Germans.

Now we relate the kind of clothes which the Africans wore when those nine towns, of which we have spoken, were destroyed. Men had no clothes and did not know that there were such things as clothes until one named Abasi came from Egypt with clothes which he sold to the people and taught them that there were such things. And at that time the Sultans used to wear head-dresses of lions' claws and so did the Jumbes until, during the rule of the Portuguese, all the Jumbes wore hats when they saw their Sultan doing so. And in the reign of Mwishamisi Shami, the Shirazi, all the Jumbes wore *kofia ya halfiya* because their Sultan did so and, likewise, when the Arabs came to power all the jumbes wore a cloth turban because the Sultan wore a cloth turban. And this is the custom; the jumbes always wear a head-dress similar to that worn by their Sultan.

And the weapons of those about whom we have spoken were spears and bows and arrows and swords and bushknives, these were their weapons which they used in their fights.

And this is the history of Africa which we know about and it was recorded in their books by these people of long ago.

Tangata (Darguba) 12th July, 1914.

Notes

1. Individual cities have been referred to by early writers and are often spoken of by the older generation of Swahilis but I have not seen, elsewhere, a complete list.

2. The Arabic *rukham* = marble. Somalis still refer to Rikham as their place of origin and say that the city was situated in the Sudan—somewhere in the Nile valley.

3. The Arabic *nahas* = copper.

4. The writer is in error, for *Njoro* means glistening.

5. *Minara ya Zabarjidi (theluji)*; the writer seems to have been in doubt as to the exact meaning of *Zabarjidi*, which is chrysolite.

6. Arabic *dakhan* = smoke.

7. Arabic *akhdar* = green.

8. The author gives only fifteen names of Sultans though he says that sixteen ruled.

9. *Kulu = kuu* = big.

10. i.e. his children by wives other than those from the *nyumba kulu*.

11. "Swahilis", i.e. Arabs born in Africa.

12. Vide Burton's *Zanzibar*, Vol. II, p. 272.

13. See my "Notes on the History of the Wasegeju". *T. N. & R.* No. 27, pp. 33 and 34.

14. *Ibid*, pp. 29 and 30.

15. i.e. The soldiers complained that their fellow soldiers had committed excesses and that Mombasa was not alone responsible. Those to whom they complained agreed with them.

16. The account of the capture of Mombasa differs in detail from that given in the first history but both agree that the success of the venture was due to the skill and initiative of Shahadadi bin Shauta.

Some Chinese Pottery found at Kilwa Kisiwani

By R. E. S. Tanner

THIS NOTE is intended to cover a quantity of pottery of Chinese origin found on Kilwa Kisiwani during 1948/49. The Chinese maintained a considerable export trade with Western Asia, Egypt and elsewhere which reached its height in the mid 16th century and continued to a lesser degree after the Portuguese occupation.

Broken blue and white as well as green pieces have been found on all excavated sites in the Near East and in addition have been casually found all along the east coast even as far as the Cape of Good Hope where fragments have been found in the wreck of a Dutch ship.

Very little is known about the dating of export wares, particularly those reaching the east coast of Africa, which was the most distant market for such wares. Naturally export wares being somewhat inferior in texture and design would have received little attention from the experts, dazzled as they have always been by the magnificence of the Imperial potteries.

Export wares again were the products of provincial potteries whose localities and products are largely unknown. It might be said that there is really no exact knowledge in this matter and that it is a field in which systematic excavation is badly needed. In fact the experts who examined this Kilwa pottery were hoping that stratification there might provide them with answers lacking from other sites where there had also been only casual finds.

Another serious difficulty in considering export wares is that provincial potteries producing them tended to maintain styles for which they had presumably an assured market, long after they were obsolescent in the home market; for this reason a fragment of undoubted Sung characteristics found at Kilwa, though resembling the earlier Imperial ware in general, will in actual fact be definitely post-Sung in date by a very wide margin.

Out of some three hundred fragments examined, there was nothing other than provincial wares and probably nothing that could be dated earlier than the 16th century.

The earliest fragments collected were of Sung type with the characteristic pale green celadon glaze; these celadon types were all strong and durable and formed the staple ware of the export trade for considerably more than a century. It is interesting to remember that another reason for the popularity of the celadon pottery was the fact that it had a reputed power of detecting

poison in anything placed in it. It is thought that most of this Sung type pottery belongs to the first half of the Ming period, as they have a white body under the glaze whereas the typical Lung-Ch'ian celadon has a greyish one.

Under this group there may be some Sung type pieces manufactured by kilns in Indo-China whose wares may have reached East Africa within this period, distinguished as they are by a darker green glaze and grey body.

From the middle of the 16th century blue and white china began to oust the celadons from the export markets and although superficially these fragments, often well preserved and hardly worn in comparison to the much worn celadons, appear to be of Ming date, there is no more vexed question in Chinese ceramics than as to which works are Ming and which Sung.

However, the blue and white wares continued to be traded right through the Ming period and beyond when blue striped wares of Ching origin were in use right into the 19th century. These latter fragments, although of 19th century origin, appear so new as to be almost recently broken.

The pattern of all the fragments found seem to show an intensive trade in the 16th century which then diminished only to rise to a peak again in the late 18th and early 19th century, although it must be realized that without a surer means of dating, this is purely tentative statement.

A final point of interest is that although the pottery is thought to be all of a date later than the 16th century, a series of coins collected from the same site at the same time were predominantly of a slightly earlier date than the earliest Chinese pottery.

This is a subject of which little is known and anyone with time and more than a little patience could produce by careful excavation a series of these fragments of great value to the history of East Africa.

East African Institute of Social Research

THE THIRD Conference of the Institute took place at Kampala from 1st to 9th January, 1952. It took the form of a small Fellows' meeting which was mainly given to the discussion of detailed comparative work on the social and economic structure of the Inter-Lacustrian Bantu and the planning of joint publications in this field.

Discussions were held on the kinship, territorial and political organization of the following: *Uganda*—Ganda (A. B. Mukwaya); Nyoro (J. Beattie); Soga (L. A. Fallers); Toro (B. K. Taylor); *Tanganyika*—Ha (J. Scherer); Haya (P. Reining); Zinza (J. W. Tyler). A scheme for the comparative study of political systems outlined by the Director was also discussed as well as a paper by Dr. K. Wachsmann on traditions of tribal migration among the Inter-Lacustrian Bantu.

Papers on the following tribes in Kenya were also read:—“Social structure of the Boran” (P. T. W. Baxter) and “Marriage among the Kikuyu” (J. Fisher).

Professor F. Lorimer of the American University of Washington was present at one session and outlined a scheme for the collection of demographic data in East Africa. He was anxious to acquire additional information on maternity histories in areas of particularly low or particularly high fertility according to the 1948 census and suggested forms of village survey that might be conducted to this end.

SEEN IN THE OPEN

Frigate Bird at Dar es Salaam

ON 21st October, 1951, at about 6 o'clock in the evening, I saw a Frigate bird hovering just over the coast at Dar es Salaam. I was informed that, before I saw it, it had been hovering in the same position for some ten minutes.

The bird appeared to be entirely black, except for a whitish throat and chest. The bill, when moved so that the light caught it, appeared rather pale. It is provisionally identified as a female *Frigate minor* (Gmelin), Great Frigate Bird.

I had it under observation for some ten minutes myself and got a good view of it. It finally flew off towards the harbour at very high speed. During the ten minutes of observation, it was seen to flap its wing only twice.

Sub-specific differences are not recognizable in the field in frigate birds and I do not venture, therefore, to identify this bird other than binomially, although, on the evidence of a specimen collected by Lord Richard Percy at Kipini, Kenya coast, on 31st August, 1951, now in the Coryndon Museum collection (J. G. Williams, *in lit.*) and on geographical grounds, it is likely to be *Frigate minor aldabrensis* Mathews.

While the normal distribution of this race is the western Indian Ocean, in association with oceanic islands, it is an exceedingly rare straggler to the East African coastal waters. Apart from the record mentioned above, there is a sight record by Sir Frederick Jackson off Malindi in 1899 and one other near Mombasa. I have not been able to trace any records for the Tanganyika coast.

On the evening of 21st October, 1951, at Dar es Salaam, the weather was dry and the monsoon was not blowing heavily. It is of interest to note that the Kipini specimen was collected during a heavy storm which had driven it inshore.—A. F. M.

The Hammer-headed Stork

Why do hammer-headed storks stand on each others' backs? It is not love making, I feel sure. They stand bolt upright and accompany the act with a chorus of calls.

I first noticed them doing it on the sandy, muddy shore at the apex of the Rufiji delta when the tide was out. Three hammer-kops stood on the backs of three others just like circus or stage acrobats.

The storks I watched yesterday were full of cries and eager flights to the next storm pools, some beside paths where natives passed frequently. They were absurdly familiar and did not take flight unless a wayfarer came exceedingly close. Their huge beady eyes, like the black buttons on old-time ladies' boots, would take in every move of a human while they stood so still to register or observe. Their all-brown plumage was most inconspicuous against mud. South Africans call them mudlarks. When they fed on grubs in the algae they lifted a foot to strike away the cob-webby algae (green scum) caught on the sides of their bills.

Watching them at close range—twenty feet—near Musoma, I concluded they were getting elevation to detect food in the mud, in the scum of algae or in flooded grass, much as elephant hunters do when they climb small trees to see over tall grass and even shoot from such precarious perches.

R. de la B. B.

A Nesting Abdim's Stork

An Abdim's stork remained last dry season at Samwa hill, ten miles N.E. of Mwadui, Williamson's Diamond Mine. These black-bellied storks migrate back to the Sudan after our rains, usually in May, and build their nests on the roofs of houses.

In Sukumaland this solitary bird built a nest in the top of a twenty-foot-high thorn tree within a cattle boma of *manyara* or milk-bush hedge. Natives live in a house twenty yards distant and even store maize-cobs in the forks of this *guguya* tree. It sleeps there every night and flies off to some feeding place about noon. Lately it has left in the morning, it is said, to eat grasshoppers. From July to September the nest has been examined by Mr. F. C. H. Riche, of Shanwa, using a mirror on a tall stick. No eggs were laid. The Sukuma natives regard this unheard-of stopping behind of a rain-bird as an omen of some significance and have taken much interest, and conversational conjecture to its meaning has been rife.

R. de la B. B.

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§I am much indebted to Miss N. Blessley, Assistant Curator at the King George V Memorial Museum, for assistance in compiling this bibliography.—Ed.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Jando: By H. Cory

Part I—*The Constitution and Organization of the Jando*. Vol. LXXVII, Part II 1947 (published 1951). *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.

Part II—*The Ceremonies and Teachings of the Jando*. Vol. LXXVIII, Parts I and II, 1948 (published 1951).

One of the important and interesting ceremonies of many Bantu societies is the tribal initiation at puberty. With this ceremony a group of young men (and, in some tribes, groups of young women) are initiated into the tribe with a series of rites and a period of teaching. The Jando, which Cory describes here, is a ceremony performed by detribalized Africans in various parts of Tanganyika. It has many features of the old Bantu initiation ceremonies, but it centres on the Mohammedan ritual of circumcision. As the author observes, some of the Bantu tribes of Tanganyika now have circumcision in their initiation ceremonies, but he believes that this was not originally a Bantu feature but that it is Islamic in origin in some tribes and, in others, Nilo-Hamitic. In the case of the Jando, he considers that the circumcision rite is due to Islamic influences.

The Jando is performed at various times and in various places with different degrees of elaboration. There can be a Jando of many rites and extensive teaching lasting as long as three months. In other cases the Jando may consist mainly of the circumcision itself. Cory describes in great detail in these two articles a possible extensive Jando. When a group of fathers with young sons agree to have a Jando, a teacher is found, a secluded house is built, and the initiates go for the period of the Jando to live in the house. During this time, not only is the circumcision performed, but the initiates are taught through a series of songs and stories, a great number of which Cory sets down with their translations. Sexual matters seem to be the main subject of the teachings. The ceremony ends with a series of ritual baths.

It is easy enough from the description to see the Mohammedan features and the old Bantu features in the Jando. More difficult is to account for the existence of the Jando in the situation in which it is found. Obviously, it is here not an initiation ceremony into a tribe; and Cory states that the circumcision rite is definitely not thought of as a religious rite—neither Mohammedan nor native. He explains the Jando as a ceremony which, because of its Arabic features, gives the Africans a feeling of connection with the higher status Arabic group. He further states that circumcision is often considered necessary by the local women. For this reason, in some cases the initiate is not a young boy but an older man.

It would have been interesting if the author had given a little more specific information on what function he felt the ceremony played for the people performing it. With the increasing interest which is being taken these days in the

urban African, such problems come to the fore. The little work which has been done on the detribalized native has tended to emphasize the disorganizing aspects of his life and not the organizing aspects such as a ceremony might be. It would further have been helpful if the author could also have given some indication as to the number of peoples who perform the Jando and its distribution, as well as its concentration in terms of numbers participating.—M. C. F.

Olduvai Gorge: a report on the evolution of the hand-axe cultures in Beds I—IV.
By L. S. B. Leakey, Cambridge University Press, 1951 40s.

This important publication is a volume in which Tanganyika can take a personal pride, for not only is the site to which it refers—the now famous Olduvai Gorge—in the centre of our Serengeti National Park, but the publication itself was made possible by the generosity of Dr. Williamson of Shinyanga; in addition a contribution was made to the cost of reproductions by the late C. Gillman, who well deserves the title, “the Father of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*”. Dr. Leakey is himself well known to readers of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, not only by virtue of his work at Olduvai, which is described in No. 6, pp. 49-57, in an article entitled “Prehistory in Tanganyika” by W. H. Reeve; but also by his investigations at Engaruka, described in No. 1, pp. 57-60; and by his contribution to the Kondoa Rock Painting number, No. 29.

This work is not the result of any tip-and-run visit, but of frequent and prolonged investigations with numerous distinguished colleagues over the last twenty-five years. Dr. Leakey first visited Olduvai in 1926-27 in the course of the First East African Archaeological Expedition, and again in 1928-29; in 1931 with Dr. Reck, the original discoverer of Olduvai man; in 1932, 1934, 1935 and 1941. In his introduction he mentions the hardship caused by bad water supply and excessive heat, but only those who have camped under such conditions with a minimum of financial aid to provide the amenities of adequate tentage and camp equipment can realize just how great these hardships were. They could not have failed to deter any lesser man, lacking the remarkable drive and enthusiasm so characteristic of the author of this book.

The book is a feast for the eye as much as for the mind. The profusion of illustrations can be judged by the fact that of its 164 pages forty-one are taken up by photographs of country and of specimens, fifty-five by line drawings and two by maps, leaving only sixty-six pages for text, bibliography and index. In particular tribute should be paid to Mrs. Leakey's meticulous line drawings, which make the specimens illustrated stand out from the page almost as tangible objects.

Before taking the reader shortly through the various aspects of the Olduvai cultures with which this book deals, it is necessary to draw attention to one or two of its short-comings. The index is poor, consisting of seventy-five entries only and of these some are inaccurate, e.g., the Pan African Congress on Prehistory is referred to on page 29 of the text and not on page 27 as shown, whilst the reference to Miss. P. Davidson is not on page 44, devoted entirely to a line drawing, but on page 4. Oddly enough the index contains no reference whatsoever to Olduvai Gorge or to Olduvai Man.

The bibliography, likewise, is disappointing, being limited to the geological and palaeontological aspects dealt with in Chapters 3 and 4. For a short bibliography covering some of the controversy which raged round Olduvai Man our

readers are referred to Mr. Reeve's article quoted above in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 6, at page 57, but a fuller list would have been appreciated by those who wish to follow up any particular aspect of the problem.

It should be realized that this work is highly specialized and deals particularly, as its title implies, with the evolution of the hand-axe cultures in Beds I—IV, so those who expect to find information concerning, for instance, the beautiful obsidian artifacts which can be picked up in such profusion in this area, are doomed to disappointment.

After Dr. Leakey's introduction, Professor Hans Reck outlines the geological background. Briefly the position is this:—

On a basis of a thick flow of basaltic lava there occur four Beds, the first, Bed I, consisting of thick layers of tuffs. These Dr. Leakey explains in a footnote on page 19: "The tuffs of Bed I were themselves largely deposited in water, as is shown by the presence in them of crocodile and hippopotamus bones, as well as by fish remains, and also by their very even, horizontal stratification". The fauna also reveals that Bed II was laid down when the Serengeti was a vast fresh water lake; Bed III consists of red earth formed on a dry land surface, whilst Bed IV was again a lake bottom. "The formation of these four Beds, which together constitute a continuous section in the Middle Pleistocene of Central Africa, was succeeded by the tectonic disintegration of the rifts and by the disappearance of the Olduvai lake at the beginning of the dry, inter-pluvia period. Subsequently, the thin layer of Upper and post-Pleistocene sediments, chiefly of aeolin origin, mantled the extensive deposits of Middle Pleistocene times".

Dr. A. T. Hopwood then takes up the story and describes the extraordinarily rich fossil fauna, which any visitor to the area with his eyes open cannot fail to detect in the Gorge.

Dr. McInnis, Dr. Leakey's colleague in the Coryndon Museum, then discusses the significance of the geological and palaeontological evidence in Chapter 4. The subsequent Chapters, 5-9, are the meat of the work, being Dr. Leakey's very full and lucid exposition of the development of the hand-axe culture from the earliest chipped pebbles of the Pre-Chellean Olduvai culture of Bed I to the meticulously formed artifacts of the Challes-Acheul culture, found at the top of Bed IV. The development is particularly well illustrated by a photographic chart, plate thirty-eight, at the back of the book, in which ninety-six specimens are photographed together.

These artifacts represent man's handiwork over a period of development from the earliest dawning of intelligence to a time when he was beginning to get some mastery over his environment. But what of man himself? Those who have followed the literature in these matters will recall the acute controversy which raged over the skull and other fossil bones found by Dr. Reck in the Gorge in 1913. Dr. Leakey deals with this briefly in the introduction at pages 2-4. At one time it was thought that the fossil skull belonged to Bed II, which would have placed it amongst the earliest relics of man, but detailed examination during the numerous expeditions referred to above led Dr. Leakey to reach this final conclusion, "so far as the problem of the age of Dr. Reck's fossil human skull and skeleton is concerned, the final conclusion reached was that this human fossil postdated the deposition of Beds I—IV at

Olduvai, but antedated the deposition of Bed V. In fact it can be shown to have been buried into the top of Bed II after considerable erosion had removed the whole of Beds III and IV in that particular region, but the skeleton was beneath deposits laid down just before Bed V was formed, and therefore clearly antedates Bed V".

The reader will naturally ask how old are these artifacts, and how long is it since the men that made them lived; but he will, for the moment, ask in vain. In Europe, by diverse means which it is unnecessary to explain here, a succession of ice ages, i.e. glacial and inter-glacial periods, have been dated with some accuracy. Here in Africa we have had similar changes in climate in the form of pluvial and inter-pluvial periods.

On this subject Dr. Leakey concludes his book by saying:—

"The writer has been one of the strongest supporters of glacio-pluvial correlation, and still believes that such a correlation is not only possible but inevitable; it is tempting to regard the four major pluvial periods as the equivalent of the Gunz, Mindel, Riss and Wurm glaciations and two post Pleistocene wet phases as the equivalent of the minor post-Wurm glacial episodes.

"If this correlation proves to be right, it would mean that the evolution of the hand-axe cultures as seen at Olduvai extends from the beginning of the Mindel to the very end of the Riss glaciation. Time alone will show if this is correct".

The publication of this book brings to the fore, incidentally, the problem of the correct rendering of native place names, in this case derived from the Masai. The name Olduvai means *sansevieria* (wild sisal), and it is a question whether one should render the name correctly in Masai, *Ol-Keju* 'l-ol-duvai the gorge or the river of the wild sisal, or in English *Sansevieria Gorge*, or adopt one word of English and one of Masai. The same considerations apply to Ololmoti, properly *Ol-donyo* 'l-ol-moti the Mountain of the Cooking-pot, so called by virtue of its crater. I will not attempt to answer the question I have posed, but as a matter of interest give the meaning of some of the local place names. (Pending the publication of a new book, in course of preparation, the orthography is from Hills, C., *The Masai*). Laetolil, from *ol-aitole*, the secretary bird; Limagrut from *e-mugur*, a depression holding water; Balbal, from *ol-balbal*, a sheet of water larger than a rainpond, but smaller than a big lake; and Oldeani, from *ol-tiani*, the bamboo. Ngorongoro and El'garja have not been satisfactorily identified.

Two final points, the first of which is an invitation. The handsome, not to say extravagant, nature of this publication makes it beyond the reach of the normal pocket, but copies are available on loan to members of the Society from the Library of the King George V Museum or from the Senior Sociologist, Arusha.

The second point is a warning. Duty or pleasure takes many of our readers into the Serengeti area where the Olduvai Gorge occurs, and it is to be anticipated that Dr. Leakey's monumental work will encourage still more to visit these sites. No one with any interest in man's past could fail to be stimulated by such a visit; we hope however that all visitors will respect the extreme value of this site, by adhering strictly to the law which prohibits unauthorized excavation or removal of specimens.

H. A. F.

Good Company. By Monica Wilson, Oxford University Press, pp. 274, Shs. 28/-

The title of this book gives no indication that it is an important anthropological work, but it is well justified by the contents. In a full length study of the village organization of the Nyakyusa Professor Wilson creates a most intimate and personal atmosphere around an institution which is not paralleled, so far as is known, amongst any other African tribe. This is a system of villages based on association of men of similar age, starting in childhood and persisting into and throughout married life. There is no system of age grades or formal initiation to form a background and no historical basis has been found. The needs met by this organization are mutual economic aid and protection, both physical and against witchcraft, while the system of landholding is closely linked with the age village, but the fundamental in a society where the male is more dominant than usual and the female more subservient is a local grouping within which good-fellowship operates.

Professor Wilson, who holds the Chair of Social Anthropology at Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, spent a substantial time among the Nyakyusa in the middle 'thirties with her late husband Godfrey Wilson. She was charged with an investigation of the effects of Christian missions on the local society while Wilson's concern was a general sociological study. In practice the approach was a joint one and they had planned to produce joint results. Change of occupation, the war and Wilson's death have prevented any of their results appearing hitherto, save in periodicals and as contributions to symposia. "Good Company" is the first of three books which they had planned on villages, kinship and chieftainship and the inference from the terms of Professor Wilson's preface is that the others will follow, to our own local direct advantage as well as to that of anthropological studies in general.

At a time when African cultures are changing so rapidly, it is of immense value to anyone having intimate concern with the people, whether he be doctor or administrator, agriculturalist or missionary, to have it crystalized at some stage. With this aid he can perceive on a comparative basis at what point change is taking place and, where change is to be introduced as a matter of policy, he can see what pre-disposing factors there are to acceptance and what are the danger points. By this standard, it is immaterial that the last data for this work were gathered over a dozen years ago, though it is hoped that someone with more modern knowledge of the Nyakyusa will attempt an examination of recent changes. For these changes are immense, e.g. the majority of the women are now clothed; where about a fifth of the adult males were away at work for short periods and low wages close at hand on the Lupa Goldfields, now about one quarter are away for longer periods and high wages on the Rhodesian Copper Belt; and the traditional redistribution of land in each generation is rapidly breaking down with the increase of attachment to the soil on account of density of population but more particularly through the establishment of long-lived crops. The village headmen described in the book as chosen by the Chief are now chosen by the people and this factor is basic to the complete transformation and modernization of the internal political organization which has been effected recently to meet the needs and abilities of a vigorous people. This is well described by Z. E. Kingdon in the *Journal of African Administration*. Vol. III, No. 4.

So, too, the effective days of the age village are numbered. Professor Wilson herself recognizes this, pointing out the effects of broader contacts, increased

economic opportunities, changing religious beliefs, diminished dangers and closer executive control. Yet the villages may proceed as a habit even after the need for them has disappeared on account of the value which the Nyakyusa set in terms of both enjoyment and unity on good-fellowship amongst men of similar age.

R. de Z. H.

A New Flora

Two slim olive-green paper-backed volumes size 6 x 10 in. have recently appeared in East Africa. They are the first parts of the Flora of Tropical East Africa and contain the Foreword and Preface in the one part and an account of the family Ranunculaceae in the other. A Flora now under preparation by a staff of botanists at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and elsewhere and one that was mooted in the early 1930's, but its appearance has been long delayed through a lack of funds for its preparation and publication and to the war years. The Flora is to cover a total surface of East Africa of 682,649 square miles with an altitudinal range from sea level to 19,565 ft., covering Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

The Ranunculaceae has been written by the editors Mr. E. Milne-Redhead and Dr. W. B. Turrill, both of Kew, and fills twenty-three pages including an index. Seven genera are represented in East Africa, *Clematis*, "Old man's beard" which has seven species, *Clematopsis* with two species, *Thalictrum*, "Meadow Rue" four species, *Anemone* one, *Ranunculus*, "Butter Cup" nine species and *Delphinium*, "Larkspur" with four species.

Descriptions of the family, genera and species are given, type specimens cited and where they are to be seen and one to three specimens are quoted for each of the four territories in East Africa in which it is to be found. Distribution in Africa and other parts of the world is also given under a species along with its habitat and altitudinal range and concludes under the specific description with synonyms. There are keys to the genera and to the species and five full pages are occupied by line drawings by the artists D. R. T. and M. R. in which part or whole of a plant is shown with analytical drawings of its more important components. Three genera are not illustrated which is unfortunate for the beginner in botany in East Africa.

The Flora is an official publication for East Africa and those working on its vegetation and plants will not be able to do without it. It is to be published family by family as typescripts become ready for printing irrespective of systematic order but we are warned in the Foreword that its preparation will take many years. The Ranunculaceae was published by The Crown Agents for the Colonies, 4 Millbank, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, for the sum of Shs. 3/- on the 11th February, 1952. It is not yet available in East Africa, when it is it will be obtainable from all the E.A. Government Printers and The Uganda Bookshop, P.O. Box 145, Kampala, Uganda. The next family to appear and which is nearly ready for the printers is the Olive family, Oleaceae.

P. J. Greenway.

CORRESPONDENCE

Prefixes of Place-names in the Bukoba District

Dear Sir,—Referring to the article by Mr. H. Cory and Mr. M. M. Masalu, with a Preface by Mr. C. Whybrow,* I send you some notes concerning Buhaya, i.e. Bukoba district, in the Lake Province. I am very sorry to contradict my good friends in some matters, but I hope they will give me an absolution.

In the Ruhaya language, as in the other Bantu-African languages, there is no suffix, but prefixes only; these prefixes are different according to the different substantive classes. In the Ruhaya language there is no prefix which is solely a locative prefix; these locative prefixes are those of the ordinary substantive classes, which are twelve. There is no place-name with the prefix of the first class; but there are few place-names with the prefix of the second class: *mu* for the singular, and *mi* for the plural.

I draw attention to some locative prefixes. The first locative prefix to be noticed is *Bu*; it commonly means a country of some size, or a more or less large chiefdom. Many place-names are shown, on modern maps, as beginning with *U*; but this writing was influenced by Swahili. We find on maps: *Uganda*, *Urundi*, *Uswi*; the native say: *Buganda*, *Burundi*, *Busubi*. In Buhaya, there are a few country place-names beginning with *Bu*: *Bugabo*, a chiefdom at the north of Bukoba; *Bumbire*, an island at the east of Kiyanja and Ihangiro; *Bukerebo*, a little island at the north-east of Bumbire. The name of some villages, but few, are beginning with the prefix *Bu*: *Bugombe*, *Bukoba*, *Bwanjai*, *Bweranyange*. It is to be noticed that when the root of the name is beginning with a vowel, *Bu* becomes *Bw*: to write *Buanjai*, *Bueranyange*, would be a mistake.

I say *Bu* is a locative prefix of some villages, but this occurs most frequently when the root of the place-name means a clan. For instance, *Bukoba* means the village of Bakoba; *Ba-koba*, plural of *Mukoba*, is the name of the clan.

In this case, *Bu* is the noun prefix of *Bu-taka*, the land of ancestors. Therefore Bukoba is the place of the first ancestor of the clan of Bakoba. Similarly, *Bugombe*, a village in the chiefdom of Kiziba, is the place of the first ancestor of the clan of Bagombe.

Commonly, *Ru* is a locative prefix of the grass-grown lands. In these place-names, *ru* is the noun prefix of *rw eya* (say rweya) which means a grass-grown land. For instance, *Rwentuha* means a grass-grown land where *entuha*, crowned cranes, are seen most frequently.

The prefix *Nya* always appears with another prefix which follows it: consequently the word carries two prefixes. So then the name *Nyangoma* can be spelled: *Nya-n-goma*; *Nya*, prefix conveying the idea of some superiority;—*n*, which is the prefix of the third class; *goma*, which is the name itself. Other

*In *Tanganyika Notes and Records* for January, 1951, No. 3.—Ed.

examples; Nyaruju, the palace, can be spelled: *Nya-ru-ju*; the second prefix conveys the idea of greatness (*grandeur*). *Nyakamwani* is spelled *Nya-ka-mwani*, a stem of a coffee shrub (for divination). When the name is in the plural, only the second prefix changes: nyarubanja, a banana-plantation, belonging to a chief,—nyambanja: banana-plantations.

Nyakaato which is the place-name of the Government Secondary School, near Bukoba, can be split into three syllables: *Nya-ka-ato*, and therefore is pronounced with a prolonged. The root is *bw-ato*, a dug-out canoe. Literally *Nyakāto* means: the owner of the small dug-out canoe. Formerly, before the starting of the school, this place was a grass-grown land and *Nyakato* the name of it.

My friends had mistaken *Nyakāto* for *Nyakato*. *Nyakato* is the name of one of a pair of twins. In the case of twins, the first-born, if he is a boy, is named *Ishengoma*; this name means: the father of the drum; the drum is the symbol of authority. If the first-born is a girl, she is named *Nyangoma*; this name means: the mother of the drum; *nya* is an abbreviation for *Nyina*, the mother of the owner. If the second-born is a boy, he is named *Kato*; the spelling is *Ka*, prefix expressing diminution of size, and *to*, small or younger; *Kato* means the little junior. If the second-born is a girl, she is named *Nyakato*; then the prefix *Nya* expresses the female sex. In some other countries chiefly in the Biharamulo District, the first-born of a pair of twins, if he is a boy, is named *Kakuru*. This name means the little senior. This prefix *nya*, because it is an abbreviation for *Nyina*, owner or lord conveys the idea of things connected with nobility and worship.

Where some work is done, the place-name is derived from the verb meaning this work, but the applicative form of the verb is used. The prefix always is *i* and the terminal *a* becomes *o*; for instance, *iramuliro*, court (of justice) from *Kuranura*, to judge, in the applicative form: *Kuramulira ibagiro*, slaughter-house, from *kubaga* (applicative form: *kubagira*); *itambiro*, dispensary, from *kutamba*, to heal (applicative form: *kutambira*); *igabiro*, a place for offerings (to the ghosts), from *kugabo* (applicative form: *kugabira*)—Yours sincerely,

FR. J. B. LAPIOCHE,

WHITE FATHERS' MISSION, BUKOBA.

* * *

Dear Sir,—The multi-racial composition of the Tanganyika Society was most happily emphasized recently when for the first time an African addressed it. Mr. Thomas Marealle, who spoke on the subject of his own tribe, the Chagga, is to be congratulated, not only in the ability shown in his talk,* but more particularly on the high honour which has since been conferred on him by his election as first chief of the Chagga tribe.

I would, however, like to amplify one or two of the statements which tend to convey an erroneous impression. The first point is that the tribe had developed a system of writing whereby events were recorded on sticks or stones by special symbols.

*Reproduced at pp. 57-64 in this issue.

Dealing first with the sticks, the reference here is doubtless to the *mregho* sticks. These vary from eighteen inches long with the thickness of a pencil, of the bark are removed in an ordered pattern, acting as a mnemonic or reminder to four feet long and an inch or more in diameter. From these sticks portions to the teachers in the initiation camps now no longer held. The subjects dealt with are of an intimate physiological nature; those wishing to study the subject further are referred to O. F. Raum's "Chagga Childhood" (1940) page 326, and to Chief Petro Marealle's recent book in Swahili entitled "Maisha ya Mchagga hapa Duniani na Ahera" (1951) pp. 27 to 31.

The engraved stones to which Mr. Thomas Marealle refers are also explained in the latter work. A joint article by Chief Petro and myself has been prepared in English and will, it is hoped, duly appear in the scientific press. These engraved stones, four examples of which occur in the region of Marangu, are of extreme interest, not only in themselves, but as shedding light on similar symbolic marks, found elsewhere, e.g., the 'late white' paintings in the Kondoa District (see *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 29). But that is all they are; symbolic marks, and *not* writing capable of interpretation. Some of the lines represent age-sets, others the division between the various sections attending the initiation ceremonies with which they are connected.

The shallow depressions in the stones represent markets, the symbolism here being that women attend markets at which they gossip; therefore do not tell the secrets imparted at initiation to any woman. The deeper depressions are used during the oath taking: the initiates must spit into them when swearing secrecy.

Three of these stones occur within a few hundred yards of both the Kibo and Marangu Hotels and are well worth a visit by anyone spending their local leave there.

The reference to the division of labour should also be amplified for it is not, as implied, an indication of advancement, but rather of unenlightened superstition. In common with many other tribes the iron-workers were considered a caste of low social status, c.f., the Il-Kuonono amongst the Masai or the Tumalou amongst the Galla or the Gidangodek amongst the Tatog (Barabaig). The members of the iron-working caste could not inter-marry with the members of the tribe with whom they were associated, nor could they partake of food with them. In one case recorded from the Chagga cluster of tribes the separation of the two groups was carried so absurdly far that a smith going outside his own village had to carry a gourd into which to answer the calls of nature, so that the earth of his superiors might not be contaminated.

Finally, the statement that was retarded Chagga culture is very true, but as the wars were of the Chagga's own making, and not forced on them from outside, they are not an excuse for cultural retardation, but rather a measure of the state of barbarism in which the tribe, in common with many of the other inhabitants of East Africa, lived prior to the advent of the European. The past has witnessed a spark of political acumen further west in the Lake Victoria region, where the Kingdom of Kitira, based on Bunyoro in Uganda, flourished in the sixteenth century. As this Kingdom split it gave rise to such political units as are ruled over by the Mwami of Ruanda (1,900,000 subjects), the Mwami of Urundi (1,800,000) and the Kabaka of Uganda (1,300,000). It is probably the same influence which gave some cultural and, more recently, political cohesion to our largest Tanganyika group, the Sukuma (800,000).

It is to be hoped that the Chagga, who have recently taken a step forward in political advancement, will not be content with the position they have now reached, but that they will come to realize their wider loyalties as citizens of Tanganyika, and that they will be guided towards the realization of this end by the distinguished speaker to whose address this letter refers.—Yours truly,

H. A. FOSBROOKE,

P.O. Box 308, Arusha.

* * *

Zanzibar to Masasi in 1876

Dear Sir,—This article, which came originally from my pen, and which you did me the honour to publish in your July number, passed through a number of hands before it came into yours. In the process certain changes seem to have passed upon it, notably the statement that William Percival Johnson was a Cambridge rowing blue. I yield to none in my zeal for the glory of my University, but *non talibus auxiliis*. Archdeacon Johnson stroked the eight of University College Oxford to the head of the river.

Honour to whom honour. Oxford has few more glorious sons. Cambridge may well envy and emulate, but not purloin the glory.

Yours faithfully,

R. G. P. LAMBOURN,

Archdeacon of Masasi.

* * *

Sir,—With reference to Mr. O. Koenig's article and photographs relating to "The Ancient Wells of Ngassumat in South Masailand" (*T.N. & S.* No. 31, July, 1951), may I draw his attention and that of your readers to the fact that there are a series of wells of exactly the same type and approximately the same size still in use in the Borana area of Southern Abyssinia, approximately bounded by lines drawn from Mega to Moyale to Dolo to Neghelli. I was only in this area for a short period during the Abyssinian campaign, but had occasion to draw water for my platoon from one of these wells. Unfortunately I had no camera to record the appearance of the place; but I saw several similar wells in the course of the Lakes campaign. The methods of watering with thrown leather buckets as illustrated by Mr. Koenig in use among the Masai are also to be seen among the Galla, Somali and Turkana.

It is surely easier to postulate the gradual movement southwards of people sharing the same Ethiopian cultural practices than to endeavour to derive these from all sorts of extraneous influences such as the Phœnicians, for which there is singularly little historical evidence?

Let us take as an example the familiar '*tembe*' house of Central Tanganyika with a log, brushwood, gravel and earth roof. This is, with little doubt, a direct Ethiopian introduction, since as a type of dwelling it extends from Eritrea all over the Ethiopian plateau and thence into East Africa. It is

perhaps found at its most northward point in East Africa among the Elgonyi living on the top of Mount Elgon, but from there southwards its provenance is almost continuous. As a type of house it is in marked contrast with the conical hut of the Nilotics and Bantu of the Southern Sudan and of the Lake Victoria basin. The quadrilateral house with earth roof reaches its highest standard of construction and decoration on the hillsides of Eritrea and Ethiopia. From it the ill-ventilated, insanitary tembe of central Tanganyika is an obvious degeneration; but this does not change its cultural source. Similarly the Masai may at present lack the social organization sufficient to enable them to prepare such elaborate structures as the wells photographed by Mr. Koenig, but this does not mean that they, or their ancestors, were not so capable in the past. Social decay is as significant a tendency in the history of human societies as is progress. As we are still habituated by our education to the "developmental" ideas of the Victorian epoch, we are apt to forget this. Actually the practical lessons which Africa teaches refer much more to the processes of decay than to social progress, and this applies not only to black, but to white races also. One has but to visit the backveld to become painfully aware of this.

As regards Mr. Koenig's reference to the legend of Wahudi (Jews) passing through the Pare hills near Kisuani and crossing the Ruvu River near Same into Southern Masailand, it would be very interesting if he, or some other resident in the Pare district, could collect a little more detail on this point. I have myself collected a continuous series of traditions which refer to the expulsion of ancient Jewish communities by early Moslem immigrants from all the seaport towns of Somalia from Mogadishu southwards to Kismayu, and there is a natural query as to where these folk went? This expulsion was certainly a mediaeval phenomenon, probably later in the Middle Ages. The Pare tradition may provide a very interesting sequel to this story.

Yours faithfully,

A. C. A. WRIGHT.

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"NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF GERMAN EAST AFRICA (TANGANYIKA)"

by P. J. du Toit

Dear Sir,—I was very much interested to read the above notes, in the issue of your *Tanganyika Notes and Records* (July, 1951, No. 31). In this article the author, in the footnote on page 40, has expressed his desire—his own words—"the hope may therefore be expressed that some other Numismatist will supplement and, where necessary, amend or correct the information here supplied, etc.".

I collect old coins of this country as well as those of India, but unfortunately I do not possess any detailed information, or illustrated catalogue on the subject. However, I was very pleased to read the above article, and, as desired by the author, I append below further information on the following coins:—

COINS ISSUED BY THE DEUTSCH-OSTAFRIKANISCHE
GESELLSCHAFT

One Rupee.—Silver. Obverse Kaiser Wilhelm II with helmet and eagle and the inscription "Guilelmus II Imperator". Reverse Coat of Arms with palm and lion, etc. I possess these rupees with the following dates:— 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1901 and 1902. Presumably there may be also in existence rupees with dates 1895, 1896, 1900, but so far I have not been successful in getting them.

One-fourth Rupee.—Similar to above with date 1898.

I possess almost all coins mentioned in the above article (including the "Tabora Sovereign"), and the descriptions of each coin given by the Author I have carefully checked, and they, as far as I can see, are correct in every respect. As I am in Tabora—a place of historical importance—I am still trying to hunt for more coins and may eventually be able to give further information as to year, mark, etc.

Re: "Tabora Sovereign", the author remarks on page 41 that the dies used for this coin were made in Germany, and further assumes that they might have come through East Africa by a German submarine. In the course of conversation with some of the old residents of Tabora, I was told that the dies for the "Tabora Sovereign" were made in Tabora by expert Ceylonese engravers, who were said to be employees of some well-known firms in Dar es Salaam. Further, I am told that a Ceylonese engraver was sentenced to some years' imprisonment for making counterfeit Tabora Sovereigns in Zanzibar. Further light may be thrown on this point.

The following information may be out of way of the present subject, but I hope that somebody may be interested in it: I possess the Mombasa one Rupee of the East Africa Co., dated 1888 and also one *Pesa* as above also dated 1888.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

D. M. PHATAK

c/o Revenue Officer,

Tabora.

