

TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

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THE GROUNDNUT SCHEME IN RETROSPECT

By A. T. P. Seabrook, M.B.E.

Mr. Seabrook, who is Chief Administrative Officer, Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation, gave a talk to members of the Tanganyika Society and their friends on 10th April, 1957 at the Women's Service League. We are indebted to Mr. Seabrook for allowing us to publish his talk in our journal.

It is much too early to produce a history of the Groundnut Scheme and this talk only deals with very limited aspects of it, mainly from a personal point of view.

It all began in early 1946 when the late Mr. Frank Samuel, then Managing Director of the United Africa Company, visited Tanganyika. After the second World War there was a serious shortage of edible oils and fats and the experts predicted that this shortage would get more serious rather than less, because the rate of increase in consumption appeared to be greater than the rate of increase in production. For example, India and Pakistan, which before the war provided a high proportion of Europe's supply of groundnuts, were by the end of the war consuming nearly all their own production themselves. With these thoughts in mind, Mr. Samuel, intrigued by the vast unused tracts of Tanganyika, had a talk with its Director of Agriculture, who thought it would be a good idea if he were to grow groundnuts here on a large scale—say 20,000 acres—adding that to be economically successful such a scheme would have to be entirely mechanized, from ploughing to harvesting. Mr. Samuel brooded on this and, with his unique knowledge of the world's fats position, was thinking in bigger terms still.

On his return, he proposed to the British Minister of Food the clearing of about 2½ million acres of land for the purpose of growing groundnuts. The Minister, Sir Ben Smith, was in a most receptive frame of mind, because he was under great pressure to do something about the fats ration, and the outcome was the appointment of a Mission to come out and investigate. To head this Mission, Mr. John Wakefield, a former Director of Agriculture in Tanganyika, was selected and his two colleagues were Mr. D. L. Martin, Plantations Manager of the United Africa Company and Mr. John Rosa, a financial expert.

The Mission set off for Tanganyika in June, 1946, and, after taking a good look-round in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia as well, stepped up Mr. Samuel's proposal by a further ¾ million acres. Their report was submitted to Mr. Strachey, who by then had succeeded Sir Ben Smith as Minister of Food. Mr. Strachey was just as enthusiastic as his predecessor had been and to him it looked good business.

The attractions offered to a Minister continually harassed by the housewives of Britain, particularly on the shortage of the fats ration were considerable. The report pointed out that the critical shortage of oils and fats in Britain alone was equivalent to 1½ million tons of groundnuts a year. If their plan for the establishment of 107 units of 30,000 acres each, a total of 3,210,000 acres, were accepted and were started in 1947, it would produce a minimum of 600,000 tons of groundnuts by 1950/51. But this was not all. The economics looked too

good to be true, as indeed they were. The Mission estimated, after taking the best local advice available, that the cost of clearing the land would be £3 17s. 4d. per acre, that the total capital expenditure spread over six years would be £24,000,000 and that the cost of production would be £14 5s. 6d. per ton f.o.b., based on a yield of 850 pounds of shelled nuts to the acre. At a current market price of £32 per ton this showed a profit of about £10,000,000 per annum on 600,000 tons which was not bad on a capital of £24,000,000.

The report accordingly went to the Cabinet, who were sufficiently impressed to authorize commencement of the project on a small scale while it was being examined by a special section of the Ministry of Food. The special section endorsed it and recommended only a few comparatively minor adjustments. Consequently, final approval was given and the details were published as a White Paper entitled "A Plan for the mechanized production of groundnuts in East and Central Africa". Very briefly, this plan was to clear and establish groups of 30,000-acre units in three areas of Tanganyika and also in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia.

To conclude the background, mention should be made of the decisions taken on who should run the scheme. Both Mr. Samuel and the Wakefield Mission ruled out private enterprise on the grounds that it was too big for private enterprise to handle. It was decided therefore that a public corporation should be established, but as this would take time and as speed was essential, the United Africa Company were asked to get it started as Managing Agents for the Minister of Food.

To the inhabitants of Tanganyika, the next stage represented an invasion, the memory of which no doubt still causes many to shudder. The "Groundnutters", as they came to be called, started to arrive in ever increasing numbers. They overcrowded the hotels, railway trains and aeroplanes. The first to come in force were the contractors' men, who were to undertake the land-clearing. Then there were those who were expected to be the permanent staff and in their wake the V.I.P.s and journalists, visiting M.P.s and high-powered sales directors. To the local populace they were all part of this tiresome thing the Groundnut Scheme which, whatever else it did, certainly disturbed the even tenor of their ways. To some a "Groundnutter" was something not quite nice to know and the scheme the obvious cause of any evil which beset the territory. Nevertheless, there were many officials at all levels, particularly in the field who desperately wanted the scheme to succeed and gave it all the help in their power.

But what of the "Groundnutters" themselves? When the plan was published, the imagination of the public was fired in exactly the same way as the Ministers had been. Altogether more than 100,000 men applied for jobs on it. As one of the 100,000 I can do no better than give you my own impressions. When I arrived in Kongwa in the latter part of 1947, the headquarters had been established there and clearing had started, Kongwa having been selected as the first area to be opened. Although it was already clear that things were not going according to plan, there was an almost fanatical faith in ultimate success and the setbacks experienced were only the teething troubles to be expected. I readily admit that I shared that faith to the full, largely I think because the difficulties were not—or did not seem at that time to be—insuperable, and also because of a rather simple faith that something that had been worked out by a group of experts, subjected to further expert examination, unanimously applauded

by all political parties in the British House of Commons and by the public and, presumably, had the blessing of the Tanganyika Government, just could not be misconceived and therefore impracticable. The things that seemed to be wrong at that early stage, were the time-table and the number of people required to do the job. They could both largely be ascribed to the same cause. In order to start such a large-scale enterprise, an enormous quantity of material, particularly tractors and transport, was required. After a world war with industry still not re-equipped for peacetime requirements, the only source of such things was Army Disposals and that is where they came from, having been purchased all over the world, from Egypt to the Philippines. When one buys from Disposals in a big way, one cannot pick and choose, one buys lots and the lots may contain the items you want in varying condition and also things you do not particularly want, which is one reason why we found ourselves in possession of all sorts of improbable things which caused great merriment to the onlookers in Dar es Salaam. Anyway, when these tractors and vehicles arrived there were precious few that were in anything like good condition. This meant, not only that the first year's target of 150,000 acres under cultivation would be hopelessly unattainable, but also that very large workshops would be necessary to put the fleet of tractors and transport in order and maintain them. Now the White Paper had not said very much about workshops and this meant for a start a much larger staff than had been anticipated. The arrival of vast quantities of stores in Dar es Salaam from all over the world, entirely unlisted and undocumented, and the hordes of spares required to put the worn-out equipment into use, needed an army of storekeepers, and the White Paper had not said much about storekeepers either. And further, though this was to come later, another army of accountants was required to account for them. This increase of personnel, amounting to hundreds of Europeans and thousands of Africans, had the inevitable snowball effect. It meant more doctors, more administrators and more engineers to build houses and supply essential services for them.

Looking back it is clear that when early in 1948 these problems could be recognized as fundamental and not due merely to temporary circumstances the scheme as originally conceived was doomed; doomed as originally conceived, not necessarily to be ruled out or called off altogether at that stage. The most incomprehensible aspect of the whole business is why something was not done about it there and then. There were many reasons. Later it would be possible to get new tractors. After the first year the technique of bush-clearing would improve and therefore be cheaper and quicker. It was just going to be a year behind schedule, that was all, and the capital cost a little higher. So far there was no reason to question the agricultural estimates and the margin of profit was quite high enough to carry a higher capital outlay. There was another and more sinister reason. The new Corporation set up to manage the scheme, the Overseas Food Corporation, was to take over in March, 1948 and it was terribly tempting for them to assume that all the shortcomings and troubles were the result of early muddle and mismanagement and that it would be quite simple to put all that right. Maybe, but all we saw in those days was bigger and better establishments, new "levels" of management and plans for even greater speed.

As the months went by, with little or no apparent appreciation of where we were heading, some of us, particularly the administrative heads of departments, began to get really worried and were finally moved in early September to submit

a joint memorandum to the Board's resident member at Kongwa, expressing our deep concern at the way things were going. That memorandum was entirely ignored and was eventually re-submitted, with a further one, to all the members of the Board in January, 1949, but it was already too late and the rot had set in. It is my firm belief that had it been possible, even as late as the date of the first memorandum, to stop and make a re-appraisal of the whole scheme, the results would have been very different, or at least as much would have been accomplished as was accomplished, but for less money. As it was, by the end of 1948 about eighteen million pounds had gone and expenditure had reached almost a million pounds a month. It was the year of "bash on regardless". A new plan of development was worked out which would have cost in the order of one hundred million pounds and I think it was that frightening figure which finally brought people to their senses. Such a sum was just not going to be made available.

The following year, 1949, therefore was a year of revisions, always downwards, but still without admission of failure. It was also the year of scapegoats and "witch-hunts". At the summit, the two members of the Board who had been on the original Mission, Wakefield and Rosa, were dismissed. General Harrison, the resident member in Tanganyika, whose health had failed, was another obvious victim. And the same went on all the way down the line. It is easy to imagine the bewilderment caused by constant changes in plans, changes in policy and changes in personnel, which moved one frustrated head of department to exclaim "You cannot recast the plan and replan the caste at the same time".

Was all the witch-hunting fair? Could blame for the failure be attributed to any individual or group of individuals? Frankly, it is extremely hard to say. Obviously there were misfits and mistakes of varying importance on the part of individuals, but how could they possibly account for the enormous difference between plan and achievement, that is to say, the difference between 3½ million acres for £24,000,000 in five years and about 125,000 acres for a greater sum in three years?

The original plan took too little account of supply, communications, administration and the provision of essentials, such as roads and services, all of which had to be provided by the Corporation. Yet the plan was prepared by men with experience of Africa and of finance and, moreover, was submitted to the closest scrutiny by experts, all of whom gave it their unqualified blessing, with only two notable exceptions. Nearly all the vociferous critics were heard only after failure had become apparent and the amount of wisdom after the event was prodigious.

Defeat was finally admitted towards the end of 1950 and in January, 1951 another White Paper was published giving new terms of reference to the Corporation. It was allocated a limited sum of money for large-scale experimental development to establish the economics of clearing and mechanized or partly mechanized agriculture. The experiment was to last for a period of seven years and is, in fact, still continuing because, although the Overseas Food Corporation ceased to exist on the 31st March, 1955, the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation replaced it.

There have been surprisingly few inquests on the scheme, apart from the arguments and discussions that currently attended each phase and revision. I have mentioned some reasons for failure but there are, of course, many others. Too much of the basic conception was wrong, owing largely to ignorance of

what tractors and bull-dozers could do in Africa and what they cost to operate, but it was not I think sufficiently wrong to condemn the general idea. If I were asked what was the greatest single cause, I would say speed, because so many ills flowed from the demand for quick and spectacular results. Next I would put the reluctance to admit serious defects in the plan until it was too late.

The important thing now is to appreciate the not inconsiderable benefits to Tanganyika that have come out of it. On the 1951 directive, the Corporation was no longer confined to the production of oil seeds and other food crops and it was free to experiment in a more general direction. At Kongwa most of the 90,000 acres of cleared land is now a cattle ranch. It is successful and is a clear demonstration that large-scale ranching in that area with sound cattle management and controlled grazing can be profitable as well as produce quality beef. Urambo, the area in the Western Province where about 65,000 acres were cleared, is being successfully farmed with flue-cured tobacco as the main cash crop. In Nachingwea experiments with oil seeds and cereals continue and it is interesting to note that for some years now the yields of groundnuts have exceeded the expectations of the original White Paper. In all three places African Tenant Schemes have been started and large areas set aside for their expansion. Great importance has been attached to these experiments, which may very probably set the general pattern of agricultural development.

There are physical assets which Tanganyika has been able to acquire, such as hospitals, roads and the buildings which house the territory's only European Secondary School. There are human assets as well. Of approximately 1,200 ex-employees of the Overseas Food Corporation and many others of the contractors, a high proportion have remained in Tanganyika—doctors, architects, accountants, farmers and artisans. Much was heard of the comparatively few failures, but the majority of the staff were of a high calibre. They were selected from the 100,000 who were attracted to the scheme and might not otherwise have thought of coming to Tanganyika. That they did and that so many have stayed is Tanganyika's gain. The importation of large numbers of skilled European artisans accelerated the training of Africans and there are thousands today in employment as mechanics and tractor drivers, etc., who received their training from the Overseas Food Corporation.

Finally, there is a wealth of knowledge and experience that has been built up, the know-how of agricultural development and farming techniques in the marginal areas. Particularly important has been the development of agricultural machinery suitable for local conditions. Whether the blessings will ever outweigh the expense is impossible to say but there is very much more to it than just the writing-off of a large sum of money which, after all, did not greatly exceed that spent on the abortive construction of the two Brabazon aircraft, which the British taxpayer accepted without a murmur.

THE GULELLAE (MOLL., STREPTAXIDAE) OF THE USAMBARA MOUNTAINS, N.E. TANGANYIKA

By Bernard Verdcourt, B.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S.

INTRODUCTION

Most of the montane areas of E. Africa are rich in species of *Gulella*, in fact they often form a large percentage of the mollusc population both in numbers of species and individuals. The genus *Gulella* consists of small to medium-sized carnivorous snails characterized by the aperture of the shell usually having a complicated arrangement of teeth or denticles, often also called folds and lamellae. The shell is always white or whitish but the animal may be partly coloured orange or reddish.

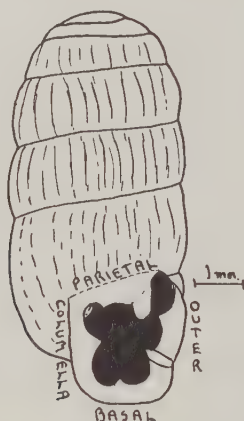


Fig. A. *Gulella fortidentata* (Sm.) showing terms used to describe the teeth.

In the key given on page 94, certain terms are used which are explained in Fig. A. The top, bottom, right-hand and left-hand sides of the aperture (mouth) of the shell are termed parietal, basal, outer and columellar margins respectively. Each of these margins can bear teeth or complicated processes and in addition there may be a deep oblique fold across the angle formed by the parietal and columellar margins. Some two hundred species of the genus have been described from E. Africa, many of which are known only from the original type specimens. Very many new species remain to be discovered and there are also many new species in collections awaiting description. Material is therefore needed from all over E. Africa and any material collected by readers would be welcome. The Usambaras have been relatively well-collected and yet, the writer found several new species whilst he was stationed there for under a year. All the species live under moss and ground litter on the floors of forests and also in bushland.

LIST OF SPECIES

Section *Primigulella* Pilsbry

- 1 *grossa* (von Martens)
- 2a *usagarica satura* (Haas)
- 2b *usagarica msambaa* Verdcourt
- 3 *ndamanyiluensis* Venmans
- 4 *foliifera* (von Martens)

Section *Plicigulella* Pilsbry

- 5 *vicina* (Smith) f. *sambourouensis* (Dautz.)

Section *Molarella* Connolly

- 6 *usambarica* (Craven)
- 7 *gwendolinae mkusiensis* Verdcourt
- 8 *bomolensis* Verdcourt
- 9 *subhyalina addita* (von Martens)

Section *Paucidentina* von Martens

- 10 *paucidens* Verdcourt
- 11 *unidentata* K. Pfr.
- 12 *ludwigi* Verdcourt and Venmans (= *usambarica* K. Pfr. non Craven)

Section *Aenigmigulella* Pilsbry

- 13 *aenigmatica* (Smith)

Section *Tortigulella* Pilsbry?

- 14a *lornae lornae* Verdcourt
- 14b *lornae major* Verdcourt

Remainder belonging to sections not named

- 15a *translucida* K. Pfr.
- 15b *translucida* var. not named
- 16 *amaniensis* Verdcourt
- 17a *conradti* (von Martens)
- 17b *conradti reductidentata* Verdcourt
- 18 *intrusa* Verdcourt
- 19 *greenwayi* Verdcourt
- 20 *handeiensis* Verdcourt
- 21 *gouldi globulosa* (K. Pfr.) (= *gouldi amaniensis* Verdcourt)
- 22 sp. nov.
- 23 *Ptychotrema* sp. nov.

KEY TO THE SPECIES

- 1 { Shell large, over 9 mm. tall 2

 { Shell smaller, usually under 7 mm. tall

 (rarely 8 mm.) 7
- 2 { Columella with a single bifid tooth ... *G. usambarica*

 { Columella with several separate teeth ... 3
- 3 { Shell 19-22 mm. tall, 3-4 teeth on

 parietal edge (see fig.) *G. grossa*

 { Shell 11-17.5 mm. tall, 2-3 (rarely 4)

 teeth on parietal edge 4
- 4 { Two main columellar teeth bending

 downwards conspicuously *G. foliifera*

 { Two main columellar teeth more or less

 straight 5
- 5 { Shell 11-13.5 mm. tall and 6-7 mm.

 wide *G. ndamanyiluensis*

 { Shell 14-17.5 mm. tall and 10 mm. wide ... 6
- 6 { Two big teeth and two small teeth on

 the columella... .. *G. usagarica msambaa*

 { Two big teeth only on the columella ... *G. usagarica saturata*
- 7 { Columella with prominently 3-pronged

 tooth near top, shell 7-8 mm. tall ... *G. vicina forma sambourouensis*

 { Columella teeth not 3-pronged, shell

 under 7 mm. 7a
- 7a { Shell with remarkably pointed apex;

 apex finely striate, rest of shell with

 coarse laminae *G. sp. nov.*

 { Shell with much less pointed apex ... 8
- 8 { Apex of shell with spiral striate, rest

 strongly ribbed 9

 { Apex smooth or variously sculptured

 but not simply spirally striate ... 10
- 9 { Shell 2.5-3 mm. tall *G. lornae lornae*

 { Shell 4 mm. tall *G. lornae major*
- 10 { Shell smooth or nearly so 11

 { Shell striate or ribbed 18
- 11 { Columella with one tooth bifid and

 sometimes additional simple ones ... 12

 { Columella teeth simple 14
- 12 { Shell 3 mm. tall, main tooth on outer

 lip trifid *G. bomolensis*

 { Shell 4-7.5-6 mm. tall, teeth on outer lip

 simple 13
- 13 { 3 teeth on outer lip and 2 at base ... *G. gwendolinae mkusiensis*

 { 2 teeth on outer lip and 1 at base ... *G. subhyalina addita*

- 14 { Mouth toothless or with 2-3 very weak
teeth or with only 1 distinct tooth,
shell 3.5 mm. tall 15
Mouth with at least 4 teeth 16
- 15 { Shell ovoid-cylindric, traces of parietal
and outer lip teeth and of a fold at
the top of the columella *G. paucidens*
Shell cylindric, parietal tooth well-
marked, also trace of a columella
fold *G. unidentata*
- 16 { Shell 5 mm. tall, tooth on outer lip
small *G. ludwigi*
Shell about 3.5 mm. tall, tooth on outer
lip large 17
- 17 { Tooth on outer lip with sharp cusp at
either end *G. amaniensis*
Tooth on outer lip with lobe at top or
irregularly divided *G. translucida*
(typical var. has 4 teeth; another
unnamed one has 6, there being
additional minute teeth on the outer
lip and columella)
- 18 { Shell globose, the upper whorls angled,
"pagoda-like"; parietal tooth large
and very curved and projecting;
columella with 2 inset lobes, one
behind the other at base *G. aenigmatica*
Shell and teeth not as above 19
- 19 { Shell with one parietal tooth and one
tooth on outer lip, no other tooth
save a small inset fold at top of
columellar 20
Shell with greater number of teeth 21
- 20 { Shell 5.5 mm. tall and 2.5 mm. wide... *Ptychotrema* sp. nov.
Shell 3.5 mm. tall and 1 mm. wide ... *G. handeensis*
- 21 { Outer lip with a trio of three close
teeth, parietal tooth rather bifid ... *G. gouldi globulosa*
Outer lip if with three teeth then not
forming a close trio 22
- 22 { One tooth on parietal, outer and basal
lips, the outer one very large; a deep
inset fold at top of columella but no
tooth *G. greenwayi*
Two teeth on parietal lip, three on
outer lip, one on basal lip and a fold
at top of columella; sometimes a
tooth also present on columella ... 23

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 23 | { | Shell ovoid 4.25-4.75 mm. tall, large tooth on outer lip tongue-like and reaching far across the aperture ... | <i>G. intrusa</i> |
| | | Shell cylindric 3.2-3.8 mm. tall, large tooth on outer lip smaller ... | 24 |
| 24 | { | A columella tooth present as well as the fold ... | <i>G. conradti conradti</i> |
| | | No tooth on the columella ... | <i>G. conradti reductidentata</i> . |

DESCRIPTIONS

1 *G. grossa* (von Martens) (Figs. 21 and 27)

Shell large, sub-globose, 19-22 mm. tall. Aperture with 11-14 teeth, the main parietal one with three cusps. Fairly frequent in the E. Usambaras rain forest. It is recorded from Tanga and has also been found on Mt. Mlinga.

2a *G. usagarica satura* (Haas) (Fig. 29)

Shell large, ovoid-cylindric, pointed at the apex, about 15 mm. tall. Aperture with 9 teeth, the main parietal one with three cusps. A few old shells have been collected near Monga in the E. Usambaras. The type locality is Bumbuli in the W. Usambaras.

2b *G. usagarica msambaa* Verdcourt (Figs. 19 and 25)

Shell large, 14-17.5 mm. tall, ovoid-globose to cylindric, apex blunt but with a conspicuous tip. Aperture with 11 teeth, the main parietal one with three cusps. This is common in dry forest at Mkusi and Shume in the W. Usambaras.

3 *G. ndamanyiluensis* Venmans (Fig. 26)

Shell medium-sized, ovoid, 11-12.5 mm. tall, apex blunt but with a conspicuous tip. Aperture with 10 teeth, the parietal one with three cusps. I found the few shells this was described from on Mt. Ndamanyilu in the W. Usambaras. Since this paper was written I have found 5 further specimens at Worlds View, Shume.

4 *G. foliifera* (von Martens) (Fig. 18)

Shell sub-globose, 11-12 mm. tall. Aperture with 11-13 teeth, the main parietal one with three cusps. A rather rare shell in the E. Usambaras rain forest. Von Martens records it from near Tanga. In December, 1956 about a dozen specimens were found near the Dodwe Falls at Amani.

5 *G. vicina* f. *sambourouensis* (Dautzenberg)

Shell ovoid-cylindric, 7-8 mm. tall and 3.5-4.2 mm. broad, whorls striate. There are two parietal teeth, three teeth on the outer lip and three on the basal. The main columellar tooth is markedly three-pronged and there is a minute tooth below it. Dr. P. J. Greenway found 3 specimens of this at Kisiwani in the foothills of the E. Usambaras. *G. vicina* occurs from Nyasaland to Kenya and this form also occurs in Kenya.

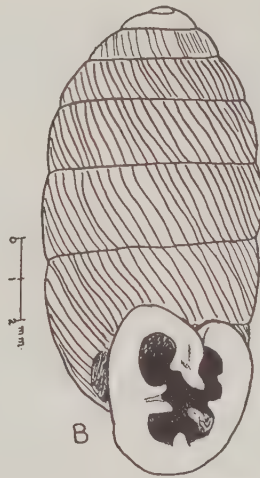


Fig. B. *Gulella usambarica* (Craven).

6 *G. usambarica* (Craven) (Text fig. B)

Shell ovoid-cylindric, 9.5-12 mm. tall and 5-6.5 mm. wide, whorls strongly ribbed. The main parietal tooth is bifid, there are 2-4 teeth on the outer lip and 0-1 on the basal. The columellar tooth is prominently bifid. This species is widely distributed in the E. and W. Usambaras and also occurs in the foothills and on Mt. Tongwe.

7 *G. gwendolinae mkusiensis* Verdcourt (Fig. 7)

Shell cylindrical, 4.75-5.25 mm. tall and 1.8 mm. wide, smooth. There are:—one parietal tooth, three teeth on the outer lip, two basal teeth and one prominently bifid tooth on the columella. This sub-species was found in dry forest at Mkusi near Lushoto in the W. Usambaras. Other varieties and sub-species have been found at Dar es Salaam, Mombasa, Shimba Hills, and in R. Turkwell drift in Turkana.

8 *G. bomolensis* Verdcourt (Fig. 1)

Shell cylindrical, 3 mm. tall and 1.5 mm. wide, smooth. There are:—one parietal tooth, one small tooth and one large 3-cusped one on the outer lip, a basal one and two teeth on the columella, the upper of which is markedly 2-lobed. Frequent on Mt. Bomole near Amani in the E. Usambaras. In December, 1956, several specimens with a much reduced 3-cusped tooth were collected on Mt. Bomole.

9 *G. subhyalina addita* (von Martens)

Shell cylindrical, 6 mm. tall and 2.3 mm. wide, smooth. Teeth similar to last but there are two simple teeth on the outer lip. Von Martens records this from the Usambaras, (presumably the E. since it was collected by L. Conradt) but I have seen no specimens of it. The typical form was described by Smith from Mamboya, Handeni District.

10 *G. paucidens* Verdcourt (Fig. 12)

Shell ovoid-cylindric, 3.5 mm. tall and 1.5 mm. wide, smooth. Mouth almost without teeth, one faint parietal tooth, one faint angulation on the outer lip and a trace of a fold at the top of the columella. This species occurs in both the E. & W. Usambaras having been found on Mt. Bomole near Amani and at Mkusi near Lushoto.

11 *G. unidentata* K. Pfr. (Fig. 24)

Shell cylindrical 3.6 mm. tall and 1.4 mm. wide, smooth. A single parietal tooth and a small fold on the columella, otherwise toothless. Described from Lushoto in the W. Usambaras.

12 *G. ludwigi* Verdcourt and Venmans (= *G. usambarica* K. Pfr.) (Fig. 22)

Shell cylindrical, 5 mm. tall and 2 mm. wide, smooth. A single small tooth on the parietal, outer and basal walls and a fold at the top of the columella. Described from Lushoto in the W. Usambaras. K. Pfeiffer's name cannot be used since it was used for a distinct species many years before, a fact which he overlooked. In December, 1956 this species was rediscovered at Mkusi and Shume.

13 *G. aenigmatica* (Smith) (Fig. 17)

Shell globose, 3.75-4.5 mm. tall and 2.25-3 mm. wide, smooth at apex, rest strongly striate. The aperture is small, equipped with very peculiar teeth. The parietal tooth is large, curved, hollow and protruding; there are three small teeth on the outer lip, one on the basal lip and two folds one behind the other at the base of the columella. This species occurs at Amani, E. Usambaras and was originally described from Mamboya where it was collected by Last who sent many snails home to the British Museum during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

14a *G. lornae lornae* Verdcourt (Fig. 9)

Shell minute, ovoid, 2.5-3 mm. tall and 1.5 mm. wide, apex spirally striate, rest of shell ribbed. There are:—one parietal tooth, two teeth on the outer lip and three small folds on the columella. The animal has scarlet tentacles. This sub-species is common on Mt. Bomole, Amani, E. Usambaras.

14b *G. lornae major* Verdcourt (Fig. 5)

Differs from the last only in its larger size, and more cylindrical shape; shell 4 mm. tall and 2.3-3 mm. wide. The folds on the columella are even more obscure and often only two. This sub-species is common at Mkusi.

15 *G. translucida* K. Pfr. (Figs. 2 and 23)

Shell cylindrical, 3.35-4 mm. long and 1.4-1.5 mm. wide, smooth. There is one parietal tooth; a bilobed tooth on the outer lip, a basal tooth and a fold at the top of the columella. It occurs at Mkusi and Lushoto in the W. Usambaras. A variety of it represented by a single shell collected by the writer near Amani (now in the Senckenberg Museum, Frankfurt) has an additional tooth on the columella and on the outer lip, just below the fold and just above the main outer lip tooth respectively.

16 *G. amaniensis* Verdcourt (Fig. 3)

Very similar to typical *G. translucida* but differs in the following points:—Shell slightly narrower relatively, 3.5 mm. tall and 1.3 mm. wide, suture margined and large tooth on outer lip pointed at both ends instead of bluntly lobed at one end. This species occurs on Mt. Bomole, E. Usambaras.

17a *G. conradti conradti* (von Martens) (Fig. 6)

Shell ovoid-cylindrical, 3.8 mm. tall and 1.95 mm. wide, apical whorls with obscure spiral and transverse lines, rest strongly ribbed. There is a large parietal tooth and a small one to the left of it; there are 3 teeth on the outer lip, two being in a sinulus (extension of the aperture); there is a single basal tooth and also a tooth and a fold on the columella. This sub-species was described from material collected in "Usambara" by Conradt. It is a rather infrequent shell around Amani.

17b *G. conradti reductidentata* Verdcourt (Fig. 14)

This sub-species differs but slightly from the typical one by having only a fold on the columella but no tooth. The apical whorls are slightly roughened. The shell measures 3.5 mm. in height and 2 mm. in width and occurs on Mt. Bomole, E. Usambaras.

18 *G. intrusa* Verdcourt (Figs. 15 and 16)

This species is similar to *G. conradti* but differs in the following respects. The shell is ovoid and less blunt at the apex. The apical whorls have series of raised dots in spiral rows but the rest are ribbed. The mouth of the shell is relatively smaller and the main tooth on the outer lip is larger and extends far across the mouth. The shell is also larger, being 4.25-4.75 mm. tall and 2.5-2.75 mm. wide. It occurs in the E. Usambaras near the Dodwe Falls below Amani and on Mt. Bomole; also in the W. Usambaras at Mkusi.

19 *G. greenwayi* Verdcourt (Fig. 4)

Shell minute, cylindrical, 2.5 mm. tall and 1 mm. wide, finely spirally striate at the apex but rest with rather widely-spaced ribs. There is a parietal tooth, a large triangular tooth taking up much of the outer lip and a basal tooth, as well as a deeply inset fold at the top of the columella. When describing this species my description and figure omitted mention of this fold and I particularly draw attention to it here. This species, which is the most minute so far found in the Usambaras, is very distinctive and occurs at Mkusi in the W. Usambaras. The original description was made from worn shells and lacked several important details.

20 *G. handeiensis* Verdcourt (Fig. 8)

Shell ovoid-cylindric, 3.5 mm. tall and 1 mm. wide. The extreme apex is smooth, then with rows of raised spiral dots; the rest is striate. There are only two teeth, a parietal one and one at the top of the outer lip and they enclose a small sinulus. Three specimens of this species have been found on Mt. Bomole, in the E. Usambaras. The characteristic sculpture shows only in very fresh shells. In December, 1956 two specimens were found in Kakamega forest, Kenya, showing how dangerous it is to assume a species is endemic.

- 21 *G. gouldi globulosa* (K. Pfr.) (= *G. globulosa* K. Pfr.; = *G. gouldi amaniensis* Verdcourt) (Figs. 13 and 20)

K. Pfeiffer described his *G. globulosa* a few months before my name was published and his name has priority but I still consider that it is a sub-species of the larger S. African *G. gouldi* Pfr. The shell is oblong-cylindric, 4.75-5.5 mm. tall and 2.75-3.3 mm. wide, smooth at the apex but very strongly ribbed below. The parietal tooth is bifid at the end. The outer lip bears a trio of close small teeth and there is a small tooth at the base and a horizontal fold on the columella. The sub-species occurs around Amani, E. Usambaras and also at Mkusi in the W. Usambaras.

- 22 *G. sp. nov.* (Fig. 10)

In December, 1956 soon after the main part of this paper had been completed a very curious new species of *Gulella* was discovered in the forest at Worlds View, Shume, W. Usambaras. This will be described elsewhere since a local journal is not the place for the description of new species. This species is easily recognized from its figure and is about 4.5 mm. tall. The distinctive pointed apex is finely striate but the rest of the shell is strongly ribbed.

- 23 *Ptychotrema sp. nov.* (Fig. 11)

This species has been included for completeness since although not strictly a *Gulella* it belongs to a very closely related genus. It occurs in both the E. and W. Usambaras at Amani and Mkusi. The shell is 5.5 mm. tall and 2.1 mm. wide, cylindrical and strongly ribbed. The mouth of the shell is thickened and has one parietal tooth and one tooth on the outer lip. There is a small internal fold at the top of the columella. The last whorl has a horizontal groove encircling it which ends in the tooth on the outer lip.

ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION

Since the animals (even the birds) and the plants of the Usambaras show a high degree of endemism it is interesting to distribute the above 27 species and sub-species into groups according to distribution.

It must of course be borne in mind that only a minute proportion of the area concerned has been collected in and that further collecting may show that many of the species occur over a wider area than they are at present known from and will in any case double or treble the number of species known.

Species or sub-species known from the E. Usambaras only (including Mt.

Mlinga)	9
Species or sub-species known from the W. Usambaras only...	9
Species or sub-species known from the E. and W. Usambaras only	5
Species or sub-species known from the E. and W. Usambaras and also other areas nearby (e.g. Mt. Tongwe)	1
Species or sub-species known from the E. and/or W. Usambaras and also from other areas some distance away; and widespread species	3
Species which have sub-species peculiar to the Usambaras and other sub-species occurring elsewhere in E. or S. Africa (some of this group have already been counted in the earlier groups)	4

It will be seen that no fewer than 24 appear to be endemic to the Usambara area and only three are widespread. Of the 24, 4 are only sub-specifically distinct from other more widely distributed forms and of these, two have sub-species in the Nguru mountains and two have sub-species from far afield. Of the three "widespread" species one is known from Kakamega forest, one from the Nguru mountains and only one is really widely distributed and the Usambara record of that is from the foothill bushland of the E. Usambaras. A thorough study of this genus throughout E. Africa would be found valuable in zoogeography.

I have not bothered to give references to the literature since this is in scattered periodicals not available in E. Africa and an attempt has been made to figure as many species as possible here so that reference need not be made to the literature.

ADDENDA

(1) Examination of shells from living specimens of *G. lornae* and its var. *major* show that there is an oblique fold at the top of the columella, deeply inset. Mention of this was omitted from my original descriptions.

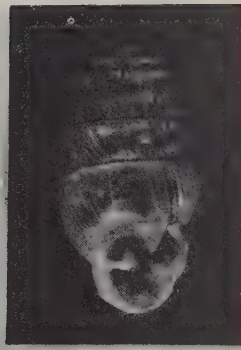
(2) A further species must be added which was unfortunately overlooked—*Gulella inconspicua* (Thiele). This was described from 'Usambara' without any further indication of locality. Von Martens had misidentified it as *Ennea taylori* Gibbons and gives the collector as Conradt, who collected in the E. Usambaras. The shell is oblong, 4.75 mm. high and 2.2 mm. wide, striate above and with the suture crenellate. There is one parietal tooth.



18 2 mm



19 2 mm



20 1 mm



2 mm

21



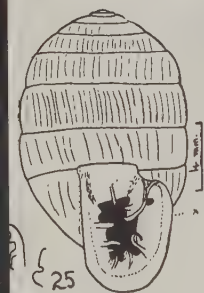
22 1 mm



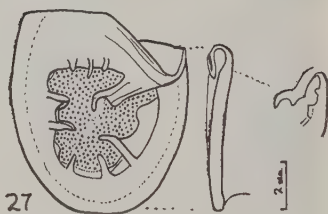
23 1 mm



24 1 mm



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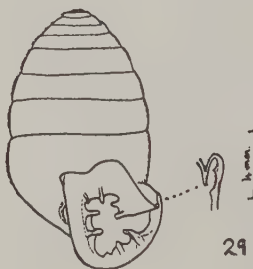


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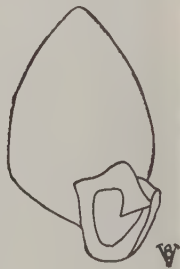
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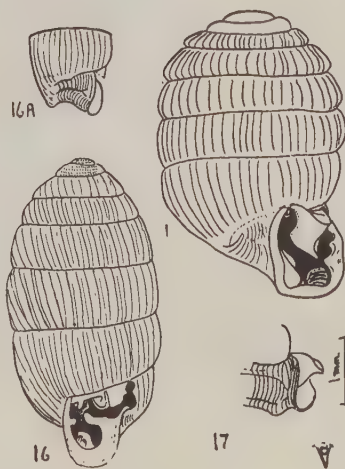
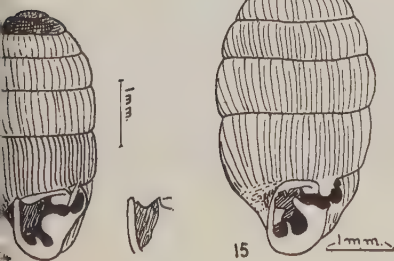
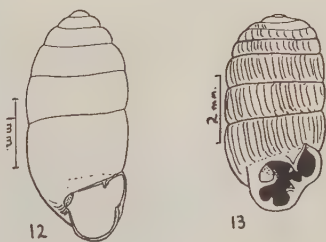
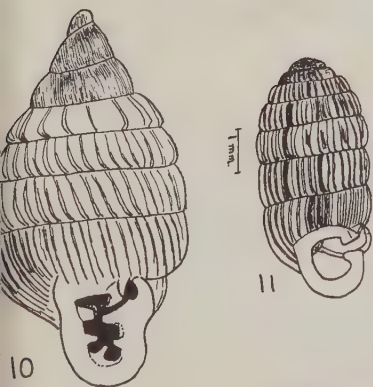
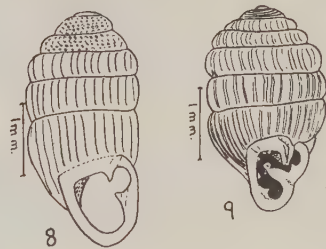
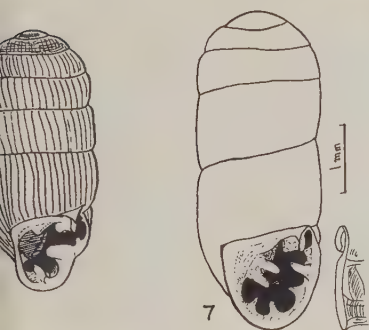
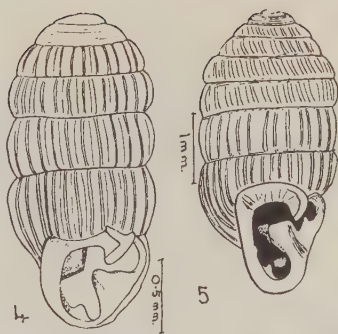
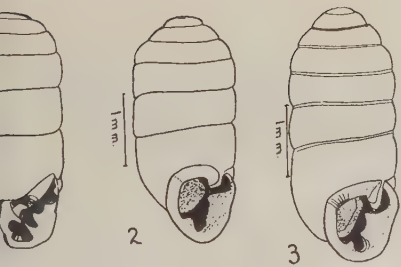
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29



30



TRANSLATION OF "DESCRIPTION OF LAKE VICTORIA AND THE WEMBERE STEPPE IRRIGATION SCHEME, 1913"

By E. G. Haldemann, D.Phil., F.G.S.

Geologist, Geological Survey of Tanganyika

LUDIN, A., and E. THOMA, 1943. Die Wasserwirtschaft in Afrika. AFRIKA, Handbuch der praktischen Kolonial-wissenschaften, B.dXIV. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co. (Herausg. Dr. ERICH OBST).

[Foreword] This account is presented as a translation of the original and no attempt has been made to discuss it in the light of present knowledge and modern methods of construction.

An interesting statement is that water for the scheme could be withdrawn from Lake Victoria without affecting the flow down the Nile. The detail in support of this statement is not supplied but is said to be given in the second of the two references quoted, i.e., *Verhandlungen der Kolonial-Technischen Kommission des Kolonial-Wirtschaftlichen Komitees*, Berlin, 1910, which is not available to the present translator.

THE BRITISH MANDATED TANGANYIKA TERRITORY

A.—SURFACE WATER

Lake Victoria (p. 564)

Lake Victoria, presumably a feature related to the East African Rift Valley, has long been known to the Arabs by the name of Ukerewe. The surface of the water as determined from a twelve years' average lies at 1,135.97 metres above sea level. Its east-west width averages 250 kilometres and its maximum north-south length is 300 kilometres. The water-surface embraced by the shore line is 60,600 square kilometres and the catchment area approximates 200,000 square kilometres. According to ARNING⁽¹⁾ the maximum depth is 170 metres and the average depth 80 metres. The development of islands along almost all the shore line would suggest that the lake is the result of several subsidences and inundations. The biggest of the islands, namely Ukerewe with 523 square kilometres, is separated from the mainland by a channel only 200 metres wide. The whole lake has bays in abundance and offers favourable landing places to navigation which has always been very active. The shores are under the influence of winds which are caused by thermal compensation between the water and the land surface and which temporarily give rise to strong breakers that may endanger the boats of the natives. Furthermore one believes to have noticed a movement of the water reminiscent of the tides, and water-spouts on the lake had been observed by natives long before the arrival of Europeans.

Water gaugings carried out at various times have clearly revealed a lowering of the surface of the water, a fact that is proved by numerous watermarks on the shores.

The major tributary of the lake is the previously mentioned Kagera, which originates in the highlands of Ruanda and reaches the lake north of Bukoba. The discharge of the Kagera is considerable; the minimum is given at about 150 and the maximum at 1,500 cubic metres per second (cumecs). The Nile, locally called the Somerset-Nile, which leaves the lake at the Ripon Falls represents the outlet. The Kagera, being the main feeder of Lake Victoria can therefore be regarded as the head-water stream of the Nile. The main water loss of the lake is not caused by the discharge averaging only 575 cumecs (= 300 millimetres per annum), but by the annual evaporation of 1,350 millimetres.

C.—IRRIGATION PROBLEMS

(2) *The Wembere Plain* (pp. 577–580)

In or about 1910 the Colonial Economic Committee (*Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee*) arranged for P. VAGELER to examine the soils of the Wembere Plain, situated to the south-east of Lake Victoria, with the aim of investigating their suitability for the cultivation of cotton. It was found that 230,000 hectares of the Wembere Plain have good, and in parts very good, soil for cotton. The area is shown on figure 287.* If one calculates again on a basis of 0.41 litre per second per hectare (1/s/ha), a total of 92 cumecs would be required for the irrigation. This amount of water can be taken from Lake Victoria without causing any noteworthy effect to the discharge of the Nile⁽²⁾. According to the 1913 project the water was to be taken from the lake and run through the Mbala Steppe to the Manyonga Plain, i.e. the westernmost part of the Wembere Plain. Basic data of the project were as follows:

It was previously believed that there is a regular gradient between the Smith Sound, the southernmost part of Lake Victoria and the Wembere Plain but this proved to be incorrect. As a matter of fact the detailed information showed that there is a watershed approximately 20 metres high between the lake and the land proposed for irrigation. At first the possibility was considered of cutting through from the lake to the irrigation area. However, this would have necessitated considerable movement of earth and it would require to be considered whether the excavation would encounter the granite that forms the watershed between the Mbala Steppe and the Manyonga Plain. In order to avoid these complications and the resulting costs, it was planned to lift the water with pumps. Calculations showed that three steps and pumping-stations, each one lifting the water 7 metres, would be the best economic proposition.

The proposed alignment of the irrigation canal can be seen on figure (*Abbildung*) 287. It takes off at the south-end of the Smith Sound near Nyantelese and runs through a strip of swamp, the water-table of which is related to Lake Victoria, to beyond Lowire Village. Then it leads through a narrow flat strip of land which represents a branch of the Mbala Steppe. From here onwards the alignment of the canal follows the lowest levels of the Mbala Steppe up to the rise at Igundu, where the canal would cross the watershed. On the other side of the watershed, the canal then goes through the Isaka area by running parallel to the Manyonga River which has formed this particular stretch of the Isaka Valley. A dam for a reservoir to store the rainy season flow of the Manyonga was planned in the Isaka Valley to serve as

*Figure 287 = attached map "Bewässerungs-Anlagen südlich vom Viktoriasee".

a regulation-basin. The capacity of the storage reservoir obtainable with a dam 22 metres high is approximately 25 million cubic metres. It could occasionally provide the irrigation water without the canal from the lake being in operation.

The necessary power to lift the water over the three steps will be obtained by using the drop on the downstream side of the storage reservoir. Two power-stations were planned. Thirty-four metres are available at the first site and 23 metres at the second site. The distance from the first to the second site is 7 kilometres. It seems doubtful whether the total drop of 57 metres will provide considerably more electric power than will be required to pump the water over the three steps. However, should this prove to be the case, the surplus could be used for the electrical operation of railways, agricultural machinery, etc. A longitudinal section of the canal from the lake to the Manyonga Plain, including the two power-stations, is given on figure 287a (*Abbildung 287a*).

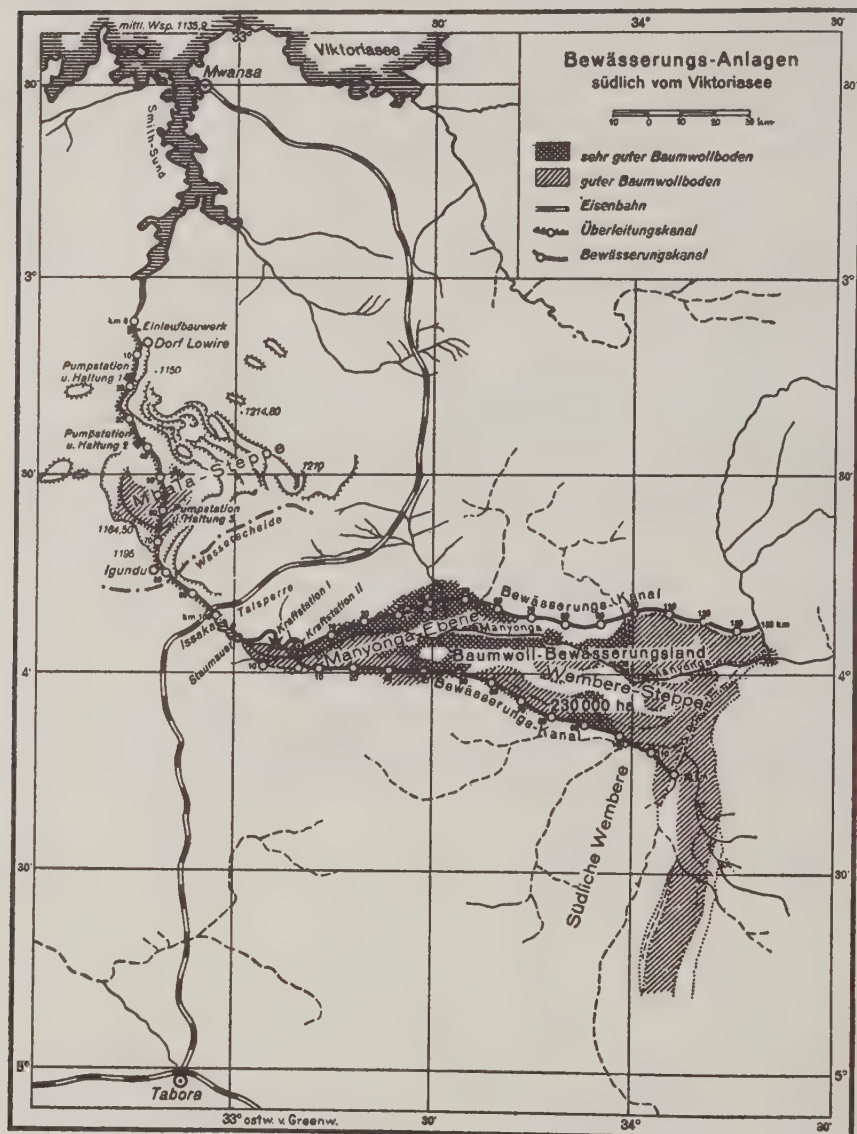
According to VAGLER, another 3,000 hectares of soil suitable for cotton, which could also be developed, are available in the Mbala Steppe.

The project was to materialize step by step. First of all an irrigation scheme on a smaller basis was to be made practicable by constructing the dam in the Isaka Valley. The catchment area of the Manyonga at the dam site is 375 square kilometres; the average rainfall was estimated at 600 millimetres. This rainfall in the catchment area represents a water volume of 225 million cubic metres; if only 10 per cent of the rain water can be impounded, the reservoir could be filled and an area of 3,500 hectares could be irrigated.

Hr. ALMARAS, then Government Engineer in Dar es Salaam, proposed the construction of the irrigation canal in such a manner that it could be used without much greater cost as a navigable canal that could be extended to the then planned, and now existing railway to Tabora.

PREVIOUS LITERATURE

- (¹) ARNING, W. *Deutsch-Ostafrika gestern und heute*. Berlin, 1936.
- (²) VERHANDLUNGEN der Kolonial-Technischen Kommission des Kolonial-Wirtschaftlichen Komitees, Berlin, 1910, Nr. 1 und 1913, Nr. 1.



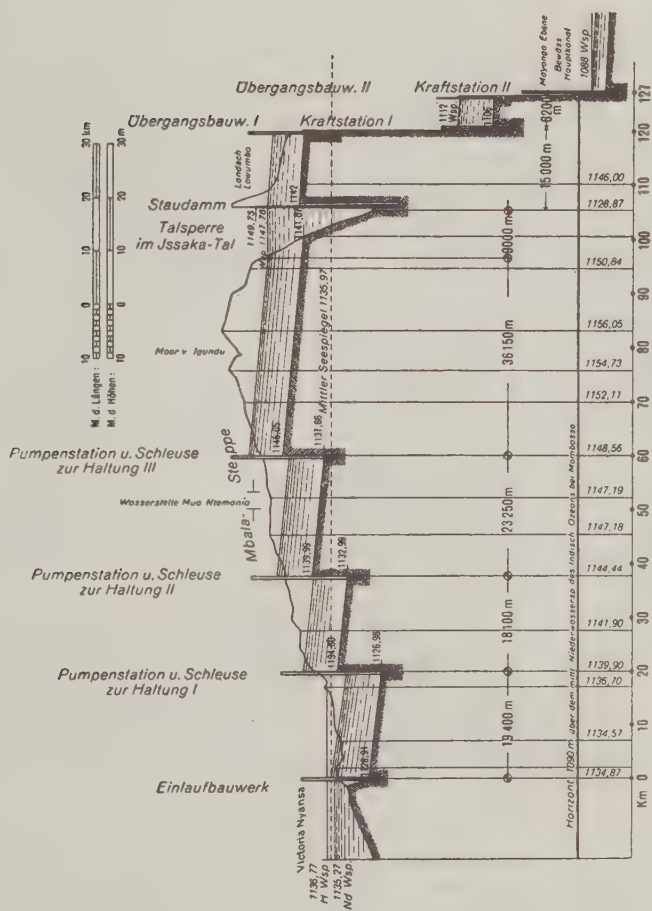


Abb. 287 a. Längenschnitt des projektierten Überleitungskanals
Viktoriasee — Manyanga-Ebene (205)

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF RAILWAYS IN TANGANYIKA 1890–1956

By C. W. Leverett, O.B.E., M.Inst.T., F.R.G.S.

(The text of a talk given to the Tanganyika Society on 13th February, 1957)

The history of Railways in Tanganyika, although relatively short, is not easily pieced together. From the outset the pattern of railway construction in German East Africa, as the Territory then was, appears to have been subject more to political and strategic forces than to economic conditions but it is doubtful if it could have been otherwise in view of the lack of knowledge of the potentialities of the country. The Territory has changed hands after the ravages of one major war, and has been through periods of Mandatory and Trust Government with yet another war. Now the Tanganyika Railways and Ports Services, as they were called up to 1948, have been amalgamated with the Kenya and Uganda system and their identity as such has been lost.

The necessity for an official history has been realised by the present East African Railways and Harbours Administration and a second volume to "Permanent Way—The History of the Kenya and Uganda Railway", which some of you may have read, is now being written, and will be an official history of the Tanganyika Railways. This is a very essential and urgent measure before records get lost or facts forgotten in the amalgamation of the two systems and the rapid changes and development of the past few years. Indeed, my task in compiling this paper has been more difficult because I have surrendered records and material which I would normally have used. I have however made this paper as factual as the records available to me have allowed.

We are indebted to Mr. C. Gillman, the Chief Engineer of the Tanganyika Railways from 1928 to 1937 for much of our knowledge of the construction and planning of Railways in Tanganyika before World War I. His paper in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 13 of June, 1942 is invaluable as a record of construction from early in the century to the middle thirties. The scope of a paper such as this, and the time available for its presentation will not, however, enable me to give more than an epitome of events.

2. TANGA LINE CONSTRUCTION

The first positive steps in Railway construction were confined to the Tanga area and were taken in 1891 when it was decided by the German authorities that a metre gauge line should be built from Tanga to Muheza, and on to Korogwe. The object then was to continue to Tabora and on to Lake Victoria in due course, but the route to be taken is not defined. Construction actually started in 1893 after a small, but unsatisfactory port had been built at Tanga to land equipment and material. Progress was slow; labour was scarce and had, at one stage, to be imported from Mozambique. There is evidence in local files that the private company which undertook the task and its contractors had considerable difficulties to contend with, especially concerned with finance and labour.

It was not until 1895 that the line reached Muheza—some 25 miles. Thereafter financial difficulties were more real than topographical or technical ones and the line stopped at Muheza for three years and only reached Korogwe in 1902. A further delay of two years then occurred and the line was opened to Mombo in 1905 and Moshi in 1911.

It is interesting to note at this stage that German policy in the first decade of the century was briefly as follows:—

- (a) A railway from Tanga to the foot of Kilimanjaro and on to Meru. This line had been started by private capital in the 'nineties as already shown.
- (b) A line from Dar es Salaam to Lake Tanganyika—to Morogoro only as a first phase.
- (c) A project to link Kilwa with Lake Nyasa. This latter scheme was dropped without having got further than consideration as a possibility.

The line into the interior from Tanga was supported by very poor port facilities at Tanga. A short branch line of 75-centimetre gauge to serve timber concessions in the Amani area was also built.

It is not possible, within the time available, to elaborate on the financial negotiations; the delays; the differing opinions and the changes of policy which took place during the building of the Tanga-Moshi line. It is, however, a matter for regret that this line, built at great expense over 20 years, and with many setbacks and disappointments, was severely damaged and nearly all major bridges destroyed by the Germans themselves in their retreat on Tanga in 1916.

3. CENTRAL LINE CONSTRUCTION

Although the emphasis on railway construction by the Germans had, up to the turn of the century, been mainly concerned with the hinterland of Tanga, the Dar es Salaam area had not been neglected and, as early as 1887 a reconnaissance of a route into the interior was undertaken. Dar es Salaam had become the Capital of the German Protectorate in 1891 in place of Bagamoyo but it seems that the latter place still retained some importance in the minds of railway planners as it was, about that time, the intention that any line built should follow the coast to Bagamoyo, thence inland up the Ruvu Valley.

After much administrative delay, not entirely unconnected with politics in Germany and changes of administrative personnel, sanction was accorded, and a concession granted, to a private company with a capital of the equivalent of £1 million to construct a metre gauge line from Dar es Salaam to Morogoro. The Imperial German Government guaranteed the interest on the capital and considerable areas of land adjacent to the proposed alignment were granted to the company, for exclusive prospecting and mining. There is no record that there were any developments in that respect.

It was also the intention that the company should interest itself in the provision of large hotels at Dar es Salaam, Tabora and Kigoma to encourage tourism and that it should also undertake to provide electric light and power and operate the Marine Services on Lake Tanganyika, and the Dockyard at Dar es Salaam.

Construction started in February, 1905, but, as in the case of the Tanga-Muheza line, progress was at first slow. The Maji-Maji rebellion caused a shortage of labour and heavy rains delayed the work. However, recovery was soon effected and Morogoro was reached in December, 1907, the line being opened by the German Colonial Secretary.

In May, 1908, the Reichstag approved an extension to Lake Tanganyika and work thereafter went so well that Tabora was reached in July, 1912—some two years ahead of schedule—and Kigoma in February, 1914. The alignment, in general, followed the Arab Slave Route but, as soon as the necessity to carry large quantities of railway construction material ceased, it became apparent that public traffic would be negligible and revenue small.

This did not deter the railway planners. The introduction of capital into the Territory for Railway construction obviously suggested an apparent increase in trade and the Germans then concentrated on the development of a line from Tabora round the southern end of Lake Victoria to the area of the Kagera River in Ruanda Urundi, which was then also part of the German Protectorate. Work actually started on this line from Tabora towards Kahama. It is on record that they had, at that time, no intention of going to the Mwanza area as the Lake shores were regarded by them as adequately served by the Marine Services of the Uganda Railway.

Other proposals included a line from Kilosa to Iringa but the alignment envisaged some "rack" sections. This line was to be extended to the Rhodesian border in due course via Mbeya and Mbozi and had war not intervened it seems probable that a line down the Kilombero Valley would have been built. These projects suggest a similarity to present-day planning.

A survey from Lindi to Masasi was also undertaken and during the war a tram-line of 60-centimetre gauge was laid some 55 miles inland.

4. FIRST WAR PERIOD

Then came the First World War and once again the Germans set out to destroy their handiwork. Most of the major bridges between Dar es Salaam and Kigoma were blown up and much of the rolling stock destroyed. Twenty-five miles of the Ruanda Line, as it was to be called, which had been laid were removed by the occupying Belgians in 1917.

The war also saw the construction, under military control, of the Voi-Kahe Line of 92 miles. This linked the Kenya and Uganda Railway system with the Tanga Line, and facilitated the eventual military occupation of Tanga by British forces.

Army engineers lost no time in patching up the Central Line between Dar es Salaam and Kigoma and locomotives and rolling stock were imported from India and the line was quickly re-opened.

5. IMMEDIATE POST-WAR PERIOD

On 1st April, 1919, the organization which was later designated the Tanganyika Railways and Marine and subsequently the Tanganyika Railways and Ports Services, was taken over by the British Civil Administration. At that time it consisted of:—

The Central Line. Dar es Salaam to Tabora only. 525 miles metre gauge. (The 255 miles of the Central Line from Tabora to Kigoma, which had been captured by the Belgians, was retained by them until 1921.)

The Tanga Line. Tanga to Moshi. 220 miles metre gauge.

The Sigi Branch. 23 miles 75-centimetre gauge.

The Lindi Tramway. 55 miles 60-centimetre gauge (almost derelict).

The ports of Dar es Salaam and Tanga.

The Voi-Moshi Line is mainly in Kenya and was not operated by the Tanganyika Railways. This line was closed from early 1923 to early 1924 and its fate was in balance for some time, but it now serves as a most valuable and permanent link between Kenya and Tanganyika, although, built as a military railway and with speed of construction as the main object, its alignment leaves much to be desired in terms of gradients and curves.

In the first year under civil administration the Railways carried 248,000 passengers and 44,000 tons of goods, and its revenue was £108,000 against a working expenditure of £285,000. The General Manager, in 1922, commented as follows:—

“This railway was undoubtedly built for reasons other than purely trade and, now that it is built, the best has to be made of a line passing through largely undeveloped country.”

There were many difficulties connected with the take-over. The Railways of Tanganyika, instead of being operated by German Public Utility Companies, guaranteed by the German Government became a Department of the British Mandatory Government. They were in a poor state as a result of war damage and in need of considerable rehabilitation.

Financial arrangements and capital adjustments were a problem. Before the war the Tanga Line had been a German Government Railway and therefore became the property of the Mandatory Government. The Central Line had been regarded by the German Government as privately owned, although the majority of the capital had been provided by a Protectorate loan, and this line become vested in the Custodian of Enemy Property. It was not until 1925 that the matter was settled, and the capital value of the Railways was assessed at just under £5 million.

At one stage a proposal to lift that section of the Tanga Line between Same and Kahe received serious consideration. This would have left the fertile area of Lembeni and the Pare mountains without rail communication. The intention apparently was to allow the Voi-Moshi Branch to serve the Northern Province of Tanganyika with Mombasa as its only outlet to the sea. Wisdom prevailed however and no action was taken.

It will be recalled that an almost derelict Lindi Tramway was mentioned previously. This actually ran inland from Mingoyo and not Lindi and traffic had therefore to be transported by dhow to Lindi. This was a serious handicap but, in spite of the inconvenience, commercial interests agitated for the rehabilitation of the line and it was re-opened in 1922 with old Ford cars on railway wheels as its motive power. From 1924 to 1930 it was run by the District Commissioner with man-power, presumably pushing the wagons, but proved so costly that it was eventually scrapped in 1930.

Similarly, the Sigi Branch, off the Tanga Line, was closed in 1923 and part of its formation used for the road to Amani.

Although these are not necessarily relevant in a history mainly concerned with railways, it should be noted that the Tanganyika Railways ran the Nyanza Salt Mines at Uvinza until 1926 and the electric power supplies at Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Tabora and Kigoma, until these were absorbed by a private company. All Marine Services were also taken over in 1925.

Large scale recruiting of trained railwaymen from India took place shortly after the war and schemes to train Africans were started.

6. BETWEEN THE WARS

The first decade after the war saw a period of moderate prosperity under British control, and goods traffic, for example, rose from some 60,000 tons in 1922 to 320,000 tons in 1930/31. It was obviously realised that, without adequate rail communications, the Territory could not develop and, in 1925, a line from Tabora to Mwanza was started on the old German Ruanda Line alignment to Kahama. This line was completed in 1928 and added a further 236 miles to the route mileage of the Railways of Tanganyika. This line has, without doubt, proved its worth and has enabled the Lake Province to develop to the extent it has.

The next obvious step was to rail serve the area west of Moshi and, in 1929, the Tanga-Moshi Line was extended to Arusha—a further 55 miles, thus giving the Northern Province improved rail communications with both Tanga and Kenya.

A scheme was also developed to extend in a northerly direction from Sanya on the Moshi-Arusha Line, a distance of some 30 miles to Ngare-Nairobi, but this was not proceeded with.

Further development took place in an area as yet untapped by rail, and a Branch Line 93 miles long from Manyoni to Singida and Kinyangiri was started in 1930 and completed in 1933. This line served the moderately populated Singida District and gold mines at Sekenke which were then being worked. This Branch might well have been extended to Arusha had it been a success or even reasonably well used, thus completing a link between the Central and Tanga Lines, and the Kenya and Uganda Railway. Traffic was, however, disappointing and it operated at a loss throughout its life. It was eventually decided that it would not be an economic proposition for many years and it was closed and lifted between 1944 and 1947.

Revenue was reasonably buoyant during the years prior to 1931 except for the fluctuations caused by bad seasons and uncertain markets which are a feature of an agricultural economy. The expansion of the railway system did, however, denote a progressive policy, in spite of the difficulty of raising capital funds and despite the fact that traffic consisted largely of crops incapable of bearing high rates. Imports were relatively small. No minerals had been discovered in Tanganyika to influence railway policy.

Fortunately, however, copper which had begun to move from the Belgian Congo to Dar es Salaam for export in 1923, progressively increased year by year.

Some £5 million of British capital was spent in the 10 years after the war on new lines, heavier track, new equipment, locomotives and rolling stock and improvements to Ports and Marine Services. The ratio of working expenditure to receipts stood at 70 per cent in 1930 and prospects appeared reasonably good.

Then came the world depression of 1931 onwards. To make matters worse the Tanganyika Railways suffered a severe blow in the cessation of the copper exports from the Congo. This traffic, which had reached 34,000 tons in 1930/31 and accounted for about half the revenue of the railway at that time, ceased completely in October, 1932, with the development of better facilities through Belgian West Coast ports. It has never been regained.

It was necessary for drastic economies to be effected and, during the years 1931/3, the services of some 4,000 members of the staff of all races were dispensed with—approximately 39 per cent of the total employed.

A Railway Advisory Council was set up in 1932. Allowing for the closing of the non-metre gauge branches and the construction outlined, the rail system then consisted of—

- (a) The Central Line. Dar es Salaam to Kigoma. 780 miles.
- (b) The Tabora–Mwanza Branch. 236 miles.
- (c) The Manyoni–Kinyangiri Branch. 93 miles.
- (d) The Tanga–Arusha Line. 272 miles.

Recovery was slow but progressive as world conditions improved, but with loan charges building up it was difficult for the Railways to do more than maintain themselves in a safe condition.

Steamer services on Lake Tanganyika to Northern Rhodesia by the ex-German steamer now named the *Liemba* started in 1927. This vessel, originally the *Von Goetzen*, was scuttled by the Germans and raised by the Tanganyika Railways. In the early thirties a tug and lighter service to Ruanda-Urundi also operated with reasonable success, but was eventually withdrawn in favour of the Belgians. Launch services were also started on Lake Victoria to ports and islands in the vicinity of Mwanza. A schooner service, to assist coastwise movement of goods was run between Dar es Salaam and Tanga for some years.

The P.W.D. Stores were taken over by and operated by Railways in 1935, a system which lasted for some years.

A further slight recession, caused, to a certain extent, by uncertainty regarding the future of Tanganyika again however affected revenue just before the second war.

7. SECOND WAR PERIOD

Whilst not involved in hostilities, the Tanganyika Railways and Ports Services had their peculiar difficulties during the war, and a brief but useful summary of events is included in the General Manager's Annual Report for 1946. Both passenger and goods traffic increased out of all proportion to the facilities and equipment available, and the Railways and Ports were called upon to perform extraneous services for Government and the War Department. These included the construction of camps for refugees; a flying boat base at Dar es Salaam, and the manufacture of military equipment and armament accessories in the workshops.

As a result of negotiations with Government and in response to public demand, Railway activities were extended in the nature of feeder road services. In 1940 a road service was started from Morogoro to Korogwe. This was followed in 1943 by the opening up of services to the Southern Highlands. These operated to a small profit to 1944 and, with varying fortunes since, but, in spite of a degree of protection in respect of imported traffic on certain scheduled roads, have hardly been a profitable venture.

8. POST-WAR PERIOD UNTIL AMALGAMATION

The railway system had not recovered from the war years, during which equipment was difficult to obtain, with the result that arrears of maintenance were higher than would normally have been the case, when the groundnut activities of the Overseas Food Corporation started. A branch line from Msagali to Kongwa (18 miles) was hastily planned and built in 1947. Extensive development in the form of sidings, etc., at Urambo to serve the O.F.C. schemes in those areas was also necessary.

1948 saw the intensification of O.F.C. activities and a Southern Province Railway from Mkwaya, at the head of Lindi Creek, to Nachingwea, and eventually to Lumesule Juu, was well under construction by the end of the year. A preliminary survey to connect the Mkwaya-Nachingwea railway with new port works at Mtwara was completed, and the Kongwa Line was extended to Hogoro (37 miles) for the O.F.C.

In 1947 also the Road Services were extended from Dodoma to Arusha and Oldeani, and from Itigi to Singida.

Catering Services were taken over from private contractors in 1947 and work started on the rebuilding of the Dodoma Hotel as a Railway Hotel. The Tabora Hotel was taken over the following year.

The same year saw the first positive steps in the construction of the Mpanda Line to serve the lead mines to the east of Lake Tanganyika. Negotiations had been in progress during the previous two years and this branch was built to a length of 135 miles, much of it through tsetse country. It has enabled the lead mining industry to develop and enter the world markets.

9. AMALGAMATION AND AFTER

The year 1948 was a milestone in the history of Railways and Ports Services in Tanganyika. On 1st May, 1948, the system was amalgamated with the Kenya and Uganda Railways under the East Africa High Commission. The integration of the two systems took place during a period of rapid development and expanding traffics in the whole of East Africa, and especially in Tanganyika where the Ports and the Railway system were struggling to keep abreast of O.F.C. requirements. In addition, the Mpanda Line from Kaliua to serve the lead mines there and referred to above, and a short branch from Songwa on the Mwanza Line to the diamond mine at Mwadui, were under active construction.

At the time of amalgamation the railways in Tanganyika consisted of 1,306 route miles of railway, 489 route miles of steamer services and 1,641 miles of road transport. These figures do not include the Southern Province Line and the Mpanda Line which were under construction.

Passengers carried totalled 1,730,000 and goods 467,000 tons. Cargo handled by Dar es Salaam Port was just over half a million tons, and Tanga 200,000 tons.

Four ports—Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Lindi and Mikindani—were controlled by the Tanganyika Railways and Ports Services.

The integration of the Tanganyika system with the financially stronger Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours, enabled projects in Tanganyika to be pursued with increased momentum.

With 1950 came the passing of the East African Railways and Harbours Administration Act which completed the amalgamation and set out the obligations and duties of the Administration, and the rights of users of its Services. The Transport Advisory Council with supporting Railway and Harbour Committees, became a statutory body. A common tariff was adopted the following year. A sum of £413,000 which had been advanced by the Tanganyika Government to the Tanganyika Railways, is being repaid over a period of 10 years.

The O.F.C. plans were considerably modified and reduced in 1950 and 1951, and it became obvious that the expected groundnut traffic would not materialise. Nevertheless, it was decided to continue the construction of the Southern Province Railway and the port of Mtwara. The Mpanda Line to the lead mines (135 miles) was opened in August, 1950.

Work began on three deep water berths at Dar es Salaam Port in 1951.

A survey of a North-South line which would link the East African and Rhodesian Railways Systems was completed during the year, as also was a link between the Central and Tanga Lines in the area of Morogoro-Korogwe. The availability of finance has not, up to the present, permitted of the adoption of these schemes.

The year 1954 saw the opening of the completed 145 miles of the Southern Province Railway from the coast to Nachingwea, and of the Port of Mtwara. It was decided not to extend the line to Lumesule Juu. Port extensions at Tanga were also brought into use. The Railway from Mkwaya to Ruu, which was only intended as a temporary measure until direct rail connection between Nachingwea and Mtwara had been established, was closed and lifted. Yet another branch line, that to the O.F.C. area at Kongwa, has also been removed and replaced by a road service.

Large quantities of locomotives and rolling stock, ordered at the time of amalgamation, began to arrive in Tanganyika from mid-1955 and the close of 1956 has seen the Railways of Tanganyika in a position of excess capacity and well in advance of the needs of the Territory. Large capital sums have been spent by the E.A.R. & H. in Tanganyika during the past eight years and the construction of the Kilombero Valley Railway is again a possibility. The route was re-surveyed and pegged out in 1956.

The Tanganyika Section of the East African Railways and Harbours now consists of a route mileage of 1,564 miles of railway, 1,818 miles of road services and 773 miles of lake steamer and launch services. Its equipment is modern and efficient. Three major and two minor ocean ports are operated with cargo handled at Dar es Salaam almost 1 million tons in 1956. Passengers originating in that year approximated to 2½ million with goods tons 1,500,000 and ton miles 350 millions.

Two more hotels, at Iringa and Mbeya, have been opened.

10. PORTS

It is a matter for regret that it has not been possible, within the scope of this paper, to make more reference to the ports of Tanganyika. Since the first world war these have been closely associated with, and operated by, the Railway Administration, and the period under review has seen Dar es Salaam grow from

a minor ill-equipped lighterage port which, nevertheless, returned some remarkable figures of tonnages handled, to an efficient modern port with three deep water berths. Tanga has developed from a small ill-equipped lighterage port to a stage where it handles without difficulty all cargo requiring its use. Mtwara, with two deep water berths, is entirely new. The history of these ports is an episode worthy of independent treatment.

11. CONCLUSION

I have endeavoured, in the relatively limited compass of this paper, to give an outline of the history of Railways and Ports Services in Tanganyika over a period of some 60 years. I have omitted much which should have been included, especially that relating to traffics and finances, but time has not permitted me to enlarge upon these aspects.

We have seen the system grow from a struggling German Colonial Railway to an efficient and powerful organization, and it is interesting to note that the East African Royal Commission Report, 1953-5 records that "The amalgamation of the railway systems was a necessary step in the rationalization of transport in East Africa."

My acknowledgments are due to the late Mr. C. Gillman for his article referred to earlier. I must also acknowledge the use of the Annual Reports of the General Managers of the Tanganyika Railways and Ports Services and the East African Railways and Harbours for the years 1922 to 1955.

It may be considered that I have devoted too much of this paper to an aggregate of events in the German era. This however is essential to a proper conception of the present day relative condition and the degree of development of the railways and their ancillary services in Tanganyika. The years since the amalgamation can perhaps hardly yet be regarded as "history" in its true sense but development and expansion have been so rapid and comprehensive during that time that I feel that the events of this period must also now go on record. Indeed, without reference to these years this paper would not have served its purpose.

TRIBAL CUSTOMARY LAND TENURE IN TANGANYIKA

By A. A. Oldaker, C.B.E.

EDITORIAL NOTE

I have been asked by the Ministry of Lands and Mineral Resources to make it clear that this Interim Report by the Land Tenure Adviser has not been considered by Government and is published for information only.

Throughout this article the abbreviation N.A. stands for Native Authority, and N.A.O. for Native Authority Ordinance.

The following vernacular words are used:—

Hiba (Swahili) Gift.

Kishembe (Haya) Registration fee payable on grant of non-privately owned land held at disposition of Native Authority.

Mkauzi (Sambaa) Land Inspector.

Mtaa (Swahili) Village.

Ngwanangwa (Sukuma) Headman.

Nsumba Ntale (Sukuma) Head and Representative of the association of young men within a village.

Nyarubanja (Haya) Rules prescribed to rationalize landlord/tenant relationship.

SECTION I.—INTRODUCTION

The terms of reference of the Land Tenure Adviser in Tanganyika include an investigation into tribal customary tenure and, now that thought is being given to a new definition of Land Policy, following the publication of the Report of the East Africa Royal Commission (Cmd. 9475), it is considered advisable that this interim report should issue so that those who have to consider land policy may know something about the nature of indigenous tenure.

2. *Scope of the Investigation.*—There are just over 100 tribes in Tanganyika occupying their individual tribal areas, so that if it had been found that land customs showed drastic differences as between tribes, investigation and analysis would have been a colossal task. In fact, however, the general pattern of the evolution of custom is so uniform that it is safe to state that, in *similar physical circumstances*, land custom is similar in essentials in different tribal areas. After investigating a cross-section of tribes which does in fact cover more than half the numerical population of the territory (see Appendix), it is therefore possible to prepare this general report in the knowledge that, though custom in areas not yet investigated may contain peculiarities of detail, it will be basically the same as in similar areas where it has now been examined.

3. *Material Used.*—The material for this Report is drawn from a variety of sources. There have been some valuable publications and official reports on individual tribes, and certain provincial and district books are informative. But until now, there has never been any *systematic* investigation of this particular subject either geographically or as regards the principles governing customary tenure, and this Report is based, essentially, on the questionnaire which was

annexed to Government Circular 5 of 1954 and which was prepared with a view to systematic ascertainment *not* of the complete details of tribal agrarian systems, *but instead*, of what was, and is still, thought to be a reasonably full range of the principles of customary land tenure.

SECTION II.—THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

4. The study of land tenure is the study of a relationship between people and land, and since very few persons have the opportunity to acquire a knowledge of all the peoples and lands in Tanganyika, it is thought necessary that this report should begin with some general account of both, in their relationship to this particular subject.

5. *The Pattern of Settlement.*—In spite of the facts that the British Administration places no obstacle in the way of migration between tribal areas, and that the tribesman, being intrinsically hospitable, will always allow non-tribesmen to settle in his own ecological environment of choice until it is patently full up, the pattern of settlement today is essentially a tribal pattern. The tenurial system in a given area can therefore be ascertained from those acquainted with tribal custom as practised, and as ultimately enforced in the Local Courts, and it is important to realize that if the British Administration has interfered in any way with tribal tenurial systems, such interference has been quite exceptional and only by way of safeguarding the rights of individuals (as in Bukoba and Ngara), and not by way of interference with local methods of land allocation.

THE PEOPLE

6. *The African Attitude to Legal Definition.*—It would be impossible to over-emphasize that there are fundamental differences between the average African's and the average non-African's mental attitude to the matter of land tenure. To the African, land is essential for his actual physical survival and he takes largely for granted both its availability and the unwritten rules by which he obtains and retains the right to use a part of it. He does not consciously tabulate those rules, nor does he attempt to criticize them. Above all, he is bound by no such exact legal definitions as is the non-African in such cases as the measurement of land, the maintenance of boundaries, lapse of time, the attainment of majority, and, usually, the performance of an act. As examples of these instances, with the non-African land is measured to within a hairsbreadth; boundaries are jealously guarded; a lease is written and for a fixed term; majority is attained, e.g. on the 21st birthday, and a man is married or he is not. With the African only one tribe (Hehe) has yet been found which has adopted a known size, measured in acres by pacing, for the standard minimum new allocation to an individual; boundaries where they are marked are intended usually only to exclude domestic stock or wild animals and *not* to indicate the extent of a holding; loans of land are by the season or crop, unwritten and undated; one cannot get closer to the date of majority in the Nyamwezi or Ha tribes than that it is the date on which it becomes clear that a child is now capable of managing his own affairs; while the ceremony of marriage (which is relevant in land tenure) often consists of a series of transactions spread over many years. The non-African expects a straight answer to a straight question and will indulge in legal argument as to the exact meaning of both, whereas the average African does not habitually define either the question or the answer within the strict meaning

of words. Moreover the African is bound by his own code of behaviour which is rather different from those of non-Africans with their jealous regard for land ownership. One of the standard questions is "What is the Local Land Authority's customary redress should an individual ignore his authority, e.g. by taking land without formal allocation?" This is as perplexing a question for Africans, for the reason that their standard of behaviour ensures that in almost every area such cases simply do not arise, as is another which asks whether a settler pays an initial or seasonal fee to the land allocator; for the African will, if he can, give hospitality to a man who befriends him, and does not differentiate in his own mind between the friendly pot of beer (which has a saleable value), and the payment in cash of a due. Much more could be written on this topic but enough has perhaps been said to introduce a generalization as regards land tenure. The African does not look on Tanganyika in terms of the Ordinance Survey, as a chess-board of well-defined parcels of land governed by clear-cut rights, laws and records. Instead, he regards the country as a chess-board of tribal areas, in which the individual may enjoy rights, from his local community, which are defined chiefly in man's memory, his instincts and his unwritten conceptions of equity, and which can even be varied by the weight of public opinion during the course of his occupation.

TRIBES AND NATIVE AUTHORITIES

7. Evolution of Land Tenure Custom is not Uniform in Speed over the Territory.—If, as stated above, tribal land custom tends to evolve in conformity with a standard pattern, it is next necessary to emphasize that the speed of evolution as between tribes is not uniform and that in the complex of factors which produce this result, the personal plays an important part. Traditionally, the African landholder regards the land as the source of subsistence, but he is today being pressed to find cash as well as subsistence from the land and there are striking differences as between tribes in response to that pressure, derived both from differences in tribal initiative and in tribal leadership. Tribal initiative is not a negligible factor, nor is it dependent only on environment and leadership. There are certain tribesmen, for example the Nyakyusa, who are by nature keen businessmen with resulting intensive demand on agricultural space, living cheek by jowl with tribesmen who have no particular initiative, such as the Kinga and Ndali, and it will be clear that the evolution of land custom will have travelled farther in the former than in the latter areas. Differences in the quality of tribal leadership likewise exist, not always parallel with differences in tribal ambition. They are important in that the better type of native authority is capable of being critical of its local land tenure custom and sometimes seeks to improve it, whereas the others remain at best complacent and at worst entirely indifferent. Too much blame cannot, however, be attached in these latter cases, for the improvement of land tenure customs is not easy of formulation particularly for the uneducated and untravelled; and whereas plenty of lead has been given by Government in the development of such matters as local government and education, no similar lead has yet been possible on the land tenure question although it is of such fundamental importance. To summarize this paragraph, it would be quite wrong to imagine either that tribesmen and their chiefs are largely homogeneous or that the greatest evolution of customary land tenure will necessarily be found nearest to the capital or to the bigger centres of population and trade. Human characteristics for one say differently.

INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP OF LAND

8. *The Conception of Individual Land Ownership.*—It is nearly but not quite correct to say that the only signs of a conception of individual *ownership* of land derive either from those first steps taken by the Germans in a few urban areas to recognize customary tenure as freehold, or from Arab influence—in effect from Islamic inheritance. In a very few of the tribal areas investigated, notably those of the Chagga and Haya, the outright sale of land rights is practised but is restricted normally to sale to fellow-tribesmen, while in the Tanga District on the other hand, where by common consent the conception of individual ownership is strongest, signs are not wanting that in so far as there is a community opinion, it would prefer to restrict land transactions likewise, or failing this, to impose restrictive conditions of use on land-holders from outside tribes. It will be observed that in neither case is the conception one of freehold in the English legal sense, so that unless possibly with coastal land in the long ownership of strict and detribalized Mohammedans, true “freehold” is *understood* only in respect of the German delineations. In the vast balance of the territory, the conception of ownership does not vary, and is confined to “ownership” by the tribe or sub-division of the tribe. The relevant phrase used by Africans varies. *Mali ya Mtemi*, *Mali ya Ukoo*, *Mali ya Watu* even *Mali ya nchi* are common phrases, but they all mean the same thing, i.e. that land is considered to be the common property of the local community, and this holds good, in African eyes, irrespective of the degree of security of tenure which the community gives to the individual. As will also be seen where, later in this Report, the sale of permanent improvements is described, it must be realized that African practice and the African conception of landed property are outside English legal conceptions and definitions.

THE LAND

9. *Partition of the Country into Tribal Areas.*—After the foregoing remarks about the people who settle on the land, it will now be appropriate to give some description of the land on which the people settle, for although the general conformation of the territory may be well-known, it exhibits peculiarities affecting land tenure which are less obvious. The squares on the chess-board of tribal areas differ vastly, not only in size but also in density of population, vegetation and fertility, rainfall, altitude and accessibility, while tsetse occurrences, always infected with animal, and sometimes also with human, trypanosomiasis are today a major consideration. As regards tribal customary tenure the point for explanation, in such a diversiform country, is as to whether tribes have chosen sites suited to their way of life, or whether their way of life has been adapted to the sites which they have happened to occupy. Briefly, the initial facts are two, that in comparatively recent times there was less tsetse owing to thicker vegetational cover, and that Tanganyika was bedevilled by tribal or inter-clan wars and by the slave trade. The majority of a much smaller population than exists today took refuge in forest settlements, to which they could *reculer pour mieux sauter* or because they were timid, while tribes were only able to occupy their chosen areas if they were well-organized and able to fight for them. The *pax Germanica* froze this fluid land situation, with the natural results that, e.g. the Masai still occupy the plains which they chose on account of their way of life, that those in forest hide-outs have by now fused themselves into tribes and discovered appropriate forms of agriculture, and that those

whose "hides" happened to be in the more healthy and fertile forests have in some cases, owing to outstanding fecundity and enterprise, completely filled the ecological areas to which they have by now become accustomed and therefore sentimentally attached. This brief explanation is intended to show how the tribes come to be settled where they now are, and why some tribes are apparently happy in areas which are agriculturally unattractive. For example, although the diet he grows is poor, the Nyamwanga on the Northern Rhodesian border, conditioned to living in that remote infertile region, has become sentimentally attached to it and does not covet the much better soils in adjoining tribal areas.

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE TRIBAL AREAS

10. *The whole Territory is comprised in Tribal Areas.*—Some people have the impression that there are large areas in Tanganyika of land unclaimed by any particular tribe. This is not in fact the case so far as the tribal investigations which have been made, nor has it been expected that such areas would be found for the reason that the many district and provincial boundary descriptions prepared since the start of British administration have nearly always involved reference to local tribesmen or tribal authorities as to the line where local interests cease and those of the next adjoining tribe or section of a tribe begin. Even in areas from which population has been withdrawn into sleeping sickness concentrations or where forest reserves have been created the former tribal administrative divisions are retained, if only for tax-control purposes, and there would surely be no merit in a suggestion that a particular area is unclaimed by a tribe when it would always have been admitted without question that the tax rebate of an isolated settler or Forest Guard in that area would be payable to a known tribal authority. The tribal map in the "Atlas of Tanganyika" divides the whole territory into tribal areas which is a weighty documentary admission of the *de facto* position, and it is only in the backblocks of such places as the Kilwa and Masasi districts where the Native Administrations, and people, are placid and unenterprising, that there has been any admission that there are areas into which man has not yet needed to penetrate or to establish spheres of influence. Mention should perhaps be added of Masailand which is notable for extensive boundaries in straight lines. Masailand was created to protect surrounding tribes from the Masai and not *vice versa*, so that the straight lines in question are as much inter-tribal boundaries as are the natural features which are used elsewhere. (This paragraph refers, of course, to "tribal areas" which are considered as being available to specified tribes, and is not intended to suggest that the whole of every tribal area is effectively occupied or even likely to be required for occupation in the foreseeable future).

POPULATION DENSITY ON THE LAND

11. *Variable Population Density throughout the Territory.*—Two variable factors relevant to the subject of land tenure must be interrelated under this heading. First is the fact that the land's optimum carrying capacity varies enormously from place to place, and second the fact that man's reproductivity appears to vary widely not only between place and place but also between tribe and tribe. As regards the first, it is a fact that some, but not all, of the areas containing more fertile land are apparently producing such an increase in population that these areas have become full up. The sentimental attachment of tribes

to their environments then conflicts with the physical necessity for expansion beyond their borders (and there is another problem looming on the horizon, because there exists for each area an optimum form of land use which, once attained will, it is to be hoped, result in a steady income per acre, so that if the peoples of the territory are to improve economically, the optimum agricultural population of today will be too large in the future). As regards the second, better data will be available after the 1957 census, but it already seems that use will have to be made progressively by certain peoples of surrounding areas which they at present deem less attractive than their own, and that such use may in places conflict with the present conception of the immutability of tribal boundaries. A tentative appraisal of the present situation is that the gross population of the territory is being more than maintained from certain foci wherein one or more of the factors of soil fertility, human fecundity and low morbidity result in an increase of local population which is above the territorial average and which counter-balances a converse picture in less favourable areas.

MIGRATIONS

12. *Natural Migrations.*—One major and two minor migrations, of land tenure significance, are occurring today. The major is that of the Sukuma who are expanding westwards into the formerly under-populated Geita District, under economic pressure, and a pressure of population increase which it will be possible to assess more accurately after the 1957 census. It is noteworthy that districts to the west and south of Geita are still under-populated. As to minor migrations, some Luo from Kenya (nearly 50,000 in the 1948 census) have established themselves in the most northerly tip of the North Mara District within the last few generations; but a less obvious migration is of greater importance. As noted previously, the Masai were confined to Masailand in the early twenties but since then off-shoots, variously called Kwavi (Korogwe, Handeni, Pare, Bagamoyo, Kisarawe, Kilosa), Lumbwa (Kondoa-Irangi) and Baraguyu (Ugogo and the Great Ruaha plains in Iringa and Mbeya) have pushed out with their herds into these other districts to the detriment of the locals' water supplies, or grazing, or both, thus neatly removing the benefits which the creation of Masailand was intended to confer, the justification, if such it can be called, consisting in the contention that these people are not Masai proper. (They are not in conflict with local interests in the western parts of Korogwe and Handeni). The current immigrations of Rundi and Mawia tribesmen, from Ruanda-Urundi and Portuguese East Africa respectively, do not appear to be of land tenure importance since both peoples are readily absorbed into existing Tanganyika tribes or tribal groups if they wish to settle.

SECTION III.—EVOLUTION IN TRIBAL LAND TENURE

13. *Stages in Evolution of Land Tenure Custom.*—An attempt having now been made to describe the attitude of the people to land tenure, and the way in which land is divided between the tribes of the territory, it is next necessary to describe broadly the way in which land tenure custom is evolving, from the communal to the individual, the primitive to the more sophisticated. Though the African slides, imperceptibly and unwittingly, from stage to stage, the non-African with his desire for definition and classification will perhaps wish to know what the rungs on the ladder of evolution may be. They can be described as follows:—

Rung 1:

Pure communal, that is, the use of land by all members of a local group without there being any exclusive rights in the individual, or permanent houses.

Rung 2:

Where houses are becoming permanent, and local groups grant a measure of security to the individual but actually exercise reversionary rights.

Rung 3:

Where local groups grant full security of tenure to the individual, but without negotiability, and where reversionary rights are barely used. Houses permanent.

Rung 4:

Where negotiability is allowed, subject to group control, and where the group's reversionary right exists but is purely theoretical.

Rung 5:

Where negotiability is allowed without group control except as to the tribe of the transferee.

Rung 6:

(Unrestricted individual ownership of land, as forecast and recommended by the Royal Commission).

All the tribes in Tanganyika are apparently to be found on rungs 1-4 except for a very few who are on rung 5. The majority of tribes are on rungs 3-4 and no tribe is on rung 6, it being notable that those individuals who claim freehold, a freehold be it noted of their own conception, reside either within the German delineations or in coastal areas where the native authorities, and tribal solidarity, are not particularly strong. It should again be emphasized that the average African has no conception of individual *ownership* of land. It would be entirely wrong to imagine that he is being held back against his wishes by conservative customs or that he objects to a system of tenure which is his own and which he as a member of a local land community tacitly helps to preserve. His criticism of the situation is confined to dismay that certain favoured ecological areas are not made of elastic, and to his erroneous belief that increase in his numbers is irrespective of tribe or habitat. He regards land, as distinct from his restricted list of negotiable improvements, as common property very much as the trawlerman regards the North Sea, in which certain groups can in defined areas establish rights of use but not of ownership by individuals. In these circumstances, the step from rung 5 to rung 6 will be a big one and will have to depend not only on economic need but also, in view of the universally accepted principle that a land tenure system cannot succeed without popular support, on whether a radical change occurs in the general African conception of land as an asset.

THE LOCAL LAND AUTHORITIES

Local Land Authorities.—The biggest defect of tribal land tenure systems arises from a fact which is at the same time of local advantage, that the operative Local Land Authority is low-level. Even with tribes which conceive that the

Chief is trustee to his tribesmen for their land, the actual function of allocation is undertaken by some acceptable local worthy who knows the soil and the neighbours intimately, and who eventually provides "best evidence" in case of dispute. Such local worthy can very seldom be other than parochially-minded. He is concerned almost exclusively to ensure that all qualified persons obtain rights to use enough land for their subsistence, and is through no fault of his own incapable of appreciating what may be the best use in a wider context of the land in his area, or of changing the details of tenure to allow for population increase and the intrusion of a cash economy into a subsistence system. Leaving aside any absence there may have been of anti-erosion measures, the basic reason for the ruination of the Irangi highlands has been that the low-level Local Land Authorities have, each in his own inelastic area, allocated increasing acreages to an increasing population without any concomitant reduction in stock numbers. It should not, however, be assumed that Local Land Authorities are an *exclusive* corps of reactionaries. They are no different from other Africans in their reliance on consultation before making decisions. The non-African may expect a functionary to use his own individual judgment, but African practice is different and the Local Land Authorities do not exercise their functions without consultation both with their own commoners and when necessary with their immediate administrative superiors.

SECTION IV.—TRIBAL CUSTOMARY LAND TENURE

15. The following record is intended to show what salient principles underlie tribal systems of land tenure. It must be explained that this initial and intentionally rapid survey has concentrated on these salient principles, and has not been intended to extend to the whole range of those intricacies which arise in local administration of land tenure; for owing to the multiplicity of tribes such an extension would have taken many years to complete. In a litigious tribe living at a comparatively high density like the Haya of Bukoba, the interpretation in the Local Courts of these salient principles results in what amounts to a formidable body of case law, and the relevant sections of the authoritative book by Cory and Hartnoll on Haya custom must have taken months to prepare. And it should not be forgotten that this report is a definition in English terms of a set of principles which have usually not been at all closely defined or clarified in words by their authors and operators, the Africans themselves, so that, while it will, it is hoped, be useful to the non-African, it will also clarify the African's thought by giving him for the first time an account of the reasons for what he does by tradition.

16. *Modification of Land Tenure Custom.*—Custom is modified in practice in one of two ways, either by being replaced, legally speaking, by local legislation under Statute law, in effect by Rules or Orders under the Native Authority Ordinance, or by well-publicized Native Authority resolution which, perhaps less legally, alters the interpretation of custom by Local Courts. Modifications are remarkably few in Tanganyika as a whole, for, while the Native Authorities have almost everywhere attempted to secure better land *use* by Rule or Order, they have seldom interfered with land *tenure*, no case having been found of any really comprehensive interference. For this reason, such modifications as have been made are noted under their particular headings and are not the subject of block comment.

17. *The Identity of the Local Land Authority.*—The degree of tribal, clan, family or other group's cohesion dictates the identity of the Local Land Authority. Subject to the facts that he is always near to the earth, and that he is sometimes an individual and more rarely a group of persons, the Local Land Authority may be the holder of the lowest post in the N.A. hierarchy as with e.g. the Hehe and Nyamwezi, or quite distinct and separate from the executive as with e.g. the Kwere and Nyakyusa. Where the Local Land Authority is *not* an N.A. executive, he commonly maintains a close liaison with the latter, and with a number of tribes, such as the Bondei, Zaramo, Pare and Makua the headman even acts as his executant, that is to say, as operator of the decisions taken in a committee consisting of clan, lineage or village elders. As land allocator, the Local Land Authority and/or his advisers when he is a committee, often have a local title such as *Mdoe* and *Mfunwa* (Sambaa), *Mwenyesi* and *Mgosi* (Zigua), *Mwitongwa* (Safwa) and *Muharambwa* or *Mkungu* (Haya). In only one of the tribes questioned, the Gogo, does there appear to be no effective Local Land Authority and in one other, the Nyamwanga, such little authority as is needed is exercised informally by the headman *faute de mieux*.

It can be claimed that the Local Land Authority is essentially a democratic institution except where, owing to local circumstances, the chief takes an active hand in its constitution, as with the Chagga (see next para.) and Haya (where the *Mwami* (Sub-chief) is theoretically the land authority as the chief's lieutenant).

In one case noted, the Native Authority has intervened to alter the identity of the Local Land Authority. Quite recently, the chiefs in Kasulu have ordered that this function be removed from the hands of the *Wateko* (the Ha patriarchs) and assumed by the *Watwale Wadogo* (headmen) on the grounds that the *Wateko* had got into bad habits (see para. 26).

18. *The Discretion of the Local Land Authority.*—Active interest by the Native Authority in the Local Land Authorities is usually slight unless pressure of population is felt. The Local Land Authority exercises in effect two functions. He is first a locally acceptable land allocator and second the "best evidence" in case of subsequent dispute. But he is at such a low level in terms of area and population that unless he is a junior headman, it is by no means automatic that he appears or is represented on even the lowest official local council. If it came to a show-down, it would no doubt be agreed that the Chief is the superior and protector of the Local Land Authority, but in practice these relationships are not apparent and the Local Land Authorities function without overt control from the Native Authority except as regards their duty to conform with any Rules, Orders or Council decisions which may be applicable. Two exceptions have, however, been noted to the foregoing generalization. In the Tanga area (including Pangani and Muheza) where there is an immigrant problem, land allocations made by the Local Land Authorities are subject to Native Authority approval, while with the Chagga steps are now being taken by the Native Authority to establish land committees, at three Local Government levels, to rationalize and improve the policy of the Local Land Authorities.

19. *Preservation of Tribal Soil.*—Extraordinary as it may seem, no trace has been found of any idea that the land allocators, the Local Land Authorities, have a customary duty to prevent soil despoliation. Their customary functions (except in case of subsequent disputes) seem to end with allocation, it being

apparently held that the entitlement of an individual to an area sufficient to yield his subsistence is the overriding consideration. It is perhaps natural that a system derived from the wholly shifting, in a land where regeneration of bush vegetation is rapid, should have omitted to note the danger of erosion. In two areas there was formerly some inspection of allocated land. An *Mkauzi* used to inspect an *Mdoo's Kitala* (Sw. *Mtaa*) in Usambaa but the function has now been assumed by the Native Administration, while in Uhaya the *Muharambwa* (trans: "remover of (dead) dogs"), another dying institution, inspected land not so much for erosion as to enforce the custom that an allottee must use land for the purpose stated in his application for it on pain of forfeiture. Even where an official Headman is the Local Land Authority it is quite clear that he has no *customary* duty to make soil preservation a condition of allocation, anti-erosion initiative being taken as an executive function by the Native Authority on Government instigation.

Note: Encouragement of the production of saleable crops in the twenties resulted in a quickening of erosion in some areas, and it was only in the thirties that Government started a drive against it, through the Native Authorities. It is of interest that tribal custom, which excludes the subject of land use from that of land tenure, is in line with the recommendations of the Royal Commission as endorsed at the Arusha Land Tenure Conference.

20. *Local Land Authority Boundaries.*—It would not be possible to say whether the whole of each tribal area is comprised within the areas controlled by Local Land Authorities without the aid of some specific maps, the preparation of which would be both extremely labourious and of little other practical value. Where the Local Land Authority is a Headman, the whole tribal area is of course so comprised, if only for tax-collection reasons, and maps usually exist. But where the Local Land Authorities are not Headmen their boundaries are known in any area where human settlement exists or has existed, being well remembered even in areas now vacated for reasons of sleeping sickness, forest or game reserve, local migration or other depopulation. To give two extreme instances to illustrate the state of affairs, the unused area in the Ruvuma Valley, in the Newala District, is all, in African theory, within clan limits, while the boundary between the areas of two Safwa Witongwa crosses the rocky Mbeya peak. Where the function is divided, the official covers the unofficial, as for example in Usukuma where if there are areas without the control of an *Nsumba Ntale*, there are none without that of a *Ngwanangwa*. It is only in completely uninhabited and inhospitable bush, such as in the backblocks of Kilwa and Masasi, that Africans would agree that no Local Land Authorities claim spheres of influence.

21. *Registration of Documents or Land.*—While in a number of districts the Local Courts will, on request, witness, and even retain copies of, agreements concerning land or trees, the only real approach to a registry of *documents* is exemplified by the *Nyarubanja* registers in Bukoba which refer to parts only of the tribal lands, and to a land situation which is not typical of other tribal areas. As regards registration of *land*, there is also only one approach revealed by this survey, where in respect only of farms acquired by the Chagga from the Custodian of Enemy Property or by purchase, sketch plans have been superimposed on Government blue-prints showing allocations to Chagga individuals. An N.A.O. Rule made in 1953 in Newala requiring the registration with the Native Authority of agreements referring to Ruvuma Valley lands

only, is, it seems, honoured in the breach. In the virtual absence, then, of written record in African land transactions, it is of interest that the persistence of *Ngoto* payments in Uluguru, described in para. 23 of this report, is in effect a substitute for a registry of clan areas, the most useful function of these payments being a periodical reminder to the payee that he holds land on sufferance.

22. *Control of the Use of Commonage.*—The Local Land Authority's concern is almost entirely with arable allocations and he is only expected by his constituents to intervene as to the use of commonage if specific need arises. For example, the Nyamwezi on the borders of Usukuma started to copy the Sukuma *ngitire* system (see para. 74) but when they found that quarrels arose between individual *ngitire* owners, they arranged that the Local Land Authority should control joint *ngitire* in place of those of individuals. Except in Usukuma where the comprehensive planning of whole parishes, including commonage, is policy, the tendency is for the users of commonage, notably the cattle-owners, to arrange their own affairs independently of the Local Land Authority. Commonage, as such, appears to be allocated to individuals only in Uhaya.

23. *Tribal Qualification for Land Allocation.*—In view of the principle that every man ought to have the subsistence acreage he requires, and of the fact that the African is friendly and hospitable, it is not surprising that no *customary* bars have been found to the allocation of land to non-tribals provided that such allottees satisfy certain criteria (see especially paras. 37 and 46). The same tests of reputation as are applied to tribals are applied to non-tribals, usually rather more strictly, and in particular, such tribes as the Zigua, Hehe, Safwa, and Pare have it as custom that an allocation to a non-tribal is subject to Native Authority approval; while non-tribals are in places, such as Usambaa and Uzaramo restricted to annual crops until they have proved by genuine residence that their intentions are permanent. One tribe has been found, Nyamwanga, which remembers past aggressions and would prefer not to admit Angoni or Wemba. One tribe has also been found which penalizes its own tribals if of different extended lineage from that of the Local Land Authority, for in Uluguru a non-lineage landholder is subject to payment of *ngoto*, a periodical "tithe" in kind which goes into the lineage store against a rainy day. (An unsuccessful attempt to abolish this custom was made in 1942 and withdrawn in 1955). As is only natural, there is a tendency for tribes to wish to restrict the entry of non-tribals where a dense population has built up, and e.g. in Bondei, parts of Korogwe, and in Uchagga the acquisition of land by strangers is subject to restrictive N.A.O. Rules. A Government-sponsored attempt to control within the land's capacity the entry of Nyakyusa into the Mbeya District, by N.A.O. Rules in 1942, was not well supported by the unimaginative Local Land Authorities and was therefore of small practical effect.

24. *Allocation of Land for Non-arable Purposes.*—African custom does not differentiate (as does the Land Ordinance) between the allocation of land for subsistence agriculture, and allocation for other purposes such as building sites (public or private), roads, playing fields, dams, school farms, and informal religious centres. The operative Local Land Authority, as has been seen, is almost wholly concerned with arable and the initiative as regards the allocation of non-arable is usually taken by the Native Administrations in consultation as a matter of courtesy with the Local Land Authority affected. The path of the

Native Administration is usually easy, except in a very few areas where the clan system is stronger than the Chiefship, as for example in Usafwa where the Chief is elected by the clan heads and therefore hesitates to override their wishes as regards non-arable land allocation. It is perhaps worth recording in this paragraph that there is a slight tendency for Africans to congregate into roadside villages independently of the layouts of Minor Settlements or Trading Centres, on building plots allocated as small-holdings by Local Land Authorities, and built-over after allocation by permission of the allottee. No case has been found where the Native Authority (or other authority) regulates the layout of such villages, which as a result sometimes become overcrowded and insanitary.

25. *The Degree of Permanency of Land Allocation.*—There appear to be three degrees of permanency of allocation, that is, unconditional, subject to continued use, and subject to good behaviour. The general conception is of permanent, unconditional allocation except in the cultivation steppe, Usukuma, and Nyamwezi, where it is conditional on use; in the Gogo and Masasi/Kilwa areas where it is conditional not only on use but also on good behaviour; and in Newala where it is conditional only on good behaviour. In addition, there are some restrictions or controls on the permanence of allocation to *strangers* as in Korogwe, where such allocation is scrutinized annually, in Bondei where land may be inherited by natural heirs but not otherwise disposed of, and in Usafwa where permanence is subject to good behaviour. Where eviction is practised for bad behaviour this is at parish level only, and is not banishment from the tribal area; it is nearly always unofficial, that is, merely by social ostracism. The conception of permanent allocation to the original cultivator is so strong that in Usambaa for example his heir can resume without limitation of time even if owing to his absence the land has long been reallocated by the Local Land Authority. In Usafwa, steep land is used on a short arable, long fallow rotation and it was undoubtedly the conception of permanent allocation which recently impeded the (Forest) reservation of the Mbeya Range. (*See also para. 33 in connection with this paragraph.*) Mention should not be omitted of certain tribes, notably the Chagga, which practise different degrees of permanence of allocation in respect of different types of land and land use. Allocation of a *Kihamba* in the banana belt of Uchagga is permanent, whereas allocation of the lower *shamba* lands is annual.

It should be made clear that the reluctance of the Safwa to agree to Forest reservation, noted above, was *not* due to a conception that lands left fallow had residual improvements of any monetary value as a result of cultivation. These lands are always ridged on the contour but the surviving ridges have, in Safwa eyes, already served their purpose. What was involved was only the right to resume cultivation, deemed to vest permanently in the original allottee.

26. *The Perquisites of the Local Land Authorities.*—In the two cases where substantial perquisites accrued formerly to the Local Land Authority, these have now been abolished, *Kishembe*, the allocation fee in Uhaya being payable now to the Native Treasury, and the *Ha Wateko* in Kasulu having been relieved of the work owing, it is said, to their having got into the habit of extorting inordinate fees. This is not to say that the Local Land Authorities are not given perhaps rather special hospitality by grateful allottees and such is, rarely, dignified by a name such as *Mbuta* (beer in Upare) and *Upata* (a cow for slaughter in Uchagga). The *Ngoto* payments by non-lineage allottees in Uluguru are not

the exclusive property of the lineage heads but are stored and used at need by lineage members equally, under the directions of the lineage-head. (The "tribute" paid by landholders in Uhaya is not in the category of perquisite to a land allocator).

27. *Acceptability of the Local Land Authority System.*—Except for the case of the Ha Wateko (paras. 17: 26) there seems to be no general criticism by Africans of their customary land allocators, and only very rarely is their authority flouted. In answer to questions, Africans say what would happen (i.e. Court proceedings) rather than what does happen, and it seems to be virtually only in remote areas or where the Local Land Authorities are lethargic that the situation ever arises. The Chagga and Pare, both mountain dwellers by choice, must admit that uncontrolled individual settlement sometimes occurs on the plains in their tribal areas, while the Rules to control the settlement of strangers would never have been necessary in Bondei if the Local Land Authorities had been active. The general tendency, as in, e.g. Sukuma and Sambaa, would be to allocate land, taken without permission by one man, to another if there is any pressure of population, and to condone the breach of courtesy on apology (and beer) if no pressure exists. Very few tribes practise pure eviction for this offence, but such is not unknown in Usafwa and used to be enforced by house-burning in Newala. The Nyamwezi in Tabora would justify the forgiveness of an offender in bush country on the grounds that owing to the tsetse menace, all bush-clearing is of public benefit.

28. *The Boundaries of Individual Land Holdings.*—As is natural, the greater the density of population, the greater the care with which boundaries are indicated on allocation of land. Where population is thin, as in Uzigua and Ugogo, the individual is allowed to make his own limits in the assumption that no man will go to the trouble of clearing more land than he will use. Where the density of population varies within a tribal area, as in Upare and Usukuma the bounds are "beaten" in denser areas, but not in open country. A common custom requires, as in Rungwe, Tabora and Kasulu, that neighbours should witness the beating of bounds so that they can provide evidence in case of later dispute and if the Local Land Authority should have died. Boundaries on allocation are seldom marked artificially except where land adjoins other allocated land and even then marks are usually ephemeral, the planting of hedges (*Dracaena* or *masale* in the densely settled areas of Uchagga and Upare) being exceptional. In only one tribal area has it been found customary when land is allocated for the Local Land Authority himself to establish the boundary marks, in the shape, in Uhaya, of trees planted at intervals of 20 feet to 25 feet.

29. *The Boundaries of Fragments.*—Where an individual's holding is fragmented, practice as to the "beating" of bounds is equivalent for fragments to that for main holdings. Fragmentation is widely necessary in Tanganyika owing to the patchy nature of the soil; a normal landholding for annuals in Rungwe consists of a number of fragments which are fallowed in rotation, while a Chagga likes a *shamba* in addition to a *kihamba*. The most obvious fragmentation occurs in respect of rice swamps (*majaruba* in the cultivation steppe) where small individual holdings are usually bounded by ridges.

Note: Non-African land experts are inclined to regard fragmentation as a major evil, because it militates against big-scale cultivation and offends against the tidiness of title and record. The African's tradition is to grow all the varieties

of food crop which he consumes, and in Tanganyika, with patchy soil and, generally, ample space, the tendency is rather towards fragmentation than away from it. Consolidation, that is, the collection into one holding of the acreage comprised in several holdings, will thus be of questionable merit until such time as there is greater expertise in agriculture, i.e. until the farmer can be induced to specialize in a single crop and to buy his other foods from the proceeds of that crop. In this survey, the only area in which harmful fragmentation has been detected, resulting from high density of population, is Usambaa where in addition to the natural tendency of the individual to work land of varying types, competition for space also contributes to the holding of a multiplicity of small plots by single individuals.

30. *Determination of what Acreage will be Allocated.*—Except for certain large holdings of feudal origin to the west of Lake Victoria, the general principle is that if space permits the individual *can* hold as much land as he can use, and that he *should* hold at least as much land as normally will feed an average household. It is not customary, in the absence of land values, for an individual to invest, by his labour, in the clearing of more land than he intends to use and if he should, inadvertently, clear more, or if as he grows older he is able to use less, the community will take surplus land off him if it is required for reallocation, *except* where allocation is held to be permanent. It can be admitted that there is a certain contrast between the custom, where it exists, of permanent allocation and that of reduction of acreage where land is not kept in use. Neither practice is so preponderating as to admit of a generalization for the Territory, any more than it is possible to generalize on the size of an average holding, though, in a given area, the African always has a picture in his mind of its optimum nature and size. Of interest is the size of new *Vihamba* recommended by the Chagga Council on ex-Custodian farms. This was three acres, to allow for one acre of bananas and two of annuals for an individual, which was, no doubt, a compromise between the desirable and the greatest possible number of allocations.

31. *Shifting Cultivation within a Land Parish.*—While courtesy will always require that information should be given to the Local Land Authority, the degree of *formal* permission required for a shift of arable within the Local Land Authority's area depends entirely on the degree of pressure on the land. In such areas as Upare, Rungwe, Heru, Muheza, Newala and the *shamba* lands of Uchagga, definite permission is required while in Uzaramo, Uzigua, Ugogo, Tabora, and bush land in Usukuma, no formal permission is needed. In Uhaya, *Kishembe* is payable on each piece of land applied for. A sidelight on this subject is provided by the Nyamwezi of Nzega who say that notification to the Local Land Authority is necessary *not* to ask permission to shift, *but* to prove the abandonment of the former holding.

32. *Provision for Fallow within Area Allocated.*—Since land is there to be used and not merely to be held, it is exceptional for custom specifically to allow provision for fallow in a new allocation (though as has been recorded in para. 25 allocation with certain tribes is permanent and results in fallow within a holding when fertility is exhausted). In Uhaya and Newala, however, in respect of soil types which are quickly exhausted, provision for fallow can be included in a new allocation, in Uhaya without payment of *kishembe*, i.e. admission that use will only be intermittent.

Note: Attention may be drawn to the cases of those tribes, e.g. Nyakyusa, Safwa, which deem allocation to be permanent but practise shift on certain lands, i.e. annual-crop lands in Rungwe except for rice lands on the lakeshore, and on the steeper slopes in Usafwa. Particularly in Usafwa this system can lead to accumulation of land in the hands of the elderly, to the detriment of the interests of the young. In an area such as Unyamwanga where allocation is deemed permanent but cultivation is shifting by preference, it is only a matter of time before the whole tribal area, under-populated in fact, will be in theory in private right.

33. *Resumption of Use after Fallowing.*—This is a question which seems to have troubled African thought more than most others. Practice is probably influenced by the quality of the soil, and the speed at which it recovers from over-cropping, e.g. the Zigua say that it is easier to resume fallow than to attack virgin bush, but the Nyamwezi say the opposite; the Bondei normally resume, the Hehe do not. In areas where allocation is permanent, i.e. those with greater pressure of population and (normally) greater fertility, it seems usual to resume, as in Rungwe, Usafwa, Heru, Bondei, Pangani and Uhaya. But even in such areas the Native Authorities have sometimes imposed a limitation as in Pare (2 years) and Newala (2 years) while public opinion has either altered custom likewise as in Uzaramo (4 years) and Uhehe (3 years) or permits a reallocation on insecure tenure if the holder's whereabouts is unknown, as in Usafwa and Usambaa. If there is a principle, in areas where allocation is not permanent, it is that if pressure of population permits, an intention to resume expressed by the landholder to the Local Land Authority will be respected. There are however certain contradictions in a search for any principle, in that the Native Authorities, by Rules under the N.A.O., limit resumption to three years in certain areas where there is no pressure on the land, e.g. Unyamwezi, Masasi and Kilwa.

Note: No inquiry has been thought necessary as to limitations on the right to start cultivation after initial allocation, but it is noted that the Chagga Native Authority has considered it necessary to order by Resolution that such limitations shall apply to *vihamba* (3 years), *shamba* (1 year) and plains (6 months), on pain of disallocation, in respect of their ex-Custodian or other disalienated farms, a rather similar limitation in Uhaya being noted in the next paragraph.

34. *The Surrender of Land Rights by Individuals.*—Unless following social ostracism, the surrender of land rights is usually informal, and capable of proof, e.g. by the fact that the landholder has removed his household goods from the house, or that his name has been erased from the tax register as in Ukwere and Ugogo. With some tribes, perhaps most, it is only common courtesy to inform the Local Land Authority of surrender if a man knows on departure that his absence will be permanent. The tribes with permanent allocation do not believe that land rights can lapse through absence. In Usafwa, unless a man has formally surrendered his land, it is presumed that he has not done so, and where, as in Usambaa and Unyakyusa, reallocation may occur after long unexplained absence, it is accompanied by a warning of possible impermanence to the new allottee. The situation is of course clearer in any area where there is a limitation on the resumption of fallow (para. 33). The Haya, in respect of a certain type of holding only, forfeit land rights if they are not taken up within a reasonable time (*about* two years) after allocation, or if cultivation once effected has been neglected for three years.

35. *Artificial Boundary Marks*.—Apart from the *Dracaena* hedges in Uchagga and Upare, there are few permanent man-made boundary marks. Hedging with **Mnyara*, quickthorn or sisal is sometimes planted, not so much as an indication of boundary as a control of cattle (see para. 76).

36. *Land Allocation for Economic Crops*.—This survey has shown that there is, as yet, no conscious differentiation in African minds between the allocation of land to all acceptable applicants for subsistence agriculture, and the allocation of greater acreages to individuals for marketable as distinct from subsistence production. As a result, whereas it might be possible to estimate the present and future acreages required for subsistence by a given population, it is quite impossible to make such estimate when allocations are erratic in size so as to cater also for marketable production.

37. *Restrictive Agricultural Conditions*.—While the African is clear in his view that a planted tree belongs absolutely to the planter (see para. 71) he also suspects that a plantation of trees *may* make it impossible to use land for other crops. The African is also persuaded that neither an individual nor a local land community should be saddled at the end of a tenancy with the cost of trees planted by a temporary holder of land rights. As a result, in those areas where trees are commonly planted as a crop, the type of agriculture permitted to non-tribal settlers and borrowers of land is often subject to restriction. *Strangers* are, commonly, forbidden to plant trees, as in Tanga (Bondei), Uzaramo, Pangani, Newala and in parts of Korogwe, or allowed to plant trees only when after long residence they have virtually been absorbed into the local community as in Lushoto and Masasi, while *any* borrower of land is usually forbidden to plant trees. (It should be noted that the African definition of a tree varies by tribes. In Bondei a banana plant is a tree; in Pangani, next door, it is not). Restriction on strangers is not, however, universal, more liberal ideas being apparent, e.g., in Same, Kilwa, Uha and Uhaya, while in Uluguru a non-lineage *mpangaji* (tenant) is permitted to plant trees which will be bought out, should his tenure be terminated, by his successor in title. The only trace found of a conception that land must go with the tree is in Uchagga where Chagga and stranger alike is forbidden to plant trees (as distinct from tribal bananas) on *shamba* land for fear that if they were established he could claim unilaterally that the land was not *shamba* but *kihamba*. It will be clear from the foregoing that the borrower, lessee or mortgagee of a tree plantation is commonly prevented from in-filling by custom which holds that in-fillings would be his own property, and that on the termination of his tenure he cannot be compelled to sell them to the resuming landholder.

38. *Collective Tenure*.—Very few instances have been noted of collective tenure other than in the shape of Native Administration tree plantations. Tree plantations are sometimes made by private collectives, as in Uhehe and Uluguru, while cassava is thus planted in Uzigua. The most sociable instance found is in Usafwa where the people, in small collectives, maintain permanent fields of finger-millet for consumption as beer by members.

39. *The Use of Commonage*.—Nowhere are rights to commonage an issue separate from rights to arable, otherwise the Kwavi-Lumbwa-Baraguyu (see para. 12) might have encountered objection to their incursions. As it is, they

**Mnyara* = *Euphorbia Tirucallii*.

wander at will with their herds, which to them are all-important; they overgraze, and, in places, use up locals' water supplies. They are arrogant, feared, and intolerant of local discipline and are at best an uncomfortable asset in any district which they choose to enter.

40. *The Standard Size of Allocations.*—Except in Uhehe, where an attempt is now made to pace out eight acres as a standard new minimum allocation, and in Uchagga (foot of para. 30), no standard size of allocation has been found, and the only actual measurement of land is in respect of root crops, grown as famine or locust reserves on N.A.O. Orders, which commonly extend to an acre measured at 70 paces square. But this is not to say that an African has no idea of what size provides a standard holding. The Ha in Kasulu has a very definite idea, though he does not measure it, of what is needed for an *Itongo* (house space *cum* banana grove), some tribes divide such homestead plots between wives, each wife "owning" a reasonable plot of land, while at least one tribe, Safwa, allocates separate plots to husband and wife, his for food reserves and cash, and hers for household food. Though these holdings are not measured, the outraged feelings of the wives concerned can well be imagined should they estimate that their shares are too small or too large.

Note: The results of the Sample Census of African Agriculture 1950 can be interpreted as showing that a hotter climate restricts endeavour by comparison with higher and cooler areas. The lowest average tillage recorded, in Kilwa, was 1.174 acres, Mahenge was 1.404 acres, while Kilosa showed 4.569, Ugo 4.963, Kondoa 5.146 and Usukuma 5.713.

41. *Abnormally Large Allocations.*—If space permits, African opinion does not debar the allocation of large acreages for actual use, and the traveller down the Great North Road can see two exceptional arable allocations on the roadside, one in Uhehe (over 200 acres) and one in Ukena (Njombe: about 300 acres), both of which are not as yet fully used by their individual allottees. The general rule is that allocation will not extend beyond the acreage which the applicant will actually use, that as has been seen (para. 32) the allocation will not normally include provision for fallow, and that it does not occur to an applicant to ask for a greater holding as this would involve him in inordinate bush-clearing. It is recorded for Uzigua (Handeni), where in a shifting economy allocation is deemed permanent, that loans of fallow are invariably reported to the Local Land Authority in order to preserve the memory of the original allocation.

42. *Farming out of Excess Acreage.*—A formal landlord/tenant relationship has been found only to the west of Lake Victoria and is therefore atypical of Tanganyika. The leasing, as distinct from lending free of charge, of surplus land by individual landholders is elsewhere conspicuous by its absence, such payments as are made bearing no relationship to the extent or potential of the land borrowed, consisting rather of normal hospitality or token acknowledgment of the rights of the lender. (The *mbuta* payment in Upare is an irregular payment of beer or a small "tip" in cash: the *masiro* payment in Uchagga consists of beer, goat or goats.) Any leasing which does take place, as is suspected in respect of *shokoa* (fallow) in Pangani, is *sub rosa* and contrary to custom.

43. *Reduction of Acreage under Population Pressure.*—Excision by the Local Land Authority from allocated land in order to accommodate greater numbers is apparently not customary except by consent. It was recorded as

customary in the banana belt of Uchagga twenty-five years ago, but today the individual enjoys greater security. Cases of such excision are found in Usukuma, but only as a consequence of better land planning, i.e. by consent. A single exception is practised by the Nyakyusa who in their hilly country will if necessary evict a landholder from building sites contained in his holding, but only on provision of an equivalent acreage elsewhere.

44. *Acquisition of Improvements.*—Africans hold that a cultivator will only treat the soil by clearing, tilling, manuring, ridging, etc., for the benefits which he himself will immediately enjoy. They do not consider that such work has any residual value so that improvements found on land which is reallocated are confined, in African eyes, to houses and trees. Both houses and trees are subject today to a changing situation. Traditional type houses, which to Africans have little value except, sometimes, for their components, are gradually being replaced by more permanent structures, while the deliberate planting of trees, both for their seeds or fruit and for firewood, is increasing. Both houses and trees are the subject of subsequent separate paragraphs, but it can be said here that standing houses can sometimes be taken over free, sometimes bought for their components, and sometimes, if of more modern type, bought intact while the new settler, if he wishes to, can usually buy any planted trees standing on his land. Certain Native Authorities have clarified this indefinite situation by use of the N.A.O. The Tabora Nyamwezi N.A. has ruled that all houses and planted trees, including bananas and pawpaws may be sold. The Nzega Nyamwezi N.A. has ruled that modern-type houses only, and planted trees excluding bananas, pawpaw and sugar cane, may be sold. The Nyakyusa N.A. has ordered that new-style houses and planted trees not only may be sold, but *must* be sold if the land on which they are standing is abandoned or transferred. It is thought that European ideas *may* be responsible for a noticeably un-African intrusion into the Luguru Rules rescinding the prohibition of *ngoto*, for it is therein ruled, somewhat irrelevantly, that the landholder must pay a departing tenant for terraces or other work of soil improvement.

45. *Dues Payable by Land Allottees.*—This paragraph presents the converse side of the situation described in para. 26. Payments, as distinct from courtesy refreshments, due from Africans in respect of land allocated are rare, and no case has been found now in existence where such payments are related to the area or value of the land. *Kishembe* (Uhaya), *Upata* and *Masiro* (Uchagga), *Mbuta* (Upare) and *Ngoto* (Uluguru) have all been described already, and it remains to mention only the *Rubako* (allocation chicken) in Uluguru, *Ubani*, an old allocation fee which is now held publicly to be disreputable but which is still, no doubt, paid in Pangani, *Ukukabidhi* (beer) in Uchagga and the allocation gift of a sheep to the *Mwenyesi* and his *Wagosi* in Uzigua. It will be appreciated that *Ngoto* and *Masiro* are the only periodical dues of any value; even *Ngoto* is suspended after poor harvests.

46. *Personal Acceptability of Newcomers.*—The African does not move house without full investigation of a new area, and he thus normally gives his new neighbours ample opportunity for deciding upon his acceptability before he actually applies for land. The commonest tribal custom observed in this connection is that which requires a newcomer to be sponsored by an established resident, this being definite custom in, e.g. Usukuma, Unyamwezi, Uhaya, Uchagga, Upare, Uha and Nyakyusa, while in a number of other areas such

custom is enforced only for non-tribals, as in Usafwa and Nyamwanga. No close inquiry as to character appears customary in Uzaramo, while in Ukwere the onus is on the Native Authority for if a man is good enough for the tax register, he is thought good enough for land. It will be clear that a man will not normally wish to settle among people to whom he is socially unacceptable, particularly in those many areas where community help is exchanged in building or cultivation. The exception is in cases of social ostracism when, deprived of community contacts, the offender must needs enter a new area, and promise to behave himself before being allocated land. The chances that an *Mchawi* (malignant witch) will be allocated land are thus, theoretically at least, remote.

47. *Landholding by Bachelors*.—There are only a few exceptions to the general custom that a boy stays with his parents up to adulthood (marriage or the start of tax-payment). The Nyamwezi and Nyakyusa tribes both arrange that adolescent males should practise agriculture on small plots. In Nyamwezi this plot is on the father's landholding and is called a *Kilaba*. Its proceeds belong to the boy but he may not concentrate on it at the expense of work on his father's holding. A girl is also sometimes given a *Kilaba*. In Nyakyusa, adolescent boys are allocated small building and arable plots of their own. In Usukuma a bachelor can be allocated one or more single fields but not the full range of fields which make up a normal holding. In two tribes it is stated that allocations are made to bachelors so that the bachelor shall have proved himself a capable food producer as a prerequisite of marriage (Usafwa and Nyamwanga).

48. *Virilocal and Uxorilocal Settlement*.—Inquiry as to the locality in which a newly-married couple normally settles, that of the husband or that of the wife, provides initial evidence, in Tanganyika, on the subject of inheritance, which is important since it is probable that matrilineal inheritance greatly reduces male enterprise. There appears to be a wedge of matrilineal tradition, based on the Ruvuma River and reaching, with varying intensity, at least as far north as Uluguru. It also appears that in Tanganyika matrilineal customs are yielding to the patrilineal. Custom in Upare has the appearance of having formerly been matrilineal. The present inquiry has shown that the Makonde and Makua were originally matrilineal tribes, while the Luguru are matrilineal on the massif and patrilineal on the surrounding plains. Variations in the extent to which women hold land in their own right can be largely accounted for in this context.

Note: Matrilineal land tenure is a major problem in Nyasaland.

49. *Landholding by Spinsters*.—The general attitude held by Africans to the land status of women is that they are in need of male protection. In *patrilineal areas*, that is, in the bulk of the territory, spinsters very seldom hold land in their own right, and if they do so it reverts to the common pool on marriage (Sukuma), it is not heritable (Uhehe) and does not transfer to the husband on marriage (Usambaa). A single exception has been found in Upare where a spinster's land becomes her husband's on marriage but reverts to her if the marriage ends. In *matrilineal areas*, spinsters hold land in their own right and retain against their husbands on marriage (Makua, Kilwa and the Luguru massif) while in Newala land held by a spinster remains hers if the marriage is uxorilocal but reverts for reallocation if the marriage is virilocal.

Note: Spinsters can hold land in their own right in Uhaya, and retain it on marriage. The Haya attitude to the land status of women is peculiar to themselves. See the note on the 1944 N.A.O. Rule permitting women to inherit land (para. 55).

50. *Landholding by Widows.*—In matrilineal tribes, widows can of course hold land; and this also holds good in Upare, and in Chagga *shamba* lands (*not vihamba*). Elsewhere, a widow's entitlement to land rights depends on what she does when her husband dies. In places, she can retain his land (Uhehe, Uzigua, Bondei) but will more usually return to her family area. In places, she will remain on her husband's land as *de facto* guardian of her children until they, on majority, inherit it (Usukuma, Uhaya, Korogwe, Uha). Where a widow is inherited along with other movables, she commonly takes her late husband's land with her as in Unyakyusa, and if she continues to occupy it as in Unyamwezi, but loses the land if she refuses to be inherited, as in, e.g. Unyamwanga. A widow can purchase land rights just as can a male in Uhaya.

51. *Reserved Lands.*—Little evidence has been found of any *extensive* areas reserved by custom from allocation as arable. Most tribes respect those few single graves, or burial grounds, which are marked, some reserve sacrificial places or groves separately from graves, and one (Nyakyusa) confesses that it still reserves the forest hide-outs which date from past inter-tribal warfare. It is said that the Makonde preserve the sites of former battles from allocation.

52. *Inheritance of Land Rights.*—In every tribal system examined, the customary heir inherits land, the only area in which land is often thought of too little value to be worth inheriting being Ugogo. With the majority of tribes this heir is a son, not necessarily the eldest. Even with the matrilineal tribes such as the Makua a son inherits from his mother; since lineage derives from the mother, her son is a lineage-member but her grandson is not, and the latter can only inherit his grandmother's land in Uluguru with special lineage permission and on payment of *ngoto*. In Unyakyusa the customary heir is a brother but there is today a tendency, strongly fostered by the elected Native Administration, to make a son the heir instead. Though in coastal areas Islamic laws of inheritance are followed in greater or lesser degree, the overriding conception is that one holding is designed to support one homestead and should not therefore be split on inheritance. The land unit will therefore go to one heir, movables on the other hand being divided amongst all those entitled to them by custom. In Uchagga a woman may only inherit land if designated as its heiress by will. As regards inheritance by sons other than the eldest, there is a noteworthy custom in Unyamwezi, Uhehe and Uchagga that whichever son has stayed at home to look after his aged father inherits the father's landholding while in Kasulu, the Ha have the system of *kushika mkuki* (litt: to take the spear) whereby the father during his lifetime hands over the "spear", i.e. the headship of the family, to the most suitable son who alone takes the father's landholding, the family choosing such a son if the father has omitted nomination before his death.

53. *Bequests of Land Rights.*—Wills are very seldom made, either written or verbal, and it is almost unknown for bequests of immovables to be made otherwise than to the customary heir. It is said that such bequests, but only to another member of the testator's family, would be honoured in Upare, and that it *might* be honoured in Uchagga. In Uhaya a bequest outside the family will

be honoured if the testator can prove neglect by his relatives. In Unyakyusa a basic banana plot cannot be bequeathed even if interplanted with coffee, though a pure stand of coffee may be left to a person other than the customary heir.

54. *Inheritance before Testator's Death.*—Inheritance of land before the testator's death appears to occur only in those tribes which practise the sub-division of a substantial family holding, e.g. Chagga, Ha and Haya. If the area commonly held by the head of a family is big enough to contain more than one standard homestead (see para. 40) then space for homesteads after the first will be allotted by the head of the family to sons. In Uhaya these dispositions are reviewed after the testator's death.

55. *Inheritance of Land Rights by Women.*—Custom as regards inheritance of land rights by women is consistent with that for the holding of land by women in their own right (paras. 49, 50). Except in the matrilineal areas, such inheritance depends very much on how and whether the land will be used, and where a female heiress will live, it being clear that African society regards the protection of the female as more important than her retention of land. Generally as regards landholdings male heirs take precedence over females irrespective of age, a childless widow or a brotherless daughter *may* inherit land if they want to use it, and they surrender such inheritance on remarriage (widows) or marriage (daughters). Minor deviations from the foregoing are found in Unyakyusa, Unyamwanga and Usafwa where unmarried daughters do not inherit land, and Uhaya where in terms of a N.A.O. Rule passed in 1944 an inheritance of land by a woman is for her lifetime only. In two areas noted, Upare and Uhehe, no women inherit land, while a peculiar custom exists in Bondei whereby if space permits a woman may always cultivate annuals on her late father's land.

56. *Inheritance of Land Rights by Minors.*—No exceptions have been found to the custom whereby a minor inherits land under guardianship until he (or she) comes of age, the "coming of age" varying between marriage, tax-paying age, "about" 15 years (Kilwa), puberty (Bondei and Pangani), and an indefinite age at which the family considers that the subject is now capable of standing alone (Nyamwezi and Ha). Such inheritance is in places strictly conditional on the continued occupation of the land, i.e. in areas where allocation is not deemed permanent. It may be noted that the guardian will be matrilineal, e.g. a maternal uncle, in matrilineal tribes.

57. *Enlargement of Landholding by Inheritance.*—It was thought important to ask whether custom prevents an individual's acreage from being increased above the norm by inheritance. Such restrictive custom seems to be rare except in Uhehe where a man holds only one holding, and sometimes in Unyamwezi (Tabora, *not* Nzega) because by N.A.O. Rule a man is there restricted to holding land in only one *gunguli* (Headman's area). Enlargement by inheritance is often conditional on effective occupation (Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Ha). As to crowded areas, the Safwa tolerate enlargement owing to widespread lending of land, and the Nyakyusa state that enlargement is impossible as there are too many close and remote heirs.

58. *Sub-division of Land on Inheritance.*—Owing to the almost universal conception that the holding is designed in size to support one household, there is scarcely a trace of *current* sub-division, on inheritance, to the point of absurdity, this being avoided even in Mohammedan areas by division of crop or sales of

trees rather than by division of land (e.g. Muheza, Pangani, Korogwe). Sub-division is avoided, in particular, of those main holdings which consist of a banana plantation with homestead within. The Sukuma have the forthright custom that the landholding is inherited intact or not at all, although the landholding consists of a series of fields. Theirs is a custom which might with advantage be studied by areas, such as Usambaa and Newala, where fragmentation has already occurred.

59. *Sales of Land Rights*.—Within the areas surveyed, the uncontrolled outright sale of land rights to other Africans is admitted to occur only in Pangani and of non-clan landholdings in Uhaya. Elsewhere, sales are subject in Bondei to N.A. approval, in Uchagga to the buyer being a Chagga and in Uzaramo to first refusal by the clan concerned, while in Uhaya, on clan lands, the clan may redeem sales within three months of hearing of them. The Ha practise the sale for cash of irregular and very small pieces of land to rationalize boundaries. It is admitted in Usukuma and suspected in Kilwa that sales sometimes occur though contrary to custom which, in these areas and all others surveyed but not mentioned above does not allow sale on the grounds that land is common property and that rights over it therefore cannot conceivably be sold by an individual. This preponderant idea is however somewhat confused by the custom which in places allows the planter to sell his trees. Sales of trees are permitted commonly by custom as in, e.g. Lushoto, Korogwe and Pare and there is obviously a very narrow dividing line between the sale of those trees which preclude other crops, and the sale of land rights. It appears that for plantations, African custom has merely applied its ruling with regard to single trees or clumps of trees, which may well be workable for the odd mango, citrus or even a clump of coconut palms, but has a much greater land significance when applied to a coffee, wattle or softwood plantation.

Note: The so-called "sales" by the Makonde in Newala appear to be incomplete in that the seller has a right of resumption. They are, therefore, loans at a fee rather than sales proper and belong in the next paragraph.

60. *Leasing and Lending of Land*.—Leasing of land rights is as contrary to general custom as is sale and in the areas surveyed is admitted to occur openly only in Uzaramo, *sub rosa* only in Pangani. There is an exception in Uhaya to this generalization. There, friendly agreements are made as to tenancies which are unlimited in time, and can even be inherited subject to the lessor's consent, the tenant having no rights to permanent improvements: but there is no standard scale of rents related to the value of the land leased. If leasing, then, is very rare, loans of land are very common, and most commonly for single seasons in respect of annual crops only. It is to be expected that the approval of the Local Land Authority would be necessary in case of loan to a stranger and this is indeed custom in Usukuma and Usambaa. It is also noteworthy that the terms of loans preclude the planting of trees, since loans are nearly always for single seasons, or renewable from season to season, an exception having been recorded only in Newala, where loans are said to be sometimes made for indefinite periods. Fosbrooke has recorded that there is some confusion on this subject in Uluguru where the annual peppercorn rents charged by Missions on freehold land to local Africans are commonly and erroneously called *ngoto*.

Note: A single exception has been found to the general conception that a tenant should not make permanent improvements such as would require compensation by the primary landholder, at the end of a loan of land. In Korogwe it is, apparently, admitted that the tenant will put some value into a house, and it is customary that the tenant may claim such value at the end of the loan of land.

61. *Mortgages.*—The mortgage of land rights is not generally practised, and where it occurs, as an exception, is usually accompanied by safeguards against foreclosure, as in Usukuma and Uzaramo where clans can exercise an option to redeem against the mortgagee, or in Bondei where foreclosure is subject to N.A. approval of the mortgagee. In Uluguru there is no limitation of time to the refund of a loan, without interest except for crops grown, made on the mortgage of land with possession. The mortgage of trees is sometimes practised, the interest being the crop from the trees, if with possession, or a sum stated in an agreement if without possession. Islam forbids the charging of interest and this is avoided, e.g. in Pangani, by making an agreement for the total of principal and interest, the sum actually borrowed being the principal only, known only to the principals.

62. *Interest.*—No public control of interest rates has been discovered, nor in present circumstances would such appear to be necessary.

63. *Sales of Houses.*—There are three general classes of houses, i.e. the thatched shack which has little if any value, the traditional *tembe* which contains heavy timber, and brick or stone house with permanent roof. Custom as to the sale of houses conforms generally with their cash value, no account being taken of the fact that a house occupies land. In effect, if a house has any value, it can be sold, the question of whether it remains standing or is removed in pieces depending on whether the buyer succeeds in obtaining allocation of the concomitant arable. The Gogo hold that the components of a *tembe* must not be removed from the land parish which furnished them. The Nyamwanga, whose houses have no intrinsic value, make an abandoned house a rest-house for travellers or strangers. The Chagga are the only tribe which appears consciously to connect houses with the land on which they stand, for in Uchagga the sale of a modern house is not practised separately from that of the *kihamba* in which it is standing.

64. *Gifts of Land Rights.*—Gifts of land rights, even in areas where allocation is deemed permanent, are obviously in conflict with the principle of community control exercised through the Local Land Authority, and are therefore extremely rare. Gifts are said to be possible in Uchagga and Upare, and in Unyakyusa common boundaries can be informally adjusted. In Korogwe, where control is not strong, neighbours reckon that a loan is in fact a gift if the borrower is seen to be planting trees. In the more Mohammedan areas *Hibba* (Sw. *Hiba*) is known but rare (Bondei, Pangani, Kilwa).

65. *Inter-parish Land Adjustment.*—No evidence has been found of rivalry for land between Local Land Authority groups, involving group gifts of land rights or other similar adjustments. Boundaries of Headmen areas are, naturally, sometimes altered; and it is remembered in Uzigua that certain areas called "*Si ya*

Ngulano'' were past gifts of land from lineage to lineage in return for help in war. But the general rule is that if there is no room for a man in his own group area, he goes outside its boundary without thereby extending its area.

66. *Eviction from Land*.—Formal eviction for bad citizenship, formerly a common practice, is now rare, having been noted only in Masasi and Ugogo. It is clear that the rarity of *formal eviction* (from a Chiefdom or, more usually, a smaller area) is due not to any growing respect for the rights of individuals but to the strong line taken by Government in reserving to itself all rights of *banishment* (from a tribal or larger area). Informal eviction by social ostracism is probably fairly common, but, in conformity with Government's attitude, does not appear today to be accompanied by any loss of permanent improvements (which are sold by their owner) or of growing crops.

67. *Community Obligations of Landholders*.—The holding of land does not appear to alter status by conferring any exemption from community obligations, or any superior social position except possibly in the feudal North-West. This subject is of practical importance, perhaps, only as regards the Kwavi-Lumbwa-Baraguyu who are particularly reluctant to assimilate themselves into local society although they have occupied land in tribal areas other than their own.

68. *The Pattern of Landholdings*.—In this and the next two paragraphs, an attempt is made to give a picture of the landholdings which result from the customs described in paras. 17–67. The individual's model landholding consists of a "home farm", the site of the homestead, on which it is sometimes possible to grow all his crops; but it is more usual for him to hold extra fields by the system of fragmentation made necessary by differing soil types or considerations of space. The site of the house is, in banana areas, commonly within the bananas: in other areas, the house site also tends to be permanent since adjacent crops benefit from household sweepings, including manure from any stock. The overriding consideration is subsistence agriculture, and an attempt is now being made to fit economic production into the subsistence system of allocation. The size of the allocation is variable, but normally conforms with what a man can use, and with what he needs to feed his family. Distance means little to an African, and he will cheerfully cultivate fragments at a distance just as he has no particular objection to herding at a considerable distance from his main holding.

69. *Shifting Cultivation*.—The planting of trees, population pressure and, in rare instances, soil fertility all militate against the preponderant tradition of shifting agriculture. It is surprising to find a conception of permanent allocation in an under-populated area where cultivation is frequently shifted such as Uzigua or Nyamwanga, and it is thought that this anomaly must derive from imitation of practices which are in fact necessary in neighbouring tribal areas. The practice of shifting, where space permits, is normally in respect of exhausted fields other than that of the actual homestead (see para. 68) and in only one case, the Nyamwezi of Nzega, is it suggested that whole homesteads will move for a different reason, i.e. the pursuit of better grazing. Except where it is usual to resume the use of fallow (e.g. Newala and Rungwe) it is not customary for erosion to be prevented on fallow by the individual who cultivated it.

70. *Rotations and Fallows*.—No systematic rotation or fallowing systems have been found other than in Uha where decrease of crop is countered by planting other varieties, in Newala where in friable soil the bush roots are not dug up with

the result that erosion does not result from fallow, in Rungwe where a man normally holds a number of small fields to allow of his fallowing those which are exhausted, and in Usafwa where the locals claim that on steep land, the long fallow which they practise after a short arable is an indigenous anti-erosion measure.

71. *The Ownership of Planted Trees.*—With one exception, Usukuma, planted trees belong to the planter until he disposes of them whether or not he remains in occupation of the land on which they are growing. If he leaves the land in Usukuma he leaves the trees, but in Usukuma planted trees are rare and it is admitted next door in Unyamwezi that the ownership of mango trees is not always maintained. Elsewhere the ownership of trees is undisputed, and it often therefore occurs that the holder of cultivation rights is other than the owner of trees on the land. In Uzaramo if land containing trees is allocated to a newcomer, he will be charged with the especial care of the trees even if the whereabouts of their owner should be unknown, while in Pangani it is recorded that trees standing on another's land are often leased by their owner to a third party without reference to the landholder. The planting of trees being of such great importance to the territory, it is worth recording that there is in places a superstition, based possibly on the misunderstanding of a Swahili saw, that the planter of trees will not survive to enjoy their fruits.

72. *Wild Trees.*—Where wild trees are planted, as in Uha for bark, they are owned as described in para. 71. Otherwise, custom is indefinite on the subject of rights over wild trees growing within a landholding, as epitomized by the fact that in Tabora they are held to belong to the landholder whereas in Nzega they are not. If a landholder deliberately leaves trees unfelled within his holding, it would seem that his intentions are respected, as for example in Usukuma (firewood up to two acres), Newala (firewood) and Ugogo (shade for stock). In a few places, e.g. Uha, Rungwe, the proceeds of any large wild trees which may be felled are shared out locally. The only evidence that wild trees can be "owned" comes from Uhaya where sections of wild forest can be "owned".

73. *Collective Tree Plantations.*—Apart from Native Administration plantations, which are found in many districts, the collective planting of trees is uncommon and has been definitely noted only in Uhehe, in Uluguru where trees are collectively planted by clans within clan lands on slopes too steep for arable, and in Uhaya where there are not only collective but also individual plantations as distinct from small clumps of trees. The largest reservations of land for tree crops appear to be in Uchagga in the belt between the natural forest and the highest *Vihamba* (N.A. reafforestation), and in Ubena (Njombe) where some 20,000 acres have been reserved by local arrangement for individual wattle plantations.

74. *Pastures.*—Natural pasture is commonly regarded as free-for-all and in ample supply, requiring no care or improvement. It is only when pressure becomes really formidable that control or improvement starts, such being usually arranged by cattle-owners or even individuals rather than by the Local Land Authorities. In some mountainous areas, as in the Southern Highlands, the mountain slopes are reckoned to provide unlimited grazing, making care and improvement of pasture unnecessary, while in Uhaya, grazing is all communal even on grassland within an unenclosed landholding. In areas of high cattle

density, alternation of grazing is *sometimes* arranged by cattle-owners themselves, as in Ugogo and Usambaa, while in Usukuma, copied to a small extent in Nzega, there is the *ngitire* system of the reservation of grazing areas for rotational use, sometimes by individual right-holders but preferably under the control of the Local Land Authority to avoid individual quarrels. Improvement of pasture is rare but weeding is arranged sometimes by cattle-owners in Usambaa, Rungwe and Pare, while in Rungwe land is sometimes even cultivated to clean the grazing. In Uha there seems to be more systematic burning than is usual, to kill ticks and to produce new grass shoots. Where particularly good grazing is found, as in Korogwe on the banks of the Pangani River, and in patches in thickly-populated highland areas, it is often reserved against the hoe by individuals or groups of individuals, as in Uchagga, Upare and Uha (Heru) or by the Local Land Authority as in Korogwe and Lushoto. The only *comprehensive* attempt noted to relate numbers of stock to the carrying capacity of grazing is in Usukuma through the N.A.O. Livestock Restriction Rules, a flat-rate cull as in Nzega being related instead, apparently, to natural increase.

75. *Stubbles as Grazing*.—In e.g. Korogwe, Lushoto, Uchagga and Upare (hills), and Newala the grazing of stubbles is not practised for fear of resulting erosion. Elsewhere stubbles are grazed communally, being thought so valuable a grazing reserve in Usukuma and Ugogo that they are not used until official permission is issued, in Usukuma by the Local Land Authority and in Ugogo by the Chief.

76. *Enclosures*.—Except in two areas of high pressure population, Uchagga (*vihamba*) and Upare (hills), no enclosures have been noted having as their first object the demarcation of the boundaries of individual holdings. (The Chagga are so jealous of these boundaries that it is customary to fine trespassers Shs. 5/- per footprint). Other enclosures are built or planted, in temporary or semi-permanent form to exclude wild or domestic animals from crops, the commonest being fences against wild pig and lines of thorn branches against domestic stock, which are made in both cases either by individuals or groups of neighbours only at points of possible ingress and not as complete enclosures of landholdings. In Uhaya, if a man wishes to reserve grazing within his own landholding for his own stock, he must fence it so strongly that other cattle cannot enter.

77. *Partial Enclosures*.—The full enclosure of part of a landholding has been noted in two areas. In Usukuma, the *Njinga* or plot immediately surrounding a dwelling is sometimes completely enclosed by sisal or *Mnyara*, to an extent of perhaps two acres, and if uncultivated is used for the grazing of calves, or sick or old stock. In Ugogo it is customary to enclose a small *Ichito* or calf-paddock, near the homestead, and the Native Authority has gone so far as to make the *Ichito* compulsory by an N.A.O. Order which the Gogo themselves regard as redundant.

78. *Water Rights*.—No evidence has been found that land tenure is in any way a controlling factor over water rights. Water supplies, whether natural or artificial, are enjoyed communally wherever they lie, except possibly for wells within house compounds in coastal villages, and for *newly* constructed wells on individual holdings in Uhaya. There is no evidence that a landholding abutting on the bank of a river carries any exclusive riparian rights.

(But there are definite water rights in pastoral areas, e.g. Masai, belonging to individual or clan, but not, of course dependent on any form of land tenure other than communal ranching rights).

SECTION V.—CONCLUSION

79. *Limitations of this Account.*—The obvious limitation of this Report is the fact that it is based on a restricted number of tribal investigations owing to considerations not only of time but of the periodical undesirability of inquiry on this delicate subject in areas which may temporarily be politically unquiet. Another less obvious limitation consists in the difficulty of generalization where custom varies in detail between the various divisions of the larger tribal areas, as for example between the divisions of districts, and between districts, of Sukumaland, and between Hai, Vunjo and Rombo in Uchagga. It is thought, however, that this account is generally sound in its presentation of a picture of the African attitude to land, and it is hoped that Section IV will provoke thought and inquiry particularly in respect of tribal areas in which the relevant facets of custom have yet to be systematically examined.

80. *Tribal Land Custom is Evolutionary.*—An important aspect of this subject is that land custom is not static but evolutionary, and this inquiry has proved that though evolution is slow, it is certainly taking place; that as a given new situation appears such as the systematic planting of trees, African society produces customs to deal with that situation; and that in spite of lack of inter-tribal consultation, the tendency is then towards similarity. Land tenure custom in tribal areas is not stagnant; and there is always a reason behind custom, valid in African, if not in European, eyes. Custom is, also, certainly as comprehensive as local conditions require, and sometimes more so. As examples, there is no land problem in Unyamwanga, in African eyes, and therefore very little land tenure custom, but it is difficult from the point of view of land tenure to see why the Nyamwezi should think it necessary to limit landholding to one *gunguli* in Tabora, for a man might easily be in a position to use land in more than one such area.

81. *Varying Complexity of Tribal Customs.*—It will be seen how often the names of, e.g. the Haya, Chagga, Nyakyusa, Sambia and Safwa tribes appear in Section IV. This is a reflection not only of litigiousness in the case of the first three, but also, and chiefly, of density of population on the land, and it is clearly to be expected that as population builds up in more favoured areas, so will land tenure custom build up, becoming more comprehensive and more complicated where now it may be comparatively simple. This introduces the question of whether it may be possible to assist Africans, living hitherto in water-tight tribal land-tenure compartments, towards the evolution of standard model land tenure customs in those areas where land tenure must in the foreseeable future remain under local control. A discussion of such a possibility would, however, be out of place in this factual report.

APPENDIX

This report has been compiled from material obtained in respect of the following tribes, tribal areas or Administrative districts:—

<i>Central Province:</i>	Gogo Tribe	...	...	...	Dodoma District.
<i>Eastern Province:</i>	Kwere Tribe	...	...	...	Bagamoyo District.
	Luguru Tribe	...	...	...	Morogoro District.
	Zaramo Tribe	...	...	...	Kisarawe District.
<i>Lake Province:</i>	Haya Tribe	...	...	...	Bukoba District.
	Sukuma Tribe	...	...	...	Five Sukuma Districts.
<i>Northern Province:</i>	Chagga Tribe	...	...	...	Moshi District.
<i>Southern Province:</i>	Makonde Tribe	...	...	...	Newala District.
	Makua Tribe	...	...	...	Masasi District.
	Mixed Tribes	...	...	...	Kilwa District.
<i>Southern Highlands:</i>	Hehe Tribe	...	...	...	Iringa District.
	Nyakyusa Tribe	...	...	...	Rungwe District.
	Nyamwanga Tribe,	Safwa			
	Tribe	...	...	...	Mbeya District.
<i>Tanga Province:</i>	Zigua Tribe	...	...	...	Handeni District.
	Sambaa and other tribals	...	...	...	Lushoto District.
	Mixed Tribes	...	...	...	Korogwe, Pangani.
	Pare Tribe	...	...	...	Pare District.
	Bondei Tribe	...	...	...	Tanga District.
<i>Western Province:</i>	Ha Tribe	...	...	...	Kasulu District.
	Nyamwezi Tribe	...	...	...	Tabora, Nzega.

ELEPHANT CONTROL IN TANGANYIKA

A Discussion

By H. F. Lamprey, Biologist, Tanganyika Game Department

This discussion, which has been written at the suggestion of a senior member of the Game Department, aims to make a statement of the problems of elephant control and those aspects of elephant ecology which are related to it, rather than to draw any far reaching conclusions. Some of what is said may well be controversial, but it is hoped that the discussion will indicate the urgent need for research into the subject of elephant ecology and elephant control.

In retrospect. Elephant hunting for ivory has been carried on in Tanganyika far longer than anybody living can remember. It is impossible to know how many elephants were killed fifty or more years ago or what was the weight of ivory obtained in those days. These and other facts we should like to know. There can be little doubt that a very large proportion of the elephants killed were large tuskers. This was certainly the case when European hunters were engaged on contract with government to do control work in exchange for one tusk of every elephant they killed, in the twenties of this century. The process of killing the big tuskers has been continued though at a very reduced rate by licence holders. However, the Game Department has avoided shooting large tuskers in recent years although this was by no means the case twenty years ago. The effects of this destruction of large-tusked elephants are discussed below.

It would be extremely useful to be able to find out something of the numbers and distribution of elephants over fifty years ago. Similarly, we should like to know about their migrations and herd composition. From this information we could find answers to such questions as, "Have elephants greatly increased in numbers?" or, "Have they colonised new areas or vacated old areas?" However, in the absence of adequate records, it is necessary to draw information from the necessarily subjective impressions of those hunters, travellers and explorers who wrote of their experiences. In more recent times we have the experience of the older residents on which to draw. Nevertheless, with all the respect in the world for the integrity of these valuable witnesses, some little doubt must be attached to their impressions. No man can produce a wholly accurate account without using scientific methods. However, it is very probable that their impressions are sufficiently accurate to enable us to draw useful conclusions, and the main points of interest that emerge are, that although elephant numbers seem to have increased, the bulls living today in most areas have far smaller ivory than bulls had formerly. Also, there is much evidence that the social organization of herds has been disturbed in areas where elephants have been killed in large numbers, particularly where large tusked bulls have been eliminated.

Impressions today. The Game Department records that elephants are increasing in numbers in spite of the toll of over two thousand shot annually on control work. It is the impression of at least one member of the department

that much of this increase in numbers is apparent only and amounts only to an increase in range, i.e. elephants are colonising areas where they had not previously been seen. There is no suggestion that elephant numbers are decreasing anywhere except extremely locally. What is certain is, that with the spread of "civilising" influences, the areas in which elephants may live undisturbed and without disturbing human interests are steadily decreasing.

Other impressions which are of considerable moment should be recorded. That there are less large tusked elephants is almost certainly true. It is also apparent that there are more single-tuskers. One member of the department whose knowledge of elephants is second to none holds the very firm belief, based on careful and prolonged observation, that the social organization of elephant herds has been disturbed by the excessive shooting of large bulls. It is believed that this disturbance is reflected in an unbalanced rate of breeding and a severe deterioration in the quality of the stock.

A point of controversy arises: do the old bulls that have grown large tusks still take part in the breeding? If they do, then their removal from the population would be expected to have a selective effect on tusk size. However, if the breeding bulls are only those in their early and middle years which have not yet grown large ivory, the selective effects would be much more difficult to assess. Nevertheless, it seems probable that selection against large ivory has occurred for the following reason: bull elephants that have the potentiality for large ivory in their later years, will be breeding at a time when their tusks are not large but are sufficiently large to attract ivory hunters, i.e. in the region of 40 to 70 lb. weight per tusk. The unfortunate lack of records from early years prevents our knowing whether ivory of this size was commonly obtained in the past.

In the absence of any systematic investigation into heredity in elephants it can only be stated that it is extremely probable that tusk-size is influenced genetically. It is also probable that environmental factors such as food have some effect. The drastic selection which has been carried out against large ivory cannot fail to have had some effect on the elephant population of today. If indeed tusk-size is controlled by a single gene-pair or a gene-complex (in conjunction with the effects of the environment) the elimination of large tusked elephants from several generations could only have produced the effect that we see today—a population with a large proportion of small tusked elephants, single tuskers and tuskless elephants. The conditions of tusklessness and single-tusk-ness are themselves probably inherited, and possibly intimately connected with the gene-complex influencing tusk-size. Thus, it is possible that a tuskless bull which mates a cow of large-tusked stock will result in an offspring which is intermediate and has small tusks.

If it is agreed that the situation is undesirable it might be asked whether anything can be done to improve it. The answer would probably be that theoretically it should be possible to breed back the big-tusked elephants by killing off the inferior ones and carefully preserving every big tusked bull (and cow). The suggestion that the situation is irreparable is possibly true in many areas if practical issues are considered. Theoretically the hereditary factors for big tusks must still be present in the population and it is not to be dismissed as impossible that careful selective control could restore the situation.

Mr. Mence believes that the problem of elephant control is rendered the more complicated by the possibility that the progressive alteration of the elephants' environment may have had the effect that the herds are constitutionally incapable of returning to a stable social organization. He also suggests that even if it were possible to improve the elephant stock by selection, we could not at the same time improve the stability of the herd organization because the two processes might be incompatible.

Of fundamental importance is the fact that control measures are not related to any of the principles of ecology in general nor until very recently on any study of elephant populations in particular. Mr. Nicholson's experiment in killing members of herds rather than the actual young bull shamba-raiders who follow the herds is a commendably constructive approach and points the way to the need for ecological research.

In the Game Department Annual Report for 1954, on page 9, it is pointed out that present methods are recognized by the Game Department to be contrary to the "tenets of population ecologists. . . .". It concludes that a failure to base methods of control on established principles of ecology has resulted in the continuous practice of methods that have little or no value and that the root of the problem has not been touched.

The need for research. Numerous questions on elephant ecology must be answered before any conclusions can be drawn as to the best methods of elephant control. Several of these questions have already been asked or suggested in previous paragraphs. Perhaps the most difficult question is "What exactly are we aiming for in elephant control?". Perhaps this question should not be answered until more is understood of elephant ecology. However we may attempt to answer it in very general terms.

Firstly, we need a form of control which fulfils the original purpose of control, that is, to protect human interests. Secondly, we need selective methods that cause the least possible amount of suffering to the elephants and which do, as far as possible, leave the elephant population in a "balanced" condition or, where necessary, restore it to a balanced condition. By this we mean a condition in which the various elements of the population—bulls, breeding and not breeding, young and old, "good" specimens and "bad" specimens, and cows of all these categories—are present in the "correct" proportions. The quotation marks indicate words that would have to be carefully defined. A "balanced" condition in this context would also include such factors as "normal" breeding behaviour, "normal" habitats and migrations together with many other considerations which would be elucidated by research.

Thirdly, methods would have to be found to assess accurately the elephant populations and to make analyses of the results of control.

Many questions have been begged. The term "balance" is widely misunderstood, when used in the sense of the "balance of Nature". Whereas a form of balance would be present in the absence of human interference, human progress continually disrupts this balance and it is vain to hope that Nature will regain her former organization in the presence of human expansion. Ecological balance, if such it can be called, is dynamic and involves successions of plant and animal communities, fluctuations in numbers, migrations, and seasonal and daily rhythms of activity. In the case of an elephant population, we must

accept the fact that, at the best, only an approximation of their former organization can be achieved and that we are irrevocably committed to exercise control of elephants. The complexity of the problem of finding the correct approach to control necessitates research. A suitable programme of research would have to be undertaken by a team of ecologists and could, conceivably, last twenty years.

Finally, methods of control need detailed investigation. Two basic types of control have to be considered: control of numbers and control of distribution. Under different circumstances it is to be expected that both types have their application. Very little work has been done until recently on distribution control. Electric fencing results to date, indicate very encouraging possibilities in this direction. The fact that elephant have been controlled by a certain type of sisal hedge may be relevant.

The potentialities of preventing damage to cultivation by using barriers are probably very great. If shamba raiding could be prevented in this way, elephant control would take on a different aspect. Without the urgency of dealing with shamba raiders the selective control of numbers could be concentrated on and a carefully prepared programme carried out.

The control of elephant numbers in a way that is humane, selective, and efficient should form the subject of vigorous investigation. What form this will take must be conjectural at present. It has been suggested that controlled electrocution would be a possible line to follow. This would have the advantage of being humane—there would be no wounded elephants. The difficulties and dangers of this method are obvious but could be overcome by a team of technicians. It is a reproach to our lack of imagination that, in an age of technical achievement, very little advance in elephant control methods have been made for forty years or more.

Note. In the above discussion, records and opinions, published and unpublished, of the following members of the Game Department have been freely drawn upon and are gratefully acknowledged:

G. G. Rushby; C. J. P. Ionides; B. D. Nicholson; A. J. Mence.

NEW CAVES NEAR TANGA AND THEIR RELATION TO THE AMBONI GROUP

By G. A. Peet

The adjective "new" is frequently applied to caves, often with a doubtful degree of accuracy. It may be argued that as a natural cave takes millions of years to form it can hardly ever be described as new, especially as its origins are so humble that when it *is* new it can hardly be described as a cave! Then there are the explorers of recent times who "discover" what Neanderthal man used as a home countless ages ago. It is something of a privilege and pleasure, therefore, to be able to introduce the reader to some caves in Tanganyika which are as "new" as the permissible meaning will allow.

The Amboni Caves are well known and were described in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 27 (1949) by J. R. Harpum. They lie about four miles west of Tanga some distance off the Mombasa road. The new caves are in the same region and may properly be regarded as part and parcel of a huge series of caverns—including the Amboni group—which it is now apparent riddle the Jurassic limestone in the area.

All the caves so far described, the Amboni Caves, open from the sides of the Mkulumuzi Gorge which more or less bisects a limestone plateau of low relief. The Mkulumuzi River makes its exit into Tanga Bay barely a mile away. The gorge is reached by a track from Kiomoni village which lends its name to the quarries clustered along the eastern edge of the plateau extending between the village and the gorge—a distance of about a third of a mile. As a result of quarrying operations here the new caves have been exposed and for convenience and distinction they will be referred to as the quarry caves. The first quarry caverns of note were broken into during 1952 on mining claims then belonging to Mr. Narain Singh and Mr. M. S. Desai. (The latter's claims have since been absorbed by Mkulumuzi Quarries Ltd.). Exploration of these caves by the writer revealed that both had break-through exits to the surface of the plateau above and which presumably had not previously been detected, being very small and covered with thick bush.

The cavern (Cave "A" on plan) on Narain Singh's claim consisted of a long, straight passage about one hundred and twenty feet long with two other passages crossing it at right angles. The exposure had occurred at one of the intersections resulting in a gaping hole about fifteen feet deep and twenty feet in diameter. The cross-passages could be negotiated only a short distance due to rock falls probably caused by quarrying activities. The main passage appeared to be a solution tube of about eight feet in diameter, the lower half of which was filled with fine, dry silt.

A similar tunnel had been broken into on Desai's claim and extended for about one hundred feet (Cave "B"). Towards the far end a hole in the floor led into a cave system of some intricacy. After a preliminary and cursory examination when the possibilities immediately became apparent, I enlisted the aid of

Bruce Pickering, also of the Mines Department, to make a better survey. It soon became clear that this cave was of a calibre superior to Amboni which, generally speaking, is deficient in the crystalline formations most visitors hope to see. There were a number of stalactite grottoes, one of which is illustrated in Plate 1, and passages with curtains and calcite flow, a fine example of gours (see Plate 2), cave pearls and even helictites—stalactites of erratic growth; bent, twisted, forking or “growing around corners”. There were passages wide and free, narrow and claustrophobic, passages snaking down to nether regions and slender corridors thirty to forty feet in height revealing upper and lower levels of horizontal tunnels. To the hardened speleologist such a cave, especially a virgin one, throws out an irresistible challenge and at that time I hoped later to have an opportunity of an all-out attack on it. Alas! It was not to be. Quite apart from the rooted, and understandable, objections of wives to the grovelling underground of their nearest and dearest on local leaves which could be spent so much more pleasantly elsewhere, there was the apparent impossibility of finding in Tanganyika any enthusiastic companions to tackle the more difficult sections and also the difficulty of obtaining suitable equipment for the job. When eventually I did return I discovered that the entrances to both the caves had been filled in, for the Kiomoni quarry owners display regrettable haste in their efforts to fill-in cavities exposed on their claims and seem willing to dissipate their profits by pouring hundreds of tons of rock into them! Nevertheless, Desai's cave could probably be opened up again without excessive expense or effort and to my biased mind this would be well worth while.

It later turned out that this was by no means the last to be heard of the quarry caves, for in 1955 further caverns were broken into on Narain Singh's claims, the portals of which were so conspicuous that they could hardly fail to attract public attention. Tales of “cathedral-like interiors” filtered through and eventually I was asked to go and investigate. This I was more than willing to do. The privilege of indulging a life-long pastime as part of workaday life was fulfilment of a long-standing ambition to emulate speleological friends who found themselves in a similar position at the end of the war when they were engaged to search the caves of the Harz Mountains for Nazi cultural trophies believed to be hidden there. If I may further digress, one of the highlights of their experiences was their unexpected emergence into a railway tunnel in the Russian Zone, from which they hastily withdrew!

So, in September, 1955, I returned to Kiomoni. The twin portals (Cave “C”) which had aroused so much public interest were quickly disposed of. Although the entrances were imposing their explorable possibilities were slight. The portals were joined just inside by a small grotto but neither entrance gave into passages which extended far. What passages existed were silted up or blocked by falls. Gaping, and dangerous, holes in the floor just inside the entrances seemed much more promising, although it was obvious that tackle of some sort would be needed for anything but a one-way or involuntary descent. I soon realized that I had been in this cave before when access was gained through a small “rabbit hole” towards the roof of the cavern. Immediately below on a stalagmite boss was a nest of cave pearls (pisoliths) reaching the size of hens' eggs. It is doubtful whether any of such size have ever been recorded elsewhere. It is most unfortunate that in breaking into this cave the quarrymen have destroyed these unique specimens. There is no longer the slightest trace of them.

Another hole (Cave "D") in the quarry floor about one hundred feet away gave rise to higher expectations. It led down into a large chamber rather shattered by nearby blasting with passages leading off blocked by falls probably due to the same cause. Access could easily be gained to a network of joint passages below, which, it seems, is a constant feature of the quarry caves. But these passages, following as they do the joints in the limestone, are tight to negotiate and a hazard only to be undertaken by more than one experienced caver. Being on my own and faced with the prospect of becoming a permanent filling for a limestone sandwich, I felt obliged to retire.

I turned my attention to small openings (Cave "E") which had been revealed on a claim then held by L. V. Solanki and now forming part of the holdings of Mkulumuzi Quarries Ltd. These were about four feet apart in vertical line and gave access to passages which united about ten yards in. The resulting passage opened up to a fair height and was abundantly adorned with flowstone and curtains, some of which attain the height of ten or twelve feet. These fine curtains have two lateral cracks, thought to have been brought about by blasting in the vicinity, probably above the cave. To the left of this passage extend some very fine grottoes and sizeable chambers (see Plate 3). Still further to the south is a large chamber containing a wealth of stalactitic forms, a corner of which is seen in Plate 4. This chamber leads to yet more, one low and long which was not explored to its extremity. Another gives access downwards to the joint network described earlier. The entrance passage continues on and becomes quite a long, high corridor. This had apparently been "holed through" at some time by quarrying above as there is an immense cone of stone chippings and quarry rubble to be negotiated. Past this obstacle the cavern again narrows to a joint "slit" and continues to where another huge cone of rock has been shovelled in from above. It is possibly beyond here that the series connects with one of the branches of the "long, straight passage" (Cave "A") seen on Narain Singh's claims in 1952 and described on page 149. Shortly before the rubble pile a branch passage to the right, quite small and tortuous and showing evidence of intermittent stream activity (silted walls), gives access to another cavern which continues upwards and dwindles into a crawl which can be negotiated only on the stomach, the cross-section at the tightest place measuring about twelve by eighteen inches. Once past here the passage opens out and descends into a high corridor which eventually terminates in the chamber below the northern portal of cave "C", that is, at the foot of the "gaping holes" described on page 150. The entrance chamber can be seen twenty-five feet above but egress would defeat any climber lacking mechanical aids. A joint passage connects to the other portal but egress again appears impossible. The joint passage itself, about eight feet wide and thirty feet high, presents difficulties since it extends down into the network of open joints. From that passage, at right angles, another high corridor leads to the hole in the quarry floor some hundred feet distant (Cave "D").

It has been suggested that the quarry caves link up with those in the Mkulumuzi gorge—the Amboni group—and I consider this a certainty rather than a probability. Whether or not man can make the journey is another matter, and depends on the nature of the connection and whether the quarry owners cause sufficient disturbance to prevent it. Such disturbance could take the form of blocking passages by filling, as has already been demonstrated, of accidental

caving through the use of explosives above and the interference with surface or underground drainage causing passageways to silt up. In Desai's cave (Cave "B") it was seen that stream activity did take place, at least intermittently, and running through the grottoes inside Solanki's cave ("E"), was the trace of a tiny streamlet which apparently was much larger during rain. Elsewhere in Solanki's cave there was the evidence of silted walls to indicate that it carried quite a substantial stream at some time or other. Judging from the general run of the terrain it is more than likely that these streams issue from the portals in the river gorge close to survey stone DE.91 and this could easily be proved during the wet season by fluorescein test. But in limestone country, indications without tests cannot be taken for granted; it is just as likely that the water turns from the natural watershed, or crosses it, and finds outlet miles away.

On the opposite side of the quarry floor to Solanki's cave ("E"), I found a fissure containing the fossilized remains of a number of bones. The creature to which they belonged had apparently become jammed in a crevice or had been crushed during a rock fall, since which calcium carbonate has amassed around the skeleton to form solid rock. Several pieces of this rock were removed in the hope that identification could be made. Dr. Vivarelli of the Medical Department is unable to go beyond the statement that they belong possibly to a member of the antelope family. There is, however, a fossilized tooth imbedded in the jawbone which, if removed, could perhaps be identified by an expert. Radio active tests could be made on these remnants to assess their age which might give a clue to the age of the caves. The latest assessment of the age of Jurassic limestones, made by measurement of breakdown rates of radio active minerals in contemporaneous igneous rocks is 127-152 million years (Zeuner, 1950) but the caves probably belong to a much more recent period.

Although the quarry caves just described differ strongly in appearance from the Amboni caves in the river gorge, there is little doubt that they have a common origin. But before passing on to consideration of the origin and development of the caves, let me give you some idea of Amboni Cave itself, for this is the one which usually attracts visitors to the Mkulumuzi gorge.

Entrance is gained by any one of three portals which open up into an interconnected group of solution chambers, separated by grotesque pillars and pinnacles which lend an air of phantasy. The local Africans ascribe magical powers to the spirit who dwells herein. Their rather poetic name for this cave is "*Pango la kaburi*", *lit.* Cave of the Grave, and in niches in the walls may be seen offerings to the *shetani* made by the villagers in the hope that he will alleviate their sicknesses or sufferings or increase their fertility. Prayers, prayer flags and sticks, bottles of oil, gourds, the remains of sacrificed chickens, five-cent pieces, oddments of cloth and so on, all thought to be of inestimable value to the Djini, are left there for his pleasure. As far as one can see he spurns them all.

Apparently the offerings do sometimes produce results as on one occasion I interrupted the sacrificial thanksgiving of chicken and rice being consumed by ten local Africans, nine of whom were women. All the poor Djini got out of this was a litter of feathers, banana leaf plates and a few overlooked grains of rice.

Further in the passages soon attain a height of twenty-five to thirty feet and in places forty feet or so. They are large and bare, except for calcite flow here and there, and on account of their size and lack of adornment they present a foreboding appearance, although a good pressure lamp does much to dispel the

illusion. There are a few bats, but not nearly as many as one would expect. They appear to belong exclusively to the smaller species. The large fruit bat, or flying fox, can be seen flying over the gorge at dusk every evening and it is a source of surprise that I saw none underground. They must certainly live in the caves, but equally certainly do not find Amboni Cave an attractive home. Now and then daylight is seen filtering through holes in the gorge or roof, usually due to cavern collapse. One such roof fall can easily be climbed and gives access to further passages on a higher level. Wariness is called for. Occasionally these upper passages combine with those below and in at least one place it is possible to walk straight off into the roof of the passage beneath—a drop of about twenty feet. These high-level passages terminate in a chamber some forty feet high which holes through into the plateau above. A passageway leads on and up, narrow and tortuous, and is covered in rimstone. After some distance it appears to give access to the “joint network” through a hole in the floor. On the whole, the scenery of Amboni Cave might be described as sombre, but rather awe-inspiring.

Now for a few words on the origin and development of the caves. I do not wish to weary the reader with too many technicalities, for these are possibly outside the intended scope of this journal, but I would like, especially, to hint at theories of origin rather different from that suggested by Harpum and over which the reader may ponder.

The main weakness in Harpum's theory is that he postulates an origin by surface drainage only—essentially a one cycle, continuous action. His sketches showing the development of limestone caves illustrate this and also serve to show that such development is, generally speaking, on a two-dimensional vertical plane only, and dependent largely on *jointing* in limestones for its origin. Yet in his text he states. “It is clear that the horizontal bedding planes in the limestone is the only structural feature that could have controlled the formation of the caves”. Elsewhere he states that no joint planes are visible. He also states that there is no distinct trend in the direction of elongation of the caves. All this is rather conflicting, and not a little inaccurate.

Firstly, there *are* joint planes visible in this limestone. The joints are undoubtedly tight, but they are there. They are clearly visible in various parts of the quarries, and especially so at the entrances to some of the caves. Jointing may be seen *inside* the quarry caves and in one or two places in Amboni Cave, notably on the higher levels. Secondly, the Mkulumuzi River follows a zig-zag course through the plateau and it is safe to infer that it follows a pattern of jointing, especially as it agrees approximately with the orientation of the network of joint-passages observed in the quarry caves. This criss-cross joint pattern appears to run approximately NE-SW and ESE-WNW. The mesh is not square, but rhomboid. As it happens, the revelation that there is, in fact, a distinct joint pattern in the limestone *could* lend weight to Harpum's one-cycle, *vadose* (i.e. formed by surface waters and streams above the water table) ideas. All the evidence to date, however, clearly points to a *phreatic* (i.e. sub-water-table) origin, although it is not disputed that the caves have been enlarged and developed by vadose waters. In fact, it has become increasingly recognized over the past few years that the majority of caves will exhibit both vadose and phreatic features. Whilst caves will be found exhibiting vadose features only, in conformity with the original conception of cave formation, those exhibiting phreatic features only will be extremely rare.

If, as Harpum says, horizontal bedding has controlled the formation of the Amboni caves, then we should expect to see caverns with cross sections resembling flat ellipses, or developing therefrom, but only in one cavern (Solanki's) do we see anything resembling a wide bedding-plane chamber and as the floor is deeply covered in silt we cannot be sure, at this stage, of its true character. Elsewhere we see "large, vaulted chambers", "pot-holes in roof, walls and floor" (Harpum) and even our high corridor-chambers are vaulted.

Generally speaking, cave formation by vadose water in areas of low relief, especially level-bedded strata such as we are dealing with, is impossible. The measurable extent of the limestone is about sixty feet and we have single caverns forty feet in height or depth and closely related ones covering between them the entire depth of the limestone. Almost everywhere we have domed caves and passages extending very nearly to the surface yet seldom connected to it. Harpum points to holes in the roofs of caves as "swallow holes". But are they? Or are they merely collapses from the caves going so close to the plateau surface? Nowhere on top did I see any evidence of swallow holes, though this does not prove that they do not exist and possibly there are some.

It is true that karstic phenomena can be seen on the surface in the guise of limestone pavements—the "clints" and "grikes" of Yorkshire—but I venture to suggest that these pavements are comparatively recent in origin. For a country endowed with a heavy rainfall they are remarkably underdeveloped, especially when related to the outsize caverns below. It seems at least possible that there has been denudation resulting in the disappearance of the original top-crust of limestone. This would, perhaps, account for the underdevelopment of the "grikes", but if denudation has taken place and a vadose origin is supposed, then we should expect to see remnants of caves going *down*, especially as there are some below. But we do not see such remnants. On the contrary, we see evidence of cavities which have gone up rather than down and which appear to have existed, at least in rudimentary form, before any classic, down-cutting erosion took place. An outstanding feature in this cavernous plateau is the distinct lack of deep fissures going *down* into it. All entrances so far discovered have been found in the gorge or have been revealed by quarrying into the sides of the limestone beds.

This, incidentally, makes me wonder upon what evidence Harpum bases his statement that the North-South plateau scarp marks the position of old shore line cliffs. Shore lines against limestone result in undercutting caused by bedding plane weaknesses and the formation of small bays making inroads at some joints. Caves, if any are formed, are distinctive in structure, easily recognizable as sea caves and would ever carry the evidence. The scarp shows no visible sign of sea cliff origin and it is more likely, in my opinion, that it is a fault scarp.

My own view of the origin of the caves is that they originated as solution cavities at sub-water-table level either before the down-cutting of the Mkulumuzi River or prior to or during the uplifting of the limestone or to a combination of both processes, followed by subsequent enlargement and alteration by surface erosion of the nature suggested by Harpum. There does not appear to be any strong similarity between the cave systems of Cheddar and Amboni; the environments are quite different and likely to give rise to equally differing manifestations. The Cheddar caves and gorge are in strongly jointed, wide-bedded carboniferous limestone of high relief. Amboni caves and the Mkulumuzi gorge are in Jurassic limestone of low relief, tight-jointed and thinly bedded.

The example of cave formation put forward by Harpum is a classic one which, whilst its validity is by no means in dispute, nowadays is regarded as being incomplete and having restricted applications. There are factors in cave origin and formation which have been recognized only comparatively recently and which systematic cave research over the past decade or two has confirmed. Discussion and explanation of such matters requires a great deal of space and probably would be better set out in a separate paper. If I have succeeded in bringing to the notice of the reader the existence of other factors, and in putting on record an alternative and, I hope, more acceptable theory of origin of the Amboni Caves, then for the present it is enough.

Acknowledgment is made to "British Caving" as being the principal source of inspiration for the glossary and suggestions for further reading which follow.

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GLOSSARY

Bedding Plane. The plane separating two beds of sedimentary rock.

Calcite. The commonest form of crystalline calcium carbonate.

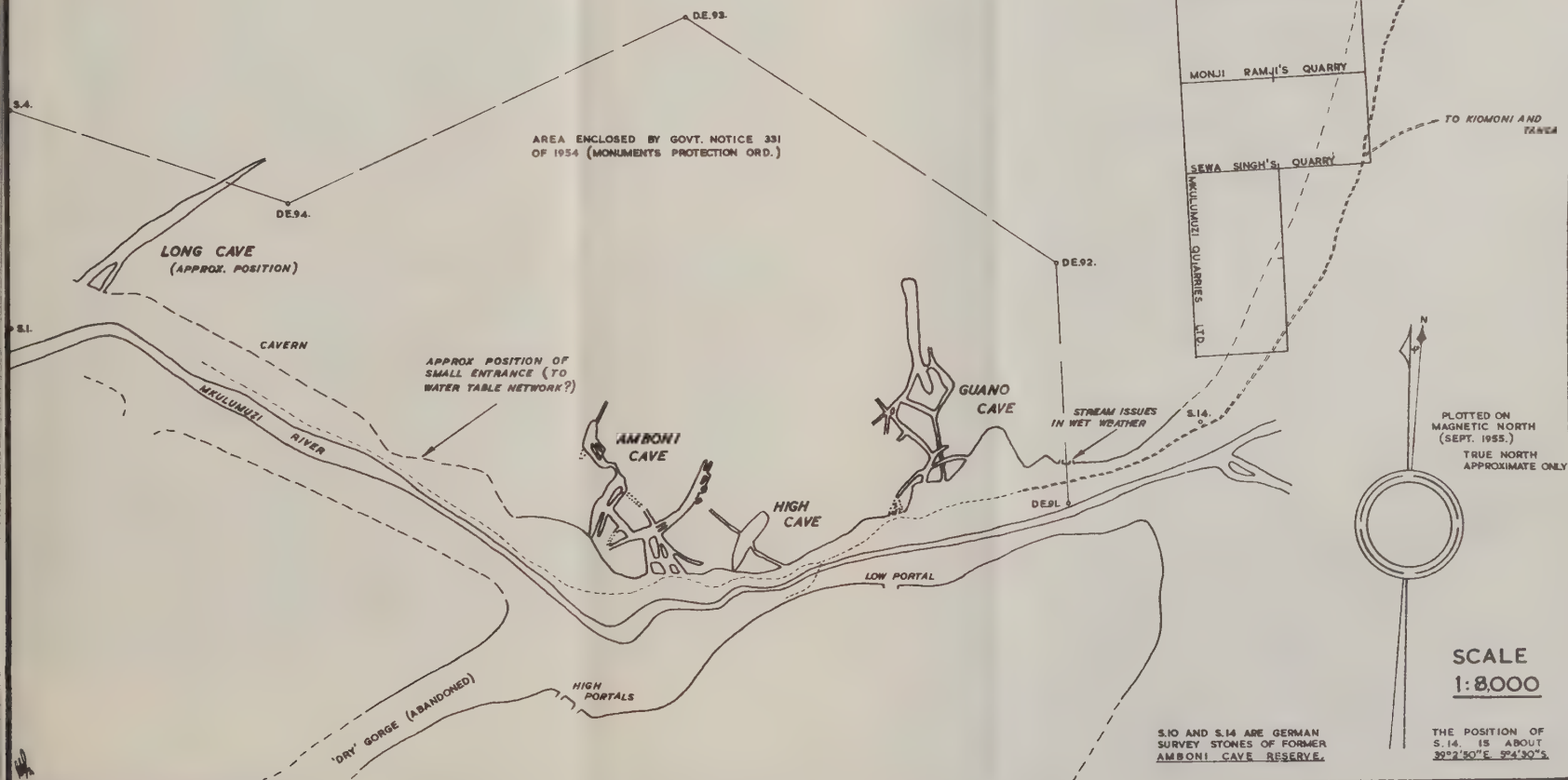
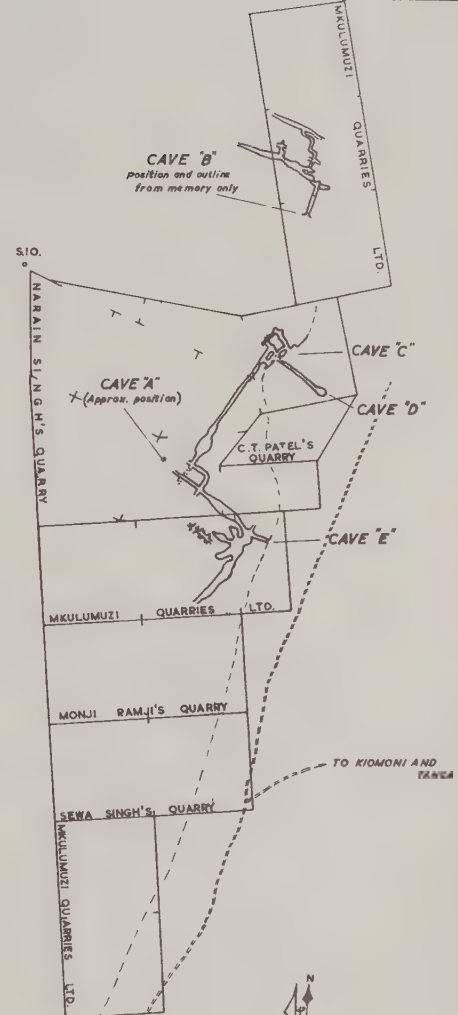
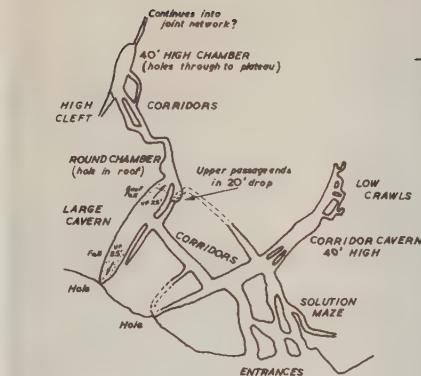
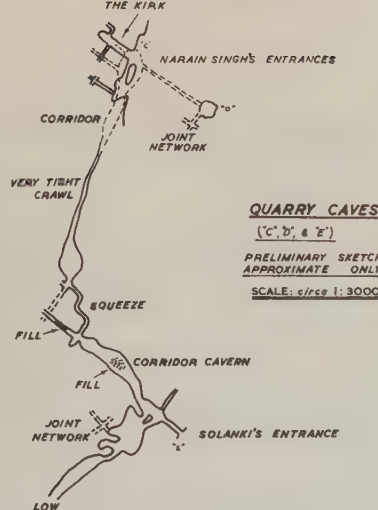
Cave Pearl (or Cave Pisolite). A small, polished, unattached concretion, formed by successive coats of calcium carbonate deposited around a nucleus. Unpolished forms are referred to as cave pisoliths and this latter term is often used to describe all such concretions.



Plate 3. A Grotto in Solanki's Cave



Plate 4. A Grotto in Solanki's Cave.
Author at left.



LANGUAGE AND POLITICS IN EAST AFRICA

By W. H. Whiteley

INTRODUCTION

It will probably be agreed that all the East African Governments are, to a greater or lesser extent, concerned with the delegation of power to Africans. The language of all three Governments is English, and insofar as education is concerned with, or aims at preparing Africans for the responsibilities which are being offered them, it is clear that an extensive, or at least a sound knowledge of English is absolutely indispensable for all who aspire to leadership, not least because it may be thought to be a symbol of the very power to which they aspire. So much is uncontroversial, and perhaps there would be no problem at all were it possible to use English for political discussion as widely as in West Africa, where I understand that: “. . . District Council members must be able “to speak and—unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read the English language with a degree of proficiency sufficient to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings.”¹ Leaving aside the implications of such a rule, it is clear that in East Africa political leaders—virtually all of them—at all levels will need to translate the formulae which they themselves manipulate in English into an African language of some sort and it is my contention that political awareness at certain levels will ante-date the ability of people at those levels to express their awareness in English. If this is a valid contention then it clearly behoves one to pay particular attention to those languages in which political discussion is likely to take place, especially in view of the forthcoming elections in Tanganyika, and the recent elections in Kenya, and also since attitudes to language may, to a greater or lesser extent, be coloured by local language policy, this also merits attention.

I am concerned primarily with two kinds of language; the vernacular and the ‘lingua franca’, both African, with which it may be possible to associate specific tendencies in political aspiration.

The vernacular, is, by the definition I am giving to it, the language of a particular tribal group, the mother-tongue, that is to say of each of the near two hundred tribal groups in East Africa. In some areas an increasing group-awareness has been associated concomitantly with an increased interest in language, and it becomes a matter of some interest to consider why certain groups should develop this awareness and interest in language, when others, with apparently comparable conditions do not. Is it a matter of economics, of political organization, or some other factor? The second kind of language is the “lingua franca”, that is a language used as a common means of communication by members of different tribes. This is characteristic of urban areas, where members of many different groups live and work together, and also of Tanganyika, where the number of different tribes is such that some common language has seemed essential. For the urban African a common language is also essential, but is essentially *faute de mieux*. There are many possible reasons why he may have left the tribal area, but one is likely to be that his prospects for “getting on” in town are appreciably greater. He has come to acquire the “Bwana’s” power and wealth and his ultimate objective is English, with which I am not concerned

¹The Gold Coast’s Experience. G. Bennett. West Africa. October 2nd 1954, p. 927.

here. It is clear that use of a "lingua franca" may provide a basis for a political configuration other than one based on the individual tribe, but it is doubtful whether such a configuration is possible where one of the units to be amalgamated is in any sense a dominant group. The only example I know, of this situation is that of the Chagga, who, in the years immediately following the election of a paramount chief, tried assiduously to find a language which could be spoken by the Chagga nation. Unfortunately none of the constituent Chagga dialects would accede to a proposal to make any other dialect operative over the whole area, and in practice Swahili is used, displeasing everyone a little, but no one sufficiently to offer an alternative.

In the following pages I propose to consider the history of language policy in the three territories (Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika), observing the forces that have shaped it, drawing attention where possible to the emergence of political groups, and noting the significance of language for these groups. After delimiting briefly the characteristics of a "lingua franca" I hope to turn finally, to the Indian political scene, to examine some of the arguments adduced for the establishment of linguistic states, to see whether there are any features which may help to illuminate problems in East Africa.

TANGANYIKA

There are spoken in Tanganyika something over one hundred languages: most of these are Bantu but there are also Nilotic (Luo), Nilo-Hamitic (Masai, Barabaig), Click (Sandawe, Hadza) and completely unclassified languages (Iraqw). Many of the groups are extremely small, and at the time of the 1948 Census the thirty or so largest groups accounted for something like seventy per cent of the population. The history of language policy has largely been dictated by the twin requirements of Church and State, with the concern of the former for the individual and the latter for the polity. The Mission gives precedence to personal needs, while the State stresses the unit. There is, then, nothing surprising in the State's adoption of a "lingua franca" and the Church's insistence on the vernacular, though this is not to deny the value of the Church's contribution to Swahili studies, nor the encouragement of the vernacular by the State.

In the early period of German administration, at least until 1908, the German administrators consisted mainly of soldiers or diplomats—there being no Colonial Office in Germany at that time—and were few in numbers. Much of the work of day-to-day administration was left in the hands of "Akida" and "Jumbe" whose powers were frequently ill-defined and not subject to supervision. These Swahili, like their predecessors on the trading and slave caravans, continued to spread their language over the Territory, so that by the time the British took over, they had only to continue the process. One wonders why the frequent excesses of these "local authorities" did not come to be associated with the language they spoke, and lead to a reaction against Swahili comparable to that against Luganda, in parts of Uganda where people have reacted to Baganda agents of the administration. The answer perhaps lies in the fact that the "Akida", however much he might be disliked, was not thought to be advancing the interests of another tribal group, in the way that the Baganda—for all their acting on behalf of the British—were felt to be advancing *their* own interests. It may also be true that the main centres of unified tribal authority were being so

severely crushed by the Germans that no further reaction was possible, though feeling against "local authorities" probably contributed a good deal to a rising like that of the "Maji-Maji".

During the period of the mandate, the British carried on the policy of Swahili in administration and education, and there is no doubt that it carried with it certain important advantages, both for the administering power and the people themselves. For the former, it was convenient to have a single language in which high standards could be imposed on officers and maintained throughout their service. For the Education Department it meant that problems of staffing were minimized and those of text-books simplified. It also meant that the Junior Service, staffed by Africans, was not restricted to regional postings, and members could be transferred without difficulty from one part to another. For the people, at this time, it gave some sense of unity, some sense of belonging to a unit larger than the tribe, though I am not sure of the position of multi-lingual districts where a single Native Treasury served two or more tribal groups. Did one group become dominant, thereby arousing resentment among the others and ultimately heightening a group consciousness? Members of the Junior Service, irrespective of the part of the Territory to which they were posted could be sure of finding a small community of Swahili speakers around the "boma". Naturally there were some disadvantages to the system: in some areas (Sukuma, Mbulu, etc.) Swahili was little used, and not at all by women, but on balance it worked well. Missions, for evangelical work in particular, used the vernacular, and from time to time Government officers would acquire an Interpretership, but these were restricted to one or two languages, and the officer concerned seems frequently to have been transferred to other areas.

After the 1939-45 war, changes in the previously uniform pattern became discernable, particularly in three areas: Haya, Chagga and Nyakyusa. Such changes did not occur immediately nor at any one time, and had probably been taking place over a long period. There are signs of interest in language from Nyakyusa, in 1951² and Chagga interest dates also from this time, with the appointment of Mr. T. Marealle as Paramount Chief³. However all the areas have something in common: all are great centres of Mission work, all are border areas (Nyasaland, Kenya and Uganda) and all are wealthy (Nyakyusa from maize, rice and coffee and the other two from coffee). In addition Haya was one of the few areas where an indigenous tribal authority was recognized by the Germans, and there are those who may see in the banana-eating habits of the Chagga and Haya the cult of the national dish. Two questions, however, need to be asked, even if they cannot be answered. Why these areas in particular; why was there no comparable activity in, say, the areas of (Ngoni) Songea and Masasi? Both of these are border areas, both are heavily missionized—if I may use such a term—and the Ngoni are both fairly wealthy (tobacco) and have a centralized political authority. The question is open to discussion, but it should be noted that the Ngoni political system is, at least in part, a heritage from southern Africa, and the language which they brought with them has now disappeared. In Masasi, on the other hand, tribal inter-penetration is such that no

²See "Good Company" M. Wilson, 1951. The data for which was probably collected as long ago as pre-1939.

³Interest in language was matched here by interest in a historical tradition. It is interesting to note similar interests in nineteenth century Europe. See "The Habsburg Monarchy (1815-1918)" A. J. P. Taylor 1941. Referring to the awakening of the Czech people he says "... and when the sense of nationalism reawoke, the national tradition had to be 'made' afresh, and inevitably made falsely." (p. 22).

single language commands undivided loyalties. Perhaps also, it is the nature of the border area or the extent of wealth which is really significant. Songea and Masasi's borders with Portuguese East Africa are practically uninhabited and do not bear comparison with the Uganda border; the income the Ngoni derive from tobacco cannot be compared to that the Chagga derive from coffee. A second question concerns the purpose of such interest in the vernacular; what do people hope to get out of it? It may well be that the Haya, for example are influenced by affairs in Buganda, and hope themselves to obtain a greater measure of control over their own affairs.

In other areas of Tanganyika there has been little significant change from earlier patterns,⁴ though the Education Department has shown an increasing interest in vernacular study, as a result of such documents as the Nuffield Report on African Education⁵ and the more recent Binn's Report. Such basic education as "mass-literacy" campaigns organized by the Laubach Group have also tended to favour the vernacular.

KENYA

There is a story that seems to me to sum up admirably the difficulties which, from an early date beset Kenya. I was visiting a settler friend of mine and admiring his estates. The problem of labour was raised. "Very difficult", he said "to get things across, can't use Swahili, none of these chaps understand it, they're all Kikuyu, Luo, Kamba, etc." A little later on, over dinner, the subject came up again, and my friend complained, "Of course, we have so many different tribes on the farm we have to use Swahili to put things across". This, I think, is what Orwell understood by double think.

The position, was from the start complicated—among other things—by the nature of the tribal configuration. While the Bantu element was still dominant (Kikuyu, Kamba), the Nilo-Hamitic tribes were both numerous and powerful (Masai, Kipsigis, Nandi, Suk) and so were the Nilotic Luo. Nor were the language groups located in blocks—except in the N.F.D.—but interspersed with what was to become a solid block of European settlers across the Central Highlands. It is exceedingly difficult to assess the effects, indirect or otherwise, of this settler element on such a feature as language, but Marx's observation may be taken as basically applicable and may serve as a starting point, "A house may be big or small—so long as the neighbouring houses are also small, it satisfies all social demands. But if a palace is built next to it, the small house becomes a wretched shack in the eyes of the owners, who will thenceforward feel dissatisfied, uncomfortable and oppressed."⁶ A desire to emulate the European and a need to find money for tax drew many Africans into the centres of Nairobi, Kisumu and Mombasa, creating in the process an urban class, one of whose first aims was the acquisition of a basic means of communication, but whose ultimate goal was a knowledge of English⁷. The presence in towns of such

⁴Indeed it has even been suggested in some quarters that Swahili should become the national language of the Territory.

⁵African Education: A study of Educational policy and practice in British tropical Africa. Nuffield Foundation and Col. Office. 1953. Pt. II 10. Language, 79-84.

⁶Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe Abt. I Bd. 6, Berlin, 1932 p. 487. Or in an English version, Marx-Engels Selected Works Vol. I Moscow and London 1950. p. 87.

⁷I should like to note what seems to me an interesting extension of a "magical" type of causal relationship to the field of language. As the hunter forearm himself with a lion's hair or tooth, so some of the urban Africans are equipping themselves with language, as a means of solving all problems, like the ubiquitous "Aspro".

groups, meant their absence in the Reserve—except in the case of Kikuyu whose Reserve was contiguous both with Nairobi and with settled farming country, and one notes the rapid emergence of urban Swahili and a corresponding quiescence in vernacular areas.

Though Kenya has a long coast-line, along which Swahili is spoken as a mother-tongue, it had never been established up-country, as in Tanganyika. As early as 1906, we find Sir Charles Eliot advocating the use of the vernacular, in a passage which I think it is worthwhile quoting in full, as it might equally well have been uttered fifty years later:

“To my mind the greatest desideratum for improving our native administration and establishing friendly relations with the tribes which are still remote and diffident, is a wider knowledge of native languages. As a rule, officers only know Swahili—the ‘lingua franca’ of the Protectorate, which is more or less understood by many natives of the interior, just as many Europeans understand French. But the more important chiefs cannot, as a rule, speak any language but their own, though they are generally very ready to discuss any questions with anyone who can communicate with them. I doubt if, during the recent Nandi troubles we had any officer in the Protectorate who could speak Nandi, yet I am convinced that in this and other cases much might have been done by discussion and negotiation. The great practical difficulty in inducing officers to acquire a knowledge of African languages is that, as a rule each idiom is spoken over a very small area. An officer cannot expect to remain in such an area many years, and when he moves elsewhere the language he has acquired will be useless still, in view of the great advantages resulting from a knowledge of native languages, I think it would be worthwhile for the Government to offer considerable rewards and prizes for their acquisition.”⁸

Shortly after Sir Charles’s speech, the problem of whether English or Swahili should be the “lingua franca” of the Colony, was voiced for the first time at a United Missionary Conference held in Nairobi in 1909, in connection with plans for primary education. It was to be raised at frequent intervals in the years that followed, and visiting Commissions gave the protagonists on both sides ample opportunities of stating their case. Government made a number of pronouncements on policy, from which I have selected that of the Education Department, for 1929 as being representative: “It is the policy of the Government to establish English as the ‘lingua franca’ of the Colony as soon as possible.” (p. 17) and “The vernacular will be used for the first four years of school life.” (p. 18). The value of the vernacular was also stressed by Kenya officials giving evidence before the Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa.⁹

In practice, Swahili was widely used by officials and unofficials alike to suit administrative convenience, but its relegation to the status of a basic means of communication won it few adherents and reactions were not slow in coming. In education it was used both as a medium of instruction and taught as a subject but nowhere was it surrounded with an aura of prestige comparable with English.

⁸The progress and problems of the East Africa Protectorate. Sir Charles Eliot. *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* Vol. 37 1906.

⁹Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa. *Minutes of Evidence*. H.M.S.O. 1931. There are numerous references to this matter throughout.

The Missions continued in their practice of using the vernacular, and by 1936 could point with pride at the number of gospels which had been translated, but in many ways they were out of touch with local aspiration. Government officers, for their part, were always in favour of learning the vernacular,¹⁰ but extenuating circumstances could always be adduced as a reason why this had not been done, although one didn't realize quite how effective these extenuating circumstances were until the emergency brought out the shortage of officers competent in Kikuyu.

As might have been expected Kikuyu was the first language to be linked with a quasi-political movement, when the Central Kikuyu Association specifically enjoined the use of Kikuyu in the later twenties and thirties. The area had been a centre of Mission activity, like the Tanganyika areas already mentioned, but this and other political movements were mainly of a defensive character; products of frustration and disappointment rather than of success and well-being. Though the language reinforced tribal unity, this was a unity of retrenchment rather than of progress, as exemplified by Buganda.

Another great centre of Mission activity was Central and North Nyanza. Here an attempt was made, principally by the C.M.S., to establish a "lingua franca" other than Swahili, by compounding various features from some of the closely related Bantu languages of the area into a single composite language, LuLuhya. The justification for such an innovation may have been ample, but I do think it created—or perhaps merely aggravated—resentment among groups like the Ragoli, whose language differed markedly from the rest of the local languages. The resentment has been expressed in many forms, but one of these has been the demand in recent years for recognition of the language, Lu Ragoli, and this in turn has started off similar demands from Tiriki, Wanga and others, which threaten the existence of LuLuhya, now seen as a language of the Church. This is an example about which a good deal more needs to be found out, to which, in fact, many answers may be given by the current survey of leadership in the Nyanza area by the East African Institute of Social Research. Nevertheless it is an interesting example of the way in which fragmentation of unit may occur and of the extent to which language—or support of a language—may be conducive to it.

A completely different situation is that obtaining in South Nyanza, where one might imagine that conditions favoured the development of an awareness of language. There has been considerable Mission activity, and some Gusii have already become wealthy within the traditional farming pattern, through maize, and many others are hoping for such wealth through coffee. Yet, of the four Missions working in the area, all are small, and only two have been in the area since before 1914 (the S.D.A. and the Mill Hill Fathers). Their Educational work, when compared with that of the C.M.S. Church of Scotland and Consolata Fathers in Central Nyanza and Central Province, is on a very small scale, and apart from some sporadic ventures into Gospel translating and an occasional Reader, there was in 1956 absolutely no form of grammatical or lexical study

¹⁰Note the opening speech of the Governor to Legislative Council in 1929 (October) " . . . Government is also most anxious to increase the study of the vernaculars. That is the only road to the true understanding of African habits and feelings. Government is considering steps to encourage the learning of vernaculars by Administrative officers and modifying the constant move from station to station which at present make the acquisition of vernaculars thankless and difficult." *Proceedings of Legislative Council* (Third Session), 1929.

available to African or European. On the other hand there are no settlers in the Gusii Highlands, nor any real grievance which might unite the group and evoke a language consciousness. No real grievance, that is, except the African District Council, which the Gusii share with the Luo and the Tende. Here the language is Swahili, but so far from acting as a unifying force, it serves merely to heighten the differences between the groups. Gusii complain that the Luo corner all the best jobs, and take precedence on any occasion where discrimination could be shown—as over the question of accommodation in the ambulance—and are always ready with stories of Luo corruption. They are anxious to set up a separate uni-lingual District Council. The Tende seem too small to have any hope of dominating anyone, and remain silent. People assure me that this has always been so—and— isn't it unfair?—but memories are short, and from the records it would appear that twenty years ago it was the Luo who were always complaining against the Gusii. This is an interesting situation because it is a microcosm of the very situation that Indian commentators allege to be a concomitant of multi-lingual states.

Finally, an interesting example of the way in which an apparently trivial matter sets off the spark of local feeling. The Nilo-Hamitic Nandi and Kipsikis speak mutually intelligible languages, but with the post-war production of literature, each group refused to accept books and papers of the other, alleging that they could not be understood. This could not be attributed to denominational differences between the Missions who produced them, since the same Mission Society operated in both areas, but rather to a form of parochialism which in each group feared cultural domination by the other. So it was decided to set up a local Nandi-Kipsikis Language Committee, the terms of which gave each language equal prominence and guaranteed unrestricted distribution of approved books in a common orthography.¹¹ This appears to have worked, and both groups seem to accept the term "Kalenjin" as applicable to both, and enjoy reading each other's literature.

Such examples may serve to give some idea of the range of problems which have occurred, and are still occurring in Kenya. Politically, there is no political party—except perhaps the Kenya Federation of Labour—advocating the use of a single language, nor has any single tribal group been able to emerge to a position comparable with that of the Baganda. Linguistically the Colony is characterized by basic Swahili, basic vernacular and basic English. In the recent African elections to Legislative Council it is possible that the candidates for Nairobi were able to express themselves to their electorate of 2,000 in English; but what of the other seven constituencies? If it be accepted that the small number of electors who registered in Nairobi was due to the large number of Nairobi Africans who registered in their home districts, what must one say of the small numbers of the electorate as a whole, 125,000 instead of the expected 400,000? Possibly the fear that property qualifications might lead to an increased tax, or to a new form of land-tax, may have had something to do with it. But fear is often bred by ignorance, and ignorance suggests a break-down in communication. If this were so, the further question remains of whether this was merely bad public relations, or—and this is more serious—whether there is no machinery for tackling linguistic problems of this magnitude.

¹¹The Linguistic Aspects of Mass Literacy Movements. A. N. Tucker, Symposium on Popular Education Leiden, 1952.

UGANDA

Here, particularly in Buganda, the Church has enjoyed an enviable esteem. C.M.S. Missionaries arrived at Mutesa's court, on his invitation, in 1876, the year following Stanley's visit, and White Fathers followed after an interval of only a few weeks. From the beginning it was clear that the kingdom of Buganda was to occupy a central place in the affairs of the Protectorate, a matter which, from the Ganda point of view, was entirely right and proper, since, to quote from a letter submitted to the Committee on Closer Union by the Lukiko: "It is a well-known and admitted fact that the fundamental traditions and customs of the Baganda upon which the constitution of their kingdom is based are totally different from those of any other native tribe in East Africa."

From the first the Missions concentrated on Luganda, and it is a reflection upon their industry that when Pilkington of the C.M.S. was killed in 1897/8 he had already prepared a grammar of the language and had translated the Bible. While such studies were perhaps, a usual feature of C.M.S. activity, there seems no doubt that, as time passed, such knowledge bestowed a gratifying sense of power *vis-à-vis* the newly arrived Protectorate officials, and may well have been a contributory factor to their unwillingness to see Luganda supplanted in any way. The appointment of Ganda Administrative agents to various parts of the Protectorate contributed further to the spread of Luganda, but here, the agents were often seen—as indeed they may have seen themselves—as extending the power and influence of Buganda, and in due course reaction against both Language and group set in.

The position of Swahili, in this land of Christians, was jeopardized from the outset by its association with Islam, a rival and inferior religion, about whose alleged vices apprehensive Christians of many denominations were prepared to unite. Whatever merits the language might have from an administrative point of view, and these were frequently voiced particularly between 1910-20; it is clear that for the Church it is an alien tongue and for the Baganda a thinly veiled threat to their status. In 1927 the then Governor, Sir W. F. Gowers wrote a Memorandum entitled "The Development of Ki-Swahili as an Educational and Administrative Language in the Uganda Protectorate". In it he proposed, among other things, that Swahili should be adopted as the "lingua franca" throughout a considerable part of the Protectorate—but NOT Buganda—for purposes of education. The part concerned included portions of Eastern Province, excluding Busoga, and portions of Northern Province and West Nile district.

This stimulated a fear among both Baganda and Missions that Swahili was to be introduced as the official language there, and the then Kabaka, Sir Daudi Chwa, protested strongly¹²:—

" . . . I feel, however, that it is my duty to add here in conclusion, that it is quite unnecessary to adopt the Ki-Swahili language as the Official Native Language in Buganda, and I am entirely opposed to any arrangements which would in any way facilitate the ultimate adoption of this language as the Official Native Language of the Baganda in place of, or at the expense of, their own language, since I feel convinced that such a course will assuredly

¹²Uganda News. 22nd February 1929.

bring about the loss of our tribal status and nationality among the Native tribes of Africa, of which, as head of the Native Government and Hereditary ruler, I hold myself the natural and lawful guardian, and which I naturally guard most jealously."

The Bishops of Uganda also protested in a written Memorandum to the Secretary of State.¹³ In it they outlined the disadvantages of Swahili and put forward a number of reasons why LuGanda should be preferred as a "lingua franca".

As a result of such reactions, and the evidence of those before the Select Committee on Closer Union, the possible extension of the use of Swahili was dropped, and as is probably known, it is now nowhere taught in the Protectorate except in the Police. There is, instead, a clear policy of vernacular and English in education, and many officers have become qualified in one or more of the recognized languages which include Bantu languages (Luganda, Runyankore and Runyoro), Nilotic languages (Lwoo (Acholi)), Nilo-Hamitic Languages (Teso) and recently I believe the Sudanic Lugbara. Efforts are made to produce grammars and vocabularies, and an increasing amount of reading matter is becoming available. The overall pattern, is therefore, one of several separate linguistic units, with Buganda taking the lead both politically and economically, and the other areas following behind. The position of Buganda is unique in East Africa. Here it has been possible for BaGanda to acquire both wealth and status within the framework of the tribal group; they have not needed to move away from their homes to do so, nor has it been necessary to stress unduly the acquisition of English as a means to that end. English is important, no one denies that, but so is Luganda, which is as much a part of the Ganda way of life as eating "Matooke"; furthermore, being identified with the Ganda way of life, it is a mark of progress not of retrenchment as among the Kikuyu.

Buganda also provides an example of how, what might be thought to be purely linguistic matters, may be elevated to a political significance. As years passed it became increasingly clear to educated Baganda that some revision and standardization of Luganda orthography was desirable, in view of the different practices current among Catholics and Protestants. A Committee met in Kampala in 1944 to discuss ways of effecting this¹⁴ and recommendations were submitted to the International African Institute. Their suggestions in turn were adopted and incorporated into the scheme proposed by Prof. A. N. Tucker who visited Uganda at the invitation of the Protectorate Government in 1946-7. Despite the care with which Prof. Tucker conducted his campaign, it became clear that there were two main groups of opinion; the "progressives" who supported him and the "conservatives" who did not, and who interpreted the proposals as striking at the heart of their religion. As an old Christian said, "If the Bible is written your way, it will no longer be the word of God!" Reaction spread quickly to the local press, and even though the progressives carried the day in the final all-Baganda Conference, they only did so by a narrow majority and only after four days of highly-charged discussion, with the groups mainly aligned along the Protestant/Catholic water-shed. Those who opposed the proposals set out their reasons in a Minority Report (submitted with the

¹³Memorandum on the teaching of Swahili in Elementary Schools in the Protectorate of Uganda. The Bishops of Uganda. (1931)?

¹⁴Report of the Luganda Language Committee, July 1944.

Majority Report of the L.O.C. March 1947) the cause of which was then taken up by the Bataka party as a means of embarrassing the Government. Feeling ran high for some time, and it is recorded that two years or so later an African sub-editor who was beaten up outside his office was told that this was because he used "Dr. Tucker's spelling".

Turning now to the North Province, where Acholi and Lango speak mutually intelligible Nilotic languages. For many years Acholi was the language of the Missions in both areas, and also, in some cases, of the administration. With the development of local feeling an Acholi Association was, in due course, founded, to be matched quickly by a Lango Association and a strong desire on the part of the Lango to assert their individuality. As a solution to what appeared to be a situation comparable with that of the Nandi-Kipsikis in Kenya, a South Nilotic language Committee was set up, stressing the unity between all these Nilotic groups by using the term "Lwo". However, the Lango had other ideas and embarked on a scheme of linguistic inquiry to provide them with as many archaic forms of the language as possible to stress their differences from Acholi. It has been recorded that Administrative officers who formerly had used Acholi without any difficulties at all, now found only blank faces.¹⁵ Currently work is going on in London towards the preparation of a Lango Grammar and Dictionary, in which it is hoped again to stress the links with Acholi rather than the differences. I cannot but feel, however, that the Lango nationalist may be disposed to say, "If the language is so like Acholi, why have you bothered to write a grammar of it, you must be deceiving us!" However, this is perhaps presumptuous.

It seems clear that marked economic and political progress in a group may lead to specific reaction against that group but also to a general desire on the part of other and less fortunate people to emulate it. On a smaller scale one notices that in areas where two or more languages are closely related, if one of the groups for some reason goes ahead, then reaction immediately sets in in the others. This is noticeable, as far as language is concerned, particularly in an area like Uganda, where it has been the policy to encourage the vernacular, and where such situations could easily lead to fragmentation, unless tackled promptly. A similar reaction occurs where the vernacular taught in schools—and perhaps also current in local Government—is not the vernacular of the area, though closely related to it, and formerly accepted by people generally. Thus the move to treat LuSoga as distinct from LuGanda, Runyankore as distinct from Lunyoro, Padhola as distinct from Luo, Madi as distinct from Lugbara, and, most recently LuGisu as distinct from LuGanda. Many of these movements have been on an extremely small scale, and information on them is difficult to obtain; some, also have been abortive but Runyankore has achieved its autonomy and orthography conferences on the lines followed in Buganda have taken place.

In BuGisu it has been explicitly stated, not that Luganda differs from LuGisu and hence ought to be discontinued, but rather than LuGisu is similar to it and ought to have comparable attention to that lavished on Luganda. It need hardly be said that what is true in language is true of the people generally, so that political demands parallel to the linguistic demands may be expected at the same time. However, here the campaign is still on and further comment cannot be made.

¹⁵See Tucker A. N. *op. cit.*

THE USE OF A "LINGUA FRANCA"¹⁶

The use of a "lingua franca" has already been mentioned, with reference to individual territories; the problem must now be considered in greater detail. Only one African language has ever been consistently suggested as a "lingua franca" and that is Swahili, but there has been frequent controversy as to whether English is not a more suitable language for African societies of the twentieth century. Only in Tanganyika has there been a policy of *one* African language and English; in the other areas it has rather been Swahili or vernacular and English. The educationist argues, and perhaps with reason, that a child cannot be expected to learn three languages, though it must be remembered that the vernacular is rarely ever taught but merely used to establish literacy. Anyway, the burden of mother-tongue plus two languages has been borne successfully by large numbers of English students, and a heavier burden has been placed on Indian students without any detrimental results, though the situations are not wholly comparable.

The advantages of an African "lingua franca" are obvious: it facilitates administration and education, making it possible to insist on personnel achieving a high standard in the language and staff to be freely transferred throughout the area. One of the difficulties in the Uganda pattern is that, although many officers achieve some qualification in vernaculars, it is seldom possible to attain comparable standards because of the necessity for transfer and the limited applicability of the vernacular. Some knowledge of a language is, indeed, most valuable, but for Court work, it is my impression that very high standards are essential if a real understanding is to be achieved. At this point the Educationist steps in with the remark that a greater drive to establish English would supplant Swahili or vernacular in many contexts in which it is felt to be most essential, but, even if this were to be so, it cannot be used as an argument for discontinuing one's efforts in those languages. It is—as I stated in the introduction—the time between the emergence of political awareness and a really widespread knowledge of English that is likely to be important. That is why the position in Tanganyika is so interesting; it may well make possible both territorial unification and political education, neither of which seems possible in Kenya, at present.

What are the disadvantages of an African "lingua franca"? Firstly, there is the lack of literature, and inadequacy of the language, as it stands, for dealing with many technical and sub-technical subjects. Secondly, a language without a people tends to have little appeal to those who look to language to reinforce their unity in the struggle for progress.

It is true that Swahili has no literature comparable with Western Europe, and the point has been well made in Joyce Cary's *The Case for African Freedom* but it is also true that many who make this assertion do so in ignorance of the body of Swahili verse literature which exists but which is too often ignored in school curricula. Not much is of a very high standard—in the opinion of Dr. Lyndon Harries who has made a study of it—but then poets are nowhere very plentiful and poor ones, I suppose, tend to outnumber the gifted. Several reasons for a shortage of literature may be suggested: a general paucity of people sufficiently well educated to write; the general orientation of educated African

¹⁶See generally my "The Present position of Swahili in East Africa" *Africa*. Vol. 26 No. 4, Oct. 1956.

towards things European and away from things African, and a possible absence of "Storm and Stress" in the romantic sense. It is worth noting here that in those areas where there is *not* a reaction from things African, as in Buganda, there is a considerable outpouring of material, especially by the educated.

It must be admitted that technical terms present difficulties, as they have done for many European languages. This I can testify from my own experience during the war, when trying to learn meteorological terms in Italian. One has simply got to establish a level beyond which no translation will be attempted. Most people will need a term for "electric light switch" but could well manage without a special term for "carburettor". I well remember the correspondence in the *East African Standard* a few years ago about the impossibility of translating the term "right-handed screw" and hence—for some of the writers—the futility of using a language like Swahili. No reference during this correspondence was made to the fact that in English the term is, literally, nonsense and only conventionally meaningful. As such, it is, of course, perfectly susceptible to translation by analogy or by any other convention. I must here interpose a word about the type of urban Swahili which is a feature of all urban centres in East Africa—including even Kampala. I have questioned whether the urban African's knowledge of English is adequate for discussing political issues; I doubt also whether his knowledge of Swahili is adequate either. Here I lay the blame largely on the Kenya settler. Of course the level of urban Swahili is adequate—for basic communication—but how people have played down to this level! The settler on his farm is proud of his fluency in the language, or in just so much of it as is necessary for his purpose, and over the years Ki-Settla has become something of an institution¹⁷, albeit a rather dangerous one, by which a strait-jacket is imposed on a language so that communication is restricted to certain well-defined patterns. Currently, of course, this is by no means restricted to settlers, nor do all settlers advocate the use of Ki-Settla: many gradations are noticeable especially in the written¹⁸ and broadcast forms of the language. In at least one programme of the African Information Services' broadcasts the level is an extremely low one which many Africans find difficult to understand, though the same may also be said for coastal Swahili with its emphasis on Arabic sounds and words which is often both distasteful and unintelligible to urban Christians. It may well be that a simplified form of the language is adequate for many purposes but the communication of such concepts as political terms and election procedures is not, so it seems to me, a matter to be left to chance.¹⁹ In none of the Swahili newspapers which I saw prior to the recent elections²⁰ in Kenya was there any attempt to standardize terms which were liable to be misunderstood by the uneducated voted. For example, the term "political party" presents many

¹⁷See Ki-Settla J. W. Kenya Weekly News, 23rd December 1955. Also "Kenya's Problem of Black and White" L. S. B. Keakey. East Africa and Rhodesia, May 14th 1931 (Extracts from a speech delivered in Manchester).

¹⁸Of the two dozen or so Swahili newspapers current in Kenya most are written in a rather simplified style though some, like *Baraza* and *Tazama* have, in recent times made a deliberate attempt to raise their standards.

¹⁹That this is not a purely local matter is suggested by conversation with people from the Federation of Central Africa who have noted the difficulties associated with translating the concept of "Federation" and the possible results of misunderstanding the concept involved. An instance is also noted in James Coleman's "Togoland" International Conciliation No. 509 September 1956. He notes the different connotations of the term "integration" for Ewe: the one with an association of "being swallowed up by" and the other of "travelling along the road together with" (fn. p. 37).

²⁰Though I have not yet seen those which appeared in the period immediately preceding the election.

difficulties. For "party" the word also used for "co-operative society", is common but there is widespread divergence as to what is understood by "political" though references to "ruling" are common. One translation for the whole phrase gives literally "A group of people with a single plan on matters of Government" which is ingenious but rather clumsy. "Politician" is another term which has proved difficult; definitions ranging from "A man who busies himself in affairs of Government" to "An argumentative person". Terms for "election" and "vote" present less of a problem but there seems to be doubt about "indirect election" and "direct election". These are perhaps extreme examples, or at least examples in which the difficulties are obvious, but they could be multiplied. It seems desirable that some attempt should be made to ensure a minimum of misunderstanding during operations the conduct of which is being watched closely elsewhere and whose outcome will undoubtedly affect subsequent political development.

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC-STATES IN INDIA

In recent years there has been a good deal of talk in the press and elsewhere about the reorganization of Indian States on a linguistic basis, and also about the emergence of language as an election issue in Ceylon, where the Government by insisting on Sinhalese as the single official language, are trying to do what the Chagga failed to do, get minority groups to accept the language of a majority. It is not possible nor desirable to establish close parallels between India and Africa, but some suggestive features may be noted. Above all, one must remember the scale and literary traditions of these Indian linguistic units. If the Kikuyu, Ganda and Sukuma number a little over a million each, virtually all of the dozen main languages recognized by the Government of India are spoken by NOT LESS than ten million people and most of the States are viable propositions economically.

Firstly, why should there be a demand at all for re-organization of States, let alone on a linguistic basis?

"... The existing structure of the States of the Indian Union is partly the result of accident, and the circumstances attending the growth of British power in India, and partly a by-product of the historic process of the integration of former Indian States. The division of India during the British period into British Provinces and Indian States was itself fortuitous and had no basis in Indian History. It was a mere accident that, as a result of the abandonment—after the upheaval of 1857—of the objective of extending the British dominion by absorbing princely territories, the surviving States escaped annexation."²¹

As late as 1930 it was admitted by the British that there were in India "only a number of administrative areas" which had "grown up almost haphazardly as a result of conquest, suppression of former rulers or administrative convenience". The British however, were not unaware that reform was necessary and that greater homogeneity (linguistic) was desirable. Lord Curzon in 1903 had considered the time ripe for such reform, though this did not prevent Bengal being partitioned in 1905 along religious lines even if it did lead thirty years later to the establishment of the linguistically homogeneous State of Orissa.

²¹Report of the States Re-Organization Commission (1955) p. 1.

The Indian National Congress gave implicit support to the notion of linguistic States as early as 1905, in denouncing the partition of Bengal and again in 1907 and 1908 over the formation of the States of Sind and Bihar, but there was no unanimous support for the principle, and the section of Miss Annie Besant was totally against it. It was not until the 1920 meeting in Nagpur that Congress accepted linguistic redistribution of provinces as a political objective, a view which was endorsed by the Nehru Committee in 1928:—

“ . . . If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area difficulties will continually arise and the media of instruction and work will be in two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language, as a rule, corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature.”

As independence drew closer this position was maintained, and included in the election manifesto of Congress, until, in the Constituent Assembly on 27.11.47 Mr. Nehru, on behalf of the Government, accepted the principle underlying the demand for linguistic provinces. Thereafter, however, Government interest proved ambivalent, though there was no lack of unofficial clamour. In 1948 a Linguistic Provinces Commission produced its Report, and the problems it raised engendered a flow of comment which continued for the next six or seven years, and reached a high-water mark, in *The Times of India* at any rate, in 1953. In this year a resolution was passed by the All India Committee at Hyderabad “recommending the division of India on a linguistic basis”. But there was significant comment in *The Times of India* suggesting that this “linguism was not a political demand but a favourite political pastime of the middle class” who knew that “Nehru is fully aware that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for champions of linguistic States to agree on border areas.”²²

So much for the demands, what of the results? Apart from the establishment of the new State of Andhra for the Telugu-speaking people, a States Reorganization Commission was appointed, the Report of which appeared in 1955. In this, detailed consideration is given to the case for and against the linguistic state.

The protagonists have maintained that linguistic homogeneity reflects social and cultural patterns of living, thus giving the greatest sense of unity—within the state of course. They have stressed the injustices suffered by minority groups in multi-lingual states, where political leadership and authority remains the monopoly of the dominant language group, and that multiplicity of language groups “led to weakness and inefficiency in administration and to rivalry and jealousy in politics”. Much use is also made of the fact that linguism and the reorganization of states had been an important part of the Indian National Movement, which it would be impossible to shelve without incurring a widespread sense of frustration. While they emphasize that the National Movement which achieved India’s independence was built up by harnessing the forces of regionalism, there is virtually no reference to the possibility of the unifying force

²²Bombay Free Press Journal, 30th September 1953.

having been the presence of the British, though one or two commentators, notably M. N. Roy, have insisted that it was unrealistic to deplore the regional element, that "India always has been split, all the traditions are regional and not national."²³

It is regrettably not possible in such a short paper, to assess the extent to which this standpoint is merely political propaganda or represents a genuine grievance against the multi-lingual state. On balance, however, there seems to be a good deal of truth in it, though it should be remembered that some of the grievances may have arisen because of the extent of the autonomy enjoyed by the individual state.

The opponents of this view have been mainly concerned with its possible threat to the unity of India. They are fully aware of India's traditions, and issue stern warnings that such units would undoubtedly encourage divided loyalties between State and Country, and lead to progressive Balkanization. In particular they fear a major split between the North and the South. There are other arguments, but they are mainly concerned with the non-inevitability of corruption in multi-lingual states.

The Commission, it may be noted, recommended that State reorganization should take place, and that linguistic homogeneity should be taken into consideration, BUT ONLY in conjunction with other, and more important factors, such as economic viability.

It is interesting that the demand for change should be from multi-lingual States under British and then Congress administration—rather on the S. Nyanza pattern—to the uni-lingual State—rather on a Buganda pattern—particularly when taken in conjunction with the two main types of constitutional arrangement; that of a unitary state and that of a federal system. The British conception of a unitary state finds support in India from those who fear that regionalism will only lead, at best, to parochialism, and at worst, to anarchy. In East Africa the unitary state certainly finds support in Tanganyika, where the size of the individual units precludes consideration of any one as a viable proposition. In Uganda, and it seems in India, it may be that the tribal units in the one, and the states in the other, could be viable, and that regional feeling encourages a belief that a federal type of solution is possible, even though the position of Buganda in such a solution is likely to be crucial. In Kenya, the presence of divisions along racial lines makes the situation more complex, and it does not seem possible to offer any useful comment.

The position of language in such matters will probably remain considerable, but it is clear that in East Africa, a form of Balkanization could occur if too great an emphasis were placed on the claims of every language to be treated separately. It would be wise to remember the words of the Indian Statutory Commission:—

" . . . If those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area, so situated and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality. But it is not the only test: race, religion, economic interest, and geographical contiguity, may all be relevant factors."²⁴

²³*Illustrated Weekly of India*, 14th June, 1953.

²⁴Indian Statutory Commission (1931) Vol. II, para. 38.

SEEN IN THE OPEN

SNOUT SAFARI

MIGRATION OF *LIBYTHEA LABDACAE*

On Christmas Eve, 1956, we were collecting butterflies just to the west of Turiani at the foot of the Nguru Hills in the Morogoro District. From about ten in the morning we met increasing numbers of the Snout (*Libythea labdacae laius*). The muddy edges of streams and damp patches of mud in the road were covered with these flies in their hundreds while many hundreds of others were flying with the light wind in a N.E./S.W. direction. While many flew low others were level with the tops of the trees on the spurs which abut into the valley. All those collected were worn males. The day was hot, fine and sunny with a light north-easterly wind and no rain fell until the evening. The Snouts were still passing in undiminished numbers when we left at noon.

On the following day with the same wind but the sky very overcast we again encountered very great numbers of these butterflies between ten and noon passing down the main road from Korogwe about five miles north of Turiani where it runs alongside the Mtibwa Forest. Again they were flying at varying heights from the tops of the trees to almost ground level and congregating in hundreds at muddy pools. Curiously enough all those collected on this day were fresh specimens with the purple sheen still on them. The breadth of the stream in each case seems to have been fairly narrow, not more than perhaps a quarter of a mile.

A similar swarm was described by Professor Vosseler from Amani in May, 1904, though there the butterflies kept mostly near the ground and were flying from south to north.

The caterpillar of this butterfly seems not to have been described though it is probably slender, finely haired, almost cylindrical and with a small round head. They must be very numerous in parts in certain years and it looks as though they may breed in the bush between Turiani and Handeni. The butterfly itself is about an inch and a half across the wings, brown in colour with a purple sheen and some yellow bars parallel to the leading edge of the forewing.

Further records of mass migrations of this insect would be valuable.

R. H. HALDANE
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A PREHISTORIC CULTURE IN MWANZA DISTRICT TANGANYIKA

By R. E. S. Tanner

I.

During foot *safari* in 1952 every opportunity was taken to search for cave sites which might add further rock paintings to the series already recorded (*Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 34, pp. 62-67). Although an additional half-a-dozen sites with paintings were found in Mwanza District, an even more interesting discovery was the finding of two rock-shelter living sites which have been assigned to the Wilton culture by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey on account of the stone implements found there.

The distinctive feature of the Wilton culture over the whole of Africa from Somaliland to the Cape of Good Hope, is the manufacture of small almost microlithic artefacts found on the surface or within a few feet of the present horizon. The discovery was particularly interesting as no sites attributable to the Wilton cultures have so far been recorded to the south and west of Lake Victoria, nor farther south in the wide area of the Sukuma and Nyamwezi cultivation steppe.

The sites were found entirely by accident as had it not been for the ochre paintings on their rock walls, the caves themselves were too insignificant to merit even a cursory visit from anyone else. Both sites were shallow rock shelters and not caves, since daylight reached without difficulty as far as the back walls, and were situated at the lowest edges of complex hill and rock formations. Both of them opened onto a yet uncultivated patch of acacia forest in the Shigara parish of the Nassa chiefdom about a mile and a half from the grade B road from Nassa to Shanwa; this is an area of hilly country between the lake shore and the wide dry savannah desert of the Serengeti, part of which is now the Serengeti National Park.

One site was considerably smaller than the other so we will concentrate for the moment on the larger and more interesting site. As a simple rock shelter formed by an overhanging rock face, it did not give all-weather protection and indeed faced into the rains, which seem to move in from the east for most of the rainy season. On examination the floor of the site was found to be built up by detritus to about three feet above the surrounding country despite the considerable leaching of the material which must have occurred following every rainstorm. The detritus was composed of light rubble, charcoal and bone fragments and formed the foreground, whereas towards the back the ground was composed of bat guano and rock fragments exfoliated from the rock walls and boulders situated there.

On the first visit the site was completely overgrown with light scrub and grass but after it had been cut back, the site could be distinguished easily by the whitish mound of detritus forming a lip to the shelter rising out of the black soil of the acacia forest. Much the same description applies to the other site which was situated about half a mile away and also facing in an easterly direction.

Both sites produced complex sets of rock paintings typical of the series already found in the area but especially noteworthy by the fact that at least four series of paintings in varying pigments could be distinguished in overlaid groups and that at such places on the rock walls, the paint materials had been so thickly and repeatedly applied that the surface was about an eighth of an inch thick, forming a hard shell which completely covered any unevenness in the rock surface and gave the whole wall a slightly polished surface. As in the other sites considerable leaching of the paintings had taken place and a blur of colour continued downwards towards the ground where it usually became obliterated by smoke blackening. On the larger site some of the paintings were so fresh in appearance and atypical that they can safely be attributed to a very recent date. The stone overhangs of the shelter were not smoke-stained but the lower parts of the sides were heavily marked not only in the form of a fringe just above the soil but in tall columns of blackening which seemed to show that fires had been placed regularly at some points and not at others.

Neither of the sites were immediately adjacent to water but an adequate supply for simple needs must have always been available in a small seasonal water-course about half-a-mile from both sites. Certainly as regards present-day movement these sites are in a backwater away from bush paths connecting shops and villages, and situated as they are on the inland side of a block of hills immediately adjacent to Lake Victoria, it would seem safe to assume that they must have been just as out of the way in proto-historic times when the normal routes for social and trade movement would have been along the lake shore where food and water must have been more readily available.

Assuming that the occupants of these sites had most of our present-day physical characteristics, the smaller site could have housed a small family and the larger not more than three such groups averaging five persons each. Both sites allowed plenty of head room, but as far as could be seen from the numbers of caves visited in a three-year tour, they were by no means the best sites that could have been chosen in the area; they were the best in the immediate locality but had a search been made for sites with larger living floors, better protection from animals and nearer to water, many alternative caves could have been found within a five-mile radius, if not at the foot of the hills, at least within a hundred feet above the forest floor. Neither site gave a view over the surrounding land and the occupants could have seen no movement beyond 200 yards distance away from them.

The map (Fig. 1) shows the locations of the sites in relation to the main roads and present political boundaries and the photograph (Fig. 2) details of the larger shelter.

II.

These two sites yielded a small number of objects but there was certainly no proliferation of surface finds; one complete day was spent by three people systematically working over the surface and unfortunately a project to excavate the larger site over weekends with the help of secondary school boys had to be abandoned.

The detritus contained large number of bone fragments very few more than two inches long and very few pieces of knuckling. The fragments themselves were almost calcified and not at all friable and are reported to be from existing animals, although too small to allow for positive identification; by their calcification they cannot have been of very recent date. This area is now lightly

Fig. I.

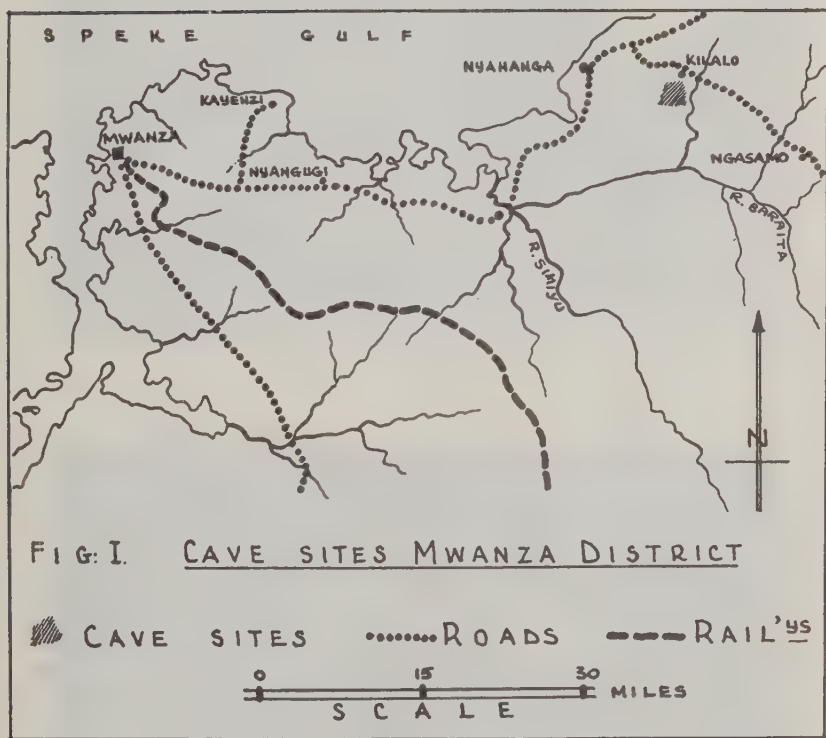


Fig. 2.

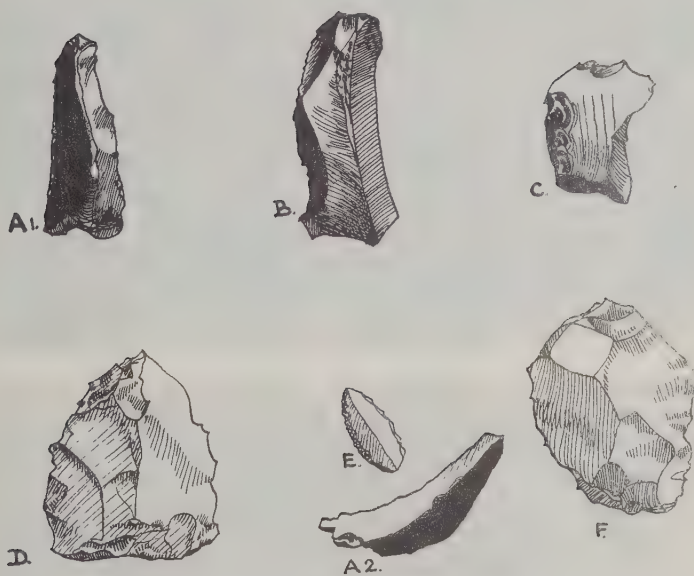


Exterior of Larger Site



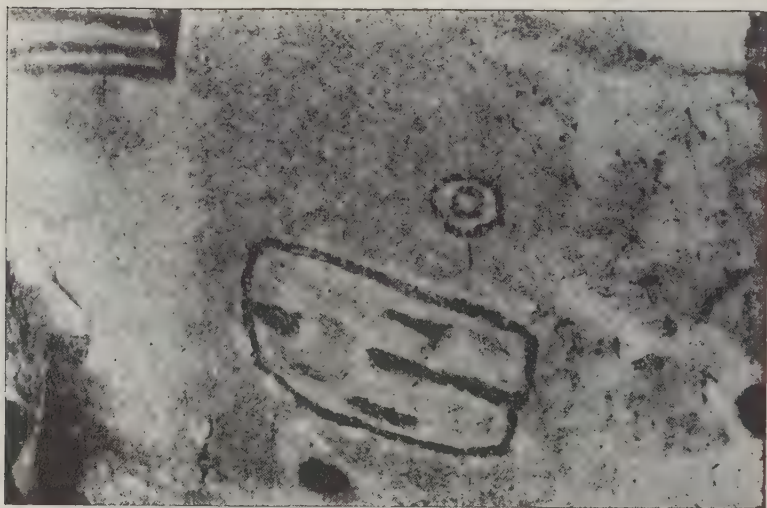
Interior of Larger Site

Fig. 3.



Implements—Full Scale

Fig. 4.



Rock Paintings

populated and the larger game have already left, leaving behind only sporadic appearances of small herds of impalla and zebra. Large bones on the open ground do not survive long, becoming friable after a few years and gradually crumbling away under the erosive agencies of wind and rain. The fragments found have been partially protected from the elements but it seems probable that they have been hardened through the chemical action of the rain water draining off the hills above.

The fragments of charcoal were of a comparable size and allowing for their constant leaching, they must have been the remains of a considerable period of wood burning. These fragments and indeed those of the bones as well, composed the detritus and were not just the surface accumulation from the use of the cave as a periodic shelter for more recent hunters. The rest of the material was soil and gravel similar to the surrounding land.

In the detritus were found a number of obsidian and chert scrapers and flakes (Fig. 3), not more than a dozen in number despite a prolonged search and no worked stones of any other types with the exception of a single digging stick stone. Although pebbles of chert may be found locally in stream beds from which some of these artifacts may have been manufactured, obsidian is not known locally and must have come from an altogether different area. The distinctive oily blackness of this type of obsidian disclosed on a broken piece would make it immediately attractive to anyone seeing it and if it had been abundantly available locally, it would almost certainly have been used for personal decoration, since even today their desire for the unusual in personal adornment has led them to wear fossil shells as neck and arm ornaments which must have come through traders and travellers from some hundreds of miles away.

The geology of Mwanza District is primarily granite and the nearest volcanic area which might have produced obsidian, must have been the Rift Valley and the Ngorongoro mountain block about a hundred miles to the west across a periodically waterless plain. During a *safari* on the eastern side of the Serengeti obsidian flakes of the same type were found in a sand slip near a track in the Ol Balbal depression north of the Ngorongoro massif. All these artifacts seem to come from the same type of obsidian whereas series of implements from the Kenya Wilton culture appeared to be from a heavier and more translucent stone.

The flakes were very small and some were direct untrimmed strikings from a core showing a bulb of percussion from which it seems that the shelters must have been work sites at one time or another of the people who made the charcoal and broke up the bones since all three evidences of occupation were found closely associated. One unbroken digging stick-weight was found on the larger site but no circular stone grain-pounders, grinding stones nor cooking pot stone supports were found. Grinding stones are usually found on living sites which have been abandoned during the present era as their weight makes them almost impossible to move and the value of the stone would not make such an effort worthwhile; a crude wooden trolley is used these days for bringing in suitable flat boulders from the hills.

Some fragments of pottery were found lying loosely on the surface and seem to be of modern origin, probably the broken bait pots of porcupine hunters though the designs could not be exactly matched to modern parallels. The

smaller site contained much material from recent iron working the remains of pottery bellows, a stone anvil and quantities of iron slag. The only other find was an ostrich egg-shell bead which was much worn.

III

Now for an attempted reconstruction of the life of the people using the Mwanza sites, remembering that within reason negative evidence is of as great a value as the sparse finds which we have recorded.

First let us consider the sites themselves and try to discover why they were occupied at all. There seems no doubt that they cannot have lived there because of the proximity of water at any particular place as water is never really short in the area since Lake Victoria is less than ten miles away. If they were agriculturists, it would have been far better to have settled near to the lake or other permanent water, but the most important point is that both sites are exposed to the principal direction of rainstorms in the wet season, and it seems definite therefore that they can only have been occupied for the dry season, since we can assume that they would not have been so stupid as to have lived in the wet when alternative sites would have provided them with better protection from the elements.

Since their occupation was not for fishing or agriculture, they may have been there for hunting and fruit and root gathering. If we consider the cycle of Bushman life with its emphasis on burning the grassland for game-driving, to bring up new grass to attract fresh animals and to encourage the sprouting of edible roots, these people may have been leading a similar nomadic existence and have visited these sites when the grass was suitable for burning and there were plentiful quantities of game in the area, or when certain fruits were in season.

With the vegetation at its natural climax, the area must have been a complex of wooded plains and frequent valleys dominated by numbers of abruptly rising rocky hills, it can never have been suitable for the vast herds of migrant game which move over the open grassland of the Serengeti to the south-east, and was more likely to have been the home of the smaller antelopes, hartebeeste and buffalo. Such a place can never have produced the quantities of slaughtered game which are the dividend of trapping on the Serengeti, however ingenious and persistent the efforts of the hunters may have been.

Both sites are at the foot of hills and it seems likely that they were not in any need of constant protection from wild animals or human enemies or they would have skulked in the voluminous caves near the tops of the hills, where they would have been secure against even the most persistent enemy. The conclusion seems to be that they lived there because it was more convenient for hunting and food gathering with easy access to the forest and no steep climbs and narrow paths for carrying their meat over after a successful hunt.

No smoke-blackened stones which might have been used for holding cooking pots over a fire were found, and combining this with the absence of old pottery fragments, it is safe to assume that they did not use cooking pots, as even had they removed their pots they would hardly have carried off to a new camp such common things as these stones. Further, the absence of grinding stones or any stones with worn surfaces shows that they may not have been grain-eaters. One digging stick-weight was found, and making the hole through it must have taken

an enormous amount of time and effort, and though it may well have been used for the digging up of edible roots, it might also have been used for the setting up of game traps, as the hard soil could not have been worked into holes for the trap stakes with the bare hands or broken branches.

The sites produced large quantities of animal bones but no fish bones or shell fish were found. The top plate of the cat-fish skull is very hard, and as this fish is possibly the easiest for shore men to catch, apart from the very noticeable absence of mussel shells, they must have had an almost completely meat and fruit diet.

These two sites produced a total of half a dozen flakes and some chips, and even if we are sceptical as to this being the full extent of their material culture, it is significant that very little else has been found on Wilton sites all over eastern and southern Africa. There are no records of arrow and spear heads and large flakes, and it has been suggested that this may have been because their tools were always being reground as they became worn. However true the explanations may be the fact remains that artefacts found here and on other sites have not been deliberately buried or left but have been lost or thrown away, and it is doubly significant that in considering them as a series for the whole culture, no larger implements or flakes have been recorded apart from a few cores from which the artefacts themselves had been struck. It is quite acceptable that no worn flakes have been found because of their periodic resharpening, but it is contended that as a whole they can never have been very much larger than when they were found.

Then why did such a microlith technique develop when a more ancient people in the Olduvai gorge got along quite adequately for thousands of years with largish implements crudely constructed out of quartz and granite, which could have been just as easily constructed by these people with materials plentifully to hand. They have chosen instead to develop a technique requiring considerable skill in using materials both brittle and hard to come by through barter or long journeys.

It is suggested that they developed the manufacture of small tools because they were required for work on the smaller animals, such as the skinning of gazelle and the preparation of their hides for covering themselves, as well as for the cutting out of sinews for bow strings which would have been very difficult with larger and cruder artefacts. This type of implement would also have been suitable for the stripping of thin bark which dried and plaited became the ropes for their snares. There is also the implication because of the proliferation of this type of tool that they needed only this one type for their particular way of life and that their use must have been highly specialized.

A stone axe has a number of uses including the killing of animals, the cutting up of their carcasses, the cutting down of trees, etc., but a fragile obsidian scraper has no such general uses and cannot have taken a prominent part in their active lives. Since we have concluded that these people were hunters, then we may possibly conclude further that these scrapers were an adjunct to their hunting and not a necessity for it. Even though we are unable to say exactly how long it would take to wear down an obsidian scraper on light hides when it is not used for wood cutting or bone cracking, it must have taken several hundred hours of work before a scraper would have been worn down.

We must assume that each family had more than a few tools and that they were not heirlooms or greater care would have been taken of them, and indeed we know that the knowledge of their manufacture was quite general because of the chips found on these and most other sites. From the numbers found on other sites and on our two Mwanza sites, it is safe to say that this lack of care suggests that they may have been replaceable. A switchover from stone to iron would not cover the whole period of the culture.

Using crude methods of hunting, a family group would be unlikely to get more than one animal each week on the average and would have supplemented their diet with insects, hares and birds; so expressed in terms of the length of human life, there is really not much to wear down a number of scrapers.

We have already noticed the absence of large tools and have concluded that these people cannot have preyed exclusively on the larger animals with the difficulty of cutting them up and cracking their bones, and from this we can possibly deduce that they could not have cut down trees or even trimmed them. This conclusion, even allowing for the possible use of fire, further restricts the field of their possible activities. If they could not cut trees and branches, it seems that they could not have made the sapling spring traps with their long approach barriers of thorn branches which are so prominent in the repertoire of the modern hunter; possibly then their hunting methods were lines of snares and the small type of bow and wooden pointed arrows as are used nowadays by Ndorobo and Sukuma respectively. It may also have been that obsidian and chert were in such short supply as to discourage their development for hunting, where such a valuable commodity would have been easily lost or broken; certainly the modern hunter frequently uses wooden points for his arrows instead of iron barbs because of the losses incurred in hunting.

The smithy material seems to have been modern and may have been left there from the second World War, when the old techniques of iron-smelting came into their own again while iron and its products were in short supply. A smith's hearth is more or less a permanent feature and the long streaks of smoke on the rock walls may have been the result of this.

The absence of old pottery fragments suggests that they did not use boiled food and that they roasted their meat over open fires in the same way as present day poachers roast their meat on skewers or propped up round the fire, both to be cooked and dried for carrying home. The cracking of the bones for their marrow can have been done with any stone available. The close association of the bone fragments with charcoal all over the sites indicates that they had no permanent hearths and possibly that such a method of cooking was carried on throughout the working life of these cave shelters.

Lastly, let us examine the rock paintings which are the most confusing and the most interesting of the sites' finds. The paintings (Fig. 4) were much overlaid and must represent a considerable period of time, and there can be no real correlation between them and the Wilton culture implements, although they may well have coincided in some degree with the period of the paintings.

In trying to interpret these paintings, we must remember that the sites were not occupied throughout the year and that the artists led a semi-nomadic existence which must have been extremely hard and to have left little time for leisure. The paintings will not have had any economic importance and must

surely then have been done for pleasure or for magic; considering the thickness of the plastering and that the ingredients, ochre and possibly fat, can never have been very plentiful, they must represent a considerable expenditure in time, and in their nomadic life, it seems unlikely that they would have gone to such lengths of industry for pleasure alone, and therefore their primary purpose must have been magical.

In most cases they have deliberately covered previous designs in preference to working on a clear space and it is possible that there may have been a change in ownership with one group of people succeeding another.

These are abstract designs beyond any question of doubt and cannot be even the crudest conceivable reproduction of their daily life and surroundings. We can assume then that they were not for sympathetic magic in hunting and that the squares and circles do not represent traps because they would scarcely have left out the animals. Again we can assume that the designs were not totemic as the whole series are much of a muchness and it is hard to think of a totemic emblem which has become so much of a design that it shows no longer anything but an abstract formalism. Totems tend to be important things connected with their tribal life and it is hard to conceive of drawings representing giraffe and buffalo which do not bring in the long neck of the former and the wide horns and heavy frame of the latter and so on. The possibility that they might have been used in initiation or similar rites must also be considered; such rites are usually secret and it is doubtful whether their secret and sacred designs would have been left on the rock walls for all to see and even more doubtful that they would have carried out their ceremonies in so many places nor indeed in our two sites which show every sign of prolonged human occupation.

These designs most probably represent abstract ideas or forces for which there was nothing in their life for them to copy such as hunger, plenty, hate, dominance with the idea that control might come through representing them and each group trying to reserve control of these forces for itself. These conclusions are no more than guesses and there is no means of going further in order to explain why this style developed and not the Bushman style of the Kondoa-Irangi area.

Lastly, we must try and deduce who these people actually were; legends of the Sukuma of the Nassa area in the mythological charters of their two principal chiefs go back no more than about fifteen generations, and before this they think that the land was occupied by the Nyaturu, a tribe now resident to the south while they came from the north-east and north-west respectively. Taking the evidence of the rock paintings there is no doubt that we are not dealing with an off-shoot or main branch of Bushman culture. Possibly these people who may or may not have been Nyaturu, faded away to the south as the Sukuma arrived from the north, in the inconspicuous way of hunters when cultivation drives the game away and they have no further use for the land: fading away so quietly that there was no conflict between the two cultures and they remained no more than a memory, thought of as a relic of the unknown and therefore strongly endowed with power for present day Sukuma magico-religious practices.

Our attempted reconstruction has provided us with a picture of small groups of nomadic people dressed in skins who lived by the hunting of smaller animals using bows and arrows and snares and by the digging up of edible roots, and the collection of fruits in much the same way as the Kindiga still do in Singida and

Mbulu. They did not cultivate or use cooking pots and cooked by roasting round open fires; because their livelihood was extremely precarious, they were much concerned with hunger and food and possibly tried to get control of abstract powers by means of magical drawings.

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PROVERBS OF THE WANIRAMBA PEOPLE OF EAST AFRICA

By E. R. Danielson

These are proverbs of the Waniramba people of the Central Province, Tanganyika Territory, East Africa. It was to these people that the Augustana Church first brought the Gospel in 1927. These proverbs were gathered from various Waniramba men. Proverbs give us an insight into the thought-life of a people more than any other material we are able to gather. Many of them contain a considerable amount of wisdom. Some of them remind us of our proverbs. Some of them help us to understand certain weaknesses as well as certain strengths among the Waniramba people. Other proverbs may be used effectively in portraying Christian truth. These proverbs have not been arranged according to any order. Neither is the English interpretation always complete. One's understanding of the Waniramba would be enhanced if one could take these proverbs, and sit down with an elder of the tribe, and seek his fullest and deepest explanations. In order to bring the Gospel to a people, one must know the people. The proverbs of an African tribe take one most surely into the real thought-life of the tribe.

UNG'ENWA

1 SHUNTA SIUKINUNA WING'ENE

It practically means "Physician, heal thyself". The African medicine man draws out blood from the body of his patient through a horn, on which he sucks. If he is himself sick, he is unable to treat himself. "Shunta" is a tiny African bird, which builds its nest where the wasp builds. "Shunta" is unable to save its home from marauders, but the wasps will save it for "shunta" by attacking the intruders.

2 MUKAKU UKUGULA ITUE

A hard-headed person, when buying meat, is never satisfied. He says: "This piece is too small. This piece is only bones." And so he is dissatisfied with one piece after the other until all the meat has been sold, and only the head remains. He buys the head. It is one of the most undesirable pieces.

3 NTONDO NINGI ZAGUSILYE IPAMA

Coconuts will fall to the ground after a sufficient number of days have passed. Coconuts are very high in the tree, and stay there a long time. Boys and girls, very much desiring the fruit, become impatient over the long time before the fruit falls to the ground. But the proverb teaches that if one is patient, the coconut will eventually fall to the ground.

4 TEKETE LYALINDILE MUKOLA

If you gossip about somebody this morning, for instance, that person will appear in the evening.

5 ITAKO GILA KA NSAO, UMUGULU WI NSAO

Just to sit will not beget you any wealth. Your feet (meaning, to be up and doing) will beget wealth for you.

- 6 MWANA MUSIMBI LISO NI PANSI
A poor person is always looking at the ground in case he might find something of value. If he finds an arrow-head, he will exchange it for something better. He may finally secure a chicken by exchange, and then a goat, and then a cow, and finally a herd of cattle.
- 7 MUKONO MWASI WA NDA
The hand is the slave of the stomach. One must hoe in order to get food.
- 8 KALAKALA IKUTUGA MWANA MUPOKU
Haste makes waste. Literally, it means: Haste gives birth to a blind child.
- 9 UKEA SIUKUKOLELAGWA KIKUO
Sorrow, such as accompanies death, hunger or sickness, does not get angry.
- 10 NZAGAMBA NZOA IKULELA MWILI
A frightened bull takes care that its body may not be injured. We should take care of our bodies, lest they be injured.
- 11 MUKIA NSONI WAKILE NA NZALA
A bashful person will die of hunger. If you don't ask for something to eat, you won't get it. You shouldn't say you have had enough to eat, if you are still hungry.
- 12 MUSUMWA MPEPO SIUKUSINGAGIGWA PA MOTO
Literally: A person who is cold is not led to the fire. He goes of his own accord, knowing he is cold. Likewise, a hungry person is not entreated to eat.
- 13 MUPOKU SIUKUKONGAGWA LISO
A blind person cannot be deceived by being told he has an eye. Or you cannot tell him, come to my home for I have an eye to give you. Don't deceive a blind person by telling him you have something to give him when you haven't.
- 14 NSYOKI NGILA ULIMI
To go back will not hoe the field. A person does not go out to hoe, and then return home without having hoed.
- 15 MUSEKE WIKUTILE, ULEKEKUMUSEKA NWI NZALA
The one who laughs is well-filled. The meaning is that a satisfied person would not laugh at a hungry person.
- 16 LUALA LUMUI SILUKUKATA MPANI
One finger cannot crush a louse. The native takes the louse between two finger-nails to crush its head. It also means that a difficult problem cannot be settled by one person. It also points to strength in community action.
- 17 NTLA YA WALUMWA SIUKUPUNAGYA MPEPO
A borrowed cloth will not keep out the cold. The cloth can be taken away from you at any time, and so you live in the suspense of being left in the cold. It is better to get your own cloth.
- 18 MUTIZA NKIA UKWIMBA MIGULU
Literally: Whosoever tries to run away from death, his feet swell. One cannot run away from death. No matter how one tries, death will finally overtake. One gets very tired trying to avoid death (looking for doctors and medicine), and in the end death wins.

- 19 KILEMA KIKUMANANAGYA INGENDELE
A cripple teaches us how to walk. If you are crippled, you will understand a cripple's gait.
- 20 ULU UGILA MUKOLA
Foolishness isn't confined to just one person. All people are capable of foolishness.
- 21 MUKOMBOLA KYUMI UKULUMBAGWA
If you borrow an article, and return it in good condition, the owner will rejoice.
- 22 KIZA KIKWENDA NI KIZA KIA
The article you sell is good, and the article you get is good. If you sell a steer for shillings, the steer is good, and the shillings are good.
- 23 SUGA MBULA, LUSULULI SIWISHUGA
Run away from the rain, but from the dew you cannot run away.
- 24 ULEMA SIUKIGUNAGWA
If you are crippled with a withered hand or leg or some other deformity, it will not heal itself. There is no doctor who can heal you from a deformity with which you were born.
- 25 WEGEGE WALEMILE MUKULU
Badness overcomes even the great. Even an important person is overcome by corruption. He is able to break things of value also.
- 26 MUKULU SIUKUGA: BAA
"Baa" means "no" in an emphatic and almost derisive sense, as sometimes used by children. A great person doesn't refuse a request in that way, but in a circumlocutory way, or one might say, in a diplomatic way, or even by remaining silent.
- 27 MULIA MBUA UKWIMILAGIGWA
He who eats dog is watched to see what happens. A person, who becomes a catechumen, is told by his neighbours: "Just wait, and we will see what will become of this."
- 28 MUGENDA WAGUNILE KAA
A stranger has saved the village. For example, two people in a village are quarrelling. A stranger, passing by, reconciles them. It has a shade of the meaning in "blessed are the peace-makers".
- 29 MASALA MITOLILE
Thoughts (really, their thoughts) are married. It means that peace reigns in the home because the wife's and the husband's thoughts are one.
- 30 SITA NKANI, UWITWA SIUKUSITAGWA
Don't agree to what is said, but don't refuse to listen.
- 31 LISO SILYUKUKINGILAGWA
The eye cannot restrain itself from looking.
- 32 KIONONA, MUKOLA KIGILA IKUO
He, who breaks or destroys something of his own, does not get angry.

- 33 NDAA YA MULOGE SIYUKUKANILAGWA
The stomach of a sorcerer cannot be refused. It means that the secrets of a sorcerer are not understood, and therefore you cannot help him when he is accused.
- 34 ULIANA WALEMILE NKUKU
When it comes to eating, the chicken out-eats man. The chicken eats all the time, and not as man eats.
- 35 KUNINGILILE KUPELU KUPUNILE KULUTO
To enter is easy, but to come out is difficult. For instance, it is easy to get ill, but difficult to get well.
- 36 MBOLU NA MBOLU
It is almost the same as "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth". It means "evil for evil".
- 37 UKENDE ULU
Extra goodness, or mercy, or perhaps unwise generosity, is foolish. If you give away too generously, you will be besieged by people who will take everything you have, and you yourself will be left in hunger.
- 38 MULANDU SIUKUOLA
Sin does not rot. It means that sin does not destroy itself.
- 39 NDUGU MIMBI YA MUGUNDA
Friendship, or rather, blood-relationship makes the boundary of the garden. Boundaries between gardens are never lost, and neither is a relative in the same clan ever lost to the other clansmen.
- 40 MUSEGO WAULAGILE MBUA
Play destroyed the friendship. For instance, two people played together. One hurt the other, and their friendship was broken.
- 41 NZILA SIYUKUILANA
The path does not tell you what is on it. If an enemy or a snake or a lion is awaiting you on the path, the path does not tell you.
- 42 NDAA NSASI
The womb is like ferment. If you put ferment into the thin native drink, called "magai", it will become strong and sharp, practically beer. Likewise, a gentle mother can give birth to an albino or to a very obstreperous child.
- 43 LEKISHANYA INGALA ZA ANTU
"Ngala" is the wreath of victory or of position. Do not put your faith in these wreaths, and in a broader sense, do not put your faith in the strength of people.
- 44 UTEMI MUMWAKO
The kingdom is your own home. Do not try to rule the homes of others.
- 45 MAULI MA NG'OMBE MI MPIANI
The hairs on a cow are all alike. People are the same, but they aren't related. They only look alike.
- 46 KYULI WASAKILYE KINA MBUA
"Kyuli" is a native cucumber. One rotten one affects all in the basket. There are many examples of the meaning of this proverb. A hungry child stole a cucumber. A quarrel arose between the families on account of this

theft. Finally, the whole tribe was involved. One person sinned, and his sin has affected the whole human race. The Waniramba say about the dog, that when one steals meat the rest will do likewise.

47 WINGI WA MONO UKISAGILAGYA

"Mono" is the bean or seed of the castor plant. Even though many beans are picked, many remain. If many people go away, many will still remain.

48 MWILI MUGUMO

The body is like the baobab tree. Even though it may be badly cut or damaged, it heals itself.

49 MISO MAZI

The eyes are like water. You may be shown something, and still you can't see it.

50 NKUMBI YA MBULI IKILEKELAGWA

"Nkumbi" is part of the stomach of a goat, and this meat is reserved for the children. The meaning is that we have now grown up, and leave that part for those who follow us. It also means that strength is handed down from one generation to another.

51 NDAA SIZUKULUMBA

Stomachs do not rejoice. And if you eat much (overburden the stomach) still you only grow very little.

52 TUMBI LYA MUNTU KYAKU

The hair of a person is tough. You can't make fun of a person without a reason.

53 MUSIA NZILA UMUI, IAKILILI INGI

He who began the path is one; they who pass on the path are many. It is well then, that he who makes a path make a good one.

54 NTUMBE SIUKUGONA PAZA

He who has been chased away from home does not sleep in a good place.

55 MUPULI UKUPUNA NI MBUGA

"Mupuli" is the harvester. "Mbuga" refers to his pay. The proverb means that the harvester will get his pay from the harvest.

56 MWILI KISUNGA MUKOLA

The body is shepherded by its owner.

57 MWANA NDULU UKUGONELAGYA NI KENGO

The zebra sleeps with his stripes. It can be interpreted to mean, that whatever word you may hear, sleep with it, and do not forget it.

58 MPUMA KILEKELEKE NIMULEKELYA MWANA PAKO

The baboon leaves his hind parts to his offspring. It means that fathers leave their customs and beliefs to their children, and the children follow them.

59 SEKA KILEMA NA KUNSIANI KIKOLI

Laugh at a cripple or any kind of helplessness, and such helplessness is also to be found in your home or village. Laugh at a fool, and behold, even you are a fool

60 KWIKULA IKAU, MASALA MAKAKU

To grow up is easy; to get wisdom is difficult.

61 NAMUSILILE UKUSIMBA

He, who is poverty-stricken, is always on the move. "Ukusimba" is a person, who is constantly going from place to place, and never says that he is tired. The proverb also refers to the time when a clansman was killed by a member of another clan, and his fellow-clansmen were constantly visiting the murderer's clan to collect the cattle payment.

62 NSIME NA NSIME SIKAZIKITEMA

Rough and tough men do not fight one another. Literally, the proverb says: Knives do not cut one another.

63 YUNGULU SILIKIKUA NI GUWE

Sand does not fight with a stone. The stone, for instance, refers to one's chief. You are the sand. It just doesn't happen that one quarrels or fights with one's chief. The chief and you are on different levels.

64 NAGUMILA NKOME MU LUZI; MUKULU, MPUNILYE (this is a riddle with an interpretation)

The literal meaning is: I throw my stick into the water-hole. Great one, get it out for me. Every African carries a stick. This riddle is a superb example of the idea of redemption. In fact, many of these proverbs can help much in teaching Christian truths. This particular riddle refers to the time of inter-clan war, when a member of one clan was killed by a member of another clan. The clansmen of the murdered man demanded that the murderer pay, either twenty head of cattle, or forfeit his life. As the young murderer has nothing with which to pay, he begins to despair. He knows that unless the cattle are paid, his own life will be taken. When he has come to a state of helplessness, he throws his stick onto the water-hole, and makes a plea: "Great one, get it out for me". The act shows his helplessness to save himself. The stick may be a symbol of himself, and the water-hole a symbol of his coming death. He calls on somebody greater than himself to save him, meaning usually, his uncle on his mother's side. The uncle, who is his most important relative, hears his helpless cry, secures the twenty head of cattle, and delivers them to the offended clan. Thus he set free the murderer by the payment of the head of cattle.

65 NUKULOMELA SIUKUZENGA

He, who is just thinking about building a house, will never build it. The proverb infers that the person who speaks many words will not fulfil them.

66 UBII WI SHUKA, SIKA WA MUTIANA

The iron is bad, and not the smithy. The child is bad, and not its father. The badness is in the child himself.

67 MWENDA PELU UKUKANILAGWA

He, who travels by the light of day, is witnessed unto. If a person passes a village in the day-time, and is later falsely accused of theft, he will be declared innocent by the witnesses, who saw his activities during the day.

68 UKULU WISHUKWI NAKANDA, NKUUKU NKEI

"Shukwi" is a big melon like a water-melon. "Nkuuku" are the seeds. The proverb says: The size of the melon does not mean anything. It contains very few seeds.

69 KISIMBYA KIKULETA NAZUSIMBILE

He, who goes begging and receives something, will go begging again.

- 70 UKATA UBII! NIMU TURU NAZILIGYA MIKILA, MPIMBI NIULYA MUKILA
KUNSOKO YA UKATA

Laziness is a bad habit! All the animals got tails, except the rock-rabbit, who didn't get any on account of his laziness. This proverb tells the legend of how all the animals but the rock-rabbit got their tails. The drum was sounded, calling all the animals together to get their tails. As each animal passed, he asked the rock-rabbit if he wasn't going also. The rock-rabbit answered that he would go tomorrow. And so each day passed, and when the rock-rabbit finally did go, no tails remained. He went home in shame, and ever since has hidden himself in the rocks. He has never been seen at the water hole or in the field with the other animals, because he is so ashamed of being the only animal without a tail. The proverb teaches us not to put off until tomorrow what we should do today!

- 71 MUKALI SIUKWIMAGWA NGALA

"Mukali" refers to the tribal soldier, or a person, whom you can't keep from going where he wants to go in spite of danger. The proverb literally says: "Mukali" will not be denied his wreath of victory. A person with the spirit of a "mukali" will press on to try to win the wreath of victory. The "ngala" is made from the zebra's mane.

- 72 MULONGO WAONYE NG'OMBE

For example, I am a liar. I say that I see a cow. A second person says it is not so. A third person says that our companion sees a cow. The proverb says: The liar sees a cow. Or, he causes himself to see a cow. It is wrong to speak without thinking first. One should not speak words without true meaning, and one should not perform deeds which have no true meaning.

- 73 MUSEKWA WAZILE NI NG'OMBE

He, who was laughed at, now owns cattle.

- 74 MBOLU NA MBOLU ZIKWENDA NA MBOLU NZIA

It is practically another version of number 36, which means: An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It shows how revenge progresses rather than to teach revenge. For instance, if somebody strikes your steer, you strike his. "Mbolu" means that which is rotten. Badness goes with badness.

- 75 ULONGO SIUKUIMBA

A lie does not swell. It is said: a lie can't put a mark on me. It is also said: A lie is of no consequence unless it brings me trouble. This proverb gives a clue to the wide-spread habit of lying and of considering lying as being a mark of cleverness.

- 76 UMPENA SIUKUKOLELAGWA KUO

"Umpena" is a person like a widow or a blind person or anyone in an unfortunate condition. The proverb says that such a person does not get angry over his condition. This proverb contains the philosophy of fatalism. Such an unfortunate will say: "I will be content as I am, for what can I do. I don't possess a thing." The proverb also contains the seeds of inner contentment.

- 77 TUNGA NSANGA MSALINKANA

The one, who threads beads, mixes them. May anybody receive food at your home, and not just the relatives of the husband or the relatives of the wife.

- 78 UTOLE WI NANG'A, NANG'A ZI NKILILI ZA MASAGI
 "Nang'a" is the rim of a grain basket. These rims are different on every basket. Likewise, the words or news in every home is different.
- 79 WAMIKENKA NAMA ILIMA
 He, who carries away meat, hoes. The proverb means that a quarrelsome person, when he is told one word, will return many words. Or he will take a little word and make so much over it, that you will tire of listening.
- 80 ULONGO WAMUSAMBILE MAKAGA
 "Makaga" means to come back to you. If you speak a lie, it will travel about and finally come back to you.
- 81 MUKAKU UKUTONTELA IMAPINI
 An obstinate person will only agree if a stick is used on him.
- 82 UGARI SIUKUKENKELWA MWI TOTO
 Meanness is not carried in a basket. Something carried in a basket is open to the view of all. Meanness has its abode in the heart.
- 83 IKITEGWA KISUGU, NUMUTEGA NI MUSUGU
 The animal trapped, for instance, the leopard, has sense or is clever, and so is the trapper. Also, the proverb means that the person whom you deceive will know it. He has sense as well as you.
- 84 IMBULI SIUKUGONA NI NSUI NI NG'OMBE SIUKUKONA NI NSIMBA
 The goat does not sleep with the leopard, and the cow does not sleep with the lion. The proverb means that it is foolish to try to do something which is impossible.
- 85 NKUI NINGI ZIKWELAGYA UTIKU
 Much fire-wood finishes the night. If a person is ill, and the relatives secure plenty of medicine, he will get well. The African thinks the potency of medicine is commensurate with its quantity. Five grains of liquid quinine are more effective, for instance, than a five-grain tablet of quinine.
- 86 NUKULUGA NKUNULU NU MULIMO WAKWE NKUNULU
 "Nkunulu" means "little". If you serve only a little food or beer, you will get only a little work done.
- 87 NUKULUGA MANTENGA NU MULIMO WAKWE MANTENGA
 "Mantenga" means "much". He who prepares much food will get much work done. If you want to get much work done at a hoeing or building or weeding bee, you must serve much food or beer.
- 88 INZOGU SIYUKUUNAGWA IMPEMBE
 An elephant doesn't tire of carrying his tusks. A mother, heavy with child, doesn't tire of carrying her other child, who is still small. She will carry him also.
- 89 MWANA MUSIMBI UKUMANILA KWILINDI
 "Kwilindi" means "at the gathering place of the people". He, who knows nothing, will learn at the place where people gather. If I don't know what is happening, I can go to the court, where I will hear the news. It also means that if a neighbour butchers a steer, the poor person will come and eat from the share of the herdsmen.

90 UBILI LISO

Two are an eye. The proverb teaches cooperation. If we are two people on a journey, and I fail to see something which is dangerous, my companion will see it.

91 KANONI KANINO SIKAKUULAGYA IKIKOLYO

"Ikikolyo" are the smoldering embers of a fire. If you catch the smallest of birds, you can't eat it without roasting it first. If there are words, even insignificant, you should understand their meaning.

92 UMUKULU UKUKUILAGWA PILINDI

An important person like a chief happens to be struck while in a gathering of people. The explanation is that whenever people gather together for a certain task, the chief is apt to be unintentionally hit by one of his subjects during the confusion, which sometimes arises during the work. To share in the same work is a great levelled, and nobody is exempted on account of his position or importance from the accidents which may occur.

93 IMBUA SIYUKWIAGWA PINA ALILAMPILE IMATAPWA

"Imatapwa" is the food for the dog. The dog does not forget where he got his first food. If you own a certain article, you cannot forget from where it came.

94 ILINDI SILUKUKONGAGWA

A gathering of people does not speak lies. If you make a promise before a group of people, and you do not fulfill your promise and try to deny that you made such a promise, it is of no avail, as all the people witness to what you promised.

95 NKYALU KUKULIA UTIKU

The hyena eats at night. The hyena also has a bad reputation. Similarly, a bad person will commit his bad deeds in the night.

96 MONGO SIUKUKILAGWA GYOGO

"Gyogo" is the stump of a tree. The river is not superior to the stump which stands in it. Similarly, if a chief makes a law, it is for everybody. Nobody can say: "The law is not for me."

97 UMWELI SIUKUPONELAGWA NZALA

The passing of one month does not bring an end to the hunger. More months than one have to pass before food is ready in the garden.

98 ANAMITALA SIAKWALILAGWA NZILA

He, who has more than one house (meaning more than one wife), does not count the paths. He has many paths. If you wait on one of the paths to one of his homes, and say that you will meet him there, you probably won't, as he may have gone to one of his other homes. Don't be bound by one path only.

99 NKUKU NGENDA SIYUKULELEMAGWA NI NTIU

A strange chicken cannot be deceived by the weasel. Just because the chicken is a stranger in the area, the weasel cannot say it will be easy to catch that chicken. The chicken knows intuitively, wherever it may happen to be, that the weasel is its enemy.

- 100 UTEMI WIJILE KUUONELA MU NUMBA YAKE
You will see the kingdom in your own home. A child wants his own way. He is told to obey the will of his father, and after he gets his own home, he can follow his own will.
- 101 UJILE KUMIONA MPEPO YA DAU
You can't help but feel the early morning cold. Cold weather, especially cold mornings, are symbols of sorrow. A mother tells her child that it will understand what sorrow is, when the mother dies, and the child is left alone.
- 102 ULU SIUKIONAGWA
Foolishness does not see itself. A fool cannot see his own foolishness. But others see it.
- 103 UPEMBA UNANKAKILWA
Millet, the chief grain of Iramba, requires industriousness, if one wishes to harvest generously.
- 104 UPEMBA UNANSUPATUKWA
Millet slips away into nothing. Even if you have much millet, it will soon be finished anyway.
- 105 UGOLI MUKILA WA MPUKU
Riches are like the tail of a rat. If you should grab the tail of a rat, it will slip off, and the rat will escape, leaving its tail in your hand. Likewise, your riches will slip away, and you will be left with nothing.
- 106 MULIA NKUNGULU UKWIMILAGWA
"Nkungulu" is the crow. He, who eats crow or says crow is good to eat, is first watched, to see if that is true. The same is true of other untried food.
- 107 UMUNANZALA SIUKUSEKAGWA
A hungry person, or anybody who is in distress, is not laughed at. You never know when you might be in the same situation as he is in now.
- 108 ULONGO UKUAMBA NZILA
A lie follows a path. A lie is bound to travel here and there. A lie does not remain in one place.
- 109 UWII UTEMI
Even the king is apt to steal. Stealing is to be found everywhere. Stealing is king.
- 110 IMISO MOA, MIGULU MITAKI NI MIKONO
The eyes doubt, and are afraid, but the feet and hands do what is needed to be done. If you are on a journey, and you look ahead and see how much farther you must go, your eyes will frighten you in believing that you can't make your destination. But your feet will go anyway and take you there. Or, if you are hoeing, your eyes will make you feel that you can't finish the piece you are hoeing, but if you just go ahead, your hands will finish it.
- 111 MULIPU SIUKUGONA ULILI UBILI
A long person does not sleep on two beds. If a man is a rain-prophet in one place, he can't be a rain-prophet in some distant place. Or a man can't be a chief in two different countries.

- 112 **MULOMO WA MUKULU SIUKUGUA PANSI**
The word of an important person, such as a chief or an elder, does not fall to the ground. The proverb means that the words of such persons are important and do their work.
- 113 **LUGI LUKULUKULU SILUKULUMAGWA MPUKU**
An old piece of rawhide rope is not chewed by the rat. Food, which has been standing a long time, is not fit to eat, even for a rat.
- 114 **INKUMBI SIZUKUSOLAGWA IMUNSI: ZUKUSOLAGWA IDAU**
Locusts are not gathered in the middle of the day, but in the early morning. A person will not be deceived, if he refrains from entering into some dangerous condition, such as drunkenness.
- 115 **INAMA YA UTILWA SIUKUILAGWA**
You can't complain that a piece of meat, which has been given to you, is too small. Even if it is small, you won't say so, simply because it has been given to you.
- 116 **INKINGO SIYUKUKILA IYEGA**
The neck is not longer than the shoulder is broad. This proverb refers to the tribal inheritance laws. If there are three brothers of the same father, the youngest cannot inherit, but it must be the eldest brother.
- 117 **MUSINZO MULUTO**
A journey is heavy. The proverb means that a long journey is always fraught with danger.
- 118 **UZA UKWENDA NA UZA UA**
Goodness goes with goodness. For instance, if I do good work, I will get good wages.
- 119 **MASALA MAKWENDI DIMA**
Thoughts go out to pasture. Our thoughts go here and there, like cattle out to pasture.
- 120 **ULEMU SIWIKIGUNAGWA**
Destruction, or any destroying influence, does not save itself.
- 121 **MUGENDA MUKILANYA**
A stranger is a passer-by.
- 122 **IMBUA SIYUKUTUMAGWA**
A dog can't be sent on an errand. I can tell a child to bring me my stick or some other article, and he will do it for me. A dog can't do that.

HISTORY OF THE RULING FAMILY OF UKEREWE

By G. W. Hatchell, O.B.E.

In his lecture, entitled "The People of the Lake Victoria Region" extracts from which appeared in No. 33 of this journal, Mr. Cory speaks of the islands of Ukerewe and Ukara.

Ukerewe is situated at the western end of the Speke Gulf opposite Mwanza and in 1925 its population was estimated at about 30,000. It produced considerable quantities of rice and cotton and there were two rice mills on the island. At that time the Chief of Ukerewe was Kaseza Ruhumbika (Gabriel), a man of between fifty and sixty years of age who maintained considerable state and was accustomed to attend functions and ceremonies in Mwanza in his twenty-eight-paddle canoe.

He claimed to be descended from Ruhinda of Ihangiro in the Bukoba District and to be the sixteenth of his line which was founded by Katobaha, a grandson of Ruhinda. Katobaha, it was stated, landed at Bwiru on Ukerewe Island and there encountered a clan known as the Mhira after their headman Kihira. Katobaha introduced these people to the banana which had hitherto been unknown to them and they found it very much to their liking. He also introduced them to the art of fishing from a canoe of which, up to then, they were ignorant. Kihira wished to be instructed in the art of fishing from a canoe and it was arranged that Katobaha's men should take him to sea and instruct him but, privately, Katobaha instructed his men to see to it that Kihira fell overboard and was drowned. This having been accomplished Katobaha "seized the throne" although it must be recorded that tradition insists that Katobaha was willingly elected to succeed Kihira by the people whose standard of living he had so greatly improved. There is no tradition that Katobaha seized the throne by force or that he was even accompanied by a band of armed followers.

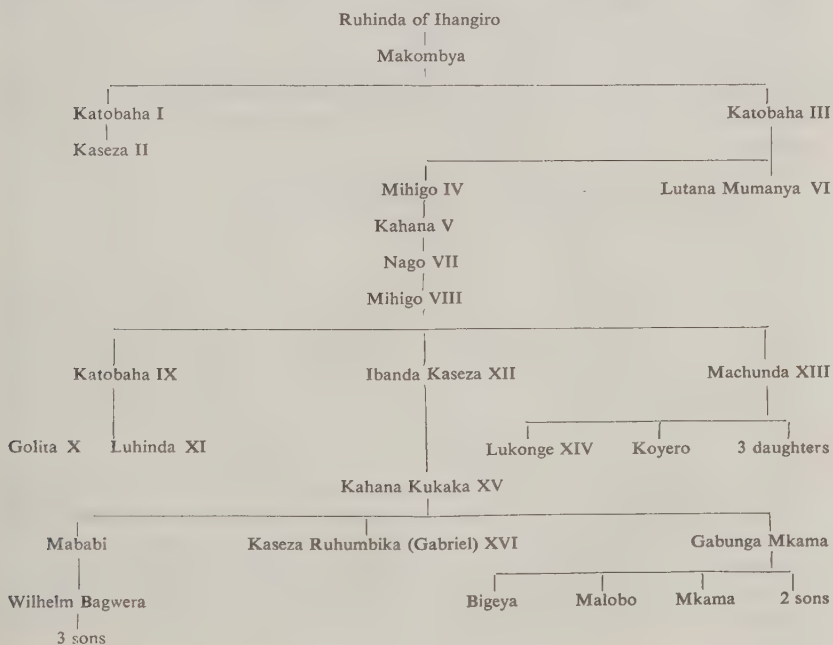
Having established himself at Bwiru, Katobaha set out on a tour of the mainland lake-shore and landed on the Majidta peninsula where at Muikorongongo he planted two seedlings of the mvule which have since expanded into a large grove which has since become the main source of timber for the canoes of his descendants. Katobaha then crossed the Bauman Gulf and reached Iramba where he found country and surroundings more to his taste than at Bwiru and set up his permanent headquarters there. His younger brother when climbing in the hills at Iramba observed, across the Speke Gulf, the country of Nassa and crossed over to examine it. He found it so much to his liking that he decided to remain there and sent word of this to Katobaha who sent him some regalia in order that he might set himself up as Chief in Nassa.

At about this time Katobaha undertook a more extensive tour of the mainland and islands and paid visits to the islands of Irugwa, Iriga, Lukuba and Chihumbe. At Chihumbe he announced that this should be the limit of his dominions and ceremonially cut his hair as a sign of this. He issued directions to his successors in years to come that on succession each of them should go to Chihumbe and ceremonially cut his hair.

Katobaha then returned to Iramba but before doing so again visited the island of Lukuba where he installed a representative whose business it would be to persuade people to come and live on Lukuba where they could be taught the arts of canoe-building and fishing. He appointed his son, Luhinda, as his representative at Irugwa and a nephew was sent to take up a similar position at Kibarra on the Speke Gulf.

Katobaha and his successors seem to have lived at Iramba until the time of the sixth chief, Lutana Mumanya, who is reputed to have died at Kitare on Ukerewe Island. After that the chiefs seem to have lived at Bukindo on the eastern shores of Ukerewe until in 1925 Kaseza Ruhumbika (Gabriel) built himself a two-storied stone and concrete house at a new Iramba which is situated some miles inland from Bukindo. The reason for the move from the mainland does not transpire but it seems unlikely that it was due to any invader who drove Lutana away from Iramba for if that had been so surely it would be mentioned in the traditions. We know that as late as 1926 the country at the eastern end of the Bauman Gulf was unoccupied and that an attempt was made to persuade the Wakara to relieve the congestion on that island by moving to Madjita.

Luhinda the eleventh, and Ibanda the twelfth chief were deposed by their people but there is no record of the reason for this. Lukonge the fourteenth chief was deposed by the German Government and was succeeded by Kahana Mukaka who was in turn succeeded by Kaseza Ruhumbika (Gabriel) on the 12th October, 1907. The following table gives the line back to Ruhinda:



It is related that the clans found in these parts by Katobaha were:

1. At Irera Island in the Bauman Gulf: the Wegamba.
2. At Kuruwiriwiri on Speke Gulf: the Wagabe under their headman Busungu.
3. At Bunere: the Wabya.
4. On the northern shores of Speke Gulf beyond Kibarra: the Watimba under their headman Muganwa.
5. On the Ukerewe shore of the Rugesi Channel: the Wagamba.

It is related that Makama, who was the son of Lukonge, the fourteenth chief of Ukerewe, was a chief in Nassa and that he had a son who was born deaf and dumb. It was in Lukonge's time, on the 7th December, 1877 that Lieutenant Shergold Smith and Mr. O'Neill, who were members of an expedition sent out by the Church Missionary Society, were murdered on Ukerewe Island (see the paper entitled "Dr. John Smith" by S. Napier Bax which appeared in No. 14 of this journal). In 1894 a Mission station on Ukerewe was attacked and fifty native Christians were murdered (see "The History of German East Africa" by Sir Charles Dundas) but it is not known if Lukonge's deposition by the German Administration had any connection with these events.

It is of interest that in this account of the arrival of Katobaha there is no suggestion that he took possession of the territory by force of arms. It seems clear that he gained control because of his superior knowledge of agriculture and fishing which tended to improve the standards of living of the people of Ukerewe. In other parts of Tanganyika and more especially in the country to the south-west of Tabora and towards the shores of Lake Tanganyika there are similar traditions of countries populated by small clans or family groups who were drawn together into co-operation by a stranger who was a highly skilled hunter and able to provide them with a meat diet. In two instances at least the stranger is reputed to have owned a pack of trained hunting-dogs.

Perhaps the tribal wars of which so much is heard only became common at a later date when strangers from other lands made known to the people the value of slaves and ivory and of the land itself.

UBUNGU IN CHUNYA DISTRICT

By P. J. C. Ellis, District Office, Same

Two articles in the March, 1956 number of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* encourage me to send you a short article on the history of Ubungu in Chunya District.

Dr. Gunn's History of Lake Rukwa and the Red Locust touches upon the Wabungu who today live for the most part in the flat country at the south-east end of Lake Rukwa, though spreading up the eastern side of the lake and on the top of the escarpment to where, at the collar between the north and south lakes, known as Uinde, their land borders Ukimbu. The late Mr. Spalding in his talk on Mining and Minerals in Tanganyika indicated that work was beginning on a second known deposit of pyrochlore at Ngualla in Chunya District. Ngualla lies in Ukimbu just outside the northern boundary of Ubungu.

In February, 1954 during the rainy season I walked to Ngualla eastwards from Lukwati with a view to advising the field workers of the Geological Department of the routes most likely of success for the cutting of roads during the dry season into Ngualla. Previously I had climbed the isolated mountain of Kwimba whose majestic cliffs rise out of the Konongo escarpment on the north-east side of the South Lake, to an altitude of about 5,500 feet. On the one side the whole of the Rukwa Valley lies stretched out and to the north the hills of Ngualla are visible. This mountain, which will be a landmark to all those who come to work at Ngualla, is now skirted by the road that runs there.

My guide was an elderly Mbungu, Gihto s/o Zozu, working as the bush school teacher of Kwimba Village for the White Fathers' Mission at Gua. During the climb he recounted at length the history of the Wabungu and in particular the significance of Kwimba Mountain for his tribe. I persuaded him to write the story down and have translated it as follows:—

THE STORY OF OUR COUNTRY

The Wabungu people first came from Usagara. They reached Kipembawe staying at the border of Ngomele, stopping because they were a great number. Afterwards Bangu their chief climbed this hill and he dwelt there with many people; moreover many people went to Njila because of the nearness of the lake. And they found there those Wasangazila people who do plaster their eyes with red mud and they ran away from them and they dwelt there. He himself this Chief Bangu lived on the top of Kwimba Mountain. If a man committed an offence he was summoned to the precipitous cliff-top of Kwimba Mountain and thrown to the foot of the mountain to die. Every guilty person is thrown to the country, it is the death penalty. Now one day a certain Changwa who had erred was summoned. Changwa answered the summons saying first let me get dressed and he said to the chief please wait for me. Well then, he thought what to do. He planned to seize the chief that they might both die together. When he went to the chief's on the cliff-top he was seized by the chief but Changwa took hold of him as well and they followed one another over the cliff and they died together. People were amazed saying that Changwa had died with the chief himself, indeed

Bangu the first. There succeeded as chief, Njalaliko who came down from the mountain and divided his people up over the land some to Kipindi, some to Chuwi, at Kanga and at Mbuyuni there lived another chief and he lived at Uinde. When Njalaliko died there lived Chief Sheme. Then Sheme died and Zunda reigned. Then Zunda died. This self same Zunda was the one who wanted to dig up the mountain rock of Sawi in order to make a throne to install himself, but he was beaten by the great size of the rock for to walk round it takes three hours and he wanted to carry it off to the village of Kanga, to put his throne there in order to judge his people's words.

In addition he was stung by a scorpion. Then the people began saying this chief will be very troublesome to us and they carried him in a litter by reason of the scorpion which had wounded him. They put him in the litter in order to drop him out, and they threw him down to kill him quickly, and so he really did die. Then there reigned Mkumbo. Mkumbo died and then there reigned Nyawili. After Nyawili was deposed there reigned Mwachiluwi. Unfortunately this Mwachiluwi did not know how to make rain and there was a very severe famine and the people began to barter food as far as Ufipa. Now this Nyawila who had been driven out had gone to Ufipa with his mother and when the people went in search of food they found him there in Ufipa and brought news back that they had met him in Ufipa and that in Ufipa there had been plentiful rains and all because of him. So they went and fetched him back to Ubungu and they installed him in Mwachiluwi's place. Nyawili reigned and there were again plentiful rains and so they banished Mwachiluwi. Nyawili reigned until his death. Then Ilonga reigned until his death. Then Kilango reigned until his death, then Bangu reigned. This is now at German times. Then Bangu died and Njalaliko reigned. This Njalaliko is indeed our own Chief Barabara. The end.

Mwalim GIHTO s/o ZOZI.

HAMBAGEU

Some additional notes on the God of the Wasonjo

By F. G. Finch

INTRODUCTION

In *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 35 of July, 1953, there is recounted by Simeon Ndula, who is still the Head Messenger at the Loliondo District Office, the story of the God of the Wasonjo, Hambageu. This account was edited by H. A. Fosbrooke and drew forth in the March, 1955, issue of the same journal (No. 38) a psychological comment entitled "The Miraculous Birth of Hambageu, Hero God of the Wasonjo" by Dr. E. Simenauer. Further information as to the Wasonjo and their way of life is to be found in the reports written by Dr. R. F. Gray to the Institute of Current World Affairs (New York, U.S.A.) in late 1955 and early 1956. It is to be hoped that Dr. Gray, who lived with the Sonjo for six months in 1955 will, by publishing his researches in a more generally available form, enlarge the knowledge at present available about this tiny Bantu tribe hidden away in the heart of Masailand and still very much unaffected by the march of modern development.

However, as far as I am aware, the following description of the fate of the sons of Hambageu, together with the survival of their cult, and the further notes and legends, are related for the first time and may interest the reader not only in the tales themselves but also in the sometimes extraordinary similarity to the legends and traditions of other cultures. It is worth remarking that I am assured by my informants that the beliefs certainly pre-date any possible contact with any modern culture and that it is almost certain that the Sonjo were in their present country long before the Masai arrived in the vicinity. I think it should also be pointed out that the religion of Hambageu is by no means merely a survival of paganism among this tribe. On the contrary, it remains the mainspring of their culture, the influence of the Missions and the Native Authority School having so far been negligible.

For informants in the following accounts I had Simeon Ndula, already referred to, Gabrieli Nginoria, the recently appointed "paramount" chief, and a number of old men of the villages, where these stories were told to me. Of these, the first two are Christians, but they can easily remember the teaching they received in their early—pagan—days. Often the accounts were given to me by the old pagans and translated into Swahili for me by Simeon. One of the legends (that of the Samunge water) was, however, new to Simeon himself. To prevent accusations that perhaps these Christians have coloured their accounts with their new religion, I would quote Dr. Gray ". . . they have certainly not abandoned their old pagan beliefs. I questioned a number of Christians during the recent pagan religious festival. None of them would go so far as to say that the sound of the horn was not the voice of Hambageu." To say the least it may be confidently asserted that even among the very small Christian element the old traditions are still perfectly remembered.

GOD, HAMBAGEU AND THE SUN

Dr. Gray notes the existence of “. . . a word for God—Mugwe—in some ways the same as Hambageu and yet distinct. Hambageu is identified with the sun under the name Riob but the mythology explaining this identification is extremely involved.” The following two accounts have a bearing on this, and it will be seen that communication between Hambageu and the sun is recounted in the section I have called “The sons of Hambageu”.

The Great God is known as Hambarishoi. He separated the heavens from the earth and he lives in heaven. He is greater than Hambageu and, being the creator of all things, existed before Hambageu. Hambageu is not his son. Hambarishoi does not listen to the prayers of men, nor can he aid them, these being the functions of Hambageu (and his sons—see below). There are practically no legends about Hambarishoi, but his existence is known. The priests of Hambageu, one of whom volunteered this information, do not regard his existence as in any way inimical to the cult of Hambageu.

As to the sun, the outlines of the following myth will be familiar to most readers. I cannot however remember having read of it anywhere in an African context before and it would be interesting to know if it has been found among Bantu tribes.

One day, very long ago, a girl went to bathe in a stream. While she was bathing the remainder of the people saw a sunbeam strike down from the sky to the place where she was. After her ablutions the girl returned to her companions saying, “Something frightened me while I was bathing”. In due course, although she was an unmarried maiden, she produced a child. The Sonjo all knew that it was the sunbeam that was responsible for this. It is not told what became of the child.

THE SONS OF HAMBAGEU

The following account is a much more serious affair than the preceding myth which is more or less treated as such by the Sonjo themselves. As we shall see, the cult of these sons forms part of the practised religion of the tribespeople and is obviously of great importance. The account by Simeon (ed. Fosbrooke) in *T.N. & R.* No. 35 states baldly that Hambageu turned his sons into stones, allowing only two to survive, of whom one was subsequently banished, the survivor Aka eventually flying away and being seen no longer. This legend has now been considerably expanded for me by Simeon.

Hambageu was told by the sun that if he wished to become firm of heart he should have nothing further to do with his sons. Accordingly, one night, at the village of Samunge, all the people, including Hambageu's sons started to sing and dance at about four o'clock in the afternoon. After night had fallen the people became tired and went to their houses, the sons of Hambageu remaining. They continued to dance until they, too, became weary and went their several ways and were then turned by Hambageu into stones. There remained only two sons named Mesaka and Aka. One day Hambageu took Mesaka and threw him into the air, but Mesaka came down to earth again and landed at his feet. Hambageu then took him again and threw him up and he flew through the air until he landed at Yasi in the form of a stone where he remains to this day. (Yasi is an area of cultivation near Samunge, where a sub-village is at present

forming itself.) Now the remaining son, Aka, wished his father to allow the Sonjo to keep cattle, but this Hambageu would never allow. Aka was, however, persistent and kept on begging for this privilege. One day while Hambageu was in conversation with another person, Aka again approached with this request, whereupon Hambageu pointed out a herd of cattle a long distance away and said "You must go and kill the man who is looking after those cattle and then bring them here and then there will be cattle in the tribe". So Aka ran a long way until he came to the cattle but he was astonished on arrival to see that the herdsman was none other than the man he had left talking to his father. He therefore did nothing but returned and told Hambageu who merely repeated his instruction. So Aka ran and ran until he again came up to the herd. This time he was amazed to see that the herdsman was the father of his betrothed, so he could not kill the man but contented himself with merely stealing one of the beasts which he took back to Hambageu at Samunge. Hambageu took the beast to a large tree and with his forefinger bored a hole through the tree and tied the beast with a rope through this hole. All the people were then assembled and Hambageu told them that this should be a lesson to the tribe, that is, he would allow them to kill this beast, but they might for the present never keep cattle, although after a long time they would be allowed to keep cattle. (It is interesting to note that in 1947 an attempt was made by one man to introduce cattle, this caused a furore in the tribe, and it was only after much discussion that he was permitted to bring them in. Cattle are now kept at the least tsetse-infested villages.)

Aka was very angry indeed at this and he secretly called a meeting of the whole Sonjo people at Samunge, the only person who was not informed being Hambageu. When all the people were reported as assembled, Aka came out and saw that one woman who had given birth to a child only the day before was missing. He insisted on her being called so that the whole tribe (except his father) should see what he was about to do. When the woman had come Aka called the attention of all there to him and then flew off through the air in the direction of Loliondo and alighted at the top of a large tree. This tree then fell down: whereupon Aka changed direction and flew off through the air in the opposite direction towards Digodigo village. At this point Hambageu rushed out from his hut and climbing a large rock still standing above Samunge village called out to Aka as he floated past "do not get lost in *Buh Yarioh*." *Buh Yarioh* means "the dust of Yarioh". It is not known where Yarioh is. From that day Aka has not been seen, but he is to come again at the end of the world (see below). It was after this that Hambageu went off towards Belwa.

So much for the legend: now for the present cult which came first to my attention while walking to an area called Mugong which lies in the hills behind Samunge a few hours from that village. After a stiff climb round a fault in the hills I noticed at the side of the track a Sonjo-type grass beehive shaped hut. There had recently been a bush fire and so it was very noticeable that this was newly thatched; this must have involved great labour. Inside was a stone projecting some two and a half feet from the ground. This area is particularly stony in nature, the rock however being mainly in the form of outcrop lying on the ground rather than, as was the case with this stone, projecting vertically. The stone was much cracked and blackened by the fire. The covering hut was about four feet across. I was permitted by the pagans I was with to approach

closely to but not to enter the hut. There were no paintings or other form of decoration. It was explained to me that this was Eka Mugong, one of the sons of Hambageu and a powerful god. There was at the time much doubt among the people as to the bush fire that had burnt the stone and its previous thatch. Some thought that the stone must, because of the fire, have lost its divinity. On the other hand, one of the old gentlemen with me gave his opinion that that was just what the god wanted them to think so that if they stopped paying him due reverence he would teach them all a memorable lesson. (A prospect the old pagan apparently looked forward to with some glee.) I was told that while the fire was approaching a party of warriors had attempted to protect this shrine from it, calling out "We will die here with you" and were, indeed, prepared to do so until the heat overcame their resolution. If the person who had started the fire was discovered he would have to pay the full blood-money for the death of a man for having "killed the god". My informants were positive that the stone was the god itself and not that the god merely inhabited the stone. The general opinion seemed to be that the fire had not altered the divine character of the rock.

This, then was one of Hambageu's sons. Eka Masap, another similar stone I have seen in an identical hut at Samunge itself just under the banyan-like tree under which the road passes and known throughout Sonjo and to most of its visitors as "Hambageu's tree". I learnt also that other sons taking the same from were Eka Muhumbi, near Eka Mugong, Eka Sereki at the foot of the hills near Samunge, Eka Mesaka, whose projection to Yasi has already been described, and there are known to be others; one at Digodigo Juu, two at Digodigo Chini, two at Sale, and one at Oldonyo Sambu. There are none at Kisangiro since this place has a special ritual significance as housing the temple of Hambageu. The word Eka is translatable, I am told as "the one of", or in Swahili "yule wa".

Every year at each of these shrines there are held celebrations to honour the god-son of Hambageu there. These celebrations incorporate the sacrifice of a goat on the stone, the consumption of vast quantities of liquor by the elders, prayers to the god (e.g. to Eka Mugong himself, not to Hambageu) and dancing and singing by all assembled. These gods can themselves hear the prayers of men and aid them, however no special request is associated with these shrines, the prayers of each being general in character.

Attendance at these rites is obligatory on all the inhabitants of the village concerned. There are however persons who may under no circumstances attend. These include murderers, pregnant women, and any person with any sore, boil, wound or disease which causes a discharge. Should any such person be discovered he would have to pay full blood-money for having "killed the god". Once the sore or disease is cured the absentee must attend at the next year's rites. No woman in her menses may attend although she will not be held at fault should her menses commence while she is present. There is no requirement of ritual sexual abstinence. There is no special priesthood of these shrines; the elders officiating as a body in that role. For six days after the feast-day no person in the whole of the tribe may beat or strike any other on any pretext whatever. Not even may a man beat his own wife, however bitterly she may have offended him. I was told with perfectly straight faces by my informants that these gods are immensely popular with the women-folk of the tribe in spite of the labour of carrying thatch, food and pombe to them. "They worship them even more than the men."

Of these sons of Hambageu, Eka Muhumbi is said to be the greatest, and, no doubt because of their proximity, Eka Muhumbi and Eka Mugong share a common feast at which a goat is slaughtered at each. Of the goat killed at Eka Mugong the throat, which has a special ritual significance, is taken to Eka Muhumbi and laid on the stone there.

These rites in no way detract from the rituals of Hambageu himself. Far from it, they form an integral part in the religion of that god, who has his own special festivals and rites. There are, of course, also harvest and other religious festivals held in the villages in their proper season.

THE END OF THE WORLD

Among other things, Hambageu prophesied the coming of the European whose skin colour he accurately described. He told the Sonjo that these people would build at Loliondo. He told them of the coming of a thing with great lights shining in front at the hill near Yasi. This the Sonjo have taken to refer to motor vehicles from the headlights, and since the motor road into the Sonjo Valley emerges from the hills near Yasi.

They would recognize the approaching dissolution of the world from a sequence of signs which would commence after a time in which there had been much quarrelling in the country. The world itself then would shrink to a very small size. There would appear a flock of birds that would cover the sky from East to West and from North to South. Then the sky would be completely obscured by an enormous swarm of bees and then in its turn a dust cloud would cover the whole country. Then there would be seen two suns, one rising in the East, the other in the West. These would climb the sky towards each other and on their meeting the whole world in that instant would come to an end. On this, Aka, the last of the sons of Hambageu would come to take off all the Wasonjo whom he would recognize by the mark each has on the left breast. He would, however, find but few Sonjo left.

Hambageu warned the Sonjo that when they saw the two suns they should draw a supply of water and go into huts without windows and sit in the dark. They should have no goats with them, nor knives nor cups, since these would be at that time their enemies. A person wishing to drink should sip with his lips from the water container. He also warned the Sonjo to be careful not to be in a valley at that time.

On the two suns meeting, so suddenly would the world come to its end that a person who had climbed a tree would not be able to get down, one who was in a house would not have time to emerge and a person in the shambas would not have time to return.

THE LEGEND OF THE SAMUNGE WATER

When Hambageu was at Belwa he was known to be a god only by the Samunge people. At Samunge there was only a very little water and so a man went to Hambageu to beg for more water for the village. Hambageu gave him two stones which he told him to take home and then to put into a gourd of pombe and then get his sister to carry the gourd into the forest. In the forest he should pierce the gourd with his spear and at that place water would appear. So the man took the stones and returned to do as he had been bidden. He passed first, however, through the village of Kisangiro where he was delayed in conversation

with a friend. After stopping to talk he went on only to find that he had left one of the stones behind, so he returned to look for it. To his surprise, however, he found that where he had been sitting and left the stone a spring of water was bubbling forth. This is the water that is now crossed by the motor-track very near Kisangiro. The man now went on to Samunge with only the one stone remaining. He put this into a gourd of pombe and asked his sister to carry it before him into the woods. She put the gourd on her back and did so. Then the man decided to thrust with his spear as Hambageu had told him. His thrust however turned out to be much harder than he intended and trans-fixed not only the gourd from which all the pombe at once spilt, but also his unfortunate sister who fell dead to the ground. At this there occurred a tremendous rush of water which terrified the man and threatened to overwhelm him. He cried out with fear and on this the water assumed its present volume. This spring is to this day the main water of Samunge village.

I noticed that the elders who told me this story however much they may or may not believe it as fact, were much amused in the telling by its quality of being in its own right "a good story".

Correspondence

Dear Sir,

1st January, 1958

Dr. R. Reusch, in "The Struggle of Mombasa for its Freedom", *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 35, July 1953, p. 56, says: ". . . in 1555 Catholic monks introduced the 'Auto-dè-fé' (burning heretics by fire) in East Africa".

In *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 3, April 1937, p. 72, A. E. Robinson wrote: "C. 1555. The Augustines (i.e. the Augustinian Canons) settled at Mombasa. I cannot trace any evidence of the auto-de-fé. . . ."

Dr. Reusch cites no authority for his assertion, and, like Mr. Robinson, I have not been able to find any evidence for it, either in the Portuguese authors or in the Arabic History of Mombasa. It would be of great interest if he would do so.

Yours faithfully,

DR. G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE,
P.O. Box 101,
TANGA

Book Reviews

CHISUNGU

By Dr. Audrey I. Richards

(Faber and Faber, Shs. 42s. 1956)

Dr. Richards describes "Chisungu" as a girls' initiation ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia, consisting of a long and elaborate succession of ritual acts but not including physical mutilation, and adds that similar ceremonies exist among many other matrilineal tribes of Central Africa. Girls' initiation ceremonies of differing types are, of course, widespread throughout Africa, and among many Bantu and West African tribes they include the practice of circumcision.

Dr. Richards first outlines the cultural setting as it was when she visited the area in 1931. The Bemba were a small matrilineal tribe practising shifting cultivation on sparsely-populated land, unable to keep cattle because of the ravages of the tsetse-fly, with no system of inheritance of garden sites and very little accumulated wealth. The cultivation, distribution and storage of food was largely the responsibility of the women. The infant death-rate was very high, leading to much anxiety concerning children and widespread obsession with magic rites designed to protect them. In particular, the Bemba have a complicated set of beliefs concerning the magic influence of sex, blood and fire, supposed to be particularly dangerous to young children. This leads to an equally elaborate set of rites which have to be carried out regularly in every household, the wife being both the chief danger and the chief officiator: only by her acts can her husband and child be protected. Women are further highlighted by the system of matrilineal residence, which creates strong ties between mother and daughter, who form the unit which attracts the men who will marry into and increase the community. On the other hand, as in all matrilineal societies, the inevitable conflict between the father and the mother's brother for the control of the former's children, together with the wife's dread of having to leave her mother and sisters when her husband is finally allowed to remove to his own village, also create tensions and anxieties which may particularly afflict the woman.

In Part II of her book Dr. Richards describes the one "Chisungu" ceremony which she witnessed in its entirety in 1931. She considers the ceremony as chiefly a nubility rite in that it is considered a preliminary to marriage and the fiancé himself, or a substitute, plays a spectacular part by shooting an arrow into the wall above his bride's head as a sign of his claim on her. The rite is organised by an older woman of unusual ability who is able to attract female helpers, and may be performed for individual girls or small groups. It includes a great deal of dancing and singing, a certain amount of tormenting and teasing of the initiates, a number of tests or trials, and much stressing of the mutual obligations of marriage.

Dr. Richards then goes on to an interpretation of the ceremony. The first expressed purpose is purely magical—to both ensure by rites that the girl has taken on her new role, and afterwards—a reflection of the prevalent female anxiety—to make sure by tests that these magic rites have really worked. There

is also much magic designed to promote the girls' fertility. The second expressed purpose is to "teach" the girl the duties and responsibilities of married life. Here Dr. Richards points out that this is not "teaching" in the Western sense—most girls already know the practical household arts, and may have already cohabited—but an attempt to emphasise by ritual means the importance of various aspects of the new role they are assuming. Finally, the girl is given a new place in her society—she is "made a woman as we are". However, Dr. Richards notes that some parts of the ceremony are understressed by the people, and here she looks for underlying tensions. She notes in particular the extreme anxiety lest the girls should fail their tests, and the reluctance to refer either to the purification rites relating to the sex, blood and fire taboos, or to the teasing of the girls by the older women.

The author ends this part of her book by showing how most of the salient features of Bemba social structure are expressed in the "chisungu" rite, especially the strong stress on fertility, the mutual obligations of husband and wife, and the emphasis on age grouping. The latter theme constantly recurs in the ceremony in the form of an oft-repeated song, "The armpit is not higher than the shoulder", and in the frequent presentation of ritual objects to the older women in their order of seniority. The tormenting of the initiates by their seniors is of course a familiar method of emphasising seniority in many initiation rites, circumcision being perhaps in one of its aspects its supreme expression.

Dr. Richards concludes by studying other "chisungu" rites in Central Africa, and suggests that their similarity to each other is due to the fact that all the tribes concerned are matrilineal. As such, they include the belief that the woman provides the chief material in procreation, the man providing, as it were, the starting spark, while many appear to share the beliefs concerning blood, fire and sex, which surround the marital relationship with a mystic halo which helps to disguise its frequent instability.

The book is illustrated with photographs and has an interesting appendix of the songs and clay figurines used in the ceremony.

The widespread nature of girls' initiation ceremonies in Africa makes one wonder whether it might not be possible for community development agencies to make more use of them in spreading knowledge of child welfare matters among the candidates. The occasion is important, the young girl is in a very receptive frame of mind, and there are periods during the ceremony or immediately after when the girls are "open" to the outside world and a tactful approach might not be resented. Some years ago an attempt was made by Dr. A. M. Margai in Sierra Leone to teach child welfare to the groups of young girls undergoing initiation in the secret "bundu" society of the Mende. Unfortunately an unwarranted suspicion that he was attempting to interfere with the practice of circumcision forced his withdrawal. This points to a danger that would have to be carefully avoided, and on no account should such classes be used for anti-circumcision propaganda. Another point that would have to be remembered is that made by Dr. Richards—that the traditional "teaching" of the society may not be "teaching" in the Western sense, and there might be a tendency to accept the teaching of an organised class as a rite rather than as a body of concrete knowledge to be acquired.

M. R. J.

RITUALS OF KINSHIP AMONG THE NYAKYUSA

By Monica Wilson, published in 1957 for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press. Price in U.K. Shs. 35/-.

This is a text-book which, while inspiring admiration for its attention to detail, will have little appeal except to the professional anthropologist. As its title implies, the book describes the kinship rituals of the Nyakyusa, in great, and at one point in nauseating, detail as observed some twenty years ago in the Rungwe District. Monica Wilson herself casts doubts on the importance of her material when she states "How far the rituals cleanse man of anti-social attitudes we do not know;" and though she revisited the area two years ago, yet she omits all but a bare mention of any obsolescence of the customs she describes, such as might have made this book, which is one of a series, more self-contained and therefore of interest to a wider circle of readers. As she would apparently seek to convince us that complicated kinship ritual sequences are still meticulously observed, it is clear that the book would have gained had this omission been rectified for, to the layman, the Nyakyusa are one of the most progressive tribes in Tanganyika, and their reaction to modern impacts, and not least to that of alien religions, is a subject of more than purely anthropological interest.

On a point of detail, it is thought that Tanganyika readers will question the frequent use of the "ba" plural, the "wa" being today the form most commonly encountered in Rungwe.

In her introduction, Monica Wilson defends her intrusions into the realms of personal privacy by claiming that her record will contribute to mankind's knowledge. While not aware of the exact personal terms on which she obtained her information, we share her stated fear that without such a defence, the publication of some of the material in this book would be regarded by the Nyakyusa as a breach of confidence.

A.A.O.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY/TREASURER FOR 1956

Membership of the Society now consists of 713 paid up members. Of these, 145 members reside outside Tanganyika, which indicates a very great interest taken in this Society, in places as far apart as the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. During the year under review, 37 ordinary members and 6 life members joined the Society.

If members will compare the 1956 accounts with those published in the last volume of the *Tanganyika Notes and Records* they will note that the subscriptions have gone up by Shs. 700, while the secretarial fees have gone down by Shs. 3,500. From the accounts it will be noticed that the Society is in a very much healthier position than it was twelve months ago, but it should be noted that stocks amounting to Shs. 11,522/50 have been shown as assets, and it could be argued whether they would, in fact, reach this figure on the open market. In addition, a figure of Shs. 3,355/66 is shown under assets as "subscriptions due". Every attempt will be made to collect this amount, but it may not in fact be possible to trace all the persons involved, and it has been suggested that a sum of possibly Shs. 1,000 should be set aside during 1957 to create a bad debt reserve.

On the liability side the only interesting item is the reserve for "printing" of the 1956 journals, which is being invested in the First Permanent Building Society. The surplus account of Shs. 8,757/22 is made up of the cash balance as at 1.1.56, plus stock brought in at cost, plus arrears of subscriptions collected during 1956. From this figure we have deducted the Government loan of Shs. 5,000, plus the printing costs of the 1955 journals paid during 1956, and an outstanding sum of Shs. 266, which was outstanding as a part honorarium to the Secretary/Treasurer.

Once again we have to apologise for the delay in the 1956 journals.

I would like to complete this report by once again paying tribute to Mrs. Clifford to whom the improvement in the finances of the Society is due.

13th March, 1957

O. M. HILL,
Hon. Secretary/Treasurer

THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT 1956

<i>Expenditure</i>				<i>Income</i>			
	Shs.	Cts.			Shs.	Cts.	
Bulk postage of T.N.R.	170	90		Subscriptions	16,077	40	
Cost of blocks	670	82		Life membership	1,200	00	
Stationery	938	15		Donations	665	50	
Purchase of back numbers of T.N.R.	143	85		Sales of journals and separates ...	2,088	67	
Honorarium to the Sec./Treasurer	2,400	00		Advertisements	1,392	50	
Bank charges	172	48					
Miscellaneous	648	15					
Interest on Government loan ...	450	00					
Postage (routine correspondence)...	377	25					
Provision of 1956 printing costs (journals No. 42-45)	10,000	00					
Excess of income over expenditure for year	5,452	47					
	Shs.	21,424	07		Shs.	21,424	07

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES AS AT 31.12.56

<i>Liabilities</i>				<i>Assets</i>			
	Shs.	Cts.			Shs.	Cts.	
Government loan	5,000	00		Cash in hand	2	05	
Less repayments	2,000	00		Cash at Bank	12,767	80	
			3,000 00				
Reserve for printing 1956 journals ...	10,000	00		Stocks at cost at 31.12.56 (as certified by Sec./Treasurer) ...	11,522	50	
Subscriptions paid in advance ...		372 32		Subscriptions due	3,355	66	
Honorarium due to Mrs. Clifford ...		66 00					
<i>Surplus Account</i>							
Balance at 1.1.56	8,757	22					
Add excess of income over expenditure 1956	5,452	47					
			14,209 69				
	Shs.	27,648	01		Shs.	27,648	01

O. M. HILL,
Secretary/Treasurer

The above statement has been examined and I certify that
in my opinion it is correct.

W. J. D. COOPER,
Director of Audit,
6th March, 1957

THE RHODES-LIVINGSTONE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, LUSAKA, NORTHERN RHODESIA

The aims of the Institute are:—

To analyse scientifically the social life of modern man, indigenous and immigrant, in Central Africa.

To provide accurate scientific information on the social life of man for Governments and other persons working with human beings in this area.

To disseminate this accurate information as widely as possible to the public.

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It is edited by a Board consisting of Professor Max Gluckman, Professor Clyde Mitchell and Dr. Elizabeth Colson, with the Director of the Institute as co-ordinating Editor.

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